

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe 47

David B. Capes

# Old Testament Yahweh Texts in Paul's Christology



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Begründet von Joachim Jeremias und Otto Michel  
Herausgegeben von  
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

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by

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## Preface

I was introduced to the subject matter of this study in a seminar on Pauline Christology at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, TX. It was led by Professor E. Earle Ellis, who later agreed to serve as my dissertation supervisor. Although I had read through Paul's letters many times, I had never noticed what still strikes me as an astounding fact. Paul, who at one time gloried in his Jewish heritage, applied to his "Lord," Jesus Christ, sacred scripture originally reserved for Yahweh (יהוה), the unspeakable name of God. It is my hope that this investigation will increase our knowledge of Paul's Christology and help to correct mistaken notions regarding how he perceived the relationship between God and Christ.

The present work is a slight revision of my doctoral dissertation entitled "Paul's Use of Old Testament Yahweh Texts and Its Implications for His Christology." Most of the research was carried out from 1986 to 1989. Since then, however, many books and articles have appeared on Paul and early Christology. In some cases I have been able to incorporate these contributions into my own work.

Commonly cited periodicals, series, Jewish Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, biblical references, and related ancient writings are abbreviated according to the list provided in "Instructions to Contributors," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 99 (1980): 83-97. Quotations from the Greek New Testament follow *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. Eberhard Nestle, Kurt Aland, *et al*, 26th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979). Translations of scripture belong to the Revised Standard Version (2nd ed., 1971) unless specified otherwise.

I am indebted to John Hansen who provided many hours of technical assistance in completing the manuscript for publication. His enthusiasm for the project nearly rivaled my own. His skill and demeanor have redefined for me the meaning of collegiality. I am also grateful to Randy Hatchett who read the manuscript and offered various suggestions.

In addition to these I wish to thank a number of people who have shaped my thinking regarding Paul and have provided streams of encouragement, wisdom, and criticism over the past several years. These include Robert Sloan, Bruce Corley, Randy Richards, Fred Wood, Marty Reid, Carey Newman, and a host of other colleagues

and mentors too numerous to mention. Thanks also go to my wife, Cathy, and my three children, Bryan, Daniel, and Jordan. They were always supportive and, nearly always, uncomplaining as I spent many days away and many hours in my study at a time when my boys needed a father and my wife needed a husband. In particular I wish to express my appreciation to my dissertation supervisor, Professor E. Earle Ellis. Over his distinguished career he has provided the world of biblical scholarship with many new insights and a style of reverent scholarship worthy of emulation. I count it a privilege to have served as his graduate assistant and to have worked for a time under his capable hand. In addition, I wish to thank Alan Segal and Carey Newman who encouraged me to pursue the publication of my manuscript.

Finally, I wish to thank Professor Dr. Martin Hengel and Professor Dr. Otfried Hofius for considering this work in *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*, a series which has done much to further biblical studies. My own work is offered with the sincere but modest hope of fostering discussion upon the person of Christ. Despite centuries of biblical investigation, the nature and work of Christ remains a great mystery.

Houston, Texas  
October 1991

David B. Capes

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## Introduction

In his book, *Christology in Paul and John*, Robin Scroggs analyzed Paul's Christology and concluded that the apostle did not identify Christ with God in any substantive way.<sup>1</sup> Scroggs' work, however, was flawed because (1) he worked with an abbreviated Pauline corpus, (2) he did not deal with the christological designations "wisdom of God" and "image of God,"<sup>2</sup> and (3) he did not pay serious attention to Paul's christological use of the Old Testament. Had he taken these factors into account, he might have concluded otherwise. Although the first two flaws render his conclusion inaccurate, it is the final deficiency which this project addresses.

Scholars generally recognize the importance of the Old Testament for Paul and early Christianity.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, they acknowledge the debt he owed to the hermeneutical principles laid down by Jewish exegetes.<sup>4</sup> But they also understand that he, along with other Chris-

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<sup>1</sup>. Robin Scroggs, *Christology in Paul and John* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 52.

