

## INFLUENCE OF IS-LXX IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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To endeavour to explain the theology and the peculiarities of the New Testament Greek, its morphology, syntax and stylistics in the light of the Septuagint translation alone would mean falling into a panseptuagintism which is scientifically unacceptable. Nevertheless, the fact is that the N.T. was written in Greek. Until now no one has been able to convincingly show that any one of its books has been translated from Aramaic or Hebrew. Besides, as the authors of the N.T., except Luke<sup>1</sup>, are Jews who write in Greek it is understandable that they were acquainted with the O.T. in the Alexandrine translation of LXX. The N.T. writers, as well as quoting the Hebrew text also quote the Greek one and they show that they are familiar with the cultural and religious world of the Alexandrine translation. The N.T. theology knew how to «take advantage of» some differences between the Hebrew and Greek text, which in part had already been indicated by the translator of Ben Sira<sup>2</sup>.

At any rate, one must bear in mind the Jewish background of the

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\* Paper read by the author in the congress of «*Studia Hellenistica*», Cambridge, 20-26 August 1982.

1. Some exegetes think Col 4,10-14 shows the Gentile origin of Luke. In v. 14 it is said: «Luke, our dear doctor, and Demas send you their greetings.»

2. «Wherefore let me intreat you to read it with favour and attention, and to pardon us, wherein we may seem to come short of some words, which we have laboured to interpret; for the same things uttered in Hebrew, and translated into another tongue, have not the same force in them. And not only these things, but the Law in itself, and the Prophets, and the rest of the books, have no small difference, when they are spoken in their own language» (Sir, Prologue, 13-20).

Septuagint translation when studying its relation to the N.T. The language and vocabulary of the LXX are characterised by linguistic features that turn them into a unique branch of the Hebrew language: an unusual use of words and meaning, a lack of lexical variety and of distinction between prosaic words and poetic ones. This special feature of the LXX vocabulary comes from the fact that this translation has its own character of translation. It does not part from the assumption of a Greek-Jewish dialect or even from an Egyptian background. The Septuagintic language constitutes an independent cultural unit. This point is also interesting in order to grasp some stylistic and doctrinal features of the N.T. The special physiognomy of the N.T. Greek is easier to understand through the LXX. Also, in this way we can more easily understand the question of some semitisms in the N.T., a term which is wide enough to include Hebraisms and Aramaisms<sup>3</sup>. At this point in time it is necessary to make an even more forceful study in order to overcome certain scholarly attitudes that are tinged with a selective or alternative will<sup>4</sup>. A careful reading of the N.T. texts leads us to admit the LXX influence while at the same time this does not mean falling into septuagintism<sup>5</sup>.

In spite of the fact that the discovery of the Qumrân scrolls has confirmed the loyalty of the LXX towards its *Vorlage*, the Alexandrine translators have also to be considered as exegetes. They are the first representatives of the Greek Biblical exegesis. An exegesis,

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3. Cf. J. H. MOULTON, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, I: *Prolegomena*, Edinburgh 1906; II: *Accidence and Word Formation*, ed. by W. F. Howard, 1919-1929; III: *Syntax*, ed. by N. Turner, 1963. With regard to our problem, II, pp. 411-485, is important. However, due attention is not paid to the question of the connections between the N.T. and the Septuagint.

4. On the purists side there is A. DEISSMANN, *Die Sprache der griechischen Bibel: Theologische Rundschau* 1 (1898) 463-472; 5 (1902) 58-69; 9 (1906) 210-229; 15 (1912) 339-364; *Hellenistisches Griechisch: Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* 7 (1899) 627-639. Also on the purists side is J. H. Moulton who has already been mentioned, although he maintains that the Greek in the Scriptures is the *koine*, not the classical Greek (atic). On the Hebraic side of biblical scholars, who in fact are Arameists, the old thesis held by J. WELLHAUSEN, *Septuagint: Encyclopaedia Britannica* 21<sup>9</sup>(1866) 667-670, is still the dominant one. The book written by D. TABACHOWITZ, *Die Septuaginta und das Neue Testament*, Lund 1956, has not greatly clarified the problem. He presents a thesis close to that of A. Deissmann, but his arguments in favour of a *koine* free of semitisms are often lacking in exegetic context.

5. In this sense the study made by the Swede A. WIFSTRAND, *Lukas och Septuaginta: Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift* 16 (1940) 243-262. Luke, on the side of the Arameists, shows the clear influence of the Septuagint in the morphology, stylistics and doctrine. He also notes the existence of pseudo-septuagintisms.

in addition, interested in bringing the text up-to-date by adapting it to the new historical situation of the Jewish-Alexandrine community. The Septuagint intra-Old Testamentarian interpretation is essentially a theological exegesis<sup>6</sup>. And it is precisely for this reason that we can speak of the Septuagint as *praeparatio evangelica*. And this maturity arrives in large part with the Hellenisation of the Jewish religion, with the universalising of the Hellenistic Judaism. This is how the Greek O.T. becomes the basis of formation and culture, of religion and faith<sup>7</sup>.

Another point to be remembered is that in the Church both the O.T. and the N.T. were tacitly considered Greek works. The LXX formed part of the bipartite body of the Holy Scriptures. For this reason a greater harmony between the textual criticism of the LXX and the N.T. is desirable without forgetting that the Septuagint is a translation and that it has a textual history which is earlier than the N.T.<sup>8</sup> The various dictionaries and vocabularies of the N.T. enable us to discover how much the New Testamentarian writings owe to the Septuagint translation<sup>9</sup>.

