

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

Master of Sacred Theology Thesis

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

5-1-1968

Pauline Paidology: The Use of the Suffering Servant of God Image of Isaiah 52-53 for Jesus Christ in the Pauline Corpus

Robert Kolb

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/stm>



Part of the [Biblical Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Kolb, Robert, "Pauline Paidology: The Use of the Suffering Servant of God Image of Isaiah 52-53 for Jesus Christ in the Pauline Corpus" (1968). *Master of Sacred Theology Thesis*. 352.
<https://scholar.csl.edu/stm/352>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master of Sacred Theology Thesis by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.

PAULINE PAIDODOLOGY:
THE USE OF THE SUFFERING SERVANT OF GOD IMAGE
OF ISAIAH 52/53
FOR JESUS CHRIST IN THE PAULINE CORPUS

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Exegetical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

by
Robert Allan Kolb

May 1968

58906

Approved by:

John J. Bartling
Advisor
Everett R. Kalin
Reader

BV
4070
C69
M3
1968
NO.3
C.2

58906

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

31

32

33

34

35

36

37

38

39

40

41

42

43

44

45

46

47

48

49

50

51

52

53

54

55

56

57

58

59

60

61

62

63

64

65

66

67

68

69

70

71

72

73

74

75

76

77

78

79

80

81

82

83

84

85

86

87

88

89

90

91

92

93

94

95

96

97

98

99

100

CONCORDIA SEMINARY LIBRARY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE PARADOTIC MOTIF: CHRIST HANDED OVER FOR US/OUR SINS	12
Romans 4:25	12
1 Corinthians 15:3b-5	45
1 Corinthians 11:23	64
Romans 8:32-34	67
Galatians 1:4	73
Galatians 2:20	75
Ephesians 5:2, 25	77
1 Timothy 2:6	78
Titus 2:14	81
III. THE SIN-OFFERING MOTIF: CHRIST MADE SIN/ CHRIST FOR SIN	85
2 Corinthians 5:21	85
Romans 8:3	92
IV. THE KENOTIC MOTIF: THE SERVANT EMPTIED	96
Philippians 2:6-11	96
Romans 5:15,19	132
V. CONCLUSION	137
Paul's Use of Isaiah 53: Why or Why Not? (Suggestions for Further Study)	137
Summary	144
BIBLIOGRAPHY	155

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows; yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. . . . he hath poured out his soul unto death, and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he bare the sin of many and made intercession for the transgressors.

A difficult assignment for the brightest pupil in Sunday school to prepare for a Christmas Eve program, a joy and pleasure to every "Messiah" chorus, a challenge to the pericopic preacher on Good Friday in the year he preaches the Epistles: Isaiah 53 means different things to different people. At least on a popular level Christians have regarded this chapter as the clearest of Old Testament prophecies of the Messiah who came as Jesus of Nazareth. It has been called the Gospel of the Old Testament. At first thought the student of the Bible would naturally expect that this description of the suffering Servant of God, which seems to outline the passion of Jesus Christ so well, would have been put to a full and rich use by the apostle Paul. But even a cursory study by such a student demonstrates that it is difficult to find possible Pauline uses of Isaiah 53 and

even more difficult to determine beyond doubt that Paul actually had that passage in mind at all when he used its vocabulary. C. F. D. Moule writes of Isaiah 53, "In Paul's writings, where one would expect much, there is little."¹ Paul's allusions to the image presented in Isaiah 53 are elusive if not illusive.

The picture of the Servant of God is constructed in the four "Servant Songs" of Is. 42:1-4(9); 49:1-6(13); 50:4-9(11); 52:13-53:12.² New Testament scholars disagree on just what part this picture did play in the estimate Jesus had of himself and in the early church's understanding and presentation of his suffering and death. Some think that the Servant motif of these songs, especially the last, is not only present but is basic in the New Testament understanding of Jesus. Reginald Fuller once commented,

We are not of course contending that Jesus thought of his death exclusively in terms of Isa. 53 . . . but we do maintain that this was the dominant passage which gives a remarkable unity to all his utterances about his death.³

¹C. F. D. Moule, The Birth of the New Testament (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 81.

²Scholars disagree on the exact limits of the first three songs; verse numbers given in parenthesis are the extreme limits of these songs.

³Reginald H. Fuller, The Mission and Achievement of Jesus. An Examination of the Presuppositions of New Testament Theology (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1954), p. 78, note 1.

He later rejected this judgment.⁴ Vincent Taylor maintains that the doctrine of the suffering Servant was no longer a living issue at the time the evangelists wrote their Gospels and that therefore allusions to Isaiah 53 in the Gospels are not the work of the evangelists, but reflect Jesus' own understanding.⁵ Yet Stanley believes that

More than any other Old Testament theme, the Isaian writings concerning the fate of the Servant of Yahweh were destined to provide the primitive Christian community with a vehicle for their earliest theological presentation of Christ's redemptive death and resurrection.⁶

He insists that Isaiah 53 influenced the early church as well as its Lord.

The most extensive argumentation against the suggestion that Isaiah 53 did influence Jesus or the early church is presented by Hooker. Concerning Jesus' use of the fourth Servant song, she asserts, "Jesus' understanding of his own sufferings can be comprehended only when they are seen against

⁴Reginald H. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), p. 119.

⁵Vincent Taylor, "The Origin of the Markan Passion Sayings," New Testament Studies I (1954-1955), 164-65; cf. L. Goppelt, Typos: die Typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966), pp. 125-26 for one list of allusions to the Servant songs in the Gospels and Acts.

⁶David M. Stanley, "The Theme of the Servant of Yahweh in Primitive Christian Soteriology and its Transposition by St. Paul," Catholic Biblical Quarterly XVI, 4 (October 1954), 385.

a pattern of suffering which, while it includes the Servant songs, is much wider in scope."⁷ She finds "very little in the Synoptics to support the traditional view that Jesus identified his mission with that of the Servant of the Songs: certainly there is nothing which could be accepted as proof" of this idea.⁸

Hooker studies some of the passages in Paul which seem to reflect the image of the suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 and rejects any connection between Paul's conception of the person or work of Jesus Christ and that Old Testament image.⁹ Stanley agrees with her that Paul did not use Isaiah 53 in shaping his view of Jesus. Although he believes that Palestinian Christianity did follow the lead given by the Master during his earthly life and built its soteriology upon the basis of Christ's fulfillment of the fourth Servant song, he asserts that Paul used this song for a different purpose and based his Christology on the image of the Second Adam.¹⁰ An argument from silence is given by Earle Ellis, who authored a book on Paul's use of the Old Testament. In an appendix

⁷Morna D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant. The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament (London: SPCK, 1959), p. xi.

⁸Ibid., p. 102.

⁹Ibid., pp. 116-23.

¹⁰Stanley, p. 419.

list of "Old Testament Allusions and Parallels in the Pauline Epistles" Ellis does cite nine Pauline passages with backgrounds in the second (one passage), third (one passage), and fourth (seven passages) Servant songs.¹¹ But in the body of this book which deals with the apostle's understanding and use of the Old Testament, there is no reference to Isaiah 53. Ellis does not explain why.

Hans Walter Wolff takes issue with those who do not find the shadow of Isaiah 53 cast long over Paul's writings. Wolff admits that Paul did not use it like other passages of the Old Testament, often ripping them from context simply for the sake of scriptural proof. Specific quotations of this type from the fourth Servant song (Rom. 10:16; 15:21) prove only that Paul could use the chapter. Instead, the image of the suffering Servant gained from Isaiah 53 was not merely Paul's tool but the very mortar with which his theology was constructed, and so it is no wonder that his usual method of scripture citation for proof was not used in connection with Isaiah 53. Wolff argues that the claim that Paul's writings curiously lack allusions to Isaiah 53 is based upon the overly stringent restriction that Paul had to use the chapter as a storehouse of proof passages if he was to use it at all. For Paul this chapter was the vital chapter of

¹¹Earle E. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), pp. 153-54.

scripture as was no other chapter in the whole Old Testament. Thus, its image flows forth in every case in his own words, without the "it is written" which creates a distance between the author and his words.¹²

This thesis is the result of an investigation of the Pauline epistles which sought to determine whether Paul did use Isaiah 53 in the formation of his Christology, and if he did, to determine the purpose of his uses of that chapter. This presentation seeks to demonstrate that Paul's use of the image of the suffering Servant of God taken from Isaiah 53 is infrequent at best and difficult to determine assuredly in most cases. It further seeks to demonstrate that most possible references to Isaiah 53 are found in formulations which at least may be pre-Pauline. However, the implication that pre-Pauline material is of secondary value in a study of Paul's theology is not accepted in this presentation. For if the image of the suffering Servant is present in the passages where this study suggests that it may be, then Paul's usage of that image is quite important for the apostle's conception of Jesus Christ.

The scope of this study is limited to the Pauline corpus, including the Pastorals. The study is limited to the fourth Servant song because in this song the vivid description of

¹²Hans Walter Wolff, Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1949), p. 99.

suffering and death, as well as a possible hint of resurrection, offers the most complete comparison to the events in the life of Jesus Christ and because the possible allusions to the first three Servant songs in the Pauline corpus are rare if present at all.¹³ Throughout this presentation "Isaiah 53" has been and will be defined as synonymous with the "fourth Servant song" and thus will include three very important verses (13-15) in Isaiah 52. They are a part of the fourth Servant song but were separated from the rest of the song by some accident in the process of chapter division. The other Servant songs are not totally disregarded in this study although the exact value of contextual materials to the exegetes of the early church is not clear. Dodd contends that verses of the Old Testament were quoted as pointers to the whole section from which they were taken, and thus a total context is in view when an early Christian writer cites an Old Testament passage.¹⁴ On the other hand, Hooker believes the atomistic exegesis of the times practically eliminates contextual considerations from the New Testament writings.¹⁵ Both views may give a partial understanding of

¹³Cf. pages 138-40 below on these allusions.

¹⁴C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 126.

¹⁵Hooker, pp. 21-22.

the way the rabbis used Scripture. Thus, the relevance of contextual materials must be considered in each specific quotation.

This study is also limited to Paul's comparison of the image of the suffering Servant of God found in Isaiah 53 to Jesus Christ. Thus, it leaves out comment on the two direct quotations from the fourth Servant song which are found in the Pauline corpus. In Rom. 10:14 Paul is discussing the necessity of the proclamation of the Word of God. He points out that not all have heeded the Gospel proclamation. Then he quotes from Is. 53:1, "Lord, who has believed what he has heard from us?" and goes on to conclude "so faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes by the preaching of Christ." This use of Is. 53:1 is paralleled in John 12:38. To be sure, the apostle is using the quotation in such a way that he could be implying that Jesus is the Servant of God. For he compares those who have not heeded the Gospel to those who were watching the Servant. If he intends the quotation to make a double reference, then its object compares Christ to the Servant just as its subject compares those who hear of Christ to those who had been looking upon the Servant. But the subject, those who heard, is the point at issue, and the secondary comparison of the Servant and Christ cannot be established. Even if Paul was thinking of the Servant-like role of Christ when he recorded this quotation, he did not use the theology of Isaiah 53 to explain the work of Christ.

The quotation found in Rom. 15:21, taken from Is. 52:15, deals with Paul's conception of his own ministry. He is discussing his principle of preaching the Gospel where others had not, in accordance with this passage from the fourth Servant song: "They shall see who have never been told of him, and they shall understand who have never heard of him." Again, Paul's primary point is not the identification of Christ as the Servant; he uses the passage to justify his own missionary program. Yet his program is designed to help "them" see who have never been told of a "him" who originally was the Servant and who must now be Christ. The subjects which Paul has in mind are the Gentiles who have not heard the Gospel, just as the many nations and the kings of Is. 52:15 had not been told of the Servant of God. Paul could have been secondarily comparing the objects, the Servant and Christ. But there is no indication that he was. Thus, both direct quotations from the fourth Servant song in Paul might conceivably indicate that Paul viewed Jesus Christ as the suffering Servant of God. But the indication is so slight that it is of no value for this investigation. These quotations demonstrate that Paul knew the fourth Servant song, but they do not specifically use the image of the Servant to explain what Christ meant to Paul.

This study is organized around three main objects. One kind of possible allusion to Isaiah 53 in Paul's letters is

that which presents the concept of "handing over" or "delivering over," (παραδιδόναι) either as a reflexive or with God as the subject. A preposition conveying the idea "for" is used in connection with the verb of "handing over," and the object of this preposition is either "sin" or those people for whom Jesus or the Servant were handed over. A second kind of allusion to Isaiah 53 which Paul may have used is based upon the double usage of the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew word זָכַח in Is. 53:10; the translation it uses, ἀμαρτία, can mean either "sin" or "sin offering." A third topic is provided by the unique usage of the image of the Servant found in Phil. 2:6-11. Because it has been suggested that this section brings together the concepts of the suffering Servant of God and of the Son of Man Second Adam, a brief discussion of Rom. 5:12 is appended to this consideration of Phil. 2:6-11.

As each passage from Paul is considered, three questions will be asked. It is necessary to raise the question "Is the material pre-Pauline?" in connection with each passage because in the early stages of research it became evident that modern scholarship regards most of the possible Pauline allusions to Isaiah 53 as creedal or hymnic formulae which Paul incorporated into his letters. The second question is the obvious one, "Was this passage shaped and influenced by

Isaiah 53?" The third question is "To what use does Paul put the material in this particular context?" Following the study of the individual passages, an attempt will be made to suggest areas of further study in connection with Paul's use of Isaiah 53. Each of these areas is concerned with the question, "Why did Paul use the suffering Servant image so seldom (if at all)?"

Quotations are taken from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible except for occasional original translations. These are preceded and followed by asterisks.

CHAPTER II

THE PARADOTIC MOTIF:

CHRIST HANDED OVER FOR US/OUR SINS

The first motif from Isaiah 53 which Paul may have used is that of παραδίδομαι, the "handing over" of the Servant. The word παραδίδομαι summarizes his suffering and death in the Septuagint's version of the fourth Servant song. Some of the following passages strongly suggest that Paul did use material shaped by this concept from the fourth Servant song while others contain only vague hints that he thought of Jesus in terms of the suffering Servant of God.

Romans 4:25

23. But the words, "it was reckoned to him" were written not for his (Abraham's) sake alone, but for ours also.
24. It will be reckoned to us who believe in him that raised from the dead Jesus our Lord, 25. who was *handed over* for our trespasses and raised for our justification.

Rom. 4:25 sets forth a succinct description of the Lord Jesus whom the Christians of Rome and the apostle from Tarsus both knew as the one whom God had raised from the dead. The clause, "handed over for our trespasses and raised for our justification," brief and to the point, is the kind of nutshell summary which could easily have become a standard

description of the Lord if it were not already. According to the criteria for early Christian creedal formulae set down by Stauffer,¹ Paul may have used a familiar phrase already employed by Christians to express their belief in Jesus in this verse. Creedal formulae often occur in participial or relative clauses; Rom. 4:25 is a relative clause. Creedal formulae express basic doctrinal truths, as does the verse at hand. Further indication of the verse's creedal origin is its parallelism of members, or rhythm, found in its two lines which each begin with a passive verb, end with the word "ἡμῶν," and have a prepositional phrase beginning with "διὰ" in between. It also incorporates familiar words and concepts into its succinct form.² Hunter notes that what Christians believe in is also involved in the context (verse 24)³ although that believing has as its object the person in whom they believed, not the content of their faith, as in verse 25. It is not impossible that Paul himself could have composed, perhaps even quite casually, a relative clause which expressed basic doctrinal truths and had a certain rhythm. But if the New Testament does contain creedal formulae

¹Ethelbert Stauffer, New Testament Theology, translated by John Marsh (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1955), pp. 338-39.

²Ibid.; cf. A. M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1961), p. 30.

³Ibid., p. 31.

at all, this verse certainly deserves consideration as a pre-Pauline confession of faith.

The influence of the fourth Servant song upon Rom. 4:25 is mentioned in passing by many; few stop to give careful support to their assertion.⁴ Cullmann states that Is. 53:12 is "directly quoted" in Rom. 4:25.⁵ The main basis for this identification is found in the verb παραδιδόναι. The verb is often used in the Old Testament,⁶ but its usage in Isaiah 53 is different from its general usage. Its general usage does deal with the handing over of people but generally of enemies for conquering (cf. Gen. 14:20) or destruction (cf. 1 Kingdoms 24:5). It is also used of the Lord's handing over the land of Palestine to his people (cf. Deut. 1:21). In Isaiah 53 this verb is used three times. In verse 6 it translates the Hiphil of נָתַן, which means "to cause a thing

⁴Otto Kuss, Der Römerbrief (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich, Pustet, 1963), I, 194; Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, translated by Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1951), I, 31; Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, translated by Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p. 76; W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology (London: SPCK, 1965), p. 274; Edward Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1960), p. 50; Stauffer, p. 132.

⁵Cullmann, p. 76.

⁶Wiard Popkes, Christus Traditus. Eine Untersuchung zum Begriff der Dahingabe im Neuen Testament (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1967), pp. 13-25, discusses this word as well as its various Hebrew equivalents.

to encounter a person," in the context *"the Lord has caused the iniquity of us all to be upon him."* The Septuagint renders this, *"The Lord has handed him over for our sins."* In verse 12c the same verb occurs and is to be translated "to make entreaty to one's behalf"⁷ in the context, *"he makes entreaty in behalf of the transgressors."* The Septuagint paraphrases this, *"he was handed over on account of their sins."* The Hiphil of עָרַב, which means "abandon, sacrifice oneself to death,"⁸ in a unique application of its basic meaning, "pour out," is also translated with παραδίδοναι in Is. 53:12b. Its context here is, *"he abandoned his soul unto death,"* rendered in the Septuagint *"his soul was handed over into death."* Isaiah 53 is the only place in the Septuagint where this Greek word is used to translate the respective verbs in the conjugations found in Isaiah 53.

Using παραδίδοναι to express the handing over of a man follows the basic meaning of the verb. Liddell Scott summarizes the definitions of the word under four general categories: to give, hand over, transmit; to deliver up, surrender; to give up to justice; to hand down traditions.⁹

⁷Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), p. 751.

⁸Ibid., p. 734.

⁹Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, editors. A Greek-English Lexicon, revised and augmented by Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953). p. 1308; cf. Popkes, pp. 83-93.

The verb clearly involves a handing over to death in Isaiah 53, for in verse 8 the Servant's suffering culminates in his being "cut off from the land of the living"; in verse 9 his grave is mentioned; in verse 10 he is offered as a sin or guilt offering. This sense of handing over, in the active with the Lord as the subject as in verse 6 and in the passive in verse 12, is also the sense of the verb as it functions in Rom. 4:25. For the passive of the verb in Rom. 4:25 implies that God is the agent of the action just as he is the agent of the action of the parallel verb, "he was raised."¹⁰ As the Servant was handed over on account of sin, so was Jesus. Since παραδίδομαι is not employed to express the idea of vicarious suffering and death elsewhere in the canonical books of the Old Testament, Isaiah 53 offers itself as the natural source of the idea that Jesus was handed over for our sins.

The preposition διὰ accompanies the verb, both in Rom. 4:25 and in Is. 53:12c. The object of the preposition is expressed by the Greek noun ἀμαρτία in Isaiah 53; Rom. 4:25 has its synonym παράπτωμα instead. Wolff discounts this difference because both words are used to translate the

¹⁰F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, translated and revised by Robert W. Funk (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), sections 130 (1), 313, 342 (1). Hereafter, this work will be referred to as BDF.

Hebrew concept שׁוּבָה in the Septuagint; he also notes that "our" transgression is a concern in Isaiah 53 (cf. verse 6) even though in verse 12 itself the sins belong to "them."¹¹ "Sin" and "transgression" could easily be interchanged, and a personal confession of faith would use the personal "our" even if its pattern had "their" instead. Furthermore, it is not certain that the Septuagint text known today was exactly that known to the early church. Possibly Is. 53:12c did read παράπτωμα instead of ἀμαρτία for some early Christians.¹²

The idea of justification, expressed in Rom. 4:25b, "He was raised for our justification," also could come from Is. 53:11b. Although in the Septuagint this verse speaks of the Lord counting the Servant righteous, in Hebrew it reads, "by his knowledge shall the righteous one, my servant, make

¹¹Hans Walter Wolff, Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1949), p. 95.

¹²Jeremias believes that he solves both the problem of the possessive pronoun and the problem of the different noun by tracing the origin of the creedal formula back to the Targum of Isaiah 53:5b which reads הוּבָה עוֹלֵינוּ, "he was given up for our iniquities," (Walther Zimmerli and Joachim Jeremias, The Servant of God [Revised Edition; London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1965], p. 89, note 397). In so doing he only compounds the problem of finding an exact source for the creed which Paul used, for the variations between the Septuagint and the creedal formula are not so serious that they could not be explained more simply. Furthermore, in the Targum of Jonathan the Servant is not the subject of that phrase. The Targum has changed the sense of the passage so that it reads: "But he shall build the sanctuary that was polluted because of our transgressions and given up because of our iniquities," (J. F. Stenning, editor and translator, The Targum of Isaiah [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949], pp. 180-81).

many to be accounted righteous." The same Greek stem ($\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron-$) which is used in Isaiah 53 in the Septuagint is used in Rom. 4:25. Even though the thought expressed in Greek is different from that of the Hebrew text, the bilingual early church could easily have used the Septuagint vocabulary to convey the message of the Hebrew which its members had learned in synagogue school or in the circle of a rabbi.

Even the idea of resurrection may have been present in the early Christian understanding of Isaiah 53. Although the concept of resurrection as it was understood at the time of Paul had hardly begun to develop when Isaiah 53 was written, some think that in this chapter its author may be grasping for a way to express the idea of resurrection. Martin-Achard begins from the marks of divine reprobation cast upon the Servant: premature death, absence of offspring, meaningless existence. Then the Lord bestows prosperity upon him, promises him prolonged days, and makes him a partner in his own plan. The Servant's death is beyond doubt in verses 8, 10, 12; certainly his burial in verse 9 is no metaphor. But the beginning and end of the fourth Servant song imply a special event which reversed the judgment of God upon him. This event, Martin-Achard concludes, can be nothing but the resurrection of the Servant. His resurrection is not the real point of these descriptive phrases. For the Old Testament believer resurrection would have been an anthropocentric

way of looking at things. The Servant's vindication by the Lord, his experience of the Lord's benediction without concern for how it was experienced, was more important fundamentally because it meant that the Servant was righteous before the Lord. But Martin-Achard concludes that the hint of resurrection is there.¹³ North believes that the idea of resurrection as later understood was too vague to be employed by the prophet but that nonetheless "the Servant is to live again and be fully rehabilitated and rewarded" in Is. 53:10.¹⁴ He further states, "It must suffice that Isaiah liii did--supposing that the Servant is an individual--conceive of a man returning from the world of the dead."¹⁵

Some scholars¹⁶ believe that the "wise" mentioned in Daniel 11 and 12 reflect the influence of Isaiah 53. These "wise" men, representatives of the remnant of Israel, were

¹³Robert Martin-Achard, From Death to Life. A Study of the Development of the Doctrine of the Resurrection in the Old Testament, translated by John Penney Smith (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1960), pp. 103-23, especially pp. 109-18.

¹⁴Christopher R. North, The Second Isaiah. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary to Chapters XL-LV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 242; cf. Sigmund Mowinckel, He That Cometh, translated by G. W. Anderson (New York: Abingdon Press, 1955), pp. 234-41.

¹⁵North, p. 243.