<sup>2</sup>. E. Earle Ellis, review of *Christology in Paul and John*, by Robin Scroggs, in *SWJT* 31 (1989): 55.

<sup>3</sup>. Several important contributions to this field of inquiry include: E. Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1957); selected essays in idem, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity: New Testament Essays* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 147-256; James D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977), 80-102; Matthew Black, "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," *NTS* 18 (1971): 1-14; Richard N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975); Leonhard Goppelt, *Theology of the New Testament*, vol. 2, *The Variety and Unity of the Apostolic Witness to Christ*, trans. John Alsup (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 51-61; and Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989).

<sup>4</sup>. E. Earle Ellis, "Biblical Interpretation in the New Testament," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, CRINT (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 691-725; and J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 251-52.

tian writers, made Christ's person and work the hermeneutical key to interpreting the Old Testament.<sup>5</sup>

One scholar, L. Joseph Kreitzer, however, recently pointed to a significant weakness in contemporary research when he stated:

Yet, one specialized feature of the Christian's use of Old Testament texts has not been as thoroughly explored as perhaps it ought to be. This involves the way in which an outright *substitution* of christocentricism for theocentricism occurs with many of the Old Testament quotations and allusions.<sup>6</sup>

While many have taken notice of this "substitution" or shift of referent from God to Christ in Paul's quotations, comprehensive studies into these matters have not been forthcoming. Kreitzer contributed in his own way by analyzing the eschatological perspective of certain Jewish pseudepigraphical writings (1 Enoch, Jubilees, 2 Enoch, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch). Accordingly, he offered some suggestions upon how they might have impacted Paul's eschatological teachings, in particular, his view of the messianic kingdom, the parousia, and the final judgment. His investigation into Paul's teachings on "the Day of the Lord" included some important examples of a "referential shift" from God to Christ centered around the κύριος title.<sup>7</sup> He concluded that in Paul's writings a "conceptual ambiguity" existed involving the eschatological roles of God and Christ. This ambiguity reflected "the delicate balance between theocentricity and christocentricity in Paul's thought"<sup>8</sup> and illustrated the close connection between Paul's Christology and eschatology. For Paul, "the Day of the Lord," a doctrine so significant for the Old Testament, had become "the Day of the Lord Jesus Christ."

The present writer hopes that this volume offers a further contribution in this regard as it deals with Paul's christological application of Old Testament texts originally reserved for Yahweh. In addition, it is anticipated that this investigation will correct the claims of scholars, like Scroggs, who believe Paul did not substantially identify Christ with God.

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<sup>5</sup> Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis*, 207; L. Joseph Kreitzer, *Jesus and God in Paul's Eschatology* (Sheffield, UK: Academic Press, 1987), 18; and Beker, *Paul*, 251-52.

<sup>6</sup> Kreitzer, *Jesus and God*, 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 112-27.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 128-29.

The purpose of this project is to analyze Paul's use of Old Testament Yahweh texts and to derive from this analysis some implications for his Christology. In the present study a Yahweh text is a quotation of or an allusion to an Old Testament text which refers directly to the divine name (יהוה) in the HT. However, since Paul's quotations demonstrate affinities with the Septuagint (LXX)<sup>9</sup> and since κύριος replaced the divine name therein, this investigation focuses upon Pauline quotations which contain the κύριος predicate.<sup>10</sup>

### *The Significance of the Name "Yahweh"*

The concept of the divine name in the Old Testament stands in sharp contrast to the same idea in the Hellenistic world. The Greeks had a fascination with the names of their gods and goddesses, treating them at times as magical formulas to conjure up some kind of supernatural aid. They even gave many names to some gods out of the fear that the correct name might be missed, or perhaps to emphasize their greatness and power.<sup>11</sup>

The Old Testament, however, depicts a different concept of the divine name. Rather than being an object of speculation, it presents God as revealing his name to his followers. The *locus classicus* for this is found in Exod 3:13-15:

Then Moses said to God, "If I come to the people of Israel and say to them, 'The God of your fathers has sent me to you,' and they ask me, 'What is his name?' what shall I say to them?" God said to Moses, "I AM WHO I AM (אהיה אשר אהיה)." And he said, "Say this to the people of Israel, 'I AM (אהיה) has sent me to you.'" God also said to Moses, "Say this to the people of Israel, 'The LORD (יהוה), the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you': this is my name forever, and thus I am to be remembered throughout all generations."