The N.T. contains a relatively important number of quotations from the LXX<sup>10</sup>. Sometimes we can guess why the N.T. writer does

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6. The plus of the Septuagint with regard to the Hebrew text in the three classic cases quoted in the N.T. and traditionally invoked by scholars are no more than a few of many testimonies of the exegetical tendencies in the Alexandrine translation: 1) When Peter in Acts 2,23-31 and Paul in Acts 13,35-37 use the Ps 15(16), 8-11 in the Greek form of the text which translates by *corruption* (διαφθορά) the Hebrew *grave* (SHHT). 2) When Mt 1,23 uses Is 7,14 as a christological prophecy of the virginal birth it leans on the Greek text which translates by *virgin* (παρθένος) the *young woman* (LMH) of the Hebraic one. 3) When Peter in Acts 3,25 and Paul in Gal 3,8-9 use Gn 22,18 to prove the inclusion of all the Gentiles in Abraham's blessing they read the Greek form *and they shall be blessed* (ἐνευλογηθήσονται) which translates the Hebrew «and they will bless themselves» (WHTBRKW). This plus Greek qualitative is assumed by the N.T.

7. Cf. G. BERTRAM, *Zur Bedeutung der Religion in der hellenistischen Welt: Theologische Literaturzeitung* 92 (1967) 250; A. PELLETIER, *Valeur évocatrice d'un remarcage chrétien de la Septante: Biblica* 48 (1967) 388-94.

8. Cf., for example, G. KITTEL-G. FRIEDRICH (edd.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Stuttgart 1933; L. COENEN-E. BEYREUTHER, *Theologisches Begrifflexikon zum Neuen Testament*, Wuppertal 1971, which confirms the Septuagintic influence on the N.T. texts. In this sense the book by C. H. DODD, *The Bible and the Greeks*, London 1935; <sup>2</sup>1954 is illustrative.

9. An interesting question would be to know just how much the N.T. could have «influenced» the Septuagint text. It should be kept in mind that the Christians were those who preserved and copied the Alexandrine translation. A curious example of this possible influence is Ps 14, where the Septuagint inserts after v. 3 the series of passages which in Rom 3,13-18 follows the quotation from Ps 14,1-3.

10. The quotations which do not coincide either with the Hebrew text or with the text of the Alexandrine translation are a problem which have no easy explanation. We

not make use of the Alexandrine translation. In the case, for example, of Mt 8,17: «He did this to make what the prophet Isaiah had said come true: He himself took our sickness and carried away our diseases». A straight quotation from the LXX would mean affirming that Jesus bore man's sins during his ministry and not only at the moment of his death. That is why Mt uses the Hebrew text which reads «feebleness» (HALAYYIM) and not the Alexandrine text which reads «sins» (ἁμαρτία). The context of Mt 8,17 is Jesus's healing activity.

On the other hand, besides some passages which are more or less long, of quotations characteristic of the LXX, we must keep in mind a series of ways of quoting and of contexts, which often are not indicated in the margins at the side of critical editions of the Greek text of the N.T.<sup>11</sup> That is to say, that the Septuagint's influence on the N.T. should be guided by more ample criterion than those used to indicate parallel texts. It is necessary also to use the criteria of contextual and doctrinal affinity<sup>12</sup>. The LXX is useful in identifying two or more O.T. passages which are structured as one single quotation. Thus, for example, the first part of Mt 11,10 (ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου) reproduces word by word Ex 23,20 according to the LXX; the second part, on the other hand (ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου) reproduces in a loose way Mal 3,1. It is evident that the first Gospel ties Israel's past history as we see it throughout with its future destiny according to the prophet Malachias conception. Mt wants to show that all of Israel's history only has meaning in terms of John the Baptist's activity, related to the Messianic activity of Jesus. The change made in the second quotation of μου for σου is significant so that the pronoun would agree with the quotation which comes from Exodus.

The typology of the N.T. can also sometimes be inspired and even disciplined by the Septuagint. Thus, for example, the words from the

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would have to know which text the N.T. authors had in front of them when they took out quotations. We should not forget the existence of anthologies of texts, as also the work involved in adapting the text to a new context of quotation.

11. This is a point neglected even by a study as useful as is that of C. SMITS, *Oud-testamentische citaten in het N.T.*, The Hague 1952-1955, I-II. It catalogues all the quotations from the O.T. to be found in the N.T. comparing them to the Septuagintic and Hebrew texts.

12. A typical case is the Apocalypse of John. The author never explicitly quotes, but it is not difficult to discover the Septuagintic influence.

book of Jgs 13,5: «He will begin the work of rescuing Israel from the Philistines» underlines the words in Mt 1,21: «He will save his people» (σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ). According to Mt, Jesus is the second Samson who is going to play the role of liberator. The Samson motif also seems to appear in Mt 27,29. The soldiers, like those who have taken Israel's national hero prisoner, scoff at Jesus. In Mt 27,29 we read ἐνέπαιξαν, in Jgs 16,25 we have ἐνέπαιζον. Samson is placed between two pillars, Jesus between two delinquents. Thousands of Philistines lie buried beneath the stones of the house of pleasure; the death of Jesus, on the contrary, summons many of the saints from death's bondage<sup>13</sup>.

It is curious that in spite of the fact that the Septuagint has more books than those recorded in the Hebrew canon, the N.T. writers never explicitly quote any deuterocanonical book or any book which has been added, while that does not mean that they are unacquainted with them, because after all the apocryphal book of Henoc is quoted<sup>14</sup>.

Before directly dealing with the specific theme of this work, it should be kept in mind that the Septuagint represents the first attempt to translate the language and culture of the Scriptures into another linguistic and cultural milieu. In this process of transferring the contents of the Hebrew language to Greek, many terms lose something of their original meaning and take on a new one or have nuances added to them; at the same time, the Greek words used in the Alexandrine translation take on part of semantical physiognomy of the corresponding translated Hebrew terms. This phenomenon of osmose in the area of theological lexicography is not only through the understanding of the N.T. And this is immediately evident in a term of so much quantitative and qualitative weight in the O.T. Greek and in the N.T. as is the word δόξα and words belonging to the same root.

## I. IS-LXX AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

### 1. *The outstanding place of Is-LXX in the N.T.*

Is-LXX occupies an outstanding position in the use the N.T.

