

MORNA D. HOOKER

Old and New

Edited by
AHREUM KIM

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament
516*

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament

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Old and New

Essays on Continuity and Discontinuity
in the New Testament

edited by

Ahreum Kim

Mohr Siebeck

Morna D. Hooker, 1931; BA and MA Bristol University; PhD Manchester University; DD Cambridge University; 1961–70 Lecturer, King's College London; 1970–76 Lecturer, University of Oxford; 1976–98 Lady Margaret's Professor, University of Cambridge; Lady Margaret's Professor Emerita, University of Cambridge; Life Fellow, Robinson College Cambridge.

Ahreum Kim recently completed her PhD under the supervision of Professor George van Kooten at the University of Cambridge.

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Morna D. Hooker

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
AV	Authorized Version
BETL	<i>Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium</i>
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
EBib	Études bibliques
ETL	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
ITQ	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
JB	Jerusalem Bible
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series
JTC	<i>Journal for Theology and the Church</i>
JTI	<i>Journal of Theological Interpretation</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon
LW	<i>Luther's Works (American Edition)</i> . Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan, Helmut T. Lehmann and Christopher B. Brown. 83 vols. Philadelphia and St. Louis: Fortress and Concordia, 1955-.
NCB	New Century Bible Commentary
NEB	New English Bible
NIB	<i>New Interpreter's Bible</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament

NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NS	New Series
NT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTSup	Novum Testamentum, Supplements
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
PL	Patrologia Latina
REB	Revised English Bible
RGG	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
RHPR	<i>Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses</i>
RSR	<i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i>
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RV	Revised Version
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTS	Society for New Testament Studies
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–76.
TWNT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. 11 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1932–1979.
TSK	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
UBS	United Bible Societies
UNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WA	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe)</i> . 73 vols. Weimar: Böhlau, 1883–2009.
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

General Introduction

When I first began biblical research, seventy years ago, the issue that most fascinated me was the relationship between the Old Testament and the New – in other words, the continuity and discontinuity between the Judaism of the first-century CE and early Christianity. The question I focused on at that time was that of the possible influence of the so-called ‘Servant concept’ of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament.¹ The results of my investigations may, to be sure, have appeared very negative, since I concluded that there was no evidence to support the view that Jesus saw his own role in terms of Isaiah 53 – a conclusion that was contrary to the almost universal assumption of New Testament scholars at that time. It seemed, moreover, that Christians of the first generation had been slow to exploit the implications of that passage. My conclusions were not wholly negative, however, for I suggested that there were other passages in the scriptures that were influential, both for Jesus’ own understanding of his role and for the interpretation given to it by the early church: among these were those psalms which speak of the suffering of those who are faithful and obedient to God, and the image of the one like a son of man in Daniel 7.

This research led me to ask further questions, however. One concerned the letters of Paul: if they, our earliest Christian documents, show scarcely a trace of Isaiah 53, then what *was* the source of his conviction that Jesus’ sufferings and death were redemptive? I began to explore the idea of ‘interchange’ as a clue to Paul’s interpretation of Christ’s death.² This research soon pointed me towards the figure of Adam, and I found myself considering the significance of Adam for Paul, in particular in Romans 1.³ Work on Paul was set aside in 1959, however, and it was not until many years later that I took it up again; invited to give the T.W. Manson memorial lecture in 1977, it seemed appropriate to speak on the theme of ‘Interchange and Atonement’, since it was Professor Manson who had been appointed to supervise my work 20 years earlier, and who had sadly died in 1958, six months after I first met him.⁴

¹ Old Testament scholars had for many years debated the identity of the individual or group referred to as my ‘servant’ in Isa 42:1–9; 49:1–6; 50:4–11; 52:13–53:12.

² The concept of ‘interchange’ is best summed up in the words of Irenaeus: ‘Christ became what we are, in order that we might become what he is’ (*Adv. Haer. 5 praef.*).