<sup>9</sup> Ellis, *Paul's Use*, 11-20.

<sup>10</sup> Not all Pauline quotations which contain the κύριος predicate have the divine name in the HT (e.g., Rom 10:16; 11:3; 12:19; 1 Cor 14:21). These by definition are not dealt with here.

<sup>11</sup> Hans Bietenhard, "ὄνομα," *TDNT*, 5:243-52.

In this important text God responded to Moses' request by revealing to him the divine name, Yahweh, and identifying himself as the God of his ancestors. In Exod 6:2-3 God clarified that relationship when He said:

"I am the LORD (יהוה). I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, as God Almighty (אל שריי) but by my name the LORD (יהוה) I did not make myself known to them."

These are not, however, the first occurrences of Yahweh (יהוה) in the Old Testament. Genesis 4:26 describes Enosh and his descendants as the first to invoke Yahweh's name, suggesting that the name Yahweh was known in pre-Mosaic times (cf. Gen 9:26). Accordingly, some scholars believe Exodus 3 to be an explanation of a name already known to Moses, a name mediated to him perhaps by his Midianite father-in-law, Jethro.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, they are not able to agree on the etymology of Yahweh as the divine name, although the relationship of Yahweh to the verb "to be" (היה) arises from the context of Exod 3:13-15.<sup>13</sup>

Gerhard von Rad warned against reading too much into the name "Yahweh" regarding God's character or nature. He admitted that Old Testament writers customarily considered names to be significant indicators of one's character and person. He suggested, however, that the revelation of the divine name in Moses' time emphasized Yahweh's "being there" for Israel in the midst of their hopeless situation.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, the name "Yahweh" acquired its significance primarily in relation to the Exodus and the establishing of the covenant. This is witnessed by the oft-repeated phrase: "I am the LORD (יהוה) your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage" (Exod 20:2). Yahweh is God's covenant name revealed to Israel as God's covenant people, thereby assuring them of his pres-

<sup>12</sup> Ludwig Köhler, *Old Testament Theology*, trans. A. S. Todd (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957), 45-46; and Edmond Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament*, trans. Arthur W. Heathcote and Philip J. Allcock (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1955), 48-54.

<sup>13</sup> A. B. Davidson, *The Theology of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904), 53-54, suggested that the relation of יהוה to היה may be a play on words and not an indication of etymology. On the possible meanings of the name "Yahweh" see Jacob, *Theology*, 48-54.

<sup>14</sup> Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology: The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker, vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 179-80.

ence as well as reminding them of his demands. It emphasizes God's saving activity on behalf of his people, not only in the past, but also in the future.<sup>15</sup> It does not express his nature; it does express his relation to Israel. It indicates that Yahweh is a national God and that Israel's worship was monolatrous, if not monotheistic, from the beginning.

The covenant people had great reverence for the name "Yahweh" as indicated by the prohibition in Exod 20:7 against using Yahweh's name in vain. They used it in sacrifice, prayer, blessings, curses, and holy war.<sup>16</sup> Although the Old Testament used the name over six thousand times to indicate the God of Israel, according to von Rad the Jews utilized it less and less during the post-exilic period. By the first century the name "Yahweh" was probably not spoken in the synagogues and only seldom, if at all, in certain temple ceremonies.<sup>17</sup>

In light of the reverence attributed to the divine name (יהוה) in the Old Testament and Paul's high regard for scripture,<sup>18</sup> his christological use of Old Testament Yahweh texts offers important insights into his view of Christ.