13. Mt is the Evangelist who most freely quotes and who shows most independence with regard to the Septuagint.

14. The letter of Judas 6 contains a clear allusion to the tradition of the fall of the Angels as can be read in the book of Henoc 10,4.12; 12,4; 15,3; 22,11.

makes of it. The exegetical trends of the Greek translator of Is constitute a very useful system of reading matter, not only for the Jews, but also for the Christians<sup>15</sup>. Above all, the Alexandrine translation of Is is the one which best shows that the LXX has a value in its own right<sup>16</sup>. The quantitative presence of the LXX in the New Testament can be seen in the catalogue presented by H. B. Swete<sup>17</sup>. Although some quotations are debatable because it would be necessary to examine in more detail if they are made over in the Alexandrine translation, the catalogue presented by Swete is fully illustrative. The book of Psalms and the book of Isaiah are those most frequently quoted. The N.T. quotes 37 texts from the Psalms and 41 from Isaiah. On the other hand, if we take into account that the same text is sometimes quoted by different N.T. writers the number of quotations from Is-LXX goes up to 82. It is in this moment that the quantitative fact becomes a qualitative one: the religious and cultural thinking of Is-LXX exercises an undeniable influence in the N.T.

To put only one example, which later will be confirmed by the concrete analysis of δόξα, one could refer to the Fourth Gospel. When the writer of the prologue composed the verses that present Jesus as the «Light» he gives us a text that shows a lot of affinity with the LXX, which makes one think of dependence on, the poetical eschatology principally of Is 60,1-3.5.19, as will be seen later<sup>18</sup>.

## 2. Use of δόξα in Is-LXX

One of the characteristic features of Is-LXX is the wide quantit-

15. The Is scroll found in Qumrân (1QIs<sup>a</sup>), one of the most important works discovered in the Dead Sea, also offers a freedom of translation. It translates in some parts the Hebrew text used by the Massorets and is very close to this one. However, in some points it agrees with the Septuagint. Cf. J. R. ROSENBLUM, *The Dead Sea Isaiah Scroll. A Literary Analysis and Comparison of the Qumran Scroll with the Masoretic Text and the Biblia Hebraica*, Gran Rapids, Michigan 1970.

16. The Septuagint is seen not only as a translation. A very significant testimony is the fact that already Aristobol, before the legend of the Pseudo-Aristeas shows that he does not know the Hebrew text. Cf. N. WALTER, *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulos*, Berlin 1964.

17. H. B. SWETE-R. R. OTTLEY, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, New York 1968, p. 385.

18. Cf. E. D. FREED, *Some Old Testament Influences on the Prolonged of John, in Old Testament Studies in Honour of J. M. Meyers*, Philadelphia 1974, pp. 145f. However, it cannot be discounted that it may have been influenced by other works, such as Ps 36,9; 56,13; 27,1; 1QS 11,11. But especially by Ps 36,9 where the symbols of life and light associated with God are jointly presented.

ive and qualitative space given to δόξα and to the words that belong to this root. With this use it expresses and blends important aspects of its theology, anthropology and soteriology<sup>19</sup>. One could say that an exhaustive study of the meaning and reach of δόξα in Is-LXX would practically demand a study of the whole book, since the boundary and concepts it includes go throughout the book<sup>20</sup>. It can be said that the complete semantical range of δόξα in the Bible is found in Is-LXX, and that some aspects have been added or accentuated by this translator.

Is-LXX stresses the theological value of δόξα, for this reason it denounces the usurpation the impious make of it, up to the point of turning it into an anti-δόξα or even into a δόξα without content. This is the case, for example, of Is 14,11. The human ΓᾹΩΝ equivalent to the ὕβρις is not translated by this term, but by δόξα which means that the blasphemous and usurping pretensions of human power are destroyed by its own δόξα because there is only one true δόξα and that is God's.

The frequent additions in Is-LXX of a targumic character stress the soteriological aspects of the δόξα, as, for example, in Is 40,5: καὶ ὁρθήσεται ἡ δόξα κυρίου, καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. Often δόξα and σωτηρία go into the field of the synonymous: «Behold, my God is my Saviour; I will trust in him, and no be afraid: for the Lord is my δόξα and my praise and is become my *salvation* (σωτηρία)» (12,2). This synonymous association between δόξα and σωτηρία is found also in a text which depends on Is-LXX as does Ba 4,24: «Like as now the neighbours of Sion have seen your captivity: so shall they see shortly your σωτηρίαν from your God, which shall come upon you with great δόξης and brightness of the Everlasting». Other texts found in Is-LXX link salvation to the vision of the δόξα: 60,1-7; 62,1-2; 66,18ff. Very significant is 44,23: «Rejoice, you heavens...for God has redeemed Jacob and Israel shall be glorified (δοξαοθήσεται)».

An original creation of Is-LXX is making the act δόξα as an antithetical concept of ταπείνωσις. For this reason the verb δοξάζω

19. Cf. F. RAURELL, «Doxa» i particularisme nacionalista en Ba 4,5-5,9: *Revista Catalana de Teologia* V (1980) 265-295; LXX-Is 26. La «Doxa» com a participació en la vida escatològica: *Butlletí de l'Associació Bíblica de Catalunya* Sup 1 (1981) 15-34.

20. In the books of the Palestine canon δόξα appears 270 times, of which 180 translate KWD. In the Deuterocanonical books it appears 147 times. Is-LXX uses it 68 times, of which 28 translate KWD.

will often appear as a counterpoint of ταπεινώ - καταβαίνω and a synonym of verbs such as ὑψώω, ἀναβαίνω, etc. which are so important in the Johannine theology in the account of Jesus's Passion and in the Pauline doctrine on the eschatological participation of δόξα on the part of the believers.

## II. SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF IS-LXX IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

### 1. *The δόξα as a miraculous power*

The fact that the concept of light and splendour, often inherent in the word δόξα, includes also that of power is something constant in the Hebrew and Greek theophanies of the O.T. and something common to the religion of the Ancient Near East<sup>21</sup>.

Is-LXX intensely develops this aspect. It always refers to a power destined for Israel or else to the Gentiles who join the Jewish religion.