³ This led to the publication of an essay, ‘Adam in Romans I’, *NTS* 6 (1960): 297–306, to be followed by a later postscript, ‘A Further Note on Romans I’, *NTS* 13 (1967): 181–183.

⁴ Morna D. Hooker, ‘Interchange and Atonement’, *BJRL* 60 (1978): 462–481.

My change in direction in 1959 from the study of Paul was influenced by two factors. The first was the reaction to my work on the Servant, which was completed in 1956, and had finally been published, essentially unchanged, in 1959.⁵ I was challenged by one reviewer, Professor C.F.D. Moule (who broadly agreed with my conclusions),⁶ to explain why Isaiah 53, which ‘is virtually the only Old Testament passage which recognizes undeserved suffering as redemptive for others’, was apparently bypassed by both Jesus and the early church. Why is this so? ‘Is it possible that the general use of Isa. 53 was precluded by some apologetic circumstance unknown to us?’ My own explanation had been that the importance of Isaiah 53 had been exaggerated by scholars, as a result of their isolation of the ‘Servant Songs’ from the rest of Deutero-Isaiah and their assumption that the prophet had in mind a particular figure, known as ‘my Servant’, who thus needed to be identified. Moreover, when at a later time references to ‘my Servant’ were interpreted of a particular figure – namely ‘the Messiah’ (in the Targum) – the descriptions of suffering in Isaiah 53 were removed from the Messiah and applied to others, which meant that the notion of vicarious suffering was significantly absent. There was thus no precedent for the idea of a Messiah who suffered vicariously for others. But was this sufficient explanation for the non-use of what seemed to later interpreters to be the ‘obvious’ passages? I turned back from Paul to the Gospels, and began to look at the use of the term ‘the Son of man’, which was, according to all four evangelists, the term used by Jesus himself to refer to his suffering. Would this study perhaps help me to answer Professor Moule’s questions? And would it perhaps also – since the idea of ‘the Son of man’ was clearly rooted in speculation about Adam – offer a foundation on which to return to my work on Paul? Perhaps the roots of ‘interchange’ lay in the Gospel tradition.

My research into the use of the idea of ‘the Son of man’, however, like that on Paul, was also broken off prematurely, since the topic proved a vast one, and I completed only my investigation of the term in Mark.⁷ So although my work had led me to argue that Jesus understood his sufferings as a necessary outcome of his role as the Son of man, I was no nearer to a more satisfying explanation as to why Isaiah 53 had been ignored. It was many years later before I was able to look at this question once again.⁸

⁵ Morna D. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant: The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 1959).

⁶ C.F.D. Moule, review of *Jesus and the Servant*, by Morna D. Hooker, *Theology* 62, no. 472 (1959): 429–430.

⁷ Morna D. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark* (London: SPCK, 1967). I returned to the subject in later essays, reprinted here as essays 6 and 7.

⁸ Morna D. Hooker, ‘Did the Use of Isaiah 53 to Interpret His Mission Begin with Jesus?’, in *Jesus and the Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 and Christian Origins*, eds. William H. Bellinger Jr.

Looking back at my work over the past 70 years, I realize that the underlying theme of it all has been that of continuity and discontinuity, and I have therefore chosen to introduce this volume of essays with a lecture on that theme delivered in the University of London in 1984.⁹ How was Jesus understood by those who met him, and by those who found themselves trying to comprehend his death and resurrection? How did he himself understand his role? How did his followers explain their conviction that he was of supreme importance for their lives? The answer to all these questions is, of course, that they did so in terms that made sense to them. If we are to understand Jesus and those who first believed in him, then we have to locate him in his Jewish background, in a culture where scripture and tradition were all-important. At the same time, however, the coming of Jesus heralded a radical change: he clearly acted and spoke with an authority that struck his contemporaries as revolutionary, and his disciples' conviction that he had been raised from the dead was interpreted as the beginning of a new era. Inevitably, the tension between old and new led to confrontations and conflicts between his followers and their fellow Jews. What we find in the New Testament are indications of the various ways in which Christians struggled to relate the givenness of the past – expressed, above all, in the words of scripture – with the exhilarating experience of the present. Inevitably, their attempts to do so frequently reflect the tensions and conflicts that arose between his followers and their fellow Jews.