### *Format of Study*

No investigation into Paul's use of Old Testament Yahweh texts would be complete without first addressing the Greek word used to translate the divine name (יהוה) in the LXX and in the New Testament. Chapter one discusses how scholars understand the origin and content of κύριος as a christological designation. Chapter two carries the investigation further as it focuses upon how Paul's Bible (the LXX) uses κύριος as a designation for men with legitimate claims to

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15. Davidson, *Theology*, 55-56, pointed out that the force of the imperfect phrase אהיה אשר אהיה signifies one who comes in full manifestation.

16. E.g., Gen 12:8; 13:4; 21:33; Num 6:27; Deut 6:13; 10:8; 2 Sam 6:18; 1 Kgs 18:24; Ps 20:8 [7]; 44:6 [5]; 54:1; 118:10.

17. von Rad, *Theology*, 1:179-87, thought this was suggested by scant usage of the name in later Old Testament literature (e.g., Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Psalm 42-83). Also compare 1 and 2 Chronicles with the same events told in 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings.

18. Paul's view of scripture may be adduced from statements in Rom 1:2, 3:1-2, and particularly 2 Tim 3:16, i.e., that all scripture is "God-breathed" (θεόπνευστος). Moreover, his tendency to quote scripture frequently in defending doctrinal and ethical instruction indicates a high regard for those sacred books.

authority and for יהוה, the divine name for God in the Old Testament. It discusses how Paul employed the title as a designation for men in authority, for God, and in particular for Christ. Finally, it argues that Paul's christological use of κύριος reveals his overall thought structure regarding Jesus' Lordship and informs the investigator as he determines how Paul utilized Yahweh texts. With such conclusions in mind, chapter three engages in an exegetical study of Pauline Yahweh texts to determine whether the apostle applied a particular quotation to God or to Christ. It classifies them as "Yahweh Texts with God As Referent" and "Yahweh Texts with Christ As Referent." In addition it surveys Pauline allusions to Yahweh texts. It concludes with a synthesis of the information and draws from it some implications for Paul's understanding of Christ.

Generally, the present writer follows the lead of H. B. Swete, who offered a definition of a quotation based upon (1) the presence of an introductory formula and (2) verbal affinity with a known translation of the Old Testament.<sup>19</sup> E. E. Ellis improved upon the definition when he listed his own criteria for determining the presence of a quotation: "the presence of an introductory formula or conjunction, the degree of verbal affinity with the OT text, and the intention of the apostle as judged from the context."<sup>20</sup> Allusions, on the other hand, typically lack an introductory formula, have a lesser degree of verbal affinity, and are embedded in the surrounding material so that it is difficult to determine where they begin or end. Nevertheless, the distinction between a quotation and an allusion often cannot be strictly defined.<sup>21</sup> With these criteria in mind, this study will deal with passages commonly recognized as quotations or allusions by Ellis<sup>22</sup> and various biblical commentators.

### *The Use of the Pastorals*

Biblical scholars in the nineteenth century generally assumed that Paul either wrote his letters or dictated them verbatim. Consequently, they held that vocabulary, style, and theological expression

<sup>19</sup> H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1914), 382.

<sup>20</sup> Ellis, *Paul's Use*, 11.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. Ellis commented: "the gradation from quotation to allusion is so imperceptible that it is almost impossible to draw any certain line."

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 150-87.

could be used to determine whether or not Paul was the author of a particular letter. Some, having decided that Romans, Galatians, and 1 and 2 Corinthians were Paul's genuine epistles, compared these to the Pastorals and concluded that they could not have been penned by the apostle.<sup>23</sup>

Recent studies, however, have called this assumption into question on two accounts. First, Paul wrote his letters through a secretary who could have exercised considerable influence upon a letter's literary style.<sup>24</sup> Second, in composing the Pastorals, as in other letters, he used pre-formed traditions, hymns, and teaching pieces.<sup>25</sup> Consequently, a letter's vocabulary and style could be due to the use of a secretary or pre-formed materials and not simply to the hand of the stated author.