Is-LXX 63,12-14: refers to the crossing of the Red Sea, where God displayed all His power. Verse 12 speaks of the arm of His «glory» (ὁ βραχίων τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ) and ends by acknowledging in verse 13 that this gesture on behalf of His people means that He has made a glorious name for Himself: ὄνομα δόξης. The Hebrew text in verse 12 says: ZRŴ' TP'RTW = «*arm of His splendour*» and in verse 14 SHM TP'RT. In verse 1 it had already said that God comes «with mighty strength» (μετὰ ἰσχύος). In Is 42,8 δόξα represents the synthesis of the powerful acts carried out by God in Israel's favour as Creator (v. 5) and Redeemer (v. 6-7).

Idolatry always means refusing to acknowledge this power of God. Is 48,11 expresses this effectively: «For mine own sake I will do this for you, because my name is profaned; and I will not give my glory to another (τὴν δόξαν μου ἐτέρῳ οὐ δώσω).» The linking of «glory»-

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21. Cf. E. CASSIN, *La splendeur divine. Introduction à l'étude de la mentalité mésopotamienne*, Paris-La Haye 1968. The starting point in this work is a series of terms which generally mean «splendour», «brilliance», etc.: *melammu*, *namrirru*, *salummatu*, etc. This study shows that in Mesopotamia light is the symbol of vitality and power. The gods, the kings, the temples show their power through the light. There is a strict relationship between light, fertility, beauty and health. Splendour, *melammu*, also contains the idea of terror.



«force» is even more graphic in 33,10: «Now will I arise (ἀναστήσομαι), says the Lord, now will I be glorified (δοξασθήσομαι), now will I be exalted (ὑψωθήσομαι).» And this God's power is contrasted to man's impotence, as v. 11 affirms: «Now shall you see, now shall you perceive: the strength of your spirit shall be vain (μάταια ἔσται ἡ ἰσχὺς τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν).» That is why the God of Is-LXX destroys the pseudo-δόξα of the country's ἔνδοξοι<sup>22</sup>.

The N.T. authors take up this Isaitic Septuagintic accent when they use δόξα as a manifestation of God's power, principally fulfilled through Jesus Christ and in Jesus Christ himself with his resurrection. God's δόξα is the force that raised Jesus from the death. Rom 6,4: «By our baptism we were buried with him shared his death, in order that, just as Christ was raised from the death by the glory of the Father (διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς), so also we might live a new life». In Eph 1,17 God is called «Father of the δόξης» because He had raised His own Son: «...This power working in us is the same as the mighty strength which He used when He raised Christ from death and seated him at His right side in the heavenly world» (v. 19). What God has done for Christ is the example of what He will do for man: this is hope's foundation. The variety of words used to describe the efficiency of God's δόξα is very significant: δύναμις, ἰσχὺς, ἐνέργεια, κράτος. The total reality of the resurrected Christ needs clear reference to God's power: «For even though it was in weakness that he was put to death on the cross, it was by God's power (ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ) that he lives» (2 Cor 13,4).

Peter, in his speech in the Temple, explains the same theme of God's δόξα as a power which raised Christ: «The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, the God of our ancestors, has glorified him (ἐδόξασεν)... You killed the one who leads to life, but God raised from the dead (ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν)...» (Acts 3,13. 15). This speech has Is 52,13 as a doctrinal background: «Behold, my servant shall understand and be exalted (ὑψωθήσεται) and glorified (δοξασθήσεται) exceedingly». The verbal binomial ὑψώω - δοξάζω, fully becomes a part of the story of Christ's death and resurrection up to the point that John linked passion with δόξα.

22. Is-LXX tends to use this term ἔνδοξοι in a pejorative sense, as can be seen, for example, in Is 26 where the ἔνδοξοι are the impious ones. They are the bearers of a pseudo-δόξα which must be humbled. Cf. F. RAURELL, «Archontes» en la interpretació midràshica d'Is-LXX: *Revista Catalana de Teologia* I (1976) 315-374, especially pp. 362 ff.

In Rom 4,20s Abraham acknowledges God as the power of giving life by way of the δόξα, for this reason he gives Him back the δόξα trying to make himself strong in Him through faith: «His faith did not leave him, and he did not doubt God's promise; his faith filled him with power and he gave δόξαν to God. He was absolutely sure that God would be able (δυνατός) to do what he had promised». And in v.24 he once again defines God as the one who «raised Jesus our Lord from death».

The punishment for those who do not want to acknowledge Jesus as the Lord is to have to remain separated from «the glory of his power»: «They will suffer the punishment of eternal destruction, separated from the presence of the Lord ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ» (2 Thes 1,9). This text is a reference to Is 2,10.19.21, which has the form ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, whilst the Hebrew text reads: MHDR G'WNW. It may have been inspired in part by Is 6,2, the text of Rev 15,8: «The Temple was filled with smoke from the glory (ἐκ τῆς δόξης) of God and from his power (ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως).» In Is 6,1 we can read: πλήρης ὁ οἶκος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, and this in a context in which God is described using royalty terms. The Hebrew text, on the other hand, does not use the word KWD, but SHWL'M: «and his robe filled the whole temple»<sup>23</sup>.

One of the characteristics of Is-LXX used to emphasize the concept of power inherent in the δόξα attributed to God is to affirm that the δόξα attributed to the man who is simply man or to the man who rebels against God is a μάταια δόξα or even worse an anti-δόξα. This appears very clearly, for example, in Is 40,6: «The voice of one saying: Cry! All flesh is grass, and all the glory of man (πάσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου) as the flower of grass». The Hebrew text says: HSD. It is a question of a probable allusion in the Hebrew text to the expiration of Babylonian human potential, that the Greek translator identifies credibly with the power of Antioch IV Epiphanes. This text written in Greek, with variations that are not of importance, is quoted by 1 Pt 1,24: «All flesh is like grass and all his glory (δόξα αὐτῆς) like flowers. The grass withers and the flowers fall, but the word of the Lord remains for ever.»