¹⁶Cf. Wolff, pp. 38-40; William H. Brownlee, "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls I," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, no. 132 (December, 1953), 8-15; H. L. Ginsberg, "The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant," Vetus Testamentum, III (1953), 400-4.

to be awakened to life everlasting and to shine like the brightness of the firmament; they are further described as "those who turn many to righteousness," and they shall shine "like the stars forever and ever" (Dan. 12:2-3). The title, the "wise," is a participle of the Hebrew verb שָׁלַח, which is also the opening verb of the fourth Servant song (Is. 52:13). There it is interpreted "to prosper," but the Septuagint translated it "to be wise." Since the Servant of Isaiah 53 was viewed collectively by some in inter-testamental Judaism,¹⁷ the "wise" might well reflect a conception of the Servant. The Servant, too, turned many to righteousness (Is. 53:11) and did that through knowledge, possibly a tool of the "wise" of Daniel 12. The "wise" had suffered, according to Dan. 11:33-34, fitting aptly the picture of the suffering Servant. As Wolff states, direct proof of the influence of Isaiah 53 upon Daniel 11 and 12 lies beyond the investigative powers of today's student. Nonetheless, he believes that Daniel 12 presents the same motif as Isaiah 53, transferred from the work of justification by a servant who is victorious through suffering for the many to a teacher who instructs the many in righteousness and in the time of oppression is exalted into heavenly glory.¹⁸ For the "wise" were exalted;

¹⁷Wolff, pp. 50, 53.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 39.

their everlasting life, their shining like the stars and the firmament's brightness, speak of their resurrection.

The point of this discussion of Daniel 12 is that here, in a later reflection on the Servant of Isaiah 53, the idea of resurrection is present. So, then, this idea could also have occurred to the early Christians as they looked to Isaiah 53 for prophecy concerning Jesus. However, the arguments for tracing the idea of resurrection in Rom. 4:25 to Isaiah 53 produce no proof from the time of Paul. They depend on modern insight into the Old Testament pericope and on conjectures about an interpretation of that chapter in Daniel. They may support a case for the influence of Isaiah 53 but cannot decide whether Rom. 4:25 echoes Isaiah 53. This decision must be formed on the basis of the word παραδίδωαι .

The two verbal elements and their accompanying phrases in the creedal formula used by Paul in Rom. 4:25 could all have come from and been shaped by Isaiah 53. But certain objections to this view must be considered. The presence of the verb παραδίδωαι in both the creedal formula and the prophecy can be explained as a coincidence, according to Ropes,¹⁹ who believes that Paul was quite capable of having produced

¹⁹James Hardy Ropes, "The Influence of Second Isaiah on the Epistles," Journal of Biblical Literature, XLVIII (1929), 38.

these words himself without even an unconscious influence from the fourth Servant song. Undoubtedly he was, and so was the creed-forming early church. Steeped in the Old Testament as it was, the early church could also have made conscious use of a part of its sacred scripture which seemed to offer a way to present the death of its Lord and his resurrection.

Hooker objects to the assertion of a connection between Isaiah 53 and Rom. 4:25 on the basis of παραδιδόναι for two reasons.²⁰ It is the natural word to use and thus impossible to link with any particular Old Testament passage, she says. What word was natural for a first century Jew to use to express his faith in Greek may be a bit difficult to determine some two millenia later. Jesus also might have been said to have "suffered," "died," "been condemned," or "sent" because of our sins. That he was "handed over" may have been one natural way to say it, but it was hardly the only natural way the church could have found to express what happened in Jesus Christ. Hooker also maintains that the verb is found so commonly in the Old Testament and even in Paul that no connection between its use in the two passages under consideration exists. However, the unique usage of the "handed over" concept in Isaiah 53, compared to its general Old

²⁰Morna D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant. The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament (London: SPCK, 1959), p. 122.

Testament usage, has been noted above (cf. pages 12-13). The passages from Paul which Hooker offers to show that the concept was part of Paul's general thought include Rom. 1:24,26,28; and 1 Cor. 5:5 and 15:24. The first three passages speak of God's handing men over to "the lusts of their hearts," "dishonorable passions," and "a base mind and improper conduct." The fourth passage instructs the Corinthian congregation about handing a sinner over to Satan. 1 Cor. 15:24 speaks of Christ's handing over of the Kingdom to his Father. The usage found in Rom. 4:25 is different from these; it is as different and different in the same way as Isaiah 53's use of παραδίδόναι differs from the general Septuagint usage of the word. Hooker's argument is not convincing.

Schoeps proposes that the delivering up of Jesus recalls the sacrifice of Isaac, here and in other passages where it is mentioned.²¹ The context of chapter 4 places Abraham in a very important position, and his near sacrifice of Isaac, as it was understood by later (post-Pauline) Judaism, had expiatory significance.²² But Genesis 22 does not contain the concept of "handing over," nor does it use either the Greek or the Hebrew words which express this idea in the

²¹Hans Joachim Schoeps, "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Paul's Theology," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXV (1946), 390.

²²Cf. George Foot Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of the Tannaim (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), I, 540.

respective versions. The context of the passage, Romans 4, loses its importance in verse 25 is indeed a pre-Pauline creedal formula. So the argument which would derive this verse from Genesis 22 lacks any positive proof.

The difference between the two words for sin as found in Is. 53:12c and Rom. 4:25a might be offered as an objection the derivation of the latter from the former. As noted above, however, this difference may be due to a different version of the Greek text; it may arise from a free use of the passage. At any rate, the fact that Rom. 4:25 uses a synonym in place of the exact word of Isaiah 53 does not deny the possibility that the phraseology of the former was shaped by that of the latter.

Ropes and Hooker offer objections to associating the concept of justification in the creedal formula with the same concept in the prophecy. Hooker attributes the juxtaposition of παραδίδοναι and δικαίωσις to the parallelism of Hebrew poetry rather than to a theological pattern based upon Isaiah 53.²³ Ropes dismisses the Hebrew meaning of verse 11b and contrasts the justifying of the Servant in the Septuagint with the justifying by the Lord Jesus in Rom. 4:25. He claims that this difference in sense rules out any connection

²³Hooker, pp. 122-23.

between the two.²⁴ Both arguments limit the creative mind of the early Christians. The capability of the pre-Pauline believers to use an Old Testament text as a pattern and to use concepts from the Hebrew and vocabulary from the Greek at the same time cannot be denied. The modern scholar cannot simply dismiss the possibility that such uses did take place.

Stanley believes that Is. 53:12 did influence the first half of the formula of Rom. 4:25 but that the second half adds a new and typically Pauline theological conception, resurrection for our justification. He comments, "Here Paul is evidently thinking of Christ as the Second Adam Whose transfigured Humanity is at once the gauge and, ultimately, the instrument of man's own redemption and glorification."²⁵ Although resurrection and the Second Adam are involved together in Paul's discussion of the resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15, there is no reason there or elsewhere in Paul to connect the two directly. Rom. 4:25 contains no hint that this formula is reflecting the Second Adam concept at all. This alternative source for the second part of the formula which Paul used is less convincing than assigning its origin to Isaiah 53's influence.

²⁴Ropes, XLVIII, 39.

²⁵David M. Stanley, "The Theme of the Servant of Yahweh in Primitive Christian Soteriology and its Transposition by St. Paul," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XVI (October 1954), 414.

But then the suggestion of tracing the resurrection concept of Rom. 4:25 from Isaiah 53 may not seem particularly convincing, either. Isaiah 53 does not explicitly speak of the "resurrection" of the Servant. No New Testament passage uses Isaiah 53 explicitly in connection with Christ's resurrection. Jonah 1:17 (2:1 in the Hebrew text) may serve as a reference to the resurrection in Matt. 12:40. Ps. 2:1-2 (in Acts 4:25-26), Ps. 16:8-11 (in Acts 2:25-28), Ps. 110:1 (Acts 2:24-25), Ps. 118:22 (Acts 4:11) were used as Old Testament texts in connection with the resurrection in New Testament times. But evidence for a similar use of Isaiah 53 is not available. The suggestion that Isaiah 53 may have been considered in connection with Christ's resurrection rests solely on the establishment of the connection of the concept of justification and, more important, of the concept of "handing over" with the fourth Servant song.

Before a final decision can be reached on whether Isaiah 53 did influence Rom. 4:25, the key concept which provides a bridge between them, that of παραδίδωαι, must be examined again. The word serves as a capsule for the suffering and death of Jesus in Rom. 4:25. In describing the Servant in Isaiah 53 it performs a similar function. In 53:6 the Lord "hands over" the Servant "for our sins." The Hebrew says that the Lord causes our sins to fall upon the Servant. This precedes a description of the Servant's sufferings. In

verse 12 the Servant's death is the culmination of his being handed over. There is no doubt that the concept is present in Isaiah 53. Yet another source rather than the fourth Servant song could have been the pattern for its use by the early Christians. The handing over of a person by himself or by God for the purpose of bearing the sins of others is found only in Isaiah 53 in the Old Testament. But in the literature which was produced within Judaism after the completing of the canonical Old Testament books the concept of martyrdom became prominent. The Jewish believers could have used the patterns offered by these martyrs as they expressed their faith.

The search for alternative sources can be limited to Jewish literature. Popkes finds that the usage of the verb παραδιδόναι in the mystery cults or in gnosticism was confined to the handing down of tradition.²⁶ He produces only one instance of a usage similar to that of Isaiah 53 in extra-Judaic literature, and that is in a late, Christian-influenced Manichaean work.²⁷

The perfect pattern for the "handing over" of Jesus Christ would be found if it could be demonstrated that the Messiah himself was expected to be handed over into death.

²⁶Popkes, pp. 94-120.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 114-18.

The Targum of Jonathan does equate the Messiah with the figure of Isaiah 53, but in so doing, it removes the suffering and lowliness of the Servant. The Messianic figure which it reads into Isaiah 53 does not suffer because of other men's transgressions in verse 12, as the Septuagint states but prays for them (as the Hebrew text indicates). He does not bear iniquity but builds up the sanctuary polluted by iniquity. He delivers up the peoples of the earth; he delivers the wicked and the rich into Gehenna and death.²⁸ The Targum does not transform the Messiah into a suffering Servant but instead stamps the figure of a triumphant Messiah on top of the suffering Servant of the Lord, leaving little to be seen of that figure who atones for men's sins through his own suffering and death.

Yet Jeremias and Davies claim that belief in a suffering and dying Messiah was present in inter-testamental Judaism and left little trace of itself only because the rise of the Christian belief in the suffering and dying Christ drove such a doctrine out of the minds of faithful Jews. Davies rejects the theories which saw a suffering Messiah in the figure of a Messiah ben Joseph and in the book of the Assumption of Moses. But he states his case for the existence of the concept of a suffering Messiah in pre-Christian Judaism

²⁸Stenning, pp. 178-81; cf. Wolff, p. 52.

on the basis of the Similitudes of Enoch, especially chapter 62, where, he claims, the suffering Servant, the Messiah, and the Son of Man begin to merge into a single figure.²⁹ But the case for finding characteristics of the suffering Servant and the Messiah attached to the Son of Man figure in Enoch depends upon whether certain terms in Enoch must necessarily carry the technical significance which they have in selected passages of the Old Testament. The Son of Man is righteous in Enoch (46:3; 62:2; 71:14), and so are the Messiah (Is. 9:7; 11:4-5) and the suffering Servant (Is. 53:11). But God and men are called righteous throughout the Old Testament. The Enochic Son of Man causes kings to bow down before him (46:4; 62:3,9), and so does the Messiah (Ps. 72:10-11); and the suffering Servant is viewed by amazed kings (Is. 52:15). Just as the Servant of the second Servant song (49:6) and the Messiah (Is. 9:2) were to bring light to Gentile people and lands, so the Son of Man would be a bearer of light in Enoch 48:4. Yet these similar descriptions, differing in detail, do not support Davies' claim for even an incipient conscious identification of the three figures. No more should be said than that different men in Israel were trying to give concrete expression to a common hope. This common hope of deliverance, together with basic Jewish standards of good

²⁹Davies, pp. 278-80.

and evil, demanded that certain ideas be used in shaping the concrete image of the deliverer and the salvation he would bring. But finding these common ideas does not prove that the disciples of men who hoped for the Messiah realized that he would be just a variation of the Son of Man who was hoped for by another party. Furthermore, Hooker points out that even if Servant imagery would be present in Enoch, it is significant that the Servant's most distinctive feature, suffering, is absent³⁰ (unless chapters 70 and 71 bring suffering to the Son of Man by linking him with Enoch, but the suffering is not mentioned explicitly). Her conclusion that this absence of suffering makes the basis of Davies' theory a strong argument against that theory³¹ may be debatable, but the failure to mention suffering while trying to identify the Messiah as a suffering one must be regarded as curious, at least. Enoch does not give reason to believe that Rom. 4:25 might have been patterned after the image of a suffering and dying Messiah.

Jeremias is also hard put to find evidence for a suffering Messiah, but he does find it. He rightly insists that in the light of the severity with which Judaism opposed the Christian interpretation texts of Isaiah 53, the possibility

³⁰Hooker, p. 54.

³¹Ibid., p. 177.

of textual excision must be reckoned with. He goes on to find an undoubted rabbinic quotation from about A.D. 200 which calls the Messiah a sick man and a leper on the basis of Is. 53:4. He supplies other later evidence and then concludes that the slender amount of evidence for interpreting Isaiah 53 as a Messianic description is counterbalanced by the lack of non-Messianic exegesis of the chapter in rabbinic literature in the first millenium A.D.³² However, Billerbeck states a strong case against the possibility that any idea of a Messiah who both suffered and died could have given the early church its pattern for expressing its faith in Jesus. He says that among the Jews the belief in a suffering (and thereby atoning) Messiah ben David coexisted with a belief in a dying (mortal) Messiah ben Joseph but that the two never met. He further cites New Testament evidence (Matt. 16:21-23; Mark 8:31-33; 9:31-32; Luke 24:20-21; Acts 17:3) to show that the concept of a suffering and dying Messiah did not fit the idea which the average Jew held about his coming deliverer.³³ Mowinckel, too, attributes the idea that Judaism held to a belief in a suffering and dying Messiah before Jesus to a

³²Zimmerli and Jeremias, pp. 73-76; cf. Joachim Jeremias, "Zum Problem der Deutung von Jes. 53. im Palästinischen Spätjudentum," Aux sources de la tradition chretienne (Neuchatel: Delachaux and Niestle S. A., 1950), p. 114.

³³Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1956), II, 274.

confusion of the differing conceptions of the Messiah. The Messiah's sufferings may have been regarded as atoning, like the sufferings of anyone, according to Mowinckel, but his death was never thought of as atoning.³⁴ It is just this idea of atonement through his being "handed over," even unto the death of the cross, for men's sins that is demanded for a pattern for the creed which Paul used in Rom. 4:25.³⁵

The most fashionable spa listed in the current issue of the New Testament student's Baedeker lies on the western shore of the Dead Sea. This study, too, must stop to see what Qumran offers in the way of a pattern for the creedal formula of Rom. 4:25. Brownlee has developed a basis for an identification of the Messiah and the Servant of God in Qumran;³⁶ this identification could suggest that Rom. 4:25 was shaped by a Qumranic combination of two figures. He takes the ambiguous reading *מִשָּׁח from the Qumran Isaiah scroll's version of Is. 52:14. The form could come from the root which means "mar" (מַשַּׁח) or from that meaning "anoint" (מָשַׁח). Interpreting this word, not "marred" with the

³⁴Mowinckel, pp. 327-29.

³⁵Wolff, pp. 44-45, indicates that 4 Ezra's possible connection of the suffering Servant and the Messiah is so tenuous as not to merit consideration. There is just no possible background for Rom. 4:25 in 4 Ezra; cf. 7:29, 13:33, 37, 51-52 where Wolff mentions slight possibility of connection with Isaiah 53.

³⁶Brownlee, pp. 11-12.

Massoretic text, but "anointed," Brownlee reads the verse Messianically: "as many were astonished at you, so I anointed his appearance beyond anyone (else)." He argues that the ambiguous form could have stood in the text only if it conveyed a messianic idea. Guillaume does not directly meet this suggestion in offering his better alternative; he derives the form from the verb גָּלַח which means "to gill the back of a camel and exhaust it."³⁷ The noun represented in the text would then mean "of ugly form and without comeliness," and the preposition would not be comparative but an indication of distance form. Guillaume translates the Qumran scroll, "so did I mar his appearance from that of a man," and he really does not need to meet Brownlee's point on ambiguity because there is no ambiguity in the traditional understanding of the prophecy. Not only is the connection between the suffering Servant and the Messiah in great doubt in Qumran; there is no evidence that the concept of "handing over" played a part in the Qumran community's thought concerning its leading figure, the Right-Teacher, according to Popkes.³⁸ Black looks to the Right-Teacher in the Qumran literature as a figure in whom the image of the suffering Servant of God

³⁷Alfred Guillaume, "Some Readings in the Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXVI (1957), 42.

³⁸Popkes, pp. 70-72.

was found and who thus might provide a more direct antecedent for the early church to use in shaping its description of its rabbi and Lord. Black argues that since at least the first Servant song is related to the community at Qumran,

we may be certain, if only on the principle of noblesse oblige, that if these prophecies could be applied to the members of the sect, they were a fortiori applicable to its martyred leader and founder, the Prophet like unto Moses, who certainly met the Servant's fate.³⁹

Popkes disagrees; he believes that the Qumran community need not have applied the same passages it applied to itself to its Right-Teacher.⁴⁰ There is no indication that the community applied Isaiah 53 to itself or the Right-Teacher anyway. Furthermore, the Right-Teacher is not "handed over" and thus is an insufficient pattern for Rom. 4:25.

From the Testament of Benjamin, however, comes a better pattern for the verse. Its third chapter speaks of Joseph interceding for his brethren (as the Servant interceded for transgressors in Is. 53:12) that their sin might not be imputed to them. Then Benjamin recalls the blessing of his father Jacob upon Joseph; it associated him with "a blameless one (who) shall be handed over for lawless men and a

³⁹Matthew Black, "Servant of the Lord and Son of Man," Scottish Journal of Theology, 6 (1953), 8.

⁴⁰Popkes, pp. 70-72.

sinless one (who) shall die for ungodly men."⁴¹ "Handed over" here is parallel to "die" which is its basic meaning in Isaiah 53 and Rom. 4:25. But Isaiah 53 must still be preferred as the pattern for Rom. 4:25 because its details are more complete and because it was regarded as Scripture and therefore more important than the Testament of Benjamin to the early church.

Other figures in inter-testamental Judaism seem to offer patterns for the expression of Rom. 4:25. The martyrs of the books of the Maccabees are suggested as parallels both to the suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 and to Jesus in his death. Wolff lists the parallels between the suffering Servant and these martyrs.⁴² The martyrs died "for the sake of the Law" (4 Macc. 6:27); the Servant died "for the sake of our trespasses" (53:5). The martyrs call their martyrdom a "punishment" (4 Macc. 6:28) or a "chastisement" (2 Macc. 7:33); the Servant bears "punishment" (53:5). This punishment was borne for the people (4 Macc. 6:28) by the martyrs and for the "many" (53:12) by the Servant. The purpose of the martyrs' death was the deliverance of Israel (4 Macc. 17:10,22); the Servant died for "our peace" and "salvation" (53:5). The

⁴¹R. H. Charles, editor, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), II, 356.

⁴²Wolff, pp. 47-49.

martyrs were "like a substitute" for the people (4 Macc. 17:21), and their death served as an offering for sin (2 Macc. 17:22); the Servant gave up his life as an offering for sin and was compared to a lamb for the slaughter (53:7,10). The martyrs prayed for their brothers (4 Macc. 6:28-29, 2 Macc. 7:37-38); the Servant made intercession for the godless (53:12). On the basis of these similarities it might be concluded that the martyrs of the Maccabean books offer an alternative pattern for Rom. 4:25. But the martyrs died because "we suffer for our own sins" (2 Macc. 7:32) as responsible members of the people; the Servant bore only the sins of others (53:6). The martyrs prayed for their brothers against the enemy (2 Macc. 7:38); the Servant prayed for the wicked for whom he suffered (53:12). The martyrs were admired for their patience, bravery, and endurance and were filled with pride at their martyrdom (4 Macc. 1:11); the Servant was scorned and considered nothing (53:3). The martyrs prayed that "with me and my brothers the wrath of the Almighty might come to rest" (2 Macc. 7:38); the Servant went his way because it was God's resolve to obtain the peace of the many through his suffering (53:5,11). The difference between Isaiah 53 and the Maccabean passages favor the former as a pattern for speaking of Jesus' passion.

It may be argued that the verb παραδίδόναι does not occur in the sense of a "handing over" by God or self for the

deliverance of others in the Maccabean books. This is true; the verb does occur a number of times but always in the general Old Testament ways: the handing over of a man for imprisonment with no implication of atoning death involved (2 Macc. 14-31-33), or the handing over of cities or lands (1 Macc. 5:50) or of one's own army to a sub-commander (1 Macc. 3:34). However, the word $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu\alpha\iota$ is used for giving one's life in two instances which might suggest that the martyrs were "handed over" in such a way that they would have given the early church a pattern for viewing and describing Jesus.⁴³ In 1 Macc. 6:44 Eleazar ran through the troops, slaying men on both sides of him, so that he might cut down the elephant of the king. The dead elephant crumbled on top of Eleazar, and the author said that Eleazar had "given himself to save the people." Buechsel says this means he died a martyr's death.⁴⁴ But, as Romaniuk points out,⁴⁵ this death was a glorious martyr's death; the attitude and

⁴³Friedrich Buechsel, $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu\alpha\iota$, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933-) II, 168, cf. English translation by Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-), II, 166. Henceforth the German work will be referred to as TWNT, the English as "English translation."

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Kasimierz Romaniuk, "L' origine des formules pauliniennes 'Le Christ s'est livré pour nous,' 'Le Christ nous a aimés et s'est livré pour nous,'" Novum Testamentum, 5 (1962), 59-60.

purpose in Eleazar's mind were probably as such like those in Jesus' mind as the elephant was like the cross.

The phrase "to give your souls" was part of the command given his sons by Matthias in 1 Macc. 2:50. His last will and testament included the exhortation, "give your souls for the covenant of your fathers." According to Romaniuk,⁴⁶ the spontaneity of the New Testament and its picture of the willing Christ is not to be found in the picture of the martyrs because of the imperative in this passage. More important is the absence of God in the "giving" and the difference in the object for which the brothers are to die, not for the sins of others but for the covenant of our fathers.

There can be no denying that the picture which can be drawn together from the various accounts in the Maccabean books does provide many parallels with the life and death of Jesus. The Maccabean era martyrs gave up their lives and did it for others although only for the people of Israel. But if a literary source served directly or indirectly as a pattern for Rom. 4:25, Isaiah 53 must be preferred to the books of the Maccabees. Isaiah 53 was sacred scripture for the confessor. It uses the verb παραδίδοναι with God as its subject. It presents a compact single literary figure. These factors give the fourth Servant song an edge over the

⁴⁶Ibid., 5, 60.

Maccabean martyrs as the source of this creed's vocabulary and image for expressing faith in Jesus Christ.

The Wisdom of Solomon presents a compact picture of a single righteous man whom the ungodly persecute but who then appears before them to terrify them. Wolff calls it the first actual interpretation of Isaiah 53 extant.⁴⁷ After explaining that this righteous man is called the "child of God" in 2:13,16 and 5:5 because the author of Wisdom misread the Septuagint translation of the "Servant" (παῖς) in the Servant songs, Suggs states:

Wisdom's treatment of the suffering and vindication of "child of God" shows itself on close examination to be a homily based chiefly on Isaiah 52:13-53, with some help from earlier and later passages in the canonical book. This is true of all of Wisdom 2:10--5 except for a gap that extends from 3:15 to 4:13 in which direct dependence upon Isaiah is doubtful.⁴⁸

Again, a long list of comparisons can be drawn up between Wisdom 2-5 and Isaiah 53. The righteous man is called a παῖς in Wisdom 2:13; that word is the Servant's title in 52:13. In Wisdom 2:14 he is "grievous to us even to behold"; the Servant "had no form or comeliness that we should look at him," (53:2). "Patient and meek" was the son of God whose "shameful death" was plotted in Wisdom 2:19-20; the

⁴⁷Wolff, p. 45.

⁴⁸M. Jack Suggs, "Wisdom of Solomon 2:10-5: A Homily Based on the Fourth Servant Song," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXVI (1957), 29.