Since the primary assumption upon which the deutero-Pauline theory was constructed has been dismantled, it is doubtful that the Pastoral's vocabulary, style, and manner of theological expression can be used to exclude them from Pauline authorship. In fact, Pauline authorship of the Pastorals is indicated by (1) the *prima facie* claim to Pauline composition (1 Tim 1:1; 2 Tim 1:1; Tit 1:1), (2) the

23. Contemporary adherents to this approach include Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, Hermeneia, trans. Philip Buttolph and Adela Yarbro (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 1-5; Karl Hermann Schelkle, *Paulus: Leben—Briefe—Theologie*, Erträge der Forschung, vol. 152 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981), 139-47; Günther Bornkamm, *Paul*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 242-43; Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols., trans. Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951-55), 2:183-86; and Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, trans. Howard C. Kee (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), 366-88.

24. Otto Roller, *Das Formular der paulinischen Briefe* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933). That Paul used a secretary is indicated by Rom 16:22 ("Tertius"); 1 Cor 16:21; Gal 6:11; Col 4:18; 2 Thess 3:14; Philem 19. On the possibility and extent of secretarial influence on Paul's letters consult E. R. Richards, "The Role of the Secretary in Greco-Roman Antiquity and Its Implications for the Letters of Paul," (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, TX, 1988), 326-53. In addition, Paul's co-senders may have had considerable influence upon a letter's literary style (1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; Phil 1:1; Col 1:1; 1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1; Philem 1).

25. E. Earle Ellis, "Traditions in the Pastoral Epistles," *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis*, ed. C. A. Evans and William F. Stinespring (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 239-46. Paul's use of pre-formed material is now accepted in the undisputed letters, e.g., Rom 1:3-4; 1 Cor 8:6; 11:23-26; 15:1-6; Phil 2:6-11; 1 Thess 4:15-17. See E. Earle Ellis, "Traditions in 1 Corinthians," *NTS* 32 (1986): 481-502.



presence of Pauline features in each letter,<sup>26</sup> and (3) the early church's witness to their genuineness.<sup>27</sup> If the Pastorals were not written or dictated verbatim by Paul, they were in all probability written by the careful hand of a trusted secretary to whom the apostle granted considerable latitude in writing.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, they can be classified as from Paul and not relegated to a different time and setting in the early church.<sup>29</sup>

Accordingly, evidence from the Pastorals is used in this project. However, since Yahweh texts are present primarily in the undisputed letters, should evidence from the Pastorals be omitted, it would not substantially alter the thesis or results.

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<sup>26</sup> E. Earle Ellis, *Paul and His Recent Interpreters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961), 49-57. The presence of Pauline materials in the Pastorals caused some to suggest the Pastorals contain genuine Pauline fragments. See P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* (London: Oxford, 1921); B. S. Easton, *The Pastoral Epistles* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), 9-15; C. K. Barrett, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 4-12; perhaps Bruce Metzger, *The New Testament: Its Background, Growth, and Content*, 2d ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1983), 214, 238.

<sup>27</sup> Irenaeus *Against Heresies* 2.17.7; 3.3.3; Polycarp *Philippians* 4.1; Tertullian *Against Marcion* 2.21; see other sources and canonical lists as cited in J. H. Bernard, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980), xiii-xxi.

<sup>28</sup> C. F. D. Moule, "The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles: A Reappraisal," *BJRL* 47 (1964/65): 430-52, suggested the likelihood of Luke as the secretary.

<sup>29</sup> The following scholars generally agree to Pauline authorship of the Pastorals: Walter Lock, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1924), xxii-xxxi; J. B. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1904), 397-410; J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, Thornapple Commentaries (New York: Harper & Row, 1963; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981), 30-34; Joachim Jeremias, *Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949), 3-7; and Ellis, *Paul*, 49-57.