It is not necessary to say that the feature of power inherent in the

23. The author of the Apocalypse may undoubtedly have been influenced also by other texts, such as Ex 40,34; 1Kgs 8,10-11; Ez 44,4; etc. In any case, the theme of the δόξα filling the Temple is present in several O.T. parts.

δόξα is ever present in the Fourth Gospel, up to the point that with this idea it describes the beginning of Jesus's ministry and his end as the defeated triumphant in the Passion. In Cana Jesus shows his δόξα with the miracle of changing water to wine (Jn 2,11). The resurrection of Lazarus (Jn 11,4.40) is another example of the power of his δόξα. In Jn 12,41f, reference is made to Isaiah's vision in Is 6. Although the Johannine text in general is closer to the Hebrew than to the Greek, by making explicit reference to the δόξα it picks up the Greek Isaian translator's tendency which in the concrete case of Is 6,1 reads: «and the house was full of His δόξης», without the Hebrew having KWD, but SHWL'M. Thanks to the Septuagint John was able to make the δόξα the direct object of the prophet's vision. In the Targum of Is 6,5 the prophet proclaims that he has seen not «the king, the Lord of hosts», but the «glory of the shekinah» of the King of the centuries: SHKINT MLK 'LM'<sup>24</sup>. The δόξα of this 12th chapter of the Fourth Gospel is always linked to the idea of royalty, and in this he is true to Is 6, in which the prophet sees God as a king<sup>25</sup>. But always with the typical paradox found in John of linking this royal condition of Christ to the perspective of the Passion.

## 2. *The δόξα in a context of humiliation*

The «glorification» of the Suffering Servant that the interpretation of Is-LXX gives to it offers terminological, stylistic and doctrinal elements that help to understand the description and meaning that, mainly in the Fourth Gospel, is given to Christ's Passion.

Is 52,13: «Behold, my servant (ὁ παῖς μου) shall understand and be exalted (ὑψωθήσεται) and glorified exceedingly (δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα).» The manner of speaking in Acts 3,13 is due to the

24. Cf. R. BULTMANN, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, Göttingen<sup>10</sup>1968, p. 367: «Was Jesaja damals im Tempel schaute, war die zukünftige 'Doxa' Jesu, die ihm durch sein Wirken zuteil wird».

25. It would be interesting to investigate if, apart from a certain Isaian background in this union between «glory» and Passion with the idea of royalty, there is an affinity with the extrabiblical Greek culture. Antigonos Gonatas has the classical expression according to which royalty is an ἐνδοξος δουλεία (*Aelian* v. h. II 2) and which has not yet been sufficiently made clear. In fact, this paradoxical form gives rise to different questions: in front of whom is this glorious service of slavery expressed or exercised? Who has applied the concept δουλεία to the monarchy? A curious opinion is the one held by K. W. WELTWEI, *Könige und Königtum im Urteil des Polybios*, Köln 1963: «ruhmvolle Knechtschaft gegenüber den Gesetzen» (p. 155). The idea that Antigonos was referring to the obligations and moral rights of the monarchy cannot be excluded.

aforementioned Isaian text: «The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, the God of our ancestors has glorified his servant (ἐδόξασεν τον παῖδα) Jesus<sup>26</sup>.» But above all it is John who in the N.T. benefits most from the link between humiliation and the verbs ὑψώω-δοξάζω. The Johannine description of Christ's Passion will play on the double meaning of the verb ὑψώω: to be raised up on to the cross and to raise heaven, that is, crucifixion and exaltation<sup>27</sup>. And in the v. 14 of Is they continue playing on the root of δόξα in order to vary the same idea: «As many shall be amazed at you, so shall thy face be without glory from men and thy glory (shall not be recognised) by the sons of men (ἡ δόξα σου ἀπὸ υἱῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων)<sup>28</sup>.»

For the first Christians another text such as Is 49,1-9 must have been equally good reading matter in order to be able to understand Christ's Passion. The vv. 3-5 are very explicit: «He said to me: Israel, you are my servant and in you I will be glorified (ἐν σοὶ ἐνδοξασθήσομαι)... I shall be gathered and glorified before the Lord (δοξασθήσομαι ἐναντίον κυρίου) and my God shall be my strength.» God's «glorification» becomes his Servant's «glorification» and vice versa. This scheme of humiliation-exaltation by way of the δόξα is also found in Is 62. The city which before was an abandoned and humiliated one is now the city of the δόξα, as v. 2 says: «And the Gentiles shall see thy δικαιοσύνην and kings thy δόξαν. And you will be called by a new name, a name given by the Lord himself.»

A comparison of the N.T. writers shows that the Synoptics and Paul attribute the δόξα only to the risen Christ, not to the Christ of the Passion and death. Perhaps the scene of the transfiguration could be invoked by some as being an exception, but one should keep in mind that the emphasis is put on the Resurrection<sup>29</sup>. For John, however, not only the exalted Lord possesses the δόξα (17,14), but also the Christ-Logos from before time (1,14), the Christ of the time

26. Cf. M. BLACK, *The Son of Man Problem in Recent Research and Debate: Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 45 (1962-63) 316f.

27. The linking ὑψώω and δοξάζω is also found in Ps 36,20: «For the sinners shall perish; and the enemies of the Lord at the moment of their being δοξασθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑψωθῆναι have utterly vanished like smoke»; and Ps 111,9: «his horn will be exalted with power (τὸ κέρασ αὐτοῦ ὑψωθήσεται ἐν δόξῃ)».

28. The verb δοξάζω is an *hapaxlegomenon* which shows the importance that the Greek translator of Is gives to the root.

29. Lk 9,32 par.

(2,11;11,4) and the Christ of the Passion and in the Passion (12,23; 13,31). John sees the Passion as a road of δοξασθῆναι and for this reason we can talk of the Passion as being the hour of the «glorification». It should not be discounted, however, that John's may be a creative theological reflection that goes beyond the traditional material virtually contained in the Synoptics.