Servant was also meek in the face of death (53:7-9). The "reckoning" of the onlookers made the lot of the souls of the righteous (a change to the plural) miserable (Wisdom 3:2) and made the lot of the Servant one of toil, affliction, and evil (53:4). The righteous people have been tried by God who received them as a burnt offering (Wisdom 3:6); the Servant was a sin offering, too (53:10). The speechlessness and amazement of the opponents of the righteous man (Wisdom 4:19; 5:2) match the reaction of the observers and the kings to the Servant (52:14,15). The righteous man's enemies had held him in derision (Wisdom 5:3-4) just as the Servant's observers thought of him as despised and rejected (53:3). But in both cases the righteous man and the Servant evoke the confession, "we have gone astray," (Wisdom 5:6; Is. 53:6). Such an interpretation as Wisdom provides, since it was probably close to contemporaneous with the origin of the formula of Rom. 4:25,⁴⁹ must be considered as a possible

⁴⁹Wolff, p. 45, dates it first century B.C.; but Suggs, p. 26, while allowing a date between 200 B.C. and 50 A.D., thinks 40 A.D. is probably close to the date of the origin of Wisdom of Solomon.

Scholars have suggested that the Wisdom of Solomon exerted an important influence on Paul as he composed the book of Romans, cf. Davies, p. 28; Wm. Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), pp. 51-52; and Charles, I, 526-27. The fact that Wisdom does not utilize the concept of "handing over" and that concept is the verbal element which might link Rom. 4:25 to the "Servant" indicates that Wisdom's influence is not direct

source of that formula. However, the verb παραδίδόναι does not occur in Wisdom; the concept of "handing over" into the hands of the wicked men, either by God or by the righteous man himself, does not occur. Wolff also notes the failure of the author of Wisdom to grasp the way the question of guilt was handled in Isaiah 53.⁵⁰ "Solomon" ignored 53:4 and 5 and thus could not bring the righteous and the godless together. He did not understand how or why the Servant could or would want to make whole or heal his persecutors. Rom. 4:25 speaks of Jesus, who knew how to make whole and who did it. It speaks of God "handing over" Jesus for the sins of men. It prefers the Servant of Isaiah 53 to the righteous man of Wisdom as its pattern.

Schweizer builds what might be considered another alternative to Isaiah 53 which must be considered as a possible pattern for Rom. 4:25 on the basis of Wisdom 2-5 and various Old Testament passages.⁵¹ He proposes the figure of a suffering Righteous One which pervaded Old Testament and inter-testamental Jewish thinking. The suffering Righteous One humbles himself or accepts humiliation voluntarily from

here. Furthermore, if Rom. 4:25 is pre-Pauline, the influence of Wisdom on the rest of the book would not say much about this passage.

⁵⁰Wolff, pp. 46-47.

⁵¹Schweizer, pp. 23-30.

God; his righteousness is seen in his lowliness, his suffering, his rejection by the world, and his obedience to God. Nevertheless, in the end he is exalted by God. This is different from the Messiah, whose Lordship is simply being reserved for revelation at the end time; the suffering Righteous One is raised on high by God. Job stands out as an example of the suffering Righteous One, but the major figures of the Old Testament also served God humbly, were allowed to suffer, and were exalted. Schweizer mentions the patriarchs, Moses, Joshua, David, and the prophets. The idea also is presented in Hannah's song (1 Sam. 2:7-8), Prov. 29:23, and Sirach 3:18, for example. The motif of the suffering and exaltation of the Righteous One does run through the literature which shaped the minds of the earliest Christians. Jesus and/or his earliest followers did take the example of the suffering Righteous One and used it to explain what was going to happen or what had happened to the Lord (Psalm 22 in John 19:28). But the key concept of "being handed over" for sin is found in but one of the various pictures of the suffering Righteous men. That is the fourth Servant song. Therefore, Isaiah 53 still asserts itself as the most likely pattern behind Rom. 4:25.

Because the fourth Servant song does depict the suffering of an innocent and obedient one who goes to his death for other men, it does offer a comparison to the events in

the life of Jesus in the last week before his death. Other suggestions of comparisons from the literature or thought of inter-testamental Judaism have been offered by various scholars. However, in none of them is the picture sketched quite as fully, with details coming as close to what the evangelists record about Jesus' passion and death, as in Isaiah 53. Even in the pictures of the martyrs of the Maccabean books and of the righteous man of Wisdom, which in many ways could have given the early church a pattern for viewing the passion of Christ, the concept which summarizes his suffering and death, that of his "being handed over," is missing. If a literary pattern lies behind this word in Rom. 4:25, it is most probably the fourth Servant song.

One alternative lies open; the early church might not have had a literary pattern at all. From its own experience of the events of Holy Week it could have given expression to the meaning of these events in this creedal phrase. But if this is the case, it chose a curious word in παραδίδόναί. In its secular usage this word certainly served as a technical term for a stage in the judicial process, that of handing over for jail or punishment.⁵² Perhaps it even could have encompassed the death of Jesus. But simply as a technical term for the carrying out of Roman justice, it hardly would

⁵²Popkes, p. 97; cf. supra, p. 15.

have been the best term to convey and summarize the significance not only of Jesus' death but also of his humiliation and suffering. That significance is added, however, by placing the term against the background of the description of the suffering and death of the Servant of God in Isaiah 53. The modern scholar perhaps cannot come to a certain conclusion. He cannot positively identify the exact man or men who composed the creedal formula used by Paul; he cannot be sure that Paul did not improvise a creed-like formula for the occasion. He cannot analyze the thinking which went into the formula's composition. But of the possible alternative suggestions for its origin, Isaiah 53 seems most likely to be the pattern standing behind the formula of Rom. 4:25.

The formula is an appendage to the main thought of the sentence of which it is a part. That sentence states that faith is "reckoned" to those who believe in the one who raised Jesus from the dead. The mention of the name Jesus calls forth an expression of faith in his Lord from Paul. Much in the fashion of hosts of his successors among the proclaimers of the message of Christ, Paul's mind had readily at hand capsule formulas from Scripture or creed or liturgy. It was probably one of these Paul used to complete the sentence which would have been incomplete for him without a reminder of the death and resurrection of Jesus the Lord.

In addition, this conclusion to chapter 4, the discussion of faith in God, provides a transition to chapter 5, opening words on the result of faith. The idea of "justification" the result of Christ's resurrection, in the creedal formula opens chapter five: "Justified then by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." Again, it is difficult to read Paul's mind from this vantage point, but the creedal formula appears to be more than just a transition device. It seems to be the kind of natural, almost sub-consciously held, expression of faith which sums up a basic conviction. It could have been the outpouring of Paul's living faith, which followed, almost without planned thought, at the mention of his Lord's name. Even if this is so, Paul need not have been fully aware of the significance of its background in Isaiah 53--although in view of his rabbinic knowledge of the Scripture and his apostolic knowledge of the early church, it would have been strange if he was not.

1 Corinthians 15:3b-5

3. For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, 4. that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve.

The question of the origin of this pericope is even more settled than that of Rom. 4:25; today it is universally recognized as a pre-Pauline confession of faith. Paul implies this in verse 11, at the end of his own expansion of the confession, "so we preach and so you believed," in other words, "this is a summary of our preaching and your faith." He says explicitly that this expression of kerygma and belief did not issue from his own head in verse 3. The words "deliver" (παραδιδόναι) and "receive" (παραλαμβάνειν) were taken from the technical terminology of Judaism. Halachic tradition was "received" for an elder and "delivered" to a disciple. Because the essence of tradition is that it forms a chain, these verbs occur together in a combination of principal and subordinate clauses, according to Cullmann, as Paul uses them in 1 Cor. 15:5a.⁵³ The conjunction ὅτι serves as quotation marks, setting off the individual members of the confession as quoted material.⁵⁴ The creed is thus balanced as follows:

that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the
 Scriptures,
 that he was buried,
 that he was raised on the third day in accordance
 with the Scriptures,
 that he appeared . . .

⁵³Oscar Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, translated by J. K. S. Reid (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949), p. 63; Strack and Billerbeck, I, 444.

⁵⁴BDF, section 470 (1).

Furthermore, Jeremias lists six words or phrases which are not in accord with regular Pauline usage.⁵⁵ The phrase "for our sins" uses the plural of "sin" with the personal possessive; except in quotations from the Old Testament or where he is speaking under the influence of the early church (as here), Paul uses sin in the singular and absolutely, viewing it as an absolute power. This passage substitutes "according to the Scriptures" for Paul's usual "it is written." In the entire Pauline corpus the perfect passive, "he was raised" is used only in 2 Tim. 2:8 and in this chapter, under the influence of the confession which stands at its beginning. Paul never elsewhere used an ordinal number after a noun as does the phrase "on the third day" here. The form "appeared" occurs only here and in the confessional formula in 1 Tim. 3:16 in the Pauline corpus. Paul usually uses the term "apostles" rather than "the twelve." Finally, as Seeberg observes, the full details given in verses 3 to 5 are not necessary for Paul's argument which follows; their presence can be accounted for only if they could not be separated from the whole of a pre-formulated statement.⁵⁶

⁵⁵Joachim Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, translated by Norman Perrin (London: SCM Press, 1966), pp. 101-2.

⁵⁶Alfred Seeberg, Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit (München: Ch. Kaiser Verlag, 1966), p. 51.

Jeremias gives seven reasons why he believes that this confession was first voiced by the primitive church of Palestine.⁵⁷ Although the phrases "in accordance with the Scriptures" and the passive "he was raised" have no Aramaic or Hebrew equivalents, ruling out a direct Pauline translation of the creed, the following factors support its Semitic origin. Its structure exhibits synthetic parallelism of members like Hebrew psalmody. It generally lacks particles except καί but uses an adversative καί at the beginning of the third member. It places the ordinal number after the noun in "the third day." It uses ἔφθη instead of the more natural ἐφάνη because its Hebrew or Aramaic equivalents have double meaning "was seen" and "appeared." It introduces the logical subject, Cephas, in the dative rather than with ὑπό and the genitive. Since Jeremias presumes that Isaiah 53 influenced the construction of the creedal formula at hand, he also argues that its Semitic origin is to be seen in its failure to use the Septuagint terminology of the fourth Servant song in its Greek version. Hunter adds three suggestions in connection with the contention of Semitic origin for this creed.⁵⁸ His first argument, that the Aramaic form of Peter's name points to Semitic origin, is weak, for Paul

⁵⁷Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, pp. 102-3.

⁵⁸Hunter, p. 117.

typically uses Cephas instead of Peter (1 Cor. 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; Gal. 1:18; 2:9,11,14). He also argues that in verse 11 Paul claims that this confession expresses the faith of the apostles from Jerusalem. From the mention of James and Cephas (15:5,7) Hunter further conjectures that Paul may have received this very confessional formula from those two on his visit to Jerusalem mentioned in Gal. 1:18. That must be left in the realm of conjecture. Nonetheless, in spite of objections,⁵⁹ Jeremias' case for the Semitic origin of this confession does seem probable.

The exact limit of the confession is in dispute. Lohmeyer excises what is here regarded as the last phrase, "and that he appeared," with what follows, from the creed.⁶⁰ Bammel states that neither the structure nor the theological intention support the inclusion of "Cephas, then to the twelve," and what follows in the formulation.⁶¹ Seeberg

⁵⁹Ernst Lichtenstein, "Die älteste christliche Glaubensformel," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, LXIII (1950-51), 6, identified it as Hellenistic; Hans Conzelmann, "Zur Analyse der Bekenntnisformel I Kor. 15, 3-5," Evangelische Theologie, 25 (1965), 15, attacks Jeremias at every point; Jeremias answers him in "Artikelloses $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ zur Ursprache von I Cor. 15:3b-5," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche, 57 (1966), 314.

⁶⁰Ernst Lohmeyer, Gottesknecht und Davidsohn (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1953), p. 39.

⁶¹Ernst Bammel, "Herkunft und Funktion der Traditionselemente in I Kor. 15, 1-11," Theologische Zeitschrift (Basel), XI (1955), 6, 403-4.

points to the break in construction after "the twelve." Verse 6 begins with "then" (ἐπειτα) and is no longer dependent upon the foregoing "that" because it is obvious that Paul's comment on the five hundred brethren was not part of a standard confession.⁶² If Lohmeyer's excision is performed, the balance of the confession is destroyed. "Died for our sins according to the Scriptures / buried" expects something more in reply than just "raised on the third day according to the Scriptures /." The introductory "that" before "appeared" also places it within the formula. Because the list of those to whom Jesus appeared strings out too long to be included in a succinct confession, the limit of the confession should be placed no later than "the twelve." But since Cephas is not only an Aramaic form but also a Pauline expression and since a confessional statement might be expected to express a more general and complete object for Christ's appearances than just "Peter and the twelve," Bammel is probably correct. The confession may have ended with a general object which Paul made more specific, giving examples to bolster what would be his argument concerning the resurrection of Christ (verse 17). More likely, in view of the one word parallel phrase "ἐτάφη (he was buried)," the final phrase of the formula was simply "ἔφθη (he appeared)," a

⁶²Seeberg, p. 50.

verbal summary of the activity which resulted from his resurrection. The absolute use of the verbal form is found in Rev. 11:19 and 13:1,3; its participle occurs in Luke 9:31 without express mention of those to whom Moses and Elijah appeared.

Each of the four members of the confession has some possible allusion to Isaiah 53. This association is strengthened because the confession itself asserts that what is confessed happened "according to the Scriptures." Although "Scriptures" is in the plural, Jeremias states that it need not refer to more than one passage; for the Greek plural goes back to a similar Aramaic term which is just another expression for "the Bible" as in English today.⁶³ On this basis Jeremias insists that the phrase "died for our sins" refers to Isaiah 53, for it is the only chapter in the Old Testament that contains a statement which corresponds to it.⁶⁴ Lohse, too, cites Is. 53:4,5,6,8,11,12 for possible background to the phrase in 1 Corinthians 15.⁶⁵ Especially

⁶³Joachim Jeremias, The Central Message of the New Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), p. 40; cf. Gottlob Schrenck, ῥάφω, TWNT, I, 751-52; English translation, I, 752.

⁶⁴Jeremias, The Central Message of the New Testament, p. 39.

⁶⁵Edward Lohse, Märtyrer und Gottesknecht. Untersuchungen zur Urchristlichen Verkündigung vom Söhntod Jesu Christi (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1963), p. 114; cf.

verses 8 and 12 speak of the death of the Servant: "(8): . . . he was cut off out of the land of the living, stricken for the transgression of my people. . . . (12): he poured out his soul to death . . . yet he bore the sin of many. . . ." The phrase as it stands is not taken verbally from the Septuagint reading of Isaiah 53. The confession's word for sin, ἀμαρτία, does occur eight times in Isaiah 53, but the verb "die (ἀποθνήσκειν)" does not occur at all, and neither does the preposition ὑπέρ. The concept of the Servant's death is prominent, however, in the fourth Servant song, and so is the idea of representation or substitution expressed with the preposition. According to discussions of ὑπέρ and of its synonyms which do occur in Isaiah 53, περί and ἀντί, the difference between the words, especially ὑπέρ and ἀντί, diminished in Hellenistic Greek.⁶⁶ Thus, the phrase speaks in the general terms of Isaiah 53. Its exact wording need not come from the Septuagint since the confession is probably of Semitic origin.

Stauffer, Appendix I, "The Principal Elements of the Old Biblical Theology of Martyrdom (Chief passages and proof texts)"; under "G. Expiatory Suffering" only Isaiah 53 from canonical Scriptures is mentioned (p. 334).

⁶⁶Liddell-Scott, pp. 153, 1366, 1857-58; cf. James Hope Moulton and George Milligan, The Vocabulary of Greek Testament, Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1952), pp. 46, 504, 651-52; BDF, section 229, (1); Harold Riesenfeld, περί, TWNT, VI, 54-55.

The second member of the formula confesses that "he was buried." Goppelt attributes this phrase to an early Christian belief that held Jesus' burial to be "according to the Scriptures" even though the confession does not specifically say so. He suggests Is. 53:9, "and they made his grave with the wicked, with a rich man in his death," as a possible reference.⁶⁷ Lohse also states that Is. 53:9 gave the early confessors reason to include the burial of Christ as part of the plan of God although he notes another reason, too. Burial was a necessary prerequisite for resurrection, which for the Jews had become a necessary sign that a death did work atonement. At the end of the second century A.D., according to Lohse, a rabbi commented on Ezek. 37:12 in this way: "I could believe that the day of death did not atone. Because it says, 'When I open your graves (Ezek. 37:12),' behold, so you learn that the day of death does atone."⁶⁸

The presence of a glimmer of the concept of resurrection in Isaiah 53 has been discussed above.⁶⁹ The confession's third member states the church's belief that "he was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures." Except for

⁶⁷L. Goppelt, Typos: die Typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966), p. 123.

⁶⁸Lohse, p. 115.

⁶⁹Supra, pp. 18-21.

Matt. 12:40's allusion to Jonah 1:17, "Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights," the New Testament does not record any attempts of the early church to relate specific Scripture passages to its belief that the third day was the prophesied day of resurrection. Hosea 6:2 has been suggested as another passage early theologians might have used, but no evidence says that they did. But as Ellis notes,⁷⁰ this confessional reference may intend to speak only of the doctrine of the resurrection in general, including "on the third day" simply because it recites a particular fact which did take place in the fulfillment of this Scriptural prophetic line of thought. Other passages (Ps. 2:1-2; 16:8-10; 110:1; 118:22) are mentioned in the sermons of Acts as part of the early Christian presentation of the Old Testament prophecy concerning the resurrection. Because the resurrection and its connection with Scripture here are associated with the scriptural confession in Christ's death for our sins and his burial, both of which could have found an Old Testament pattern in Isaiah 53, the early confessors may have turned to that same chapter to show a Jewish inquirer where God had laid out his plan for one to die, be buried, and return to life as well.

⁷⁰E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 37.

Finally, the creed of 1 Corinthians 15 states that "he appeared." The appearance of the exalted Servant was to startle the kings and astonish the many (Is. 52:13-15). They were to see and understand what they had not heard or been told, presumably when they looked upon the exaltation of the one who had been marred, the Servant in his suffering. The appearance of the triumphant Servant is hardly more than hinted at. The appearance motif in the fourth Servant song is not evident enough to have suggested such a motif to someone who was creating a figure from that song. But given the events which followed Christ's resurrection, the early church might well have seen the plan or pattern of God for Jesus, also in his post-Easter appearances, in the same chapter in which they could see the plan for his death, burial, and possibly even his resurrection. Thus, the confession's reference to the Scriptures points to a unity in the credal formula based upon Isaiah 53. This chapter could have been taken by the early Christians as a basis for presenting the facts of the death of their Lord and its sequel as they experienced it.

"If that is so, why is there not fuller reference to the suffering of Christ since Isaiah 53 is so full of descriptions of suffering?" is a question which cannot be satisfactorily answered from the twentieth century vantage point. This may only be a sign that Isaiah 53 was subordinated to

the theological viewpoint of the early confessors and did not master it.

There are other objections to the association of 1 Cor. 15:3-5 with the fourth Servant song for which attempts at answers at least have been provided.

The phrase "according to the Scriptures" leaves open a number of alternatives; they are not even limited by the canon of the Old Testament. Bussmann suggests that 1 Cor. 15:3-5 argues for the existence of a written passion and resurrection story before the writing of this epistle.⁷¹ The lack of time for such a written account and the lack of evidence remaining for it argue against his theory.

More formidable is the argument of Hering. He conjectures a three stage evolution of the early church's use of scriptural proof for the death of its Lord. First, early Christians presented the death of Christ, so scandalous in Jewish eyes, simply as "the plan of God." Secondly, they came to the conviction that it must be in accordance with the Old Testament in general. Finally, they attempted, in a groping way, to find precise passages from the Old Testament to bolster their claim. Hering contends that the confession of 1 Cor. 15:3-5 comes from the second stage and that its phrase "according to

⁷¹Bussmann's Synoptische Studien, iii (1931), 180-91, as reported in Vincent Taylor, The Formulation of the Gospel Tradition (London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1935), pp. 48-49.

the Scriptures" refers to nothing more than the Old Testament in general. He believes that the sermons of Acts demonstrate that the early church did not connect Isaiah 53 with the death of Jesus even though Peter (Acts 3:13) did use the chapter in connection with the exaltation of Jesus.⁷²

But Acts 3:13 and 8:26-28 show that the early church was using Isaiah 53 in its presentation of Jesus as the object of its faith to Jews and proselytes. It is strange, if the church felt the scandalous nature of Christ's death as keenly as Hering intimates already in his first stage, that the early confessors ignored the larger part of the fourth Servant song while they used its introduction. Hering overlooks Acts 8:26-28, the story of Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch, in which the Ethiopian asks about and Philip talks about a portion of Isaiah 53 (verses 7 and 8) which mention both the suffering and the death of the Servant. This pericope actually says no more than that the church on one occasion was confronted with and used the fourth Servant song in its evangelistic outreach. This pericope was probably included in Acts because it concerned a proselyte, the Ethiopian, not because it used Isaiah 53. Yet its inclusion, its somewhat

⁷²Jean Hering, The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, translated by A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock (London: The Epworth Press, 1962), p. 159; cf. Hooker, p. 110.

lengthy quotation, does suggest that the passage was used by the early preacher of the Gospel to talk about Christ.

Furthermore, the function of a confession and its involvement in people's lives is overlooked by Hering's theory that the phrase "according to the Scriptures" dates from an unsubstantiated stage in early Christian thought which attributed the necessity of Christ's death to the Old Testament in general. A confession functions as a means of edification and of apology. The apologetic use of a confession which asserts "according to the Scriptures" immediately invites the question, "According to what Scriptures, Sir?" The Christian who confessed this creed outside the friendly circle of fellow believers had to have a ready answer for the obvious rejoinder, "Prove it!" He did not have to get all his proof from one chapter although it is not impossible that he would have wanted to look at one overall prophetic description of the events at the basis of his faith. As long as the Christian had decided to contend on the field of Old Testament patterns, he must have found it difficult to draw the lines of battle on just those parts of his confession he found easy to defend in the Scriptures. He may have specifically said only "died" and "raised" in connection with "according to the Scriptures," but once engaged in discussion with a Jew, he could hardly have said that "buried" and "appeared" did not happen to be in God's

written prophetic program for his Lord. A few discussions like that would have led to the discarding of that particular confessional way of saying it long before Paul would have reminded the Corinthians that this was the center of their faith. Because of this several other arguments against a connection between 1 Cor. 15:3-5 and Isaiah 53 become less than convincing.

Hooker⁷³ tries to remove Isaiah 53 from the background of this formula first of all by removing the phrase "for your sins" from the original creed. She perhaps believes that "died for your sins" might suggest Isaiah 53 in the background. So she argues that "for your sins" is a typically Pauline introduction even though she acknowledges that the plural "sins" is not typically Pauline. She also ignores the violence done to the rhythm of confession by her extraction although that rhythm may be of more importance to the modern student than it was to the early confessors. But to bolster her conclusion she examines the speeches of Acts for a sample of the way the early Christians thought about the relationship between the death of Jesus and the forgiveness of sins. After outlining Paul's sermon in Acts 13:26-41 and Peter's two in Acts 2:22-29 and 3:12-21, she observes that the death of Christ is presented toward the beginning of the

⁷³Hooker, pp. 117-20.

sermons but that forgiveness is not mentioned until the end, quite apart from any association with the death of Jesus.

So she concludes,

In view of the significant fact that ὑπερ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν is the one phrase in the Corinthian summary which is not supported by these three passages in Acts, it is impossible to take these words as evidence that the tradition which Paul received included the statement that this purpose, or result, of Christ's death was foretold in scripture. Indeed, it seems more probable that the association made between the death and the forgiveness of sins was due to the particular significance which Paul himself attached to the events of the Passion.⁷⁴

If the original creed did not have "for your sins" and Paul felt compelled to add it in connection with the death of his Lord, this could be taken as an indication that Paul personally viewed the death of Jesus in the light of Isaiah 53.