## I. KYPIOS As a Christological Title in Recent Discussion

Paul's use of Old Testament Yahweh texts reflects a larger debate on two ways of approaching New Testament theology. Generally speaking, it is a part of a debate between the History of Religions School, which considers Graeco-Roman influences upon the New Testament to be as important as Jewish factors, and the Salvation History School, which regards Jewish influences as dominant.<sup>1</sup> Although this characterization may be an oversimplification, it nevertheless reflects the tension between the two approaches. The κύριος ("Lord") title as applied to Jesus is part of that argument, for some look for the title's background in Greek, others in Jewish sources.

This chapter presents these two ways of understanding the christological use of κύριος, dealing primarily with the theories of the major proponents on each side. It concludes with a summary and a critique which should demonstrate that the weight of the evidence falls in one direction.

### *The Background of Current Research*

Perhaps the major question confronting biblical interpreters regarding this title involves its setting within the early church. Three options have been suggested.

(1) Some accept the premise that the Aramaic-speaking congregations within Palestine were the first to acclaim Jesus as "Lord" in the divine sense.<sup>2</sup> (2) Others, supposing that such an acclamation among

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<sup>1</sup> I. H. Marshall, *The Origins of New Testament Christology* (Leicester, UK: Inter-Varsity Press, 1976), 16-18. The History of Religions method searches the environment in which Christianity developed and asserts that most of its teachings are derived from that environment. This is no doubt true. Marshall called this a "reasonable working hypothesis." The real question lies in where one should search for the environment. Since the New Testament quotes extensively from the Old Testament and portrays a Jewish background, is it necessary to look to pagan religions and ideas for their contributions to New Testament theology? This question will be addressed below.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Vincent Taylor, *The Names of Jesus* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1953), 38-51.

Jewish monotheists would be impossible, suggest that Greek-speaking churches, outside Palestine, and therefore free from the constraints of biblical monotheism, were the initial catalysts for the acclamation of Jesus as κύριος.<sup>3</sup> (3) Still others attempt to draw upon positive elements of both theories. They assert that Jesus was called "Lord" in the earliest Palestinian churches as demonstrated by the Maranatha invocation of 1 Cor 16:22. However, they claim the term meant something entirely different to those first Jewish believers than it did to later Gentile believers who composed Paul's churches. For Palestinian Jewish Christians, Jesus would be κύριος when he returned. For Diaspora Jewish Christians, Jesus was the exalted κύριος who now reigns at the right hand of God. For Gentile Christians, Jesus was presently κύριος in the fullest sense of divinity. Only for this final group was Jesus considered divine.<sup>4</sup> To discover the origin and content of Paul's use of the title κύριος, each of these theories should be considered in more detail.

#### The Theory of an Origin outside Palestine

As biblical interpreters seek to discover the origin and content of the christological designation κύριος, some conclude, for a variety of reasons, that Christian churches outside Palestine were the first to apply this title to Jesus. To understand this point of view, it is necessary to examine the contribution of two representative thinkers, Wilhelm Bousset and Ferdinand Hahn.

#### The Thesis of Wilhelm Bousset

According to Wilhelm Bousset, the title κύριος ("Lord"), as applied to Jesus, originated in the setting of Greek churches outside Palestine. This title displaced the terms "Son of Man" and "Christ," which were human titles prevalent in the Palestinian communities. It became the new title of the Hellenistic churches, which was inherited and used by Paul.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> E.g., Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*, trans. John E. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970). This book was originally published in German in 1913 and revised posthumously in 1921. Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:51-56, followed Bousset.

<sup>4</sup> Ferdinand Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity*, trans. Harold Knight and George Ogg (New York: World Publishing Co., 1969), 68-73, 101-13.

<sup>5</sup> Bousset, *Kyrios*, 121-28. Interestingly, Bousset claimed the seed for the acclamation of Jesus as Lord was found in the Palestinian church in the acts of exorcism in Jesus' name.

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