Over time, the balance between these two forces – scripture and experience – shifted. Since the primary authority for first-century Jewish Christians was scripture, their problem was to interpret their experience of Christ in relation to scripture. 'Beginning from the scriptures' they 'searched the scriptures', and concluded that what had taken place in him was 'according to the scriptures': their experience had to be tested against scripture. In time, however, the process became reversed. Instead of interpreting Jesus in terms of scripture, believers' starting point was now Christ; their experience of him was so overwhelming that he became as it were the 'canon', by whose light scripture itself was now interpreted.¹⁰

and William R. Farmer (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 88–103 = below, essay 8 (pp. 115–127).

⁹ Morna D. Hooker, *New Wine in Old Bottles: A Discussion of Continuity and Discontinuity in Relation to Judaism and the Gospel*, the Ethel M. Wood Lecture delivered at the Senate House, University of London on 14 February 1984 (London: University of London, 1984) = below, essay 1 (pp. 11–26). A later series of lectures on this topic was delivered as the W.A. Sanderson Lectures in Melbourne and published as Morna D. Hooker, *Continuity and Discontinuity* (London: Epworth, 1986).

¹⁰ See further, Morna D. Hooker, 'Where is Wisdom to Be Found? Colossians 1:15–20', *Reading Texts, Seeking Wisdom: Scripture and Theology*, eds. David F. Ford and Graham Stanton (London: SCM Press, 2003), 116–128 = below, essay 33 (pp. 488–496).

The essays in this volume, written over more than 50 years, explore various aspects of this tension between old and new. The public lecture delivered in 1984 serves as a general introduction to them all. Those in sections two to five deal chiefly with the Gospels, while those in sections six and seven are concerned with Paul and other letter writers.

I have made no attempt to update the essays, because so much has been written since most of them were first published, making it impossible to deal with all the scholarly developments that have taken place: the essays are themselves part of the story of the development of ideas. Occasional references to publications which were 'recent' when I was writing have been left unchanged, since these publications were part of the context in which I was writing, and these references are indications of how scholarship has moved on. Some of the essays, inevitably, engage with issues which were of particular relevance when they were written, but the problems underlying them are nevertheless still relevant. One change that has come about over the years that I have been writing is the awareness of so-called 'sexist' language, which was normal usage when the essays were first written, but which may jar with some readers today. I have left the original pronouns unchanged; they too are part of the ethos of a time when terms such as 'men' and 'mankind' were understood to refer to the entire population. As a woman, I certainly have no intention of excluding the feminine! Sadly, masculine terms referring to scholars were invariably correct, since when I began my research there were virtually no female biblical scholars at work.

The essays gathered here are a mixture of popular presentations and more scholarly discussions. Some of the former have been included because they form useful introductions or summaries of my work, others because I have received requests to do so, since they have been often cited, and have proved of particular usefulness to students. Inevitably, this has added to the overlap between essays which is in any case inevitable in a collection of this kind – notably between essays 2 and 3 – but I hope that readers will simply choose the version which is appropriate to them.

An earlier volume included fourteen essays on Paul published between 1960 and 1989.¹¹ Some of the topics dealt with in the present volume were taken up and explored more fully in books. Others – in particular those on Paul – have emerged from many years of lecturing on his theology to undergraduates.