The verbs ὑψόω and δοξάζω in Is 52,13 mainly constitute the background to the Johannine conception on the humiliation and exaltation of Christ. John fully echoes the equivalence of both verbs<sup>30</sup>. In this sense the text of Jn 3,14 is typical: «As Moses lifted up the snake in the desert (ὑψωσεν τον ὄφιν), in the same way the son of man must be lifted up (ὑψωθῆναι)». Here John plays on the ambiguity of the verb ὑψόω. Jesus was lifted up in the execution on the Cross and in this way was exalted in the δόξα<sup>31</sup>. And John maintains the soteriological character inherent in this verb when it is a synonym of the verb δοξάζω. Thus it continues in v. 15 of the same c. 3: «For God loved the world so much that he has given his only son, so that everyone who believes in him may not die but have eternal life.» Jn 8,28 is along the same lines: «So he said to them: When you lift up (ὑψώσητε) the Son of Man you will know that I am.» The expression ἐγώ εἰμι seems to be related to the idea of the manifestation of Christ's power, of his condition of Lord, of κύριος. Cf. Is 43,10: ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ πιστεύσητε καὶ συνῆτε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι. That in John the Passion is the moment of the «glorification» is also seen in 7,39: «Jesus said this about the Spirit, which those who believed in him were going to receive. At that time the Spirit had not yet been given, because Jesus οὐδέπω ἔδοξάσθη.» If we are to consider Christ's actions as equivalent to the resplendour through which God's power and presence are made accessible to human experience, then the action with which Christ supremely manifests God's subjective and objective presence is his own delivery to the death for love towards humanity. This is the moment of the definitive manifestation of the divine δόξα.

Jesus, by his obedience to the Father has made possible the demonstration of God's saving power, of his soteriological δόξα.

30. It should be kept in mind that in Is-LXX these two verbs take on force and precision in the counterpoints καταβαίνω and ταπεινῶω. The action of dispossession of the δόξα is described in Is-LXX with these verbs. Cf. Is 3,8; 14,11.

31. Cf. C. K. BARRET, *The Gospel according to St. John*, London 1975, p. 356.

This is what Jn 12,23 means. But the Father's δόξα is also that of the Son's: the Passion through which the Son glorifies the Father is also the action through which the Father glorifies the Son<sup>32</sup>. Such a profound theology is illustrated in the dialectic in which the grain of wheat falls to the ground, decays and only in this way can bear fruit. This is what is affirmed in 12,24: «I am telling you the truth: a grain of wheat remains no more than a single grain unless it is dropped into the ground and dies. If it does die, then it produces many grains.»

### 3. *The δόξα as light in Is-LXX and in the N.T.*

Is-LXX is the Greek translator of the O.T. who most emphasizes the relation of the δόξα to the concept of light. This is why the eschatological δόξα is always a luminous epiphany. Certainly it is true that this aspect also sometimes qualifies the Hebrew term but always with less force, so that the most semantically privileged sector of the word in Hebrew is that of presence<sup>33</sup>.

The Isaian texts in this sense are innumerable. Is 58,8: «Then shall thy light (φῶς) break forth as the morning, and thy health shall speedily spring forth: and thy righteousness shall go before you and the δόξα of God shall compass you.» The theme of Is 60 can be synthesized: the light of the δόξα of God has been manifested so that it may be seen by everyone (cf. Is 40,5). Whilst darkness covers the rest of the world, the light of God's δόξα shines over Jerusalem and this is the reason for the centripetal attraction it exercises over all people.

For John the darkness over the Earth has come to an end because Jesus is the light which has come to save man. From the very

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32. The difficulty in translating and understanding what is meant when it is said that Jesus glorifies the Father is shown by a certain silence observed by dictionaries, grammar books, commentaries and studies on John in such an important point as the theology of the Fourth Gospel. Cf., for example, G. B. CAIRD, *The Glory of God in the Fourth Gospel: An Exercise of Biblical Semantics: New Testament Studies* 15 (1972) 265f. The author deals basically with grammatical aspects.

33. It is interesting to mention that the Qumrân scrolls also tend to accentuate luminous aspects in the use of KWD. The manifestation of God's KWD becomes in Qumrân a sign of the Final Judgement Day and is described in terms of light and fire. This same judgement appears related to the events of the Sinai. Cf. O. BETZ, *The Eschatological Interpretation of the Sinai-Tradition in Qumran and in the New Testament: Revue de Qumrân* 6 (1969) 92.

beginning we can discern a vocabulary common to Is 60 and the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel: the eschatological character of the light φῶς - δόξα, the antithesis between light and darkness, the predominance of light, presence and responsibility of a community that believes. And in all this the predominant role of the δόξα. The verbs φαίνω and φωτίζω in Is 60,1.19 also appear in the Prologue. The fact that the verb φωτίζω is not found in any other part of John's Gospel seems to indicate the influence of Is-LXX in the Prologue<sup>34</sup>.

According to the O.T. thinking it was not the λόγος that they were waiting for but the φῶς. This theme is repeated several times in the Fourth Gospel: 3,19; 11,9; 12,35.46. Moreover those who follow Jesus are exhorted to believe in Him in such a way that they can become «children of the light» (12,26), an expression, on the other hand, well known from the Dead Sea scrolls<sup>35</sup>. One is familiarised with the expression «children of the light», but there is no place either in the Bible or in the Dead Sea scrolls where the expression «children of the word» can be read<sup>36</sup>.

In the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel the importance of the concept Logos seems to have been a little exaggerated. In fact, the concept of light and not of the word is the one which is most often represented. In this case one would have to speak rather of a poem or a hymn to light in which the δόξα has its own place. Whilst the word λόγος only appears four times in the vv. 1-14, three of which are in v. 1, the term φῶς is used six times in the vv. 4-9; and the term δόξα is used twice in v. 14. Moreover, λόγος does not appear elsewhere in the Fourth Gospel with the same meaning, that is, in the christological sense. Although Jesus never uses this title of λόγος to describe himself, he does, on the other hand, describe himself using symbols of light. The theme of light and darkness, with Jesus as light, is a constant element in the rest of John's Gospel.