But Pauline usage of the word for "sin" as well as the rhythm of the confession demonstrates that Hooker's theory about the origin of the phrase is faulty. So is her conclusion drawn from the early Christian witness as it is presented in Acts. For she fails to take into account the difference between confession and sermon. The structure of a confession demands the compact association found in 1 Cor. 15:3. But the structure of the sermons in Acts combines accusation and appeal with the recital of the facts of faith. The facts and the accusation begin the sermon; the

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 119.

appeal draws conclusions from the former. After the sermons tell of the death of Jesus at the hands of the Jews and his subsequent resurrection, they appeal for repentance and promise forgiveness. Hooker's observations seem to be shaped more by the pressure of scholarly desire than the logic of scholarly study.

Hooker also attributes the mention of burial to the fact that it is a necessary stage between death and resurrection,⁷⁵ a position supported by Kelly.⁷⁶ Whether this answer would have been sufficient for an opponent in discussion cannot be determined, but it seems probable that the early Christian had some passage in mind to justify his Lord's burial.⁷⁷ The argument for the Isaianic background of the confession in 1 Corinthians 15 rests mainly on its first member; the connection of its third and fourth members with Isaiah 53 is particularly vulnerable to attack. No one would suggest without the first member that the resurrection of Jesus Christ and his subsequent appearance might find a pattern for presentation or a prophecy in Isaiah 53. But

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 120.

⁷⁶J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1960), p. 151. He cites Justin (Dial. 97:118) and Cyril of Jerusalem (Cat. 13:34; 14:3) as suggesting Is. 53:9 and 57:2 as the prophecies of Jesus' burial.

⁷⁷Supra. p. 58.

since they are mentioned in this creed with the invitation to the inquiry, "according to what Scriptures," the possibility cannot be disregarded that the early Christians were ready to point to Isaiah 53 for scriptural background to the whole creedal formula.

Rom. 4:25 did not demand scriptural background; 1 Cor. 15:3-5 does. But since it specifically refers to no particular passage, the modern student is left guessing what passage or passages the early confessors had in mind. The New Testament does suggest some passages, chiefly from the Psalms, as pattern and prophecy for its understanding and proclamation of both the death and resurrection of Jesus. The possibility exists that the church used still others which would never occur to modern readers of the Old Testament, so far removed are they from the New Testament era understanding or use of the Old Testament. The events of the life of Jesus, especially those of the several weeks both sides of his death, shaped the faith of the earliest Christians. What happened in the actual experience of his disciples is primarily responsible for what was said about Jesus. But in their expression of this faith and their retelling of this experience these disciples used their Scriptures. They admit this in the confession under study, and account must be made for the passages from those Scriptures upon which they drew for prophecy of event and pattern

of proclamation. Isaiah 53 cannot be demonstrated as the only passage they had in mind by any means; it cannot be assuredly shown that it was one of the passages relied upon by the earliest Christians. But it does recommend itself highly.

In the structure of 1 Corinthians 15, the creedal formula of verses 3-5 serves as an introduction to Paul's discussion of certain problems the Corinthians evidently had in contemplating the resurrection of believers. But for a picture of the whole of Paul's thought, these three verses take on an importance far beyond that of a mere introduction. The reason this confession can be used as an introduction to a discussion of the resurrection of believers is that it contains the very kernel of Christian belief. This confession is for the rabbi Paul the equivalent of the sacred tradition of the fathers handed down from one rabbi to another, for he uses such rabbinic terminology in verse 3.⁷⁸ More important than that, this confession is, according to Paul, the terms in which he preached "the gospel . . . by which you are saved" in verses 1 and 2. This confession summarizes the essence of Paul's preaching. He must have used the confession as a basic outline for his presentation of the Gospel. He must have regarded belief in its message necessary for a saving

⁷⁸Supra, p. 46.

faith in Christ. He can hardly have paid little attention to what the confession referred to when it said, "according to the Scriptures." If Isaiah 53 does form even part of the background of the creedal formula of 1 Cor. 15:3-5, Paul must have been aware of it and of its importance in the message of the Gospel.

1 Corinthians 11:23

23. For I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was *handed over* took bread, 24. and when he had given thanks, he broke it, and said, "This is my body which is for you. Do this in remembrance of me."

This passage is set off by a description like that of 1 Cor. 15:3-5. Paul indicates that the recital of the last supper was material passed down by tradition; he had "received" and "delivered" it in the same manner as the Jewish rabbis received sacred tradition from their masters and delivered it to their disciples.⁷⁹ Paul's statement that he received what follows "from the Lord" uses the preposition ἀπό, which does not rule out direct communication from the Lord but probably indicates indirect communication since the preposition παρά usually indicates direct communication.⁸⁰

⁷⁹Supra, p. 46.

⁸⁰Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1914), p. 242; cf. Gal. 1:12; 1 Thess. 2:13; 4:1.

Cullmann discounts the difference in usage between the two Greek prepositions but interprets the phrase "from the Lord" as referring to the exalted Lord. He says that Paul believed "that the exalted Christ himself stands as transmitter behind the apostles who transmit his words and work."⁸¹ Jeremias bolsters the argument for the pre-Pauline origin of the passage by pointing out that its vocabulary and syntax show ten divergences from normal Pauline usage.⁸² There is little doubt that the presentation of the Lord's Supper narrative in 1 Corinthians 11 is pre-Pauline.

The suggested influence of Isaiah 53 upon this passage again lies in the verb "handed over," παραδιδόναι. Robertson and Plummer argue that this verb should be translated in line with an understanding of the verb as denoting more than the betrayal of Judas. Its imperfect tense, according to them, indicates that the delivery of Jesus to his enemies was already in progress during the Lord's Supper and that this included not just the action of Judas but also that of the Father's surrender of his Son and possibly the Son's sacrifice of himself.⁸³ The traditional translation "betrayed"

⁸¹Oscar Cullmann, The Early Church. Studies in Early Christian History and Theology, edited by A. J. B. Higgins, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), pp. 67-69.

⁸²Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, p. 104.

⁸³Robertson and Plummer, p. 243.

does give a somewhat limited description of Maundy Thursday evening; especially in view of the imperfect tense a broader understanding of the verb seems more likely. Popkes weighs the alternatives that the verb is an historical reminiscence of Judas' action or a theological term concerning the action of God which might have its background in Isaiah 53 among other motifs. He decides that a certain conclusion cannot be determined; the passage is for him a statement sui generis, a combination of theology and history which eludes precise analysis.⁸⁴ The arguments for Isaiah 53's standing behind the concept of "handing over" in this text, if that is the concept denoted by the verb, are the same as those offered in the discussion of Rom. 4:25 above. The evidence does not give the modern student enough material to decide whether the influence of Isaiah 53 is present or not.

The particular words which possibly come from Isaiah 53 are in the middle of a liturgical formulation which was drawn up for the purpose of conveying the institution of the Lord's Supper. Paul used this formulation in a discussion of the Lord's Supper; he did not use the formulation with any particular reference to the one word which might point to Isaiah 53. Thus, this passage indicates nothing about Paul's own use of the image of the suffering Servant.

⁸⁴Popkes, pp. 207-8.

Romans 8:32-34

32. He who did not spare his own Son but *handed him over* for us all, will he not also give us all things with him? 33. Who shall bring any charge against God's elect? It is God who justifies; 34. who is to condemn. Is it Christ Jesus, who died, yes, who was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who indeed intercedes for us?

There is no indication whatsoever that this passage is pre-Pauline in origin. In all the Pauline corpus, Popkes notes, only in Rom. 8:32 has Paul himself shaped the context in which the concept of the handing over of Christ is used.⁸⁵

The first item which suggests that Isaiah 53 may have influenced Paul's vocabulary and thought in Rom. 8:32-34 is the verb παραδιδόναι. Hahn states that when this verb is used with God as the subject, it recalls Isaiah 53,⁸⁶ (see also the discussion of the verb on pages 14-16 above). With the verb here (8:32; verse 31) goes the prepositional phrase "for us all" which conveys the concept of the purpose of the Servant's suffering as depicted through verses 3-12 (see discussion on pages 52-54 above). Since only one verb summarizes all that Christ did "for our sins," the meaning which παραδιδόναι contracts in Isaiah 53, a "handing over" which

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 275.

⁸⁶Ferdinand Hahn, Christologische Hoheitstitel; ihre Geschichte im frühen Christentum (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1963), p. 62; so also Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Römer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1955), p. 184.

includes suffering and death, is particularly apt here. Jeremias bolsters the case for the influence of Isaiah 53 upon this passage. He points out that the closing phrase of the chapter in the Massoretic text speaks of the Servant's interceding for the transgressors, so he posits the influence of this phrase upon Rom. 8:34 which speaks of Jesus Christ as intercessor "for us."⁸⁷ The Hebrew word יָבַח, "intercede," of Isaiah 53 occurs seldom in this sense outside the chapter; Paul's word ἐντυγχάνειν is also rare in the Septuagint (and is not used in Isaiah 53). This verse also recalls the death, resurrection, and exaltation of Christ; the death and exaltation of the Servant, with details of his suffering, make up the story of the fourth Servant song. Finally, the questions of verses 33-34, "Who shall bring any charge against God's elect? It is God who justifies; who is to condemn?" are similar to a passage from the context of the Servant songs, Is. 50:7-9:

For the Lord God helps me; therefore I have not been confounded . . . he who vindicates me is near. Who will contend with me? Let us stand up together. Who is my adversary? Let him come near to me. Behold, the Lord God helps me; who will declare me guilty?

The similarity between the passages does not definitely prove the influence of the older, and Paul's familiarity with the Scriptures as a rabbi could have been the source of the idea

⁸⁷Zimmerli and Jeremias, p. 89.

which sparked Paul's structuring of these verses in Romans. But how closely connected Isaiah 50 and Isaiah 53 were in the mind of Paul cannot be determined.⁸⁸ Because of this, it is difficult to determine whether the influence of Isaiah 50 upon the passage under study constitutes evidence for the influence of Isaiah 53 on the passage.

The case for the influence of Isaiah 53 upon Rom. 8:32-34 has too little direct evidence behind it to go unchallenged. Christian exegetes have seen the influence of Genesis 22, the story of the sacrifice of Isaac, behind this passage.⁸⁹ The basis of this connection is the word *πειδέσθαι*, "to spare." Just as Abraham did not spare his son (Gen. 22:16), so God did not spare his Son, Paul argues here. Romaniuk discusses the inter-testamental Jewish conception of Isaac and Abraham's offering of him. Paul's contemporaries believed that the sacrifice of Isaac had taken place at the exact spot where the temple was later built. The Palestinian Targum states that God remits sins on account of the bonds of Isaac. The

⁸⁸The insights of modern Old Testament scholarship into the relationship of what are called the "Servant songs" in Isaiah 42, 49, 50, and 52-53 were probably unknown to Paul. North, p. 20, indicates that Bernhard Duhm was the first to separate these four "songs" from their context; he published his findings in his Isaiah commentary on 1892.

⁸⁹Cf. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, p. 292; Michel, p. 184; Hans Wilhelm Schmidt, Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1962), p. 153.

author of the book of Jubilees asserts that the sacrifice took place on the day on which the Passover was celebrated, the fifteenth day of Nisan. The Jews always presented Isaac's experience on Mount Moriah as expiatory obedience.⁹⁰ But Romaniuk also regards Isaiah 53 as important background material for Rom. 8:32-34. He believes that the handing over of Christ for us echoes Is. 53:6,12.⁹¹ The final phrase from the Massoretic text of verse 12 does state that the Servant intercedes for transgressors, and Paul, who knew both the Hebrew and the Greek versions of the Old Testament, could have used the Greek word for the concept of "handing over" while still taking the concept of the Servant's intercession from the Massoretic text. But the structure of Paul's presentation in Romans 8 does not indicate any direct connection with Isaiah 53. Even though the words in Isaiah and in Romans for intercession are rare, the Old Testament pictures Abraham (Gen. 18:22-24), Moses (Ex. 5:22-23), and David (2 Sam. 12:16-18) as intercessors. If Old Testament thought does stand behind Romans 8, any of these could have served as a pattern for Paul's thought since two different Old Testament figures, the Servant and Abraham, may be already

⁹⁰Kasimierz Romaniuk, "De Themate Ebed Jahve in Soteriologica Sancti Pauli," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXIII, 1 (January 1961), 15; cf. Moore, I, 540.

⁹¹Romaniuk, "De Themate Ebed Jahve in Soteriologica Sancti Pauli," p. 15.

present. Furthermore, Paul may have been expressing his belief about the risen Christ's activity without any Old Testament background at all. Hooker argues against the importance of Is. 50:7-9 for determining the issue by pointing out that in Isaiah 50 the Servant is speaking whereas in Romans 8 the believer is speaking (and is speaking about the Servant, if he is to be equated with Jesus Christ).⁹² This may have been more evident or important to Miss Hooker than to Paul. He may have regarded the difference as unimportant as long as he had an Old Testament pattern from which to take a structure for his thought. The greater objection to using the suggested similarity between Isaiah 50 and Rom. 8:32-34 as an argument for the influence of Isaiah 53 upon the passage is the question whether Paul regarded them as part of the same unit.

Even if the sacrifice of Isaac was in Paul's mind when he chose the concept of the Father's not sparing the Son, he was certainly capable of combining the image of Abraham with a concept drawn from the fourth Servant song. Because of the difficulty of determining whether Isaiah 50 and Isaiah 53 were regarded by Paul as part of the same unit, the suggested connection between the former and Romans 8 cannot decisively affect this argument. The common thought of intercession is

⁹²Hooker, p. 123.

not used in such a way in Romans 8 that a relationship between the two passages must certainly be concluded. Therefore, a pervading influence of Isaiah 53 can hardly be said to be present in Rom. 8:32-34. However, the use of the verb "hand over" with God as its subject as a summary for the work of Christ may indicate that Paul had as part of his own working vocabulary this concept from Isaiah 53.

The importance of this passage for determining the place of Isaiah 53 in the theology of Paul cannot be underestimated. For Rom. 8:32-34 is certainly not pre-Pauline. If Paul's use of the concept of "handing over" does stem from Isaiah 53 here, this means that Paul was capable of using the concept in his own way as well as taking it over from the church's creedal or liturgical formulations. It is unlikely that the rabbi Paul could have taken such a key concept from other Christians without being aware of its biblical source. If the fourth Servant song does indeed stand behind Rom. 8:32-34, then Paul has put the image of the Servant to work in a series of rhetorical questions which recall the love of God as it was shown to men by Christ. Although only one among many,⁹³ the image of the Servant finds its place among the images Paul had for the expression of the significance of the passion of Jesus Christ.

⁹³Cf. Popkes, p. 276.

Galatians 1:4

3. Grace to you and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, 4. who gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age, according to the will of our God and Father.

The phrase "who gave himself for our sins to deliver us from this present evil age" sounds like a catechetical formula to Kelly.⁹⁴ According to at least two of Stauffer's criteria for creedal formulas, Gal. 1:4 may contain a confessional statement, for it is a relative clause and does express the elementary truth of salvation.⁹⁵ Such an expression cannot have been beyond the capability of Paul, but at least the possibility that he was quoting an established confessional phrase here must be maintained.

Schlief states his belief that Gal. 1:4 is parallel to the several Pauline passages he identifies as derived from Isaiah 53, but he does not detail his case for this identification.⁹⁶ The case must rest upon the equivalence of the two verbs παραδιδόναι and δίδόναι. Buechsel states that the latter verb, the one used in Gal. 1:4, recalls the death of the martyrs among the Jews as in 1 Macc. 6:44.⁹⁷ But the

⁹⁴Kelly, p. 18.

⁹⁵Stauffer, p. 338, criteria 11 and 12.

⁹⁶Heinrich Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1965), p. 32.

⁹⁷Buechsel, TWNT, II, 168; English translation, p. 166.

basic verbal root, combined with the same essential meaning, make the equivalence of the two a possibility. Wolff suggests that $\delta\iota\delta\acute{o}\nu\alpha\iota$ is an adequate translation of the Hebrew verb עָרָה in Is. 53:12, "he gave (or poured out) his soul to death."⁹⁸ Furthermore, Christ is confessed as the one who gave himself "for sin," recalling a theme from Isaiah 53. Christ also is said to have "given himself" in 1 Tim. 2:6 where other marks of association with Isaiah 53 are present. The Hebrew of Is. 53:12 states that the Servant himself did abandon his soul to death. God is speaking in the first person in this verse, and the third person singular of the Hiphil of the verb עָרָה then indicates that God is describing the Servant when he states that "he abandoned his soul to death." The Septuagint ambiguously translates this "his soul was handed over unto death," implying that God did the handing over. But Paul's use of Septuagint influenced vocabulary does not rule out his use of the idea expressed in the Massoretic text. Since Wolff correctly asserts that the Hebrew Hiphil עָרָה is translated precisely by $\delta\iota\delta\acute{o}\nu\alpha\iota$,⁹⁹ this verse must be included among those which may indicate that Paul viewed Isaiah 53 as a prophecy of his Lord's giving of himself and a pattern for expressing faith in this act of

⁹⁸Wolff, p. 62.

⁹⁹Ibid.

giving and its subject. But certain proof is lacking for connecting Gal. 1:4 and Isaiah 53. Paul might have used common martyr words from everyday language without any thought to the suffering Servant when he described the work of Christ here.

If this passage does reflect the image of the Servant, Paul is using the reflection to summarize the work of Christ and to give the background of the ensuing discussion of the effect of his work in chapters 3 and 4. Even if he did snatch a creedal or catechetical form of expression, Paul put it to use in a key part of his epistle to the Galatians and used it to express the heart of his theology.

Galatians 2:20

I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and *handed himself over* for me.

The same arguments which affected the discussion of the pre-Pauline origin of Gal. 1:4 can be offered for this passage. The final phrase of this verse is a relative clause which expresses the central saving event. Furthermore, the combination of the love of Christ and of his handing over of himself occurs also in Eph. 5:2 and 5:25 (and in a slightly altered form in Rom. 5:8); another of Stauffer's criteria for creedal formulas is that they are repeated in quite

different passages.¹⁰⁰ But Paul may have invented this catchy sounding phrase which he repeated and re-used as the occasion called for it.

The argument for the influence of the image of the suffering Servant of God upon this passage must run like that for its influence on Gal. 1:4. However, here the verb παραδίδοναι is present, linking this verse more closely to Isaiah 53. Jesus Christ is the subject of the verb, as the Servant is in 53:12. The idea of the preposition "for" could come from Isaiah 53 even if its object "me" is never so individualized by those who observed the Servant suffer in the Old Testament. This passage, too, may have been shaped by the image of the Servant, whose suffering and death are summed up in Isaiah 53 in the verb παραδίδοναι. But again the allusion to the Scriptures is faint since it is based on just this single word whose use here, as a summary of the passion of Christ, is that of the Septuagint version of Isaiah 53.

Whether Paul invented or borrowed the phrase "who loved us and handed himself over for us" makes little difference. Either way he was using the phrase to summarize the faith which determined his way of life, to express what the object of his faith, the Son of God, had done for him. Paul here

¹⁰⁰Stauffer, p. 338, criteria 11 and 12, plus 5.

relates the handing over of Christ to his new way of life in Christ by presenting Christ's handing over of himself as the most important thing about the Son of God in whom he now lives. If Isaiah 53 has influenced the phrase he uses, its image of the Servant has shaped the very center of Paul's faith and the basis of his life.

Ephesians 5:2,25

2. Walk in love, as Christ loved us and *handed himself over* for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God.

25. Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the Church and *handed himself over* for it.

These two verses, practically identical and used in similar contexts, will be considered together. The combination of the ideas of love and the handing over of Christ echo Gal. 2:20, and because of this, both verses may draw upon a confessional formula.¹⁰¹ But again, the slight variation in wording insists that Paul was shaping the creed, if indeed these phrases were not written first by Paul's own hand as they were formed in his own head.

The case for the influence of Isaiah 53 upon Eph. 5:2 and 25 differs little from that presented for Gal. 2:20. The verb παραδίδοναι occurs in both verses in Ephesians 5, and Jesus is its subject, as was the Servant in Is. 53:12.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

Again, the fourth Servant song may have helped shape the expression which is repeated in Ephesians 5, but its influence is not beyond question.

If the image of the Servant stands behind this presentation of the work of Christ here, it is used in a different context and for a different purpose than the other uses of the Isaiah 53 by Paul. In the other cases considered, the image of the Servant, if present, would influence statements of the content of Paul's faith. Here it does this, but in contexts which are not only confessional but also parenetic. The Servant's image as seen in Christ becomes an example for the believers in general in verse 2 and for the husbands in verse 25. The Christian life is to be patterned after the spirit of the Servant just as a pattern for the life and death of Christ was to be found not just in the spirit but also in the details of the description of the Servant in Isaiah 53. But it is uncertain whether Paul saw the Servant in the background when he viewed the Christian's life patterned after Christ's. The text does not indicate if Paul was thinking of more than the events which climaxed his Lord's earthly existence and was reflecting further on the Servant in Eph. 5:2 and 25.

1 Timothy 2:6

5. For there is one God, and there is one mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus, 6. who gave himself as a ransom for all.

The phrase "who gave himself a ransom for all" is a relative clause which states a central element in the faith of the church and thus is at least possibly a creedal formulation of the early believers. Mark 10:45 closely parallels the wording of this verse; this might indicate that the early church did confessionalize the words of its Lord as recorded there, and they were picked to describe the work of Christ Jesus.¹⁰²

In Mark 10:45 Jesus says, "For the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve and to hand over (δοῦναι) his life as a ransom (λύτρον) for many." The motif of service, the concept of "handing over," the idea of a "ransom," and the phrase "for many" are all listed as reasons for associating this Markan passage with Isaiah 53. Since 1 Tim. 2:6 refers to Jesus as a "man," speaks of the giving up of the life of Jesus, calls this action an ἀντιλύτρον, and posits this action "for all," scholars have drawn a connection between the two passages.¹⁰³ The verb of 1 Tim. 2:6, δίδοναι, does not stand in the Septuagint text. But Wolff asserts that δίδοναι

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³Walter Lock, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles (I and II Timothy and Titus) (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), p. 28; J. N. D. Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, I Timothy, II Timothy, Titus (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1963), p. 63; C. K. Barrett, The Pastoral Epistles in the New English Bible (New Clarendon Series) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 52.

adequately translates the Hebrew verb נָתַן in the clause "he gives his life as a sin-offering" (Is. 53:10), and the next word in 1 Tim. 2:6 is suggested as a paraphrase of the sin-offering of that verse from Isaiah 53.¹⁰⁴

"Materially ἀντιλύτρον is the same as λύτρον," according to Buechsel.¹⁰⁵ This concept, translated "ransom," does not correspond exactly to Is. 53:11, but the word does approximate the Hebrew word for sin-offering, נִשְׁחָט, found in Is. 53:11. That verse reads in the Massoretic text, "If you make his soul an offering for sin . . ." The Vulgate translators read another manuscript or read into the verse, "If he makes his soul an offering for sin . . ." This reading gives an almost exact equivalent for 1 Tim. 2:6. Wolff explains that the more general word "ransom" has been substituted for the concrete term "sin-offering" while still preserving its essential meaning.¹⁰⁶

Jeremias has shown that the "many" of Is. 53:11,12 and of Mark 10:45 is a Semiticism which contrasts a group of men with the individual Servant or with Jesus; it is an inclusive term, synonymous with "all."¹⁰⁷ It would be natural in a

¹⁰⁴Wolff, p. 62; cf. Koehler and Baumgartner, p. 920, section 9.

¹⁰⁵Buechsel, λύω, TWNT, IV, 351, English translation, p. 349.

¹⁰⁶Wolff, p. 61.

¹⁰⁷Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, pp. 179-82; Jeremias, πολλοί, TWNT, VI, 537.

Hellenistic environment for the Greek equivalent "all" to have worked its way into the formula at hand in 1 Tim. 2:6. The formulation found in 1 Tim. 2:6 was probably put to use because it was recognized as a saying of Jesus, and its importance must have stemmed from this. But Jewish Christians, who knew their Old Testament well, must also have been aware that this saying of Jesus reflected the image of the Servant of Isaiah 53.