There is much left unexplored which I would have liked to pursue, had I had time and stamina. In particular, I would have liked to look at the possibility that the theme of 'interchange' is not just a Pauline insight, but is rooted in the Old Testament and reflected in the Gospels. The Fourth

¹¹ Morna D. Hooker, *From Adam to Christ: Essays on Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Evangelist, for example, whose theology is in many ways close to Paul's, speaks of 'the word made flesh' who 'dwelt among us' as one whom he terms 'only Son of God'; the result of his coming is that those who accept him are given the right to become 'children of God', and described as 'born of God' (John 1:12–14). Unlike Paul, John uses the term *τέκνα* rather than *υἱοί*, but though the language is different, the underlying thought is similar. The Word became flesh, and as a result, those who were originally born of flesh¹² can be born of God.

The Prologue is the key to understanding the rest of the Gospel,¹³ which sometimes echoes its terminology, and sometimes uses other language. In a shocking image in chapter 6, we learn that those who 'eat his flesh' – an echo of the 'became flesh' of 1:14 – will have eternal life, because he is the living bread who comes down from heaven: in other words, by participating in what he is, they 'dwell in him and he in them', and so share his life. We already know from 3:13–15 that the one who came down from heaven was the Son of man, who was lifted up on the cross and has returned to heaven. The food that the Son of man now gives to his followers is his own flesh, which is given for the life of the world. This is close to Paul's concept of interchange (*pace* my comments below, essay 11!), and like him, John uses language that shocks us to express it. Like him, too, John's ideas embrace what later theologians described separately as 'incarnation' and 'atonement'. Like Paul, again, John speaks of God sending his only Son in order that those who trust in him might be saved (John 3:16). Later, the evangelist uses the image of the Vine to express the dependence of believers on Christ, and in the famous 'prayer' of chapter 17 speaks of a unity of believers 'in us' similar to the unity of Father and Son. These are just two of a number of passages that spell out the participation of believers in Christ.¹⁴

In an essay on Hebrews, I noted the parallel between Hebrews 2 and the Pauline notion of interchange.¹⁵ The author describes how the one who is God's Son, and who now sits at God's right hand, was made for a short time lower than the angels; through his suffering, God brought many sons (*υἱοί*) to glory. As the pioneer of their salvation, it was necessary for him to share in the flesh and blood of the children – *παῖδια* – and through his dying he liberated those who were in fear of death, since he experienced death 'for all

¹² John contrasts the new birth with that which was 'from bloods, from the will of flesh ... from the will of men'.

¹³ See below, essays 19 and 20.

¹⁴ The theme has been explored by Andrew J. Byers, *Eccelesiology and Theosis in the Gospel of John*, SNTSMS 166 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Like the 'Finnish school' of Pauline scholars, Byers uses the language of theosis to describe the transformation of believers.

¹⁵ See below, essay 34.

mankind'. Like both Paul and John, the author to the Hebrews here expresses what I have termed 'incarnational soteriology'. And like John, where the one who has 'descended from heaven' is identified as 'the Son of man', he regards this language as the appropriate language to describe Christ's role. Quoting Psalm 8, he describes how man/the son of man was for a while made lower than the angels, but is now crowned with glory and honour (vv. 6–8). It is as 'son of man' that Jesus accomplishes his work 'for all mankind'.

This, of course, takes us back to the Synoptic Gospels, where Jesus is frequently referred to as 'the Son of man'. In earlier work, I have noted how the term is used especially in relation to his authority, as well as to his sufferings and vindication – precisely the ideas expressed in Psalm 8 and in Daniel 7. I have noted, also, how closely related the Son of man is in the Gospels to the vocation of his disciples; as those who want to belong to 'the Kingdom of God' (i. e. to obey God's rule), they are called to 'share' the sufferings of the one who is utterly obedient to his will – and so share also in his glory.¹⁶ The Synoptic Gospels, of course, express their theology in narrative form, and it is worth noticing that both Mark and Matthew underline Jesus' experience of human suffering and alienation from God in the cry of dereliction, followed immediately by his identification as Son of God.¹⁷ At the very beginning of the story, Matthew stresses Jesus' identification with the human condition in the story of his baptism, where he requests baptism along with those in need of repentance, even though it is he who will bring them forgiveness. The Baptist protests that it is inappropriate for him to come for baptism, and Jesus insists on 'fulfilling all righteousness' by being baptized with water – whereupon he is baptized with the Holy Spirit and identified as God's beloved Son.¹⁸ In the story that follows, he baptizes others with the Holy Spirit.¹⁹ There are hints here that the evangelists were familiar with ideas expressed by Paul and John in theological statements about one who was both truly 'Son of God' and fully human. As such, he is able to fulfil God's intention for Israel – and through Israel all humanity – to be God's son. We are brought back full circle to Paul's 'Adam' theology.