The aforementioned Lk 2,9: «and the glory (δόξα) of the Lord

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34. This takes on even more importance if we keep in mind that with regard to Is 60 there is not a lot of difference between the MT, LXX and IQIs<sup>a</sup>. There are moments in which it seems that the language used in the Prologue is closer to the Hebrew text. Cf., for example, Is 9,1; 42,6; etc.

35. Cf. IQS 1,9; 3,9; IQM 1,1.3.

36. As in Is 60 and in the Dead Sea scrolls (for example, IQS 3,18-25; 4,9-14; IQM 13; 15,9-10; etc.) also in the Prologue and the rest of John's Gospel the φῶς is eschatological and ethical.

shone over them» shows affinity with Is 4,2; 9,1. In the Transfiguration Mt and Mk, on the other hand, mention the light in the Lord's appearance, but it is Luke who uses δόξα most frequently. Lk 9,31 explains how Elias and Moses appear in δόξα and how the disciples were completely aroused when they contemplated their own δόξα.

The «Nunc dimittis» presents Jesus as a σωτήριον determined by two expressions in apposition to Lk 2,32: «A light (φῶς) as a revelation to the Gentiles and as a glory (δόξα) to your people Israel<sup>37</sup>.» It is an expression which evokes different passages of the Deutero-Is-LXX. We read in Is 42,6: «...I have given you for the covenant of a race, for a light to the Gentiles (εἰς φῶς ἔθνῶν)»; 49,6 repeats the same expression, emphasizing, however the link with δόξα, as can be seen in v. 3: ἐν σοὶ ἐνδοξασθήσομαι and in v. 5: δοξασθήσομαι ἐναντίον κυρίου. In 46,13: «I have given salvation in Sion to Israel for δόξαμα». The strong association between δόξα and σωτηρία means that Is 52, a remarkable chapter because of the weight given to «glory», can be the basis of the reading in v. 10: «And the Lord shall reveal his holy arm in the sight of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the σωτήριον from our God<sup>38</sup>.»

#### 4. *The denial of the δόξα in Is-LXX and in the N.T.*

Throughout the whole book, Is-LXX, when it speaks of the δόξα as a due acknowledgement of God, seems to echo the first words that open the book: «Hear, O heaven, and hearken, O earth: for the Lord has spoken, I have begotten and reared up children, but they have rebelled against me. The ox knows his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel does not know me and the people have not regarded me» (Is 1,3-4).

In 2,9-22, the denial of God's δόξα provokes man's ταπείνωσις. To deny the δόξα of the Lord often means a desire to affirm one's own δόξα. This is the meaning of 3,8-9: Jerusalem and Judea rebel

37. Cf. A. RAMSEY, *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ*, London 1949, p. 39: «It is not certain whether 'light' and 'glory' are both in apposition to 'salvation' or whether 'revelation' and 'glory' go together in dependence upon 'light'. But the former seems more probable.»

38. To see the δόξα and to see the σωτηρία is the same thing in Is-LXX, as deduced from texts such as 40,5: «And the δόξα of the Lord shall appear, and all flesh shall see the σωτήριον of God.»



against the Lord for this reason: «Wherefore now their glory has been brought down (ἐταπεινώθη ἡ δόξα)».

To deny to God the δόξα so as to give it to another is a grave sin of idolatry. The expression repeated twice in 42,8 and 48,11 is very energetic: τὴν δόξαν μου ἐτέρῳ οὐ δώσω. Cf. Ba 4,3: μὴ δῶς ἐτέρῳ τὴν δόξαν σου which is a text influenced by Is-LXX.

This is one of God's attributes which cannot be taken away from him without wiping out his image. For this reason, δοῦναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ it is not a question of acknowledging to God something he is lacking in but of acknowledging to him something that belongs to him: «Jesus said: there were ten men who were healed; where are the other nine? Why is this foreigner the only one who came back δοῦναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ?» (Lk 17,17f). In Acts 12,23 Herod died violently because he had usurped the δόξα of God.

But it is John who most brings out the theology of the denial of the δόξα. God shows his δόξα through the person and the acts of Christ and man has to decide. If this decision means denial, then the theme of «krisis» comes into play. The δόξα is accepted or denied according to if one believes or not. It is the answer that is created before the σημεῖα and the ῥήματα. This is what appears in the resurrection of Lazarus: «When Jesus heard it he said: The final result of this illness will not be the death of Lazarus; this has happened ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ δι' αὐτῆς» (Jn 11,4). And v. 40 significantly says: «Jesus said to her: Didn't I tell you that you would see God's glory (δόξαν) if you believed?» There was a kind of σχίσμα before faith (11,36-37). From that day they decided to kill him (11,53). This is the conclusion reached in the first part of the Gospel. The δόξα is the cause of κρίσις or of σχίσμα amongst the onlookers<sup>39</sup>.

##### 5. *The δόξα as image*

This is the semantic sector of the term δόξα difficult to determine

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39. One could almost find a certain structure around δόξα in the Fourth Gospel: the enunciation of the δόξα (1-2); programme of the δόξα (3); man's reaction to the δόξα (4-6 and part of 7); two new examples of reaction around the δόξα (10-11). Conclusion: the hour has arrived in which the Son of Man must be glorified (δοξασθῆναι, 12). In the background, everything converges around the struggle between the φῶς and the σκοτία. The addresses prefer the δόξα of man to that of God (12,43). The words φῶς, δόξα, and κρίσις follow this line throughout the book. It is a theme which is present from the beginning to the end of the book.

exactly and which creates difficulties for the translators<sup>40</sup>. Certainly we can find some texts in which the δόξα reaches the point where it substitutes image functions without expressly indicating the equivalence. This is the case, for example, of Ps 8,6, which has a Genesisic background which reminds one of Gn 1,26-27.