The general context of 1 Tim. 2:6 is parenthetic, but its immediate context is not. Verses 3 through 6 offer a summary of the message which Paul was appointed to preach (verse 7). That message concerns "God our Savior, who desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth," and the one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, "who gave himself as a ransom for all." Even if he was using a confessional formula known to be based upon the words of Jesus, it is difficult to imagine that the rabbi Paul was not aware that behind these words stood the image of the suffering one who was the Servant of God as he was portrayed in Isaiah 53.

Titus 2:14

11. For the grace of God has appeared for the salvation of all men, 12. training us to renounce irreligion and worldly passions, and to live sober, upright, and godly lives in this world, awaiting our blessed hope,

the appearing of the glory of our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ, who gave himself to *ransom* (deliver) us from all iniquity.

The similarity of this passage to 1 Tim. 2:6 and thus to Mark 10:45 is at once evident, indicating that it probably is a paraphrase of the formulated saying of Jesus which appears in Mark and is used again in 1 Tim. 2:6. The basic phrase "he gave himself" is repeated; the object of the preposition is personalized from "all" to "us." Christ's giving of himself is not defined as an ἀντιλύτρον, but its verbal form λυτροῦν, does state the purpose and result of his handing over of himself. The influence of Isaiah 53 upon Titus 2:14 is not direct if present at all; it is probably mediated through the formulated saying of Jesus as found in 1 Tim. 2:6 which is freely expressed here.

The usage of this possible allusion to Isaiah 53 is also similar to its usage in 1 Tim. 2:6. God's grace trains us to renounce irreligion and worldly passions and to live godly lives, Paul says, as we await the appearing of our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ, who is then described as the one who gave himself for us. "The coming Christ saved us by doing the work of the Servant" may be what the passage is saying.

The nine Pauline texts in which the concept of the "handing over" or "giving" of Christ is found or suggested may all be pre-Pauline formulations, with the exception of

Rom. 8:32-34. In Rom. 4:25 the word *παράδιδόναι* can be explained in terms of the general usage of the word in the Hellenistic world. However, its use as a summary for the suffering and death of Jesus is similar to its usage in Isaiah 53. That chapter puts the word to a unique use, the describing or summarizing of the suffering and death of the Servant of God. Rom. 4:25 also can reflect Isaiah 53 in its concern for sin and justification and possibly in its confession of Christ's vindication by resurrection. If the concept of "handing over" reflects the Servant of God in Rom. 4:25, it may also do so in other passages where it is used. Since the concept of the "giving" of Christ is related verbally to that of "handing over" and may translate the concept of "pouring out" which occurs in Is. 53:10, Paul may be referring to the Servant of God image when he uses formulations which speak of Christ "given" for sin or for men. In 1 Cor. 15:3-5 the concept of "handing over" is not mentioned, but the death of Christ for men's sins, his burial, his resurrection, and his subsequent appearances all could be explained in terms of Isaiah 53. For this creed insists that its contents speak of events which happened "according to the Scriptures," and the fourth Servant song does provide possible background for each of the creed's four members. In most of the passages discussed in this chapter, the image of the Servant of God, if used, helps describe the work of Christ

and thus plays an important role in Paul's confession of faith. In Eph. 5:2 and 25 Christ as the Servant of God is an example for Christians to follow.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸For a more complete summary of this chapter and the implications of its findings, see the "Summary" in chapter V of this thesis.

CHAPTER III

THE SIN-OFFERING MOTIF:

CHRIST MADE SIN/CHRIST FOR SIN

In Is. 53:10 the Servant of God is made an offering for guilt (חַטָּאת). The Septuagint ambiguously translates חַטָּאת with the word for sin, *ἁμαρτία*, not only in Isaiah 53 but in some other passages. This ambiguity may stand behind Paul's statements that Christ was made sin and that He was sent "for sin."

2 Corinthians 5:21

For our sake he (God) made him (Christ) to be sin (*a guilt-offering*) who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God.

There is no indication that this verse is part of a pre-Pauline formula. The appeal which God makes through Paul (verse 20) may be summarized in part by this verse, but it does not have the compact form and concise clarity of a standard creed.

Paul here asserts that Christ was innocent of all sin. Although the Servant of Isaiah 53 is not specifically called innocent, he is described as one who knew no sin, either in word or deed. Is. 53:9b depicts the Servant as one who had done no lawlessness (*ἀνομία*) and who had uttered no word of

deceit. Bacon recalls the early Christian understanding of this verse which is presented in 1 Peter 2:22. In the midst of a description of Jesus which is quoted and paraphrased from the fourth Servant song, Peter cites the phrase, "he did no sin," changing the word ἀνομία to the word used by Paul in this text, ἀμαρτία.¹ In their innocence Jesus Christ and the Servant were alike.

Wolff explains the phrase "God made Christ to be sin" in 2 Cor. 5:21 by placing it against the background of Is. 53:6, "the Lord has laid on him the iniquity of us all." Paul concretized this statement by making it stronger and equating the sins the Servant bore with Christ in his role as Servant of God. Although the descriptions of the relationship between sin and the two figures differ, the descriptions present essentially the same thought, according to Wolff.²

But the fourth Servant song offers a better background to the "made sin" concept of 2 Cor. 5:21 in its tenth verse.³ Nowhere else in the New Testament is Christ equated with sin itself. This difficulty suggests looking for a definition

¹Benjamin W. Bacon, Jesus and Paul (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), p. 111.

²Hans Walter Wolff, Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1949), p. 96.

³Suggested by Edwin A. Abbott, Paradosis, or "In the Night in which He Was (?) Betrayed" (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904), p. 85, and Bacon, p. 111.

of the word ἁμαρτία which would be a viable alternative to its basic, common meaning of "sin." Is. 53:10 offers such an alternative. There are those who watch the Servant address God "you make his soul an offering for guilt (זָבַח)."
 The word זָבַח occurs some forty times in the Old Testament as the designation of an offering for guilt. The Septuagint uses four basic words to translate it. By far the most common Greek equivalent is the word πλημμέλεια or its related verb. Four times in the book of 1 Kingdoms the word βάσανος is used for זָבַח. The translator of Ezekiel employed the phrase τὰ περὶ (ὕπερ) ἀγνοία to translate the four instances of זָבַח in that book. In three instances the Septuagint renders זָבַח with the word ἁμαρτία (Num. 18:9; 4 Kingdoms 12:17, and Is. 53:10) and once with the phrase περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας (Lev. 5:7). The Septuagint translation paraphrased the Hebrew of Is. 53:10 quite freely. It changed the second person subject from singular to plural, gave the verb no stated object, and rendered זָבַח with the phrase περὶ ἁμαρτίας. This phrase is open to two interpretations. The more likely is that the whole phrase paraphrases זָבַח, interpreting it "for sin." But in 4 Kingdoms 12:17 περὶ ἁμαρτίας occurs and must be translated "for the guilt offering." The Septuagint could convey the concept of guilt offering in just the word ἁμαρτία without the preposition which precedes it in Is. 53:10. It may have done so in describing the work of the Servant.

In the New Testament πλημμέλεια does not occur at all; neither βάσανος nor ἄγνοια is used to convey the idea of guilt offering. Had Paul wanted to call Christ a guilt offering, why did he not use the common Greek translation πλημμέλεια, it might be asked? The reason could be that he was comparing his Lord to the Servant of God as described in Is. 53:10, where the word ἁμαρτία was used. Thus, Paul was picturing Christ as an offering for guilt on the basis of the fourth song's picture of the Servant of God.

Against this interpretation of Christ as guilt-offering it might be argued that Paul does not have in mind any cryptic reference to the Servant as DWN because he contrasts Christ as sin with the believers as righteousness in the next clause. But the strangeness of the phraseology still invites a question as to the source of Paul's thought and expression. For nowhere else is the believer equated with righteousness itself. The better suggestion is that the believers could be called righteousness because of the double meaning of the word ἁμαρτία upon which Paul played. He regarded the word's primary significance for Jesus as the meaning it had had when used in connection with the Servant, that of guilt-offering. But its usual meaning served in the back of his mind as the occasion for calling forgiven believers its opposite, righteousness. Even if righteousness as an abstract noun is difficult to explain, the concept of

"Christ made sin" becomes clearer if it is viewed against the background of "the Servant made guilt-offering."

However, the general Old Testament sacrificial system might stand behind Paul's idea of "Christ made sin." For the Hebrew sin-offering $\pi\alpha\sigma\chi\eta$ is regularly translated by the phrase $\pi\epsilon\tilde{\rho}\iota\ \delta\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ and on occasion (Ex. 29:14, Lev. 5:12) is rendered just with the word $\delta\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ in the Septuagint. If Paul had simply wanted to picture Christ as an offering for sin or guilt, he could have thought of the $\pi\alpha\sigma\chi\eta$, and because its usual translation was $\pi\epsilon\tilde{\rho}\iota\ \delta\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, $\delta\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ would have been a logical choice of word for conveying Jesus' sacrificial work to readers of the Greek Old Testament. Nonetheless, the word $\delta\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ does occur in the translation of Is. 53:10, and the context of the word in 2 Cor. 5:21 offers two other elements which could come from Isaiah 53. Furthermore, Isaiah 53 offers a preferable background because it depicts a human figure given over to sacrifice on the behalf of other men.

The clause "in him ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$) we might become the righteousness of God" could also echo the fourth Servant song. In Is. 53:11 God states that "by his knowledge shall the righteous one, my Servant, make many to be accounted righteous." The Septuagint translation of this passage is somewhat different; the Servant is accounted righteous by his service to many. But Paul was capable of taking the Greek stem

from the Septuagint while working with the meaning of the Hebrew text. He seems to be doing that here. The preposition $\epsilon\upsilon$, interpreted instrumentally,⁴ indicates that Christ is responsible for men becoming righteous before God. The work of Christ is thus expressed with a concept also used to explain the work of the Servant.

This verse could be the product of Paul's personal theologizing. He did not need to consult Isaiah 53 to know that Jesus had been an innocent man. He could have been formulating a radical statement about the nature of Christ's substitution that declared Christ was sin. He might have been describing the significance of Christ's work for men with the concept of righteousness which was not at all unfamiliar to him. But Paul's statement concerning "Christ made sin" in 2 Cor. 5:21 becomes clearer when understood in the light of the Servant made sin-offering in Isaiah 53. The themes of innocence and of bringing others to righteousness before God also find possible sources in Isaiah 53. Certain proof of the connection eludes the modern student, however, and the possibility of Paul's producing this verse without Old Testament influence upon his thought cannot be denied.

⁴F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, translated and revised by Robert W. Funk (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), section 219, especially (4).

If the fourth Servant song influenced this verse, Paul tells his readers that the innocent Christ served as an offering for guilt and that as a result of his sacrifice Christ caused Paul and his fellow Christians to become righteous in God's sight. This interpretation of Christ's work explains how Paul can make the appeal, "be reconciled to God," which God is in reality making through him. Paul's mission is to invite men to reconciliation with God, which is possible only because Jesus Christ, the innocent one, was made a guilt-offering and thus caused men to become righteous before God. A very important part of Paul's theology and the basis of his mission can be described in terms of the suffering Servant of God, if Isaiah 53's influence is actually present in 2 Cor. 5:21. This verse's importance is further enhanced by the fact that it is not a pre-Pauline expression. Paul is expressing in his own words what he believes. If he is doing this in terms of the suffering Servant, then Paul not only took that image from those who had formulated the Christian faith before him. He could also on occasion use the Servant image as the means by which he formulated his own personal understanding of the work of Christ. But the passage does not use the possible allusions to Isaiah 53 in such a way that this conclusion can be established beyond doubt.

Romans 8:3

For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do; sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin (*as a guilt-offering*), he condemned sin in the flesh, in order that the just requirement of the Law might be fulfilled in use.

This passage forms an integral part of an argument beginning in 8:1 and shows no signs of being a pre-Pauline formulation. It was developed by Paul himself as he explained why there is "no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus," (verse 1).

Only the phrase *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* suggests a possible allusion to Isaiah 53, on the same basis as may be found in 2 Cor. 5:21, as a translation of the Hebrew word for guilt-offering, *זָבַח*. Several scholars have argued that *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*, which does duplicate the Septuagint phrase found in Is. 53:10, does mean guilt-offering in Rom. 8:3. Thus, it is meant to picture the work of Christ in the same terms as the work of the suffering Servant of God.⁵ But other interpretations of the passage have also been offered. Kuss interprets the phrase "because of sin" as follows: Paul means that the Son of God

⁵W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology (London: SPCK, 1965), p. 274; C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of the New Testament Theology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 93; David M. Stanley, "The Theme of the Servant of Yahweh in Primitive Christian Soteriology and its Transposition by St. Paul," Catholic Biblical Quarterly XVI, 4 (October 1954), 414.

was sent to make sin void and to destroy it by eliminating the power of sin over men.⁶ Sanday and Headlam explain the phrase against the general Old Testament sacrificial background. Especially in Leviticus it translates the word זָבַח, as noted above (page 89). So Sanday and Headlam interpret Rom. 8:3 as an antitypical description of the significance of Christ's sacrifice although they do not limit the meaning of the phrase to "guilt-offering."⁷

Rom. 8:3, unlike 2 Cor. 5:21, provides no positive help in its context for proving a connection with Isaiah 53. If Paul had the fourth Servant song, especially 53:10, in mind here, he incorporated it into the flow of thought without making it obvious that he was using the Old Testament. This could mean that he did not draw the specific allusion of the suffering Servant to the minds of his readers. However, he might have presumed that they would recognize this biblical phrase without special mention. But if he was just relying on the phrase, its first sacrificial connotation must have been to the general Old Testament background and not to Isaiah 53. Yet in that chapter the sacrificial offering was a human being, so perhaps the early Christians would have

⁶Otto Kuss, Der Römerbrief (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1963), II, 494.

⁷Wm. Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), p. 193.

remembered the figure of the Servant of God when a reference to Christ as an offering for sin or guilt was made. Extant materials from the period before the writing of the epistle to the Romans do not give the modern student sufficient evidence to know whether the image of the Servant was common enough to permit Paul to connect Isaiah 53 with his own words with such a casual and obscure reference as *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*. But this flight into wild speculation cannot produce any certain conclusions. The idea of the Servant made guilt-offering may have influenced Paul and may be responsible for his saying that Christ was sent "for sin (that is, as a guilt-offering)." That this is possible cannot be denied; that it is certain cannot be proved because of other alternatives at least as probable.

If the fourth Servant song's influence is present behind Rom. 8:3, Paul uses its picture of the Servant as guilt-offering to explain the work of Christ's mission on earth. God sent His Son, Paul says; he goes on to detail the Son's mode of coming, "in the likeness of sinful flesh," and his means of accomplishing his purpose, "as a guilt-offering." The purpose which he did accomplish by being offered as a guilt-offering was the condemnation of sin in the flesh and the fulfillment of the just requirement of the law. The interpretation of the phrase *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* in the light of Is. 53:10 does make the passage a bit clearer than simply

translating the phrase "because of sin." But Paul has not given anything definite to support in an undisputable way that this phrase does allude to the figure of the suffering Servant.

CHAPTER IV

THE KENOTIC MOTIF: THE SERVANT EMPTIED

In Phil. 2:7 Paul recorded the words, "(Christ Jesus) emptied himself, having taken the form of a servant." In the midst of a Christologically rich passage which has occasioned a host of questions, this verse invites a comparison to the picture of the suffering Servant of God presented in Isaiah 53. Because the context offers the possibility of a combination of the figures of the Servant of God and the Second Adam, not only Phil. 2:6-11 but also Rom. 5:12-21, which may also mention both these figures, is discussed in this chapter.

Philippians 2:6-11

5. Have this mind among yourselves, which you have in Christ Jesus, 6. who though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, 7. but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. 8. And being found in *figure like a man* he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross. 9. Therefore God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, 10. that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, 11. and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father.

Of this unique passage Ralph P. Martin has commented:

Philippians 11.5-11 exercises a twofold influence upon the would-be commentator. It both attracts and repels. This ambivalent reaction is the result, on the one

hand, of the importance of the section for our knowledge of early Christianity and of Paul's Christological teaching; and, on the other hand, of the difficulty which the interpreter faces as he comes to weigh the significance and ponder the meaning of these profound words.¹

This study is concerned only with the possible influence of the fourth Servant song and the image of the suffering Servant of God upon these words.

To determine more exactly the nature of this influence upon Paul it will be necessary to ask whether Paul is the original author of the passage. Scholarship is divided on whether Phil. 2:6-11 is a pre-Pauline hymn. Martin notes that these verses have the stately and solemn ring of the religious poetry of the Old Testament when read aloud in Greek. He further notes that the rhythmical quality of the sentences, and the presence of rare words and phrases indicate that the passage is an early Christian hymn. Furthermore, the context is hortatory but the passage itself interrupts this exhortation with a doxological confession concerning Christ.²

A strong argument for pre-Pauline authorship of Phil. 2:6-11 is based upon its several words and phrases which are not commonly used by Paul. The words ἀπαυμῶς and

¹Ralph P. Martin, An Early Christian Confession: Philippians II:5-11 in Recent Interpretation (London: The Tyndale Press, 1960), p. 7.

²Ibid., pp. 9, 11.

ὑπερῶσιν are New Testament hapax legomena. Paul uses μορφή only here. The words κενῶν, σχῆμα, ταπεινῶν, and ὑπήκοος occur seldom in the Pauline corpus, and the meaning each has in Phil. 2:6-11 is unique. "At the name of Jesus" (verse 10) departs from Paul's usual "Lord Jesus" or "Jesus Christ." The phrase "in heaven and on earth and under the earth" does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament.³ Furthermore, typical Pauline ideas are absent from this passage. His doctrine of redemption is missing, replaced by a humanity subjected to its new Lord. The resurrection of Jesus should be prominent in any Pauline description of his Lord, but it is replaced in Phil. 2:6-11 with his exaltation. The hymn depicts Jesus as Lord of the cosmos rather than the church.⁴ Thus, on the basis of the presence of non-Pauline terminology and the absence of Pauline theology, Phil. 2:6-11 is judged a pre-Pauline hymn.

The character of the hymn betrays its author's linguistic background. Having already made decisions about the meaning of the hymn which this study has yet to discuss, Fuller argues that the Hellenistic world view of verse 10 and the "anthroposophia" myth, which stands behind the picture of one in the

³Ibid., p. 10; cf. Ernst Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus. Eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2.5-11 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961), p. 8.

⁴A. M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1961), p. 42.

form of God assuming the form of man, point to a Hellenistic context for its author.⁵ But Lohmeyer's case for the Semitic background of the hymn is convincing. Both word order and syntactical constructions force the Greek words into unnatural contortions. Yet its participial style, which uses the participle not in apposition to the main verb but to denote progress of action, fits well into Aramaic usage. The phrase "found in figure like a man" is not good Greek but translates literally an Aramaic phrase. Nonetheless, the phrase "in heaven and on earth and under the earth" has no corresponding adjectives in Aramaic and separates the genitive from its governing noun as would not be done in Aramaic. So Lohmeyer concludes from this combination of factors which indicate yet deny the presence of both Aramaic and Greek that a man whose mother tongue was Semitic but who wrote in Greek authored this hymn in the early Christian community at Jerusalem for its eucharistic liturgy.⁶ While few scholars agree with Lohmeyer on the place of authorship and the purpose of the hymn, his basic idea that the hymn was written in Greek by a

⁵Reginald H. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), pp. 206-7. However, Fuller does suggest that the hymn is the product of Hellenistic Jewish Christian missionaries.

⁶Lohmeyer, pp. 8-10.

person whose mind thought Semitically has been accepted by other scholars.⁷

Other scholars have argued against the contention that Phil. 2:6-11 is not from Paul's own hand. Furness argues that there is a fundamental unity of theme in Philippians and that the hymn reinforces Paul's basic point, an appeal for harmony in the congregation; he concludes that this means Paul wrote the passage for this place in this epistle.⁸ But he does not explain why Paul then elaborated what could have been a simple reference to the humble Jesus by constructing the parallel descriptions of his Lord's humiliation and exaltation. Cerfaux also tries to maintain that verses 6-11 flow with the surrounding context; and he, too, ignores the details in these verses which are not necessary for depicting Christ as a model of humility. He points to 1 Corinthians 13 as an example of Paul's poetic ability.⁹ But even if Paul did compose that great hymn on love, he could have borrowed from another person's hymn in another place. Martin offers a list of concepts which occur both in the hymn and in its

⁷Hunter, p. 42; cf. Ralph P. Martin, Carmen Christi: Philippians II, 5-11 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 47-48.

⁸J. M. Furness, "The Authorship of Philippians 11.6-11," The Expository Times, 70 (1958-1959), 240.

⁹Lucien Cerfaux, Christ in the Theology of St. Paul, translated by Geoffrey Webb and Adrian Walker (New York: Herder and Herder, 1959), pp. 374-75.

context. "Count others better than yourselves" (2:3) urges the Philippians to imitate the action of Jesus who "did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped," (2:6). Christ's emptying of himself (ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, 2:7) is the opposite of the conceit (κενοδοξία, 2:3) which Paul exhorts the Philippians to eliminate from their lives, but his humbling of himself (2:8) illustrates the ideal of humility (2:3) which the apostle urges on the Philippians. The phrase "to the glory of God the Father" (2:11) is similar to the doxology of 1:11, "to the glory and praise of God."¹⁰ The comparisons become more dubious; the connection between "found like a man" for Christ (2:8) and "be found in him" for the Philippians (3:9) hardly seems close. Neither does that between God's "bestowal" of the name Lord on Jesus (2:9) and the "bestowal" of suffering on the Philippians (1:29). The association of the "form (σῆμα)" of the servant (2:7) with Christ's changing (μετασχημάτισεν) lowly bodies into glorious bodies (3:21) makes the case for the comparable verbal usage of hymn and epistle in general even less impressive.¹¹ Even if there is a connection between the context and the hymn, Paul could have had the hymn in mind and let it influence his word choice before and after he placed it in this epistle.

¹⁰Martin, An Early Christian Confession, p. 45.

¹¹Ibid.

Some say that the difference between Paul's vocabulary and that of this hymnic section has been exaggerated. Romaniuk points out that four of the hymn's words, ὁμοίωμα, ὑπήκοος, σχῆμα, and κενοῦν are used either only once or not at all outside Paul in the New Testament.¹² The last three also appeared on the list of words not used by Paul in the sense found in Phil. 2:6-11. Martin suggests that the hymnic character of the piece would cause Paul to depart from his normal epistolary vocabulary just as any poet puts words in his poetry which he does not use in writing to friends.¹³ The theological argument against Pauline authorship of this hymn also is open to question. Martin cites the argument that the allusion to Adam (2:6--"did not count equality a thing to be grasped") points to the "distinctively Pauline" doctrine of Christ as the second Adam.¹⁴ He also points out that the confession "Jesus Christ is Lord" reflects Paul's usual view of his Lord (1 Cor. 12:3; Rom. 10:9).¹⁵ However, because of the scarcity of evidence for the theological

¹²Kasimierz Romaniuk, "De Themate Ebed Jahve in Soteriologica Sancti Pauli," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXIII, 1 (January 1961), 21.

¹³Martin, An Early Christian Confession, p. 12.

¹⁴Ibid.; cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology (London: SPCK, 1965), pp. 41-42; Furness, p. 242.

¹⁵Martin, An Early Christian Confession, p. 12.

climate of the early church, such a fleeting allusion as Phil. 2:6 provides to the doctrine of the second Adam does not demand Paul's authorship of this hymn. 1 Cor. 12:3 indicates that "Jesus is Lord" was a pre-Pauline confession.