As for the answer to that question posed to me so long ago by Charlie Moule, my predecessor in the Lady Margaret's chair, the answer seems to me now, as it seemed then, that we need constantly to re-examine the assumptions with which we read the text. Are we approaching it with preconceptions which have been shaped by centuries of biblical study, by doctrinal

¹⁶ See, e.g., Mark 8:31–38; it is clear from the narrative surrounding the other 'passion predictions' (Mark 9:31 and 10:33) that the disciples are expected to identify with Jesus' attitude and so share his sufferings as the path to glory.

¹⁷ Mark 14:33–39 // Matt 27:45–54. Cf. 2 Cor 5:21.

¹⁸ Matt 3:13–17.

¹⁹ See below, essay 21.

formulations, and by liturgical practices? Are we indeed asking the right questions? Those who compose surveys know that the questions one poses can skew the answers that are given. It is all too easy to read our assumptions into the text, rather than allowing the text to speak for itself. If we are to understand texts written two thousand years ago and more, then we need to forget what we think we know and immerse ourselves, as far as is possible, in the world of those who wrote them – and beyond that, the world in which Jesus himself lived. The caveat ‘as far as is possible’ is of course all-important; we can never fully understand a culture that is so different from our own. But we must always beware of importing ideas which seem to be so obvious to us into the text, and of ignoring the clues which that text itself offers to us.

Section One

Introduction

1. New Wine in Old Bottles*

A Discussion of Continuity and Discontinuity in Relation to Judaism and the Gospel

‘No one pours new wine into old wineskins; if he does, the wine will burst the skins, and the wine will be wasted, and the skins as well. New wine must be put into fresh wineskins’ (Matt 9:17; Mark 2:22; Luke 5:37). This familiar parable is by no means as straightforward as it seems at first hearing. Clearly, it suggests the incompatibility of old and new, and the call for fresh wineskins to hold new wine implies that what is new is superior to what is old. Moreover, the setting of the parable, in a debate which contrasts the behaviour of Jesus’ disciples with that of other religious groups among the Jews suggests that we are meant to understand that the new wine of the gospel cannot be contained within the confines of Judaism. Yet the loss of the wineskins is apparently as much of a disaster as the spillage of the wine. Matthew spells this out: ‘new wine must be put into fresh wineskins – that way, both the wine and the skins are preserved’. As for Luke, his concern reaches not only to the old wineskins but to the old wine, for he adds a postscript to Jesus’ words to the effect that no one who has tasted old wine wants to drink new, since the old is better. And though connoisseurs of wine might agree with Luke’s assessment, it is a strangely conservative sentiment to find in Luke’s Gospel – so strange, indeed, that commentators generally assume the statement to be ironic. How could Luke believe that the old wine of Judaism was preferable to the new wine of Christianity?

The ambivalent attitude towards what is old displayed in these different versions of the parable reflects an underlying tension which runs throughout much of the New Testament – the tension between old and new, between the beliefs and assumptions which the first Christians inherited from the past and the new insights of the gospel, between the framework of ideas which formed part of their heritage and the events which made them think again about their understanding of God and his world. To what extent was the faith of the church new? In what ways was it related to the past? These are crucial questions for our understanding of the New Testament and of early Christianity,

* The Ethel M. Wood Lecture delivered at the Senate House, University of London on 14 February 1984.

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