In Is-LXX the aspect of «likeness», «appearance» dominates more than that of «image». So we read in 52,14: «As many shall be amazed at you, so shall thy face (εἶδος) be without glory (ἀδοξήσει) from men, and thy glory (δόξα) from the sons of men.» The Greek text makes synonyms εἶδος and δόξα. Unlike the Hebrew text which speaks of a situation in which the Servant finds himself, the Greek text describes the responsibility of those who will not want to consider his δόξα and εἶδος<sup>41</sup>. There is a change from third to second person. In v. 13 the Septuagint uses the verbs ὑψώω and δοξάζω to explain the «glorification» of the Servant.

The semantic closeness between δόξα and εἶδος is repeated in 53,2: «We brought a report as of a child before him: he is a root in a thirsty land: he has no εἶδος nor δόξα.» The Hebrew text has T'R and HDR.

There is another text, although it does result in being a little ambiguous: 43,7. The Hebrew text seems to show that Israel has been created in order to show God's «glory»: LKBWDÍ. The Greek text, on the contrary, seems to offer a Genesisic anthropology echo: «For I have prepared him in my glory (τῇ δόξῃ μου) and I have formed him and I have made him.»

On the «corpus paulinum» we find a series of texts that link the idea of δόξα to that of the image. Rom 1,23: «They exchanged the δόξαν of the immortal God ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνης φθαροῦ ἀνθρώπου». It is a text which presents a remarkable affinity with Wis 15,7-13. In this text, the v. 9, the δόξα takes on the sense of image. Although what the pottery maker is looking for is economic benefits, he presents his product as if it were Israel's δόξα. We should not

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40. The different semantic aspects inherent in δόξα make us see how difficult it is to determine the meaning it has in certain places. In few languages does one find one single word with so many different uses to explain its meaning, because in the majority of occasions they use «glory» where in Greek one reads δόξα. Cf. E. FRY, *Translating «Glory» in the N.T.: New Testament Bible Translator* 27 (1976) 420-424.

41. The Hebrew text reads: «Because of his disfigured appearance (MR'H) he was not of man and neither was his form (T'R) that of the sons of man». The idea is that suffering has disfigured the physical appearance of the Suffering Servant.

forget that the background to the reflections in the Book of Wisdom is the determinant fact in Israel's history of the idolatry of the golden calf, which opened a theological tradition about «changing the glory»<sup>42</sup>.

In 1 Cor 11,7 it is said that man does not have to cover himself because he is εἰκὼν and δόξα of God; woman, on the contrary, must do so because she is man's δόξα. In this curious exegesis which has a rabbinical background there is an allusion to Gn 2,26-27, but in favour only of the man.

Thus we can understand the step taken by the concept δόξα as a εἰκὼν to that of δόξα as participation. Col 1,15 says of Christ that he is εἰκὼν fo the invisible God. In 2 Cor 4,4 Christ is presented as δόξα and as εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ. Heb 1,3 defines Christ as ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης. God has engraved his own being in him.

In Col 3,10 the new man once again takes on εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν. In 2 Cor 3,18 the affirmation is very explicit: «All of us, then, reflect τὴν δόξαν of the Lord with uncovered faces. And we are transforming ourselves into his likeness (εἰκόνα) in an ever greater degree of glory (ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν).» The idea of the new man, «image» and «glory» of God, appears as Christ who is the δόξα and the εἰκὼν of God the Father (2 Cor 4,4)<sup>43</sup>. In Paul, therefore, the step is taken from a «natural order» (man created in the image of God) to a «supernatural order». Through Christ's resurrection and the union with him, the first fruits of those who sleep (1 Cor 15,20), the transforming power of the δόξα acts from this moment onwards on the believers who see their condition of the «image of God» strengthened: Rom 8,28s, 2 Cor 3,18. For man's faith goes beyond the frontiers of his temporality by making him a likeness of the Son, who is the image of God. Thus, in the similarity with Christ are found «natural likeness» (Gn 1,26-27) and «supernatural likeness» (Pauline texts). This is what the N.T. shows when it presents Christ as a new Adam. The condition of being the image of God which man has lost through sin, is regained by the Man, Jesus Christ.

42. Cf. F. RAURELL, *The Religious Meaning of «Doxa» in the Book of Wisdom, in La Sagesse dans l'Ancien Testament*, ed. M. Gilbert, Gembloux-Leuven 1979, p. 376. There is also affinity with Ps 106,20 and Jr 2,11: «If the nations will change their gods, though they are not gods, but my people ἠλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ.»

43. Also in 2 Cor 8,23 δόξα seems to mean εἰκὼν. Paul recommends his emissaries as apostles and presents their mission as a reflection of the divine essence of Christ.

This is the importance of the theme of sin as a loss of the δόξα which is connected to the Jewish tradition. This is what we can read in Rom 3,23: «All alike have sinned and all lack τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ<sup>44</sup>.» Sin as a loss of the δόξα harmonizes with the idea of sin as a loss of the KWD with which man had been clothed as a result of his condition as the image of God.

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### Resum

Els autors neotestamentaris, a més de citar el text hebreu de l'AT, citen també el grec. Malgrat la fidelitat dels LXX a la seva «Vorlage», els traductors alexandrins són també exegetes. L'lur treball interpretatiu pot ser considerat una «praeparatio evangelica» perquè lliura una teologia que serà assumida pel NT. Is-LXX ocupa un lloc destacat en l'ús que en fan els autors neotestamentaris. D'una manera concreta, el NT fa seva tota la teologia isaïfica sobre la «doxa». Aquest és el sentit del present treball.

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44. According to Jewish thinking man has been deprived of δόξα because of and after sin (Gnr IIa,2,3). Salvation represents the return of this gift. A curious echo of this idea is found in R. Samuel ben Nacham (III c.a.D.), according to which in Sinai God made the Israelites take a little part of his SHK'NH (Pesikt 37a). In Dan 12,3 the just and faithful are renewed for the future world with the splendour of face. The authentic blessedness consists in contemplating the splendour of the SHK'NH and also in regaining the original image of Adam (b. Ber 34a). The Apocalyptic literature is full of the same concepts: Man, after the fall, is deprived of the «glory» of God (Rev Moïse 20f). Cf. G. KITTEL, *TWNT* II 249f.