Martin also points out that Paul had the capacity to write in an exalted style like that of Phil. 2:6-11 (that is, 1 Corinthians 13, Rom. 8:31-33, Rom. 11:33-35). As a rabbi familiar with the Old Testament he had the background to compose a psalm-like poem of this sort. His mother tongue was probably Aramaic, but he had lived in a Greek speaking world all his life, so he matched Lohmeyer's basic description of the hymn's author.¹⁶ But so did countless other Christians in the early years of the church. Pauline authorship of this hymn may be possible, but the hymn's interruption of the context of Philipians 2 points to its composition apart from the epistle itself. Its vocabulary and theology do not make Pauline authorship impossible but do point to the probability of a pre-Pauline origin. But the possibility that the hymn came from the hand of Paul before he sat down to write to the Philipians cannot be completely ruled out.

The most elaborate case for the presence of the influence of the fourth Servant song upon Phil. 2:6-11 has been

¹⁶Ibid.

worked out by Leo Krinetzki.¹⁷ His arguments, which touch almost every phrase of the hymn, will form the basic outline of this study's presentation, but other suggestions by other scholars will supplement Krinetzki's ideas.

Krinetzki begins with the word μορφή. This word does not occur in Isaiah 53, but it is a synonym for δόξα, which does occur in the fourth Servant song. Is. 52:14 says that the Servant's "form" (רֶאֱוָה in Hebrew; δόξα in the Septuagint) was "beyond that of the sons of men." Aquila translated this Hebrew word with μορφή. Both Greek words are also used to translate the Hebrew מְאֻזָּר (μορφή in Job 4:16, δόξα in Num. 12:8 and Ps. 16:15).¹⁸ Krinetzki notes the difficulty that δόξα in Isaiah 52 and μορφή in Philippians 2 refer to different stages in the existence of Christ on the one hand and the Servant on the other.¹⁹ The Servant will be glorified in 52:13 (δοξασθήσεται), while his δόξα in verse 14 apparently refers to his marred appearance, as in its preceding

¹⁷Leo Krinetzki, "Der Einfluss von Is. 52, 13-53, 12 Par auf Phil. 2, 6-11," Theologische Quartalschrift 139 (1959), 157-93, 291-336.

¹⁸Johannes Behm, μορφή, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933--), IV, 759; cf. English translation by Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964--), IV, 752. Hereafter the German work will be referred to as TWNT, the English as "English translation."

¹⁹Krinetzki, pp. 166-67.

parallel line; δόξα occurs again in 53:3 where the Servant's repulsiveness is described as "no δόξα." While the use of δοῦλος in Philipians 2 with μορφή could describe the latter stage of the Servant's existence, if reference is made to the Servant's exalted form at all, it is not to a pre-existent form (as in the hymn μορφή θεοῦ) but to an exaltation which follows his suffering. But Krinetzki argues that John 17:5²⁰ shows that the early Christians saw Jesus' pre-existent glory and his future exalted glory as much the same thing. So he concludes the phrases "form of God" and "form of a servant" are two pieces of a puzzle, which when put together correctly, picture Jesus Christ as the suffering Servant of God.²¹

Although the "form" of the Servant in Isaiah 53 did not play an important part in the fourth Servant song, Krinetzki's suggestion for interpretation of the concept in the hymn ought not be summarily rejected. For the hymn's author need not have reproduced the exact emphases of the fourth Servant song just because he was using its figure of the Servant as a pattern for his own view of Christ. If some parts of the hymn can be shown to have been shaped more directly by Isaiah 53 and its picture of the Servant of God, then other

²⁰"and now, Father, glorify thou me in thy own presence with the glory which I had with thee before the world was made."

²¹Krinetzki, p. 167.

portions of the hymn certainly can be viewed in light of the vocabulary and thought of Isaiah 53.

The next piece of Krinetzki's puzzle is a difficult piece to find. In Is. 53:12 God promises that the Servant will have a share of the spoil of the strong. Krinetzki notes that the word for spoil is *οὐλα* in the Septuagint but *λάφυρα* in Aquila. Aquila's translation is a synonym for *ἀρπαγμός*, the word of the hymn which describes Christ's attitude toward equality with God; Christ did not count it a *ἀρπαγμός*, a thing to be grasped or held onto. Krinetzki explains that this word fit better with *ἡγεῖσθαι* than its alternatives in the judgment of the poet's ear.²²

If Krinetzki's last suggestion is a rare one, the next part of the case for the background of Isaiah 53 behind Phil. 2:6-11 has been argued by a number of scholars. The phrase *ἐαυτὸν κενοῦν* (Phil. 2:7) does not occur as a translation of the Hebrew *וַיִּפְשׁוּ לְמוֹתוֹ לְמַעַן*, "he poured out his soul unto death" (Is. 53:12) in the Septuagint. But this is because of the Septuagint translator's practice of turning all reflexive phrases of the song into passives, so that the spontaneous self-sacrifice of the Servant is credited to the initiative of God. The author of the hymn quoted by Paul did use this Greek phrase to reproduce more correctly what

²²Ibid., p. 169.

the Massoretic text, followed by the Targum Jonathan, said in Is. 53:12.²³ The entire case is best argued by Jeremias.²⁴ The phrase ἐαυτὸν κenoῦν begs for explanation because it is such terrible Greek; this use of the verb with the reflexive is without analogy in Greek literature. However, its derivative ἐκκenoῦν is used in the Septuagint to translate the verb used in Is. 53:12, עָרַךְ, when it means to empty out or pour out (Gen. 24:20; 2 Chron. 24:11; Ps. 136:7); it is also used for this verb by Aquila (Ps. 140:8). This use of ἐκκenoῦν in Psalm 140 (141 in Hebrew) is especially important, for there the verb speaks of death as it does in Is. 53:12. The reflexive ἐαυτόν translates the Hebrew word נַפְשִׁי of Isaiah 53; the variation between Mark 10:45 and 1 Tim. 2:6 illustrates that this reflexive was used as a Greek equivalent of the Hebrew word for soul or life.²⁵ Against the criticism that Phil. 2:7 does not translate the Hebrew fully, for it does not speak of pouring out "to death," Jeremias cites Aquila's version of Ps. 140:8 as proof that the verb

²³Ibid., pp. 175-76; cf. Isaiah 53:6b, 10b and c for the translator's practice.

²⁴Joachim Jeremias, "Zu Phil 11 7: EAYTON EKENOZEN," Novum Testamentum, VI (1963), 183-88.

²⁵In addition to Jeremias, VI, 184; cf. F. Blass, and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, translated and revised by Robert W. Funk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), section 283 (4); hereafter listed as BDF.

עָרָה (and thus ἐκκενοῦν) without elaboration can be used to express the concept of dying.²⁶

A major objection to Jeremias' case appears when the phrase, thus interpreted, is put back into its context in the hymn. According to traditional interpretation, the phrase marks the transition from the form of God to the form of man. The whole hymn presents a chronological unfolding of the drama of the one in the form of God taking on the figure of a man, with his self-emptying the first action in the drama. Jeremias' suggestion places his death near the beginning of the hymn, but his death is not mentioned expressly until five phrases later when the author wrote that he humbled himself and was obedient unto death. But Jeremias challenges the traditional understanding of the structure of the hymn. His entire discussion supports his basic structure,²⁷ but here it is necessary only to present the place of the phrase "he emptied himself" in that outline. He divides the hymn into

²⁶Jeremias, VI, 183-84; cf. M. R. Cherry, "The Servant Song of Philippians," *Review and Expositor*, LIX (1962), 45; Martin, An Early Christian Confession, p. 24; Martin, Carmen Christi, pp. 183-85; C. H. Dodd, Review of "Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, herausgegeben von Gerhard Kittel. Band II. Band III. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart," in Journal of Theological Studies XXXIX (1938), 292-93, also favors viewing the verb's use in Philippians 2 against the background of Is. 53:12.

²⁷Jeremias, VI, 186-88.

three strophes of four lines each. The first two strophes are parallel, and line up as follows:

First Strophe	Second Strophe
ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων	ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος
οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ	καὶ σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος
ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν	ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν
μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν	γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου

The parallels become obvious. "Existing in the form of God" parallels "becoming in the likeness of men"; both begin with the preposition ἐν and end with participles. The lines which follow each expand on the implications of these first lines for Christ Jesus. The third lines of each contain the main verbs of each strophe, both coupled by a reflexive pronoun which serves as the object of both. The fourth line of each strophe again helps explain the preceding line and places its verb into participial form. The fourth lines of the two strophes are somewhat similar in their meaning; they speak of the servanthood and the obedience of Christ. Since the third line of the second strophe describes the humiliation of Christ, including his death through the expansion of line four, Jeremias concludes that the interpretation of ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν as the pouring out of Christ's life fits right in with the structure of the hymn. The participle of its following line, λαβὼν, is in the aorist tense. The aorist participle can denote an action which takes place at the

same time as an aorist indicative on which it is dependent, but it can also denote an action completed before the action of the main verb.²⁸ According to this interpretation, the hymn states that Christ Jesus, who was in the form of God, went so far as to pour out his life after he had assumed the form of the Servant. Then it restates or paraphrases its first sentence in a second which says that he took on the likeness of man and humbled himself by serving through the giving of his life.

The word δοῦλος is connected with the phrase "he emptied himself." This word immediately calls to mind the figure called "Servant" in Isaiah 53. But this particular Greek word does not translate the Hebrew עֶבֶד at the beginning of the fourth Servant song (Is. 52:13); there the Septuagint renders עֶבֶד with παῖς. Krinetzki has formulated an involved explanation of why δοῦλος, not παῖς, is used in Philippians 2, based on his speculations concerning the early church's use of παῖς.²⁹ The explanation can be quite simple. For the Servant of God is called δοῦλος in Is. 49:3,5 (the second Servant song), and the two words are used to translate עֶבֶד throughout the Septuagint with little if any distinction in meaning. Differences occur more along lines of books (and

²⁸BDF, section 339.

²⁹Krinetzki, pp. 184-88.

thus translators) than along lines of significance.³⁰ Aquila illustrates this by using δούλος for the Servant of the Lord in Is. 52:13. The verb δουλοῦν is used in Is. 53:11 to describe the work of the Servant.³¹ If the author of the hymn had the suffering Servant of God in mind, he might have more naturally chosen the word παῖς, if he was working with a Greek text identical to that in the Rahlfs' edition. But the choice of the word δούλος would have been natural and proper as well.

Krinetzki shapes another piece of his puzzle of Jesus, the suffering Servant of God, from the word ὁμοίωμα, in the phrase "in the likeness of men." This word does not occur in the fourth Servant song, but it asserts a solidarity with mankind which the Servant also possessed. The synonyms for this word in Isaiah 53, such as εἶδος or δόξα (53:2,3) pertain to the outward appearance of the Servant while ὁμοίωμα refers to something essentially inward in Christ's case. The author of the hymn expanded what Isaiah 53 presents from merely suffering to the whole life when he stated that Christ came in the likeness of men. He also used οἶμα, figure, another synonym of εἶδος, but used it, too, in a broader sense than εἶδος has in Isaiah 53. For οἶμα denotes not just the bodily form of Christ but all that is connected with it.

³⁰Walther Zimmerli, and Joachim Jeremias, The Servant of God, revised edition (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1965), p. 37.

³¹Martin, An Early Christian Confession, p. 26.

Krinetzki seems conscious that his case is at its weakest here, especially since it presumes that the author of the hymn was working with the Septuagint rather than the Hebrew, which is important for other parts of his argument. One early Christian writer certainly could have worked with both, especially if he came from a Jewish background and was writing in Greek. But this part of Krinetzki's case is better presented as a result of establishing that Isaiah 53 stood behind Phil. 2:6-11 rather than as a part of the case for establishing this.

The idea of Christ's humbling himself is expressed in the phrase parallel to "he emptied himself" (according to Jeremias' structure). "He humbled himself (ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν)," seems to be a good capsule description of the Servant of Isaiah 53. Krinetzki not only views it as a summary of his overall state; he believes that this Greek phrase translates the Niphal of the Hebrew verb נָיַל as it is used in Is. 53:7, "he humbled himself."³² The Septuagint paraphrases this Hebrew verb and another, נָיַל, "he was hard pressed," with the general Greek verb κακοῦν, "to maltreat, harm." The Septuagint uses both κακοῦν and ταπεινοῦν to translate נָיַל. The reflexive phrase of Phil. 2:8 gives a possible though not necessary

³²A preferable translation to that of the Revised Standard Version: "he was afflicted," according to Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, editors, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), p. 719.

translation of the Niphil of נִפְּלָא. Krinetzki is cautious with this conclusion but points to a verbal connection between the humiliation of the Servant and that of Christ. However, he notes that the Servant's humiliation referred to a narrow portion of his human experience while Christ's referred to his whole human life.³³ Yet, if the next line of the hymn explains "he humbled himself," which is a possible function of its dependent participle, Christ's humiliation meant that he was "obedient unto death." Is. 53:8 ought not be overlooked as a possible verbal background for the humbling of Christ, for there the Septuagint uses the noun ταπεινώσις to express the Hebrew concept עָצָר, oppression, in the clause, "By oppression and judgment, he was taken away." The following line describes the death of the Servant, describing his being cut off out of the land of the living. However, the song does not equate the Servant's death with the oppression or humiliation mentioned at the beginning of verse 8.

The concept of obedience in Phil. 2:8 fits in with the Servant motif as expressed in Isaiah 53.³⁴ Krinetzki again tries to go beyond the general significance of the Servant's relationship to God for tracing the connection between Phil. 2:6-11 and Isaiah 53. He turns to 53:7 where Symmachus

³³Krinetzki, pp. 300-2.

³⁴So says Gerhard Kittel, *ἀνομία*, *TWNT*, I, 225; English translation, pp. 225-26, following Lohmeyer, pp. 41-42.

uses the verbal form of the concept of obedience, ὑπακούειν , to translate the Niphal of אָי discussed above. In this translation the idea of the Hebrew is altered from humiliation to obedience. This transition is not great. But if the basic Hebrew idea of humiliation is responsible for the hymn's statement that Christ humbled himself, an alternative idea based on a Greek variant of the verb does not seem likely to be responsible for the next line which expresses this different translation. On the other hand, it could be argued that the author of the hymn knew two different interpretations of this word in Is. 53:7 and incorporated them both into his hymn, using the one to interpret the other. Krinetzki also points to the third Servant song, Is. 50:4, for a verbal connection between the figure of the Servant and Phil. 2:6-11. The verb ὑπακούειν does not occur there, but ἀκούειν does; and the two concepts expressed by these verbs have much the same meaning in Hebrew, Krinetzki explains.³⁵ This is true, but the Hebrew verb is used in connection with the ear in Is. 50:4 and must refer more to the simple act of hearing rather than to the obedience which results from it. The stronger case for the influence of Isaiah 53 upon the word ὑπάκουος of Phil. 2:8 is based upon that word's expression of the very essence of what it means to be a servant, also the Servant of God, namely obedience.

³⁵Krinetzki, pp. 308-11.

Krinetzki probably goes too far in trying to refer the hymn's reference to the death of Christ on the cross to the fact that the Servant was wounded in Is. 53:5a. But his general point that the death of Christ, mentioned in Phil. 2:8, fits in with the picture of the Servant,³⁶ cannot be denied. The death of Christ must have been involved in confession, sermon, and perhaps even hymn in the early church, and its mention does not necessarily recall Isaiah 53. But in a context where Isaiah 53 seems to have shown its influence, the death of Christ provides another point of comparison between him and the Servant of God.

Even the word $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta$ in Phil. 2:9 came from Isaiah 53, according to Krinetzki. In Is. 53:12 the Hebrew word יָצַל ($\delta\acute{\iota}\delta$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ in the Septuagint) makes the transition from the Servant's making many to be accounted righteous and his bearing of their iniquity to God's awarding the portion of the great and the spoil of the strong to him. Because the Servant bore the iniquity of many, therefore he receives the reward. A similar comparison between the Servant's humiliation and his exaltation is stated in 52:14 and 15. As (כִּי) the Servant's marred appearance astonished many, so (כִּי) in the future he will startle many nations, presumably because of his contrasting exalted state. It is this transition

³⁶Ibid., pp. 312-13.

from humiliation to exaltation which the $\delta\iota\delta$ of Phil. 2:9 repeats concerning Christ.³⁷ Again, Krinetzki's point is not an impressive argument for the influence of Isaiah 53 because this conjunction is natural here and needs no specific literary background. If the influence of the fourth Servant song upon this hymn is accepted, then this point fits into the complete picture of its influence.

The exaltation of the Servant keynotes the fourth Servant song. It begins with the statement that the Servant shall prosper, be exalted and lifted up, and very high. The three Hebrew verbs פָּרַח , שָׁוַי , and $\text{שָׁלַל$ are translated with just two in the Septuagint, ὑψῶν and δοξάζειν , to which is joined απόδρα , the translation of the accompanying Hebrew adverb גָּדוֹל . The author of the hymn of Phil. 2:6-11 chose only the former of these Greek verbs and used an intensive form of the verb rather than coupling its simple form with an adverb (if he was writing his description of Christ against the background of Isaiah 53). Krinetzki's theory that the omission of δοξάζειν must mean that the author was quoting an Aramaic version of Isaiah 53 which also left out that verb³⁸ is too complicated. The poetic freedom of the hymn writer or the structural demands of the hymn more easily account

³⁷Ibid., p. 315.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 317-18.

for this slight shift in the expression of exaltation from the description of the Servant to the description of Christ. The fourth Servant song could have been an inspiration for the hymn writer; it could not have been a straight jacket for him. But if he was looking to the Servant of God as a pattern for his description of Christ, the fourth Servant song did provide him with the picture of one who was first humiliated in suffering and then exalted to glory. Just as God by the implication of the passive sense of the opening verbs of the fourth Servant song was responsible for the exaltation of the Servant, so God is expressly responsible for Christ's exaltation, according to Phil. 2:9.

The hymn's paean "that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow . . . and every tongue confess" (Phil. 2:10,11) is based upon a portion of the Cyrus song of Isaiah 45 (verse 23), "'To me (God) every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear.'" The hymn uses the Septuagint's words. Krinetzki notes that the "to me" of the Cyrus song has become "at the name of Jesus," that the Septuagint's addition of "to God" has become "to the glory of God the Father," that the hymn has expanded the brief paean of Is. 45:23.³⁹ But even when quotation from Isaiah 45 has been established, the case for influence of Isaiah 53 upon Phil. 2:6-11 has hardly been

³⁹Ibid., pp. 322-33.

strengthened. For even if the hymn's author was referring to the same general context in which the songs of the Servant are found, he need not have associated the song of Cyrus with the fourth Servant song.

Krinetzki's case seems to crash under its own weight. It seems just too neat and too complete. At times it seems to be proving the influence of Isaiah 53 upon Phil. 2:6-11 on the basis of its pre-supposition that Isaiah 53 did influence this hymn. But things are not always what they seem; and if some parts of his case make sense only if Isaiah 53's influence first be proved, other parts do point to Isaiah 53's picture of the suffering Servant. These parts must be studied in the light of possible alternative backgrounds to see if the fourth Servant song not only could but did help shape this hymn.

Schweizer thinks that the hymn writer would have defined what kind of a servant he had in mind with a genitive if he had had some specific picture or pattern upon which he was basing his poem of praise. The phrase "taking the form of a servant" should have added the genitive "of God" if it really was based upon Isaiah 53, he contends.⁴⁰ But this places on the author a straight jacket which he need not have worn. Schweizer may need a genitive to pin down which

⁴⁰Edward Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1960), p. 63.

Servant image the hymn is referring to, but the early Christians could have caught the allusion from the rest of the hymn without such specific direction if Isaiah 53 was one of the Scripture passages which they used in their Christological thinking. "The form of a servant" does not establish Isaiah 53's influence upon this hymn beyond a shadow of a doubt, to be sure. But that phrase's generality does not exclude the possibility of a reflection of the suffering Servant. Schweizer also objects to Isaiah 53 as a background for Phil. 2:6-11 because it would emphasize Christ's uniqueness as a man whereas the hymn emphasizes his general solidarity and oneness with the human race.⁴¹ But Schweizer again tries to rule out the hymn writer's freedom to play up nuances only implicitly stated in the fourth Servant song. The uniqueness of the Servant among men is only implied, too, and he is clearly a man. The hymn writer could have viewed the Servant's humanity as the striking point which he wished to use. Thus, he emphasized it as he did because that was the point he wanted to make on the basis of the picture of the Servant of God, even though that picture did not stress the Servant's humanity.

Schweizer believes that the hymn can be interpreted against the general background of the suffering and exalted

⁴¹Ibid.

righteous figure of late Judaism (see page 41 above). The obedience, death, and exaltation of one who bore the title "Servant" all can fit into the image which Schweizer analyzes from the piety of the Jews. So he believes that the figure of the suffering and exalted Righteous One stands behind this hymn.⁴² But one image from among the various righteous figures of the Old Testament, the Servant of God of Isaiah 53, accounts more fully for the picture of Phil. 2:6-11 than does the general picture of the Righteous One.

Hooker also attacks the case for the influence of Isaiah 53 on Phil. 2:6-11 in regard to the word "servant," for she views the hymn's use of the word "servant" and its phrase "he emptied himself" as the strong points of that case. She contends that is not a title of honor nor the title of the Servant of God in the Septuagint's version of Is. 52:13.⁴³ But as noted above, δούλος is the title of the Servant in Is. 49:3,5, and its verbal form describes his activity in 53:11. Furthermore παῖς, used in the Septuagint's 52:13, and δούλος were used interchangeably in the Septuagint, and Aquila used the latter in 52:13.⁴⁴

⁴²Cf. Martin, Carmen Christi, pp. 191-94.

⁴³Morna D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant. The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament (London: SPCK, 1959), p. 120.

⁴⁴Cf. pp. 110-111 above.

While she admits that κενόω could translate the קָנָה of Is. 53:11, Hooker argues that the relationship between the fourth Servant song and Phil. 2:6-11 is ruled out because this Greek verb does not refer to Christ's death in the hymn.⁴⁵ But the interpretation of κενόω as referring to Christ's death is probable if Jeremias' analysis of the form of the hymn is correct (see page 109 above). Hooker then contends that

Whoever composed the passage, however, it is possible to understand it, not as an interpretation based upon Isa. 53, but as a summary of what actually happened; for the need of the early Church was to show how this Jesus, who had undoubtedly suffered deep humiliation in his life and death, was now highly exalted and proclaimed as Christ by God himself.⁴⁶

Hooker's alternative to the influence of Isaiah 53 upon Phil. 2:6-11 is that the hymn simply describes what actually happened. But this alternative is not a possible analysis of the hymn. If Christ's emptying himself does not refer to his death, then it refers to an act to which the writer of the hymn was not an eyewitness. As a matter of fact, nothing in the hymn is just the product of simple reporting of the facts. While its content may describe what Christians believe actually did happen, the whole hymn is a theological expression of this belief. This theological interpretation

⁴⁵Hooker, p. 121.

⁴⁶Ibid.

had its basis in a knowledge of the events of the passion of Christ. But it took its own expression (and perhaps got its inspiration) from some currently used means or form of expression which the author decided could successfully convey his ideas about his Lord. This means or form of expression could have been the concept of the suffering Servant of God as he was pictured in Isaiah 53.

Bultmann contends that Phil. 2:6-11 sprang from the milieu of the gnostic redeemer myth.⁴⁷ Kaesemann details the case. Judaism confessed that no one is like God; Philo (de lege allegorica I, 49) described the godless as those who want to be like God. But the word ἰσοθεος occurred already in Homer for a hero, and in the Hermetica (I, 13-14) the "Urmensch-Erloeser" was described as "like God" and as one who showed the "beautiful form of God."⁴⁸ The concept of being equal to God was not foreign to Judaism, as Kaesemann would claim; it was rather the desire of the ungodly according to the Jews. The use of the phrase "equal to God" in Phil. 2:6-11 makes it seem to be not a heroic but an ungodly action, if that choice can be properly made at all. Therefore, this phrase would make better sense against its Jewish

⁴⁷Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, translated by Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), I, 175.

⁴⁸Ernst Kaesemann, "Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2,5-11," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, 47 (1950), 332.

background than against the Greek background Kaesemann favors. The Hermetic writings of the third century A.D. could reflect ideas which pre-date Paul, but no certain proof has yet been produced for this. Even if pre-Pauline Gnostics did use the concept of the "form of God," Behm argues that the hymn's use of the phrase shows no evidence of the Hellenistic popular philosophical concept of the "form of God."⁴⁹

Kaesemann does point out that the Hellenistic gnostic understanding of man and of redemption offers explanations of the key elements of the hymn, however. Neither Judaism nor classical Greek anthropology could have viewed man as a slave, he argues,⁵⁰ although he ignores the Septuagint's use of δοῦλος for the Servant of God in suggesting the implications of this. But the Hellenistic brand of religion viewed man as a slave to the powers of the heavens. Kaesemann goes on to identify the hymn's conception of the emptying or humiliation of Christ with a similar view of the "Urmensch-Erloeser" in gnosticism. The basic theme which gnosticism presents, that of God becoming man, is expressed in various ways in gnosticism, and Phil. 2:6-11 suggests itself as one of these ways according to Kaesemann. Similarly, the exaltation and the cosmic adoration spoken of in this hymn echo

⁴⁹Behm, *μορφή*, *TWNT*, IV, 760. English translation, p. 752.

⁵⁰Kaesemann, 47, 346.

the redeemer's exaltation and his adoration by the powers of the heavens as found in gnostic writings.⁵¹ But Dieter Georgi has objected to the association of Phil. 2:6-11 with the gnostic understanding of the "Urmensch-Erloeser" figure for a number of reasons. The Urmensch's position before his coming into this world is not described in its usual way in this Christian hymn. The Urmensch was not an incarnate figure but one who masqueraded in human form; Christ became incarnate. The battle between the Urmensch and the powers opposed to the divine is a prominent part of gnostic mythology but is not even hinted at in Phil. 2:6-11. This hymn does not describe Christ in terms of the objects of his activity as gnostic myths also described the Urmensch. His exaltation was his own accomplishment; the hymn makes God the one who exalted Christ. The phrase "in heaven and on earth and under the earth" should not be placed in a gnostic setting when it is obviously an expansion of a quotation from Is. 45:23.⁵² Georgi's arguments show that the gnostic myth did not serve as a primary literary influence upon the author of Phil. 2:6-11. His arguments do not eliminate the possibility that this hymn

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 342-51; cf. Fuller, p. 208, who attempts to explain the hymn in terms of a Hellenistic Jewish "anthropos-sophia" myth.

⁵²Dieter Georgi, "Der vorpaulinische Hymnus Phil. 2,6-11," in Zeit und Geschichte, Dankesgabe an Rudolph Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag, edited by E. Dinkler (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Paul Siebeck, 1964), pp. 264-65.

is the product of the author's independent thought, shaped by no literary pattern, which used gnostic terms to convey his ideas about Christ. But Kaesemann's case does not prove that gnostic mythical patterns or terminology was in existence as such at the time this hymn was set down. It cannot be certainly demonstrated that gnostic terminology could have influenced Phil. 2:6-11, nor can it be shown that the hymn's words are best understood in light of their significance for the gnostic authors of the early centuries of the Christian era.

Two other biblical figures are said to account for certain words or phrases in this hymn. The first is Adam. He was, according to Gen. 1:26, created in the נִדְבָר of God. Although the Septuagint uses $\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ to translate this Hebrew word, the $\mu\omicron\rho\omega\eta$ of Phil. 2:6 is certainly its synonym.⁵³ This would mean that the hymn views Christ as the Ideal Man. Adam also was faced with the temptation to be equal to God, which is really the equivalent of being "like God," as Gen. 3:5 calls it. And Adam considered that a $\delta\rho\mu\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$. He grasped for equality with God or likeness to him, with results which the early church saw very clearly, as Rom. 5:12-14

⁵³Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, translated by Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p. 176; cf. Hunter, p. 43.

shows.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Paul's own usage indicates that when Jesus Christ is called ἄνθρωπος, as he is in Rom. 5:12-14, or 1 Cor. 15:20-22, he is being contrasted with the first man, Adam. Paul's usage certainly cannot be considered normative for this hymn if it is to be considered pre-Pauline. But Talbert argues that Pauline usage in regard to the Adam/Christ relationship was to be found quite widely within the early church. For Paul used this relationship in the epistle to the Romans, an epistle to a church he had not previously visited, an epistle in which he took pains to speak in terms of a tradition he and his readers would have in common (1:3-4; 4:25; 6:3-5; 8:28-30). Talbert also points to Mark 1:13⁵⁵ as evidence for a widespread Adam/Christ understanding of Jesus.⁵⁶ However, Paul's usage can hardly be determined with certainty from just a few instances. Even if it could, it would not be normative for the whole church. The author of this hymn need not have been specifically associating Christ with Adam when he used the word ἄνθρωπος. But a comparison between Adam and Christ does help explain the first two

⁵⁴Cullmann, p. 178; Martin, An Early Christian Confession, pp. 21-22.

⁵⁵"And he was in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan; and he was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered to him."

⁵⁶Charles H. Talbert, "The Problem of Pre-existence in Philippians 2,6-11," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXVI (1957), 149-50.

clauses of the hymn by providing a contrast to Christ's refusal to count equality a thing to be grasped. But this Adam/Christ comparison does not explain much of the rest of the hymn.

Connected with this suggestion that the image of Adam has influenced Phil. 2:6-11 is the suggestion that the Son of Man image from Daniel 7 is also in its background. Cullmann contends that Adam was viewed in late Judaism in terms of the oriental Ideal Man who also stands behind the Son of Man.⁵⁷ Lohmeyer argues that the phrase $\alpha\varsigma \text{ ἄνθρωπος}$ is the exact Greek equivalent of the Aramaic Son of Man, as found in Dan. 7:13.⁵⁸ True as this may be, the Septuagint translated this phrase $\alpha\varsigma \text{ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου}$, and the Gospels used the term $\delta \text{ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου}$, also in contexts which point to Daniel 7 (Mark 14:62). Although this hymn preceded the writing of the Gospels and although the author of the hymn was not bound by the translation of another anyway, the hymn's translation of the title from Dan. 7:13 is at variance with what is known of early Christian usage. If a combination of the images of Adam and the Son of Man influenced Phil. 2:6-11, then the exaltation of Christ can be explained against the exaltation of the latter.⁵⁹ But there are no specific verbal

⁵⁷Cullmann, pp. 137-52.

⁵⁸Lohmeyer, p. 40.

⁵⁹Cullmann, pp. 180-81.

or conceptual connections between Christ and the Son of Man beyond the general one of exaltation. If there were greater evidence for the presence of the image of the Son of Man behind this hymn, then its exaltation motif might also be easily viewed in the light of Daniel 7 or another Son of Man text from late Judaism. But "like a man" is a somewhat problematical association with the phrase from Daniel 7.

Had an identification of the Son of Man and the suffering Servant been made before the author of this hymn sat down to write, he might have made the identification himself all the more easily. But Sjöberg points out the fallacies in Jeremias' argument for this association of the two figures in the Similitudes of Enoch.⁶⁰ Even though titles there assigned to the Son of Man, "the Righteous One" (38:2; 53:6), and "the Elect One" (53:6), are also titles of the Servant of God, this does not mean that the two figures can be associated. For these titles are generally used in the Old Testament. The kings of 1 Enoch 46 and 62 worship the Son of Man and are judged by him; the Servant of God in Is. 52:14 only amazes the kings. The description of the Son of Man in 1 Enoch 48:4 matches that of the Servant in Is. 42:1, a light to the Gentiles. This is not so common a description in the Old

⁶⁰Erik Sjöberg, Der Menschensohn im Äthiopischen Henochbuch (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946), pp. 120-39, refutes Joachim Jeremias in Erloeser und Erloesung in Spaetjudentum und Urchristentum (Frankfurt am Main, 1929), pp. 106-19.

Testament, yet its presence in 1 Enoch does not bring with it full enough details to make certain any connection between the Son of Man and the Servant. More important, according to Mowinckel,⁶¹ is the fact that "in the entire apocalyptic literature there is not a single passage which suggests that it is part of the vocation of the Son of Man that he must suffer and die to atone for the sins of men." But even if no association between the two figures was present before the Christian era, Mark 10:45 might suggest that the Son of Man and the suffering Servant images had come together within the Christian community's thinking on Jesus. The Son of Man image's influence upon Phil. 2:6-11 is doubtful; but if it is present, it does not necessarily argue against the Servant of God image in the hymn's background. Its author could have combined two Old Testament images.

The same thing is true if the image of Adam helped shape the view of Christ presented in this hymn. Rom. 5:12-14, which discusses Christ as the Second Adam, may also bring the two figures of Adam and the Servant of the Lord together in explaining the work of Christ. This passage is discussed below. So the Old Testament images of Adam and Son of Man do not rule out the presence of the influence of Isaiah 53 upon Phil. 2:6-11. They could even suggest that it is present;

⁶¹Sigmund Mowinckel, He That Cometh, translated by G. W. Anderson (New York: Abingdon Press, 1955), p. 410.

for if the Old Testament accounts for certain parts of the hymn, it should also account for others. The suffering Servant of God image does explain those parts of the hymn for which the image of Adam does not account.

The image of the suffering Servant of God of Isaiah 53 can help explain the hymn of Phil. 2:6-11 by providing a fuller picture of what certain of its words and phrases meant to its author. If the fourth Servant song served as his pattern for understanding of Christ, then "taking the form of a servant" would describe the role Christ came to play. As a man, like the Servant, Christ humbled himself by pouring out his life, his very self; his obedience led him to death. But like the Servant, Christ was exalted by God. The author of Phil. 2:6-11 may have been taking basic ideas from Isaiah 53, perhaps shifting some emphases in the process, but still viewing Christ as the fulfillment of that prophetic figure. If these basic ideas of the hymn are influenced by Isaiah 53, then other influences in word choice, such as some of those suggested by Krinetzki, may possibly be present also. Martin comments that the data for the proposal that Isaiah 53 forms the background of Phil. 2:6-11 sustains an identification of Christ and the Servant in the hymn but leaves one or two points unexplained.⁶² But the influence

⁶²Martin, Carmen Christi, p. 195. His ambiguous conclusion seems to favor Schweitzer's case but does not detail his reasons.

of Isaiah 53 is not stamped so firmly or so boldly upon Phil. 2:6-11 that alternatives to its influence can be completely dismissed. The author of the hymn could have used words which took their meaning from other religious or secular usages and composed an original and independent theological expression of the significance of Christ for him.

The use to which Paul put this hymn in his epistle to the Philippians is hortatory. Paul urges the Philippians to be humble and to look after one another. As an example of humility and concern for others Paul points to Christ Jesus and explains his Lord's humility and concern by citing a hymn. Paul did not specifically make a point of the comparison between Christ and the Servant outside the hymn. If he were its author, he naturally would not have, because the point is made inside it. If he was not its author, he might not have made such a special reference to the comparison because he thought his readers would be aware that Christ was pictured as the suffering Servant of God in this hymn. But he also might have omitted such a special reference because he was not particularly concerned with the comparison of Christ Jesus to the Servant but only with the comparison of the Philippian Christians to Christ. As a Jew who was immersed in the Scripture, both in its Hebrew and Greek forms, Paul should have been able to pick up allusions to the Servant of God motif when they were present. If such

allusions form the outline of this hymn, then he must have recognized the comparison of Christ and the Servant to have been a good one. But buried as such allusions are within the structure of the hymn itself, they need not have been Paul's reason for using this hymn at this place. He could have simply wanted to make the point that Christ was humble and concerned for others, so much so that he poured out his life. He might have known that the Servant of God motif was not so well known or so easily understood in Philippi. On the other hand, he might have used the hymn because he knew it would call to the Philippians' minds not only the event of Christ's life but a framework in which Christ's work was seen as that of the suffering Servant of God. Thus, Paul's use of the hymn of Phil. 2:6-11 does not give any certain indication of the part Isaiah 53's image of the Servant did play in his own thinking and preaching.

Romans 5:15, 19

15. But the free gift is not like the trespass. For if many died through one man's trespass, much more have the grace of God and the free gift in the grace of that one man Jesus Christ abounded for many. . . . 19. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by one man's obedience many will be made righteous.

Nothing indicates that pre-Pauline formulations have been placed into the apostle's discussion of Jesus Christ as the Second Adam in Romans 5. The discussion flows quite

freely, and the few words which have been attributed to the influence of Isaiah 53 can hardly be construed as pre-Pauline formulas.

Two factors in Paul's presentation of Christ as the Second Adam may be connected with Isaiah 53. The first is found in verse 15, where "the many" (οἱ πολλοί) are said to have died through Adam's trespass while the grace of God in Christ abounded for them. In verses 12 and 18, Adam's sin and thus death spread to "all," not to "many"; likewise verse 18 says that one man's act of righteousness leads to acquittal and life for "all." Why was the word "many" used in verse 15? The Hebrew מֵאֲדָמָה, translated πολλοί in the Septuagint, was used occasionally in the Old Testament to mean a group so large it could not be counted and thus came to mean the totality or the whole. This use is infrequent in the Old Testament, but in Isaiah 53 it occurs five times, as a substantive with an article (53:11,12) and without (52:14; 53:12), and as an attributive adjective (52:15). Its infrequent use generally and its concentration in Isaiah 53 cause Jeremias to view the use of πολλοί in the sense of the totality as a special characteristic of the Servant. His work was done for the "many."⁶³ On this basis Jeremias and Romaniuk account for the use of the word in Rom. 5:15.⁶⁴ If

⁶³Jeremias, πολλοί, TWNT, VI, 536-41.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 541; Romaniuk, XXIII, 19.

the fourth Servant song had been influencing Paul in his thinking at this point it is strange that its influence is not more clearly visible. If Paul really wanted to point to Christ as the Servant of God, why did he simply use the terminology for the objects of the Servant's work instead of the specific descriptions of the Servant and his work which are found in Isaiah 53? A possible answer is that Adam was the dominant figure behind his presentation of Christ in this passage but that the apostle also wanted his readers to see that the grace of God came through Christ as the Servant of God. Remote as this possibility seems, verse 19, within the context of this statement from verse 15, does contain the word "many" again and may have a stronger connection with Isaiah 53. Whether verse 15 can be viewed as an indication that Paul was using the Servant of God motif in connection with that of Adam in Romans 5 must be decided on the basis of the presence of the former motif in verse 19.

In Rom. 5:19 obedience, certainly a characteristic of the Servant of God, is the instrument by which Christ causes the "many" to become righteous (δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί). In Is. 53:11 the Servant causes the many to be accounted righteous, according to the Hebrew text; the Septuagint paraphrases it to make the Servant the one who is accounted righteous. Paul's statement in Rom. 5:19 does not directly translate the Hebrew of Is. 53:11 but is a possible paraphrase

which retains the meaning of the Hebrew text. However, the concept of the righteousness is so basic in Paul, yet occurs so often without any allusion to Isaiah 53, that any specific connection between the fourth Servant song and Rom. 5:19 cannot be established with certainty. Christ's obedience suggests another possible point of comparison with the Servant. Although the fourth Servant song does not specifically speak of his obedience in exactly that word, the Servant was obedient to God. But Stanley is correct when he points out that the concept of obedience is more likely present in Rom. 5:19 because Christ is being contrasted to Adam.⁶⁵ The term "many" may be a strong indication that Paul had Isaiah 53 in mind, but it is not so strong that it can make its case without further support. This support is not present. Of all the passages considered in this study Rom. 5:12-21 is perhaps the least likely to have been written under the influence of Isaiah 53 or to convey the image of the Servant of God as a pattern for understanding of Jesus Christ.

If Isaiah 53 did influence Paul slightly in this passage, the apostle looked to it only for the word for the object of Christ's work and possibly for an explanation of what Christ did, that is, he caused the many to become righteous. Paul

⁶⁵David M. Stanley, "The Theme of the Servant of Yahweh in Primitive Christian Soteriology and its Transposition by St. Paul," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XVI, 4 (October 1954), 414.

would have been making passing references to Isaiah 53, but such reference indicates probably that the terms and ideas of that chapter were deeply ingrained into his way of thinking. But the evidence for such a conclusion is not supplied by Rom. 5:15 and 19.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Paul's Use of Isaiah 53: Why or Why Not? (Suggestions for Further Study)

This study has attempted to examine favorably the arguments for Paul's use of the image of the suffering Servant of the Lord as a pattern for his understanding of Jesus Christ. Yet while evidence is present which argues for the influence of Isaiah 53 upon the thought of Paul (either indirectly or directly), most of the passages studied cannot be absolutely identified as the result of conscious meditation upon the fourth Servant song. Why did Paul use the fourth Servant song so seldom if at all? For even if its influence is present in each of the passages here considered, the quantity of references in the Pauline corpus to Christ in terms of the Servant of God is small. Or, if this influence of the Servant of God image was truly important to Paul, what can account for its elusive nature even when it is present? The answers to these questions, which can lead a scholar deep into the flights of speculation which accompany trans-millennial psychological analysis, lie beyond the scope of this study. However, some of the suggestions offered will be briefly reviewed in the following paragraphs.

Taylor ventures the suggestion that Paul did not use Isaiah 53 because the apostle shrank from pinning the title δοῦλος upon Jesus. Paul could not forget his Hebrew Bible, Taylor says; there ἰσχυρῶς meant δοῦλος, not παῖς, a more honorable title. Paul could call himself δοῦλος but he could not bring himself to call his Lord that. But Taylor shrinks back from his own conclusion and finally simply states that the final answer to why Paul did not use Isaiah 53 more, or more clearly, is unknown.¹

Some have suggested that Paul used the image of the Servant of God as a pattern for his own ministry, and therefore, he did not use the image to describe his Lord. The quotation from Rom. 15:21, mentioned in Chapter I of this study (see pages 8-9 above), demonstrates that Paul thought of his ministry in terms of at least one verse of the fourth Servant song. However, this verse does not associate Paul with the Servant of God. Stanley sees the influence of the Servant upon Paul's description of himself in Gal. 1:15-16. There the Apostle says,

But when he who had set me apart before I was born (literally, *"from the womb of my mother"*) and had called me through grace was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach among the Gentiles, I did not confer with flesh and blood.

¹Vincent Taylor, The Atonement in New Testament Teaching (London: The Epworth Press, 1945), p. 66.

The Servant described himself in similar terms in the second song (Is. 49:1): "From the womb of my mother he (the Lord) called my name," according to the Septuagint. The word "call" (καλοῦν) and the phrase "from the womb of my mother" (ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου) in Gal. 1:15 are taken from the Septuagint version of Is. 49:1, Stanley asserts.² Although Jer. 1:5 describes Jeremiah in terms similar to the description of the Servant in Is. 49:1, the latter passage has more likely influenced Paul in Gal. 1:15 because other elements from the second Servant song also appear in Paul's description of himself, Stanley argues. He points to Phil. 2:16 where Paul states that in the day of Christ he hopes to be proud that he did not run in vain or labor in vain (εἰς κενόν ἐκοπίασα). This statement is parallel (although opposite in meaning) to the Servant's words, "I have labored in vain (κενῶς ἐκοπίασα), I have spent my strength for nothing and vanity," Stanley says. The verb κοπιῶν also is used by Paul with reference to his

²David M. Stanley, "The Theme of the Servant of Yahweh in Primitive Christian Soteriology and its Transposition by St. Paul," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XVI, 4 (October 1954), 415; Edward Carus Selwyn, The Oracles in the New Testament (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911), p. 251, compiled a longer list of words, scattered throughout the Pauline corpus, which are also found in Is. 49:1-8. Cf. Alexander Kerrigan, "Echoes of Themes from the Servant Songs in Pauline Theology," in Analecta Biblica, 17-18 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963), 217-228, who concludes that Paul did use Servant of God language from the four Isaian Servant songs of himself but viewed his own servanthood as subordinate and secondary to that of his Lord.

own work in Gal. 4:11. To this can be added the many passages in which Paul referred to himself as the *δοῦλος* of God or of Christ (Rom. 1:1; 1 Cor. 7:22; Gal. 1:10; Phil. 1:1; 2 Tim. 2:24; Titus 1:1). But only in the case of Gal. 1:15 does Stanley's case seem somewhat convincing. Paul's calling himself the *δοῦλος* of Christ is easily explained by the simple sociological definition of that word although that explanation does not rule out the possibility that he understood the word against the background of the Servant of God. Paul's labors may be described with the verb *κοπιᾶν* because Paul viewed his continuing work as well as his call (as in Gal. 1:15) in terms of the Servant of God. But he does not give any strong and clear indication outside Gal. 1:15 that he did look upon himself as the Servant of God. Nor does his possible use of 49:1-3 as a pattern for describing his own ministry rule out his use of Isaiah 53 as a pattern for describing his Lord. For the connection between the Servant songs may not have been as definite to a first century rabbi as it is to a modern Old Testament scholar. Therefore, the suggestion that Paul did not use the suffering Servant of God as a pattern for his description of Jesus Christ because he used the picture of the Servant of God in Isaiah 49 for himself does not seem to serve as an adequate explanation of Paul's use (or non-use) of Isaiah 53.

Schweizer explains that "Servant of God" was such a general title that the early church could not have used it specifically for the figure presented in Isaiah 53.³ That is why, according to him, Paul does not use the fourth Servant song as a pattern for describing Christ. As this study has shown, only once in the Pauline corpus, in Phil. 2:7, is the title "servant" given to Christ. But the failure of the apostle or of the early church to make great use of the title assigned to the figure of Isaiah 53 does not also rule out their use of that figure as a pattern for the description of Christ. This study has shown the possibility of the use of certain words from Isaiah 53 to describe Christ even though the title "servant" is not used in connection with them. Schweizer is convincing in his basic theory that the general motif of the suffering and exalted Righteous One, who often bore the title "Servant of God," stands behind much of the New Testament's description of the work of Jesus. But this does not rule out the use of one specific Old Testament example of the Righteous One, the suffering Servant of God, as a pattern for the description of Christ.

Hooker does not find the figure of the suffering Servant of God in Paul's writings. She attributes this to the decrease of Jewish influence upon Christian thought and the

³Edward Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1960), pp. 50-51.

ever-growing influence of Hellenistic concepts upon the church. She argues that the title of "servant" implies a subordination which its near synonym "son" does not imply. Thus, the title "servant" could not be used when it was cut off from its Old Testament associations; Paul's readers who came from Gentile origins would not have understood references to a suffering "Servant" of God who was also supposed to be their Lord and Savior, according to Hooker.⁴

Suggestions based upon the belief that Paul did incorporate Isaiah 53's picture of the suffering Servant of God into his own theology attempt to explain why Paul did not use this picture in his writings more than he did. In his According to the Scriptures Dodd lists the New Testament passages which use certain psalms to describe the suffering and death of Christ.⁵ He cites no Pauline passage. Paul did not dwell upon the description of the suffering and death of Christ in his epistles, and so he had no occasion to use either Psalms or Isaiah 53, which primarily speaks of suffering and death. Cullmann must have made a similar observation, for he argues that Paul did not use the title

⁴Morna D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant. The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament (London: SPCK, 1959), p. 109.

⁵C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), pp. 96-103.

"Servant of God" because it did not fit. It was not the readers' vocabulary or understanding which made the title "servant" no longer acceptable, as Hooker suggests. It was Paul's own theology. The suffering Servant of God image is applicable chiefly to the earthly work of Jesus, Cullmann comments, and continues:

But since Paul can see Christ only in the light of the event of the resurrection, he must make use of another title to designate Christ's person and work--the title Kyrios, which points to the exalted Lord who allows his Church to take part in the fruits of his atoning death and who at the same time continues his function as Mediator.⁶

This idea has been taken up by Rodney W. Loose in his study of Paul's use of Isaiah 53. He has carefully analyzed the occurrence of the title "Lord" in the passages which suggest that Isaiah 53 may have influenced their expression. He concludes that the title "Lord" does occur in context in which the title Servant of God should be expected and that therefore Cullmann's basic assertion quoted above is correct.⁷

But Paul uses the title "Lord" outside these contexts where the fourth Servant song may have helped shape the apostle's

⁶Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, translated by Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), pp. 77-78.

⁷Rodney W. Loose, The Concept of the Servant in Pauline Literature (Unpublished research paper, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1966), pp. 18-25.

or the church's description of Jesus. More complete analysis of this suggestion is yet necessary.

Bacon asserts that Paul does not usually present his basic Gospel message as such when writing to his churches. It can be gleaned from his letters only through the perspective of his apologetic or polemic.⁸ Therefore, except in an occasional passage like 1 Cor. 15:3-5, he did not have occasion to use Isaiah 53. Dodd explains Paul's failure to cite the fourth Servant song by pointing out that nowhere in the Pauline corpus is there a full discussion of the scriptural warrant for regarding Jesus as the Messiah or for his suffering, death, and resurrection. This is because the epistles were not written to people who needed convincing on these points. Therefore, Paul did not have occasion to spell out precisely just what place Isaiah 53's image of the suffering Servant of God did have in his theology.⁹ A certain answer to the problem of why Paul did not use Isaiah 53 as a pattern for his description of Jesus is still to be supported, if not also still to be formulated.

Summary

To what conclusions, then, has this study come? Early in the research behind this study, it was noted that within

⁸Benjamin W. Bacon, Jesus and Paul (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), p. 108.

⁹Dodd, p. 18.

the Pauline corpus a number of the passages which might contain allusions to the figure of the Servant of God seemed to be pre-Pauline creedal, hymnic, or catechetical formulae. However, no generalization could be drawn. Among those passages which presented Christ as one "handed over" for men or for sin, at least Rom. 8:32-34 is not a pre-Pauline formula. Both 2 Cor. 5:21 and Rom. 8:3, which may understand Jesus and his giving of himself into death as a guilt-offering, cannot be pre-Pauline in origin. The association of the Servant of God with the Second Adam figure, if it is present in Rom. 5:15 and 19, may be pre-Pauline, but that association is not expressed within a pre-Pauline formulation by the apostle in Romans 5. Some of the passages considered in the first chapter of this study have the characteristics of creedal or catechetical formulae yet are so brief that they could be Paul's own catch phrases or cliches which he made up himself and liked to use. Every preacher has a store of such phrases. On the other hand, passages which bear the marks of formal composition, such as Rom. 4:25 and Phil. 2:6-11, can be assigned to someone other than Paul with some degree of certainty. In the passages where Paul specifically states that he is using early Christian formulations, such as 1 Cor. 15:3-5 and 1 Cor. 11:23, the modern student can be certain that Paul was using the traditions which he had received from the hand of others.

However, the conclusion that most of the possible allusions to Isaiah 53 in Paul were not of his own composition does not mean that the content of these formulations was unimportant to him. In some passages, such as 1 Cor. 11:23 and even Phil. 2:6-11, it is difficult, if not impossible, to tell precisely how Paul might have thought of Jesus in terms of the suffering Servant. But in most of the other pre-Pauline formulations under consideration, Paul uses the suggested allusion to Isaiah 53 in such a way that a modern student can see his personal understanding and use of the picture of Christ as the suffering Servant.

But did Paul really use the picture of the Servant of God from the fourth Servant song, either in his formulation of his message or in the standardized formulations of the Christian congregations to whom he was writing? The use of the concept of "handing over" in the absolute form of the verb παραδίδόναι can best be traced to Isaiah 53 in the Septuagint translation. Other literary figures, most notably the Maccabean martyrs and the righteous one of the Wisdom of Solomon, provide what could have been a pattern for describing the passion and death of Jesus. But in the fourth Servant song, and nowhere else, the word παραδίδόναι is used as a summary word for suffering and death. It is used of the suffering and death of one who bore the sins of others and was seemingly free from sin himself. When an early Christian

confession uses this word for the suffering and death of Jesus, as does Rom. 4:25, Isaiah 53 recommends itself as the source of that word and the pattern for that description of Christ. The rabbi from Tarsus, product of both the Hebrew and the Greek worlds and a citizen of both, could hardly have missed such an allusion, even if he did not originally think of it and record it. If the concept of being "handed over" for sin or for men is drawn from its most likely literary source, Isaiah 53, in Rom. 4:25, then that concept may bring with it the connotations of the fourth Servant song whenever it occurs in Paul. But the word παραδίδωαι was also used in the Greek world as a term for handing a man over to judgment. This common, general meaning does not seem a probable background to the use of the word in a Christian confession, especially when a passage of sacred scripture used it as does Isaiah 53. But there is no certain indication, in Rom. 4:25 or any of the other passages which use the concept, that Paul and/or the early church did indeed use the figure of the Servant of God as a pattern for speaking of Jesus Christ. The concept of "handing over" is also conveyed by the verb δίδωαι, and this verb translates the Hebrew which stands behind at least one instance of the Septuagint's use of παραδίδωαι in Isaiah 53, just as well as this latter verb does. But the alternatives for the background of the use of δίδωαι in connection with the death of Christ are offered

by the books of the Maccabees and by the common use of the verb in everyday speech. It may seem probable that the scriptural fourth Servant song influenced the formulations studied in this paper, even when they departed from the Septuagint's παραδιδόναι to the use of δίδοναι. But none of the passages give a certain sign of a definite relationship to Isaiah 53.

The figure of the suffering Servant of God easily explains the confession of 1 Cor. 15:3-5 with its reference to the scriptural warrant for the death, burial, resurrection, and appearances of Christ. Even though the fourth Servant song speaks of the Servant's death and burial and may hint at his resurrection (or more properly, vindication) and his appearances, the confession does not provide proof for its association with Isaiah 53. That chapter does offer a possible pattern upon which the confession might have been based and a possible catena of proof passages for explaining the divine necessity of what happened to Jesus. But the usage of the New Testament elsewhere does not indicate clearly that Isaiah 53 was so used. So the background of 1 Cor. 15:3-5 remains beyond the grasp of the modern student.

Paul may have personally viewed the work of Christ in terms of the guilt-offering which the Servant of God became. But if the apostle did so, he obscured the background of his thinking at least for the modern student, by using the

ambiguous word ἀμαρτία. This word does reproduce the term used in Isaiah 53 for guilt-offering, but its common, general sense of "sin" provides a possible alternative interpretation. Even though it may seem to make more sense for Paul to have viewed Jesus Christ as a guilt-offering, like the human guilt-offering of the Servant of God, Paul might have pictured Christ as becoming sin itself in 2 Cor. 5:21 and might have presented the purpose of his coming as "because of sin" in Rom. 8:3. So Paul's use of the Servant as a guilt-offering to depict the work of Christ cannot be established with certainty.

Phil. 2:6-11 can be interpreted as an exposition of the story of Christ Jesus, from divine pre-existence through death as a man to divine exaltation, based upon the Old Testament figures of Adam and the suffering Servant of God. These two figures provide a complete background for the hymn. The Servant of God assumed servanthood and was certainly a man. He poured out his life and was humbled even to death. And he was exalted. This is what the hymn in Phil. 2:6-11 says happened to Christ. This interpretation demands that the traditional understanding of the order or structure of the hymn be discarded. But Jeremias has provided an analysis of the hymn's structure which does justice to the demands of poetry and explains its message in terms of the Servant of God. Yet the words of the hymn can be understood from the

meanings they had in the secular and/or religious milieu of the day. The hymn does not insist upon an interpretation which traces its author's pattern and inspiration to the Old Testament. And so it is uncertain whether this hymn represents a "paidology" in the liturgical life of the early church and in the preaching of Paul. Rom. 5:15 and 19 do not do much to support the contention that the suffering Servant figure was associated by Paul with that of the Second Adam. That contention is important to the interpretation of Phil. 2:6-11 as a product of meditation upon Old Testament types. For together Adam and the Servant account for the whole hymn. The Servant figure alone fails to account for the first lines of the first strophe.

We then would like to come to a firm conclusion that we headed in the right direction when we set out to find Paul's use of the suffering Servant motif from Isaiah 53. But the research behind this study has not been able to justify such a firm conclusion. For Morna Hooker's principle, which she lays down in her study of the Synoptic Gospels' use of Isaiah 53, is sound. She states:

To claim that there is verbal similarity between a New Testament passage and an Old Testament one cannot be taken as conclusive evidence of direct influence unless it can be shown that the language and ideas found in the New Testament reference have come from, and could only have come from, that particular Old Testament passage. Unless the New Testament passage is an actual quotation from the Old Testament, or contains an idea

found uniquely in that Old Testament reference, then the claim remains only as subsidiary evidence, and cannot be accepted as proof of any identification.¹⁰

Only such conclusive evidence as Hooker demands can justify a firm conclusion. Yet the suspicion remains that such a stringent criterion, although necessary for certainty, deprives the modern student from insight into the real thought process of the Christians of two thousand years ago. For many a specific allusion in any piece of literature has more than one possible source or pattern, yet must be understood in the light of one certain source or pattern to be understood in its full meaning. Therefore, Hooker's principle must stand, but its implications should be rejected. Certainty of proof must demand that there be no possible alternative for an explanation against a specific Old Testament background. Yet lack of certain proof cannot definitely eliminate the possibility that a certain alternative does offer the correct solution to an exegetical problem. Probabilities must be weighed in making a final decision. But mere probabilities are not particularly satisfying.

These probabilities vary in the passages studied in this paper. This study has illustrated that the presence of the suffering Servant of God pattern for speaking of Jesus Christ seems to be quite probable in some passages which scholars

¹⁰Hooker, p. 62.

have suggested as the products of meditation upon Isaiah 53 (Rom. 4:25). This study has also shown that other passages which carry the same suggestion from some scholars do not seem to be products of that influence. The final conviction of an individual student, it is to be suspected with some regret, will depend all too often not on the student's careful, scientific, exegetical study but upon the dogmatic and/or emotional pre-suppositions with which he first thought of and then approached the problem.

The words "could," "may," and "might" occur altogether too often in this study. They are necessitated by the chasm of six thousand miles, two thousand years, and a couple of cultures. And so we can come to no firmer conclusion than this: the figure of the suffering Servant of God probably is lurking behind Paul's written work. It probably did influence Paul in his own thinking and his own preaching of Jesus. It exerted this influence not only directly but also through the formulations of other Christians.

If this is true, what part did this image of Christ as the fulfillment of the figure of the suffering Servant of God in Paul's personal theology have? Phil. 2:6-11 might indicate that Christ as the Servant of God serves as an example of humility. But it is not clear that Paul believed that the image of the Servant of God was vital for his example. Eph. 5:2 and 25 show that, if Isaiah 53 stands behind

these verses, Paul held up Christ, the suffering Servant, as an example for the general way of life of the members of the church and also for the love which husbands are to show their wives.

But this parenetic use of the figure of the Servant of God was not the more important use to which Paul may have put that figure. In the rest of the passages considered, in varying degrees, Paul confessed his faith and his understanding of what the life and the work of Jesus Christ meant. He did this by depicting Christ as the Servant of God or by using formulations which pictured his Lord as this suffering Servant. If the assumption is correct that the word *παράδοσθαι* brought with it the picture of the Servant of God, then Paul, with the early church, viewed Christ's suffering and death as that of the Servant of God. That means that Christ's death happened by the plan of God and that it happened for the sake of men and because of their sin. That means that Christ's death accomplished the work which had been accomplished by the guilt-offering of the Old Testament, a means of expression which Paul may have used independently. That means that Christ bore the sin of men and then makes intercession for them.

Paul did not use the figure of the Servant of God much if at all in his epistles. The first part of this chapter has suggested possible avenues of investigation to determine

why he did not. But if Isaiah 53 did influence his thinking and if the figure of the suffering Servant of God was one of the ways he used to describe and picture Jesus Christ and what he accomplished, then it is not surprising that before one expression which is possibly the result of meditation upon Isaiah 53, 1 Cor. 15:3-5, Paul could say, *"I want to remind you of the terms I used to preach the Gospel to you . . . the Gospel by which you are saved."* For if Paul was thinking of Christ in terms of the fourth Servant song in the passages which this study has considered, that Old Testament passage did provide him with a pattern for picturing the good news which Christ acted out, as he filled the image of the suffering Servant of God.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary Sources and Tools

- Bauer, Walter. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Translated and adapted by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Blass, F., and A. Debrunner. A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Translated and revised by Robert W. Funk. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Charles, R. H., editor. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
- Hatch, Edwin, and Henry A. Redpath. A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1954.
- Kittel, Rudolph, editor. Biblia Hebraica. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1959.
- Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner, editors. Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958.
- Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott, editors. A Greek-English Lexicon. Revised and augmented by Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1953.
- Lisowsky, Gerhard, editor. Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1958.
- Moulton, James Hope, and George Milligan. The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources. London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1952.
- Moulton, W. G., and A. S. Geden. A Concordance to the Greek New Testament. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1953.

Nestle, Eberhard, and Kurt Aland, editors. Novum Testamentum Graece. 25th edition. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1963.

Rahlfs, Alfred, editor. Septuaginta. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1952.

Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel (Volumes I-IV) and Gerhard Friedrich (V-). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933-. English translation by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-.

B. Secondary Sources: Books

Abbott, Edwin A. Paradosis, or "In the Night in Which He Was (?) Betrayed." London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904.

Bacon, Benjamin W. Jesus and Paul. New York: Macmillan Company, 1921.

Barrett, C. K. The Pastoral Epistles in the New English Bible. (New Clarendon Series). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

Bornhauser, Karl. Jesus Imperator Mundi. (Phil 3, 17-21, 2: 5-12). Gütersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1938.

Bouttier, Michel. Christianity According to Paul. Translated by Frank Clarke. London: SCM Press, (1964), 1966.

Bultmann, Rudolf. Theology of the New Testament. Volumes I and II. Translated by Kendrick Grobel. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951.

Burton, Ernest DeWitt. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1921.

Cerfaux, Lucien. Christ in the Theology of St. Paul. Translated by Geoffrey Webb and Adrian Walker. New York: Herder and Herder, 1959.

Cullmann, Oscar. The Christology of the New Testament. Translated by Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959.

- . The Earliest Christian Confessions. Translated by J. K. S. Reid. London: Lutterworth Press, 1949.
- . The Early Church. Studies in Early Christian History and Theology. Edited by A. J. B. Higgins. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956.
- Davies, W. D. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology. London: SPCK, 1965.
- Dawe, Donald G. The Form of a Servant. A Historical Analysis of the Kenotic Motif. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963.
- Dodd, C. H. According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953.
- Ellis, E. Earle. Paul's Use of the Old Testament. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957.
- Fuller, Reginald H. The Foundations of New Testament Christology. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965.
- . The Mission and Achievement of Jesus. An Examination of the Presuppositions of New Testament Theology. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1954.
- Goppelt, L. Typos: die Typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966.
- Hahn, Ferdinand. Christologische Hoheitstitel; ihre Geschichte im frühen Christentum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1963.
- Hegermann, Harold. Jesaja 53 in Hexapla, Targum, und Peschitta. Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1954.
- Hering, Jean. The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians. Translation by A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock. London: Epworth Press, 1962.
- Hooker, Morna D. Jesus and the Servant. The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament. London: SPCK, 1959.
- Hunter, A. M. Paul and His Predecessors. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1961.

- Jeremias, Joachim. The Central Message of the New Testament. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965.
- . The Eucharistic Words of Jesus. Translated by Norman Perrin. London: SCM Press, 1966.
- Kelly, J. N. D. A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, I Timothy, II Timothy, Titus. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1963.
- . Early Christian Creeds. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1960.
- Kuss, Otto. Der Römerbrief. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1963.
- Lietzmann, Hans. An die Korinther I. II. Edited by Werner Georg Kümmel. Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1949.
- Lock, Walter. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles (I and II Timothy and Titus). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924.
- Lohmeyer, Ernst. Gottesknecht und Davidsohn. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1953.
- . Der Brief an die Philipper. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1954.
- . Kyrios Jesus. Eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2,5-11. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961.
- Lohse, Edward. Märtyrer und Gottesknecht. Untersuchungen zur Urchristlichen Verkündigung vom Sühntod Jesu Christi. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1963.
- Loose, Rodney W. The Concept of the Servant in Pauline Literature. Unpublished Research Paper, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1966.
- Manson, T. W. The Servant Messiah: A Study of the Public Ministry of Jesus. Cambridge: University Press, 1961.
- Martin, Ralph P. Carmen Christi: Philippians II, 5-11. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967.
- . An Early Christian Confession: Philippians II: 5-11 in Recent Interpretation. London: The Tyndale Press, 1960.

- Martin-Achard, Robert. From Death to Life. A Study of the Development of the Doctrine of the Resurrection in the Old Testament. Translated by John Penney Smith. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1960.
- Michel, Otto. Der Brief an die Römer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1955.
- Moore, George Foot. Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of the Tannaim. 3 volumes. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.
- Morris, Leon. The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross. London: Tyndale Press, 1955.
- Moule, C. F. D. The Birth of the New Testament. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.
- Mowinckel, Sigmund. He That Cometh. Translated by G. W. Anderson. New York: Abingdon Press, 1955.
- Neufeld, Vernon H. The Earliest Christian Confessions. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1963.
- Norden, Edward. Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede. Leipzig: Verlag B. G. Teubner, 1913.
- North, Christopher R. The Second Isaiah. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary to Chapters XL - LV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
- Oepke, Albrecht. Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1957.
- Plummer, Alfred. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1915.
- Popkes, Wiard. Christus Traditus. Eine Untersuchung zum Begriff der Dahingabe im Neuen Testament. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1967.
- Rawlinson, A. E. J. The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ. London: Longmans, Green, and Company, Ltd., 1926.
- Robertson, Archibald, and Alfred Plummer. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1914.

- Robinson, H. Wheeler. The Cross in the Old Testament. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1955.
- Robinson, J. Armitage. St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. London: James Clark and Co. Ltd., n.d.
- Sanday, Wm., and Arthur C. Headlam. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.
- Schlier, Heinrich. Der Brief an die Epheser. Ein Kommentar. Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1963.
- Der Brief an die Galater. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1965.
- Schmidt, Hans Wilhelm. Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1962.
- Schoel, Jerome T. I Corinthians 15:3b-5: Primitive Christian Proclamation. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1967.
- Schweizer, Edward. Lordship and Discipleship. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1960.
- Seeberg, Alfred. Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit. München: Ch. Kaiser Verlag, 1966 (1903).
- Selwyn, Edward Carus. The Oracles in the New Testament. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911.
- Sjöberg, Erik. Der Menschensohn im Äthiopischen Henochbuch. Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1946.
- Der verborgene Menschensohn in den Evangelien. Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1955.
- Stauffer, Ethelbert. New Testament Theology. Translated by John Marsh. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1955.
- Stenning, J. F., editor and translator. The Targum of Isaiah. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949.
- Strack, Hermann L., and Paul Billerbeck. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1956.
- Taylor, Vincent. The Atonement in New Testament Teaching. London: Epworth Press, 1945.

- . The Cross of Christ. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1956.
- . The Formulation of the Gospel Tradition. London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1935.
- . Jesus and His Sacrifice. A Study of the Passion Sayings in the Gospels. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1951.
- . The Person of Christ in New Testament Teaching. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1958.
- Whiteley, Denys Edward Hugh. The Theology of St. Paul. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964.
- Wolff, Hans Walter. Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1949.
- Zimmerli, Walther, and Joachim Jeremias. The Servant of God. Revised edition. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1965.

C. Secondary Sources: Articles

- Allen, Leslie C. "The Old Testament in Romans I-VIII," Vox Evangelica, III. Edited by Ralph P. Martin. London: Epworth Press, 1964.
- Bammel, Ernst. "Herkunft und Funktion der Traditionselemente in I Kor. 15, 1-11," Theologische Zeitschrift (Basel), XI (November-December 1955), 401-19.
- Bartsch, H. W. "Die Argumentation des Paulus in I Cor 15:3-11," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft, LV (1964), 261-74.
- Black, Matthew. "Servant of the Lord and Son of Man," Scottish Journal of Theology 6 (1953), 1-11.
- Brownlee, William H. "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls I," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, no. 132 (December 1953), 8-15.
- Cherry, M. R. "The Servant Song of Philippians," Review and Expositor, LIX (1962), 42-56.
- Conzelmann, Hans. "Zur Analyse der Bekenntnisformel I Kor. 15, 3-5," Evangelische Theologie 25 (1965), 1-11.

- Dahl, N. A. "Two Notes on Romans 5," Studia Theologica V (1952), 37-48.
- Dodd, C. H. Review of "Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, Herausgegeben von Herhard Kittel. Band II. Band III. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart," in Journal of Theological Studies XXXIX (1938) 287-93.
- Furness, J. M. "The Authorship of Philipians 11. 6-11," The Expository Times, LXX, 8 (May 1959), 240-43.
- Georgi, Dieter. "Der vorpaulinische Hymnus Phil 2, 6-11," in Zeit und Geschichte, Dankesgabe an Rudolph Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag. Edited by E. Dinkler. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1964, pp. 263-93.
- Ginsberg, H. L. "The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant," Vetus Testamentum, III (1953), 400-04.
- Glombitza, Otto. "Gnade--Das entscheidende Wort. Erwägungen zu I Kor. XV 1-11, eine exegetische Studie," Novum Testamentum, II (1958), 281-90.
- Guillaume, Alfred. "Some Readings in the Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah," Journal of Biblical Literature LXXVI (1957), 40-43.
- Jeremias, Joachim. "Ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ--ναῖς θεοῦ," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, 34 (1935), 115-23.
- "Artikelloses Χριστός zur Ursprache von I Cor. 15:3b-5," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche, 57 (1966), 314, 211-15.
- "Zu Phil 11 7: EAYTON EKENSZEN ," Novum Testamentum, VI (1963), 183-88.
- "Zum Probleme der Deutung von Jes. 53 im Palästinischen Spätjudentum," Aux sources de la tradition chretienne. Neuchatel: Delachaux and Niestle S. A., 1950.
- Kaesemen, Ernst. "Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2, 5-11," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, 47 (1950), 313-60.
- Kerrigan, Alexander. "Echoes of Themes from the Servant Songs in Pauline Theology," in Analecta Biblica, 17-18, Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963, pp. 217-28.

- Krinetzki, Leo. "Der Einfluss von Is. 52, 13-53, 12 Par auf Phil. 2, 6-11," Theologische Quartalschrift 139 (1959), 157-93, 291-336.
- Lichtenstein, Ernst. "Die älteste christliche Glaubensformel," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte LXIII, 1 (1950-1951), 3-74.
- Martin, Ralph P. "The Form-analysis of Philippians 2, 5-11," Studia Evangelica, II, Part I: The New Testament Scriptures. Edited by F. L. Cross. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964.
- O'Donnell, Robert E. "The Servant Christology in the New Testament," The Dunwoodie Review 4, 2 (May 1964), 177-95.
- Romaniuk, Kasimierz. "De Themate Ebed Jahve in Soteriologica Sancti Pauli," Catholic Biblical Quarterly XXIII, 1 (1961) 14-25.
- "L' origine des formules pauliniennes 'Le Christ s'est livre pour nous,' 'Le Christ nous a amimes et s'est livre pour nous,'" Novum Testamentum 5 (1962), 55-76.
- Ropes, James Hardy. "The Influence of Second Isaiah on the Epistles," Journal of Biblical Literature XLVIII (1929), 37-39.
- Schoeps, Hans Joachim. "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Paul's Theology," Journal of Biblical Literature LXV (1946), 385-92.
- Stanley, David M. "The Theme of the Servant of Yahweh in Primitive Christian Soteriology and its Transposition by St. Paul," Catholic Biblical Quarterly XVI, 4 (October 1954), 385-425.
- Suggs, M. Jack. "Wisdom of Solomon 2:10-5: A Homily Based on the Fourth Servant Song," Journal of Biblical Literature LXXVI (1957), 26-33.
- Talbert, Charles H. "The Problem of Pre-existence in Philippians 2, 6-11," Journal of Biblical Literature LXXXVI (1957), 141-55.
- Taylor, Vincent. "The Origin of the Markan Passion Sayings," New Testament Studies I (1954-1955), 159-67.
- Winter, Paul. "I Corinthians XV 3b-7," Novum Testamentum II (1958), 142-50.