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# DOMINUS VOBISCUM: THE BACKGROUND OF A LITURGICAL FORMULA

by

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THE new service-book of the Dutch Reformed Church<sup>1</sup> gives in several of its formularies as an optional introduction to prayer the dialogue between minister and congregation:

'The Lord be with you.'

R. 'And with thy spirit.'

'Let us pray.'

To Roman Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran Christians it is a familiar part of the liturgy, because it belongs to the age-old heritage of Latin Christianity. As such it was taken over by the committee which prepared the revision of the Dutch Reformed Liturgy. But *what is the meaning of this dialogue both in its constituent elements and in its sequence?* It is not out of place to raise this question, because the church of our days is not helped by ancient formularies as such, but only by a living expression of its faith.<sup>2</sup> It is somewhat startling to read in this connection the following statement by a Jesuit who is one of the leading authorities in the liturgical field:

In einem aus heutigem Empfinden geschaffenen Gottesdienst würden wir kaum auf den Gedanken kommen, dass der Vorbeter zuerst die Gemeinde begrüßen soll, noch weniger würden wir daran denken, ihn diesen Gruss im Verlauf der Gebetsstunde öfters wiederholen zu lassen.<sup>3</sup>

I have consulted many books and various experts, but did not receive a satisfactory answer; it seemed as though this formula is so customary and revered that nobody asks for its proper meaning.

The first occurrence of the dialogue is—according to the present knowledge of sources—found in the Church Order of Hippolytus (c. 200): it goes before and is connected with the preface to the

great eucharistic prayer.<sup>4</sup> In later stages of liturgical development it is used on several other occasions as an introduction to prayer and to the reading of the Gospel. It is remarkable that this particular form is restricted to the Western and Egyptian traditions; in the other Eastern liturgies the salutation has a different wording, viz.: 'Peace be with you' or the formula of 2 Cor. 13:13.<sup>5</sup> Which is the older form, or are they rival developments? These and other interesting questions about the spread and use of this introductory greeting in the course of history cannot be investigated here, though much is still obscure.<sup>6</sup> For the present paper it is sufficient to establish the existence of the formula at about 200 A.D.;<sup>7</sup> here attention will be focused on the origin and meaning of these short sentences.

The interpretation of the dialogue does not appear so simple as its wording. It is usual to refer to the Old Testament, generally to Judges 6:12 and Ruth 2:4.<sup>8</sup> To be sure there the greeting 'the Lord with you'<sup>9</sup> occurs, but it should be observed that in the former it is not followed by an answer resembling that of the liturgy and in the latter the response of Boaz' reapers is: 'The Lord bless you.' What is the origin of 'and with thy spirit'? Here one is suddenly sent to the New Testament, 2 Tim. 4:22: 'the Lord with thy spirit', but this text is not a response; it is a special form of greeting. Nowhere is it explained how these texts, derived from such different surroundings, or others which are sometimes mentioned like Luke 1:28, Gal. 6:18, 2 Thess. 3:16 have become fused into this one dialogue. Influence of an unimportant book like Ruth is quite incredible. Frör finds the background of the priestly salutation in the liturgical practice of the apostolic church as mirrored in the pauline letters, and says that the response of the people probably goes back to 'die älteste urchristliche Zeit'.<sup>10</sup> This last statement is a mere guess apart from its vagueness, because the texts adduced (Gal. 6:18, Philem. 25, 2 Tim. 4:22) do mention the Spirit, but are not answers of the people; they stand, as seen from the formal side, on the same level as the texts he quotes for the greeting of the priest. Jungmann cites these texts as evidence for greetings in ordinary daily life. According to this author the priest calls for attention in prayer and listening to the Gospel; the form of a greeting is very appropriate, he says, because it calls for an echo and these two elements create an atmosphere 'heiliger Gottesnähe, in der sich die Liturgie vollziehen soll'.<sup>11</sup> The

answer is a senitic expression for: 'and also with you'. Frör finds this too flat. The salutation is an acclamation, of the same force as 'Maranatha': 'Die Gabe dieses jetzt unter uns gegenwärtigen Herrn, seine eschatologische Heilsgabe soll unter euch sein'; in combination with the response it means that in the presence of the risen Lord 'sich jedesmal der Knoten der Liebe und Eintracht zwischen Pfarrer und Gemeinde aufs Neue schürzt'.<sup>12</sup>

There is every reason to take up this question again, since these explanations do not appear to be satisfactory. Frör's interpretation suffers from a certain 'pan-liturgism' which sees everywhere in the pauline epistles the background of the liturgy whenever a simple parallel in wording between them and the *much later* liturgies is found.<sup>13</sup> But even if one takes the wider view about the 'Sitz im Leben', viz the ordinary daily salutation, one touches upon the difficulty—often met in form-criticism—that the form as such prevails over the contents. It seems to me far more important to ask what was expressed in this greeting than to state that it is a greeting. Besides that it may be necessary to distinguish between a greeting at entering and at departing, since the two have not the same force.<sup>14</sup> The pauline salutations stand at the end of his letters and the supposed connection with a (reconstructed) liturgy is without foundation in the texts.

It would be obvious to look for a solution to the Jewish liturgy which in so many ways offered the pattern for Christian worship. But search in that direction is in vain. Neither in the liturgy of the Temple nor in that of the synagogue is the slightest trace of such a dialogue to be found.<sup>15</sup> In daily life the greetings are always answered,<sup>16</sup> but they were not given in the form 'the Lord with you'; it is always: 'Peace on you'.<sup>17</sup> This was also the manner of Jesus' greeting according to John 20:19, 26 (Luke 24:36 varies in many manuscripts), cf. John 14:27 which is a possible reference to the practice of greeting. In Luke 10:5 He commands His apostles to use that form. It would be somewhat puzzling that the early Christian communities should have invented and had a form so different from that of the (risen) Lord.<sup>18</sup> There is no point of contact here.

The phrasing of the salutation raises a number of questions:

- (A) Who is 'the Lord': God the Father or Jesus Christ?<sup>19</sup>
- (B) What mood of the verb 'to be' should be supplied: 'is' or 'be'?

(C) What is contained in this 'to be with somebody', when said of the Lord?

(D) Why is this former part followed by 'and with thy spirit', this second part of response being coupled to the former by *καί* and this continuation suggesting that there is a certain parallelism.<sup>20</sup> But how and why? Is this spirit the special grace of the priest given at his ordination?<sup>21</sup>

Let me first give some brief comments upon these questions. The first two are familiar in this connection. As to (A), it may be remarked that it is often difficult in Paul's letters to decide who is the *κύριος*.<sup>22</sup> Question (B), fact or wish, has often been discussed in connection with the final blessing of the congregation.

With regard to (D) it is called a semitism,<sup>23</sup> practically amounting to 'with yourself'. This is stated without further notice, but in view of the linguistic evidence this interpretation is highly improbable, not to say impossible. If *psyche* (*nēpheš*) had been used, it would have been correct, since this often expresses 'self' or 'person' in semitic texts, but I do not know a single unambiguous text where *pneuma* (*rūah*) has this meaning.<sup>24</sup> So we must look for another explanation.

The crucial question is (C). It is somewhat surprising that always the same small group of texts is quoted, but the full evidence is not surveyed. The expression is found in numerous places of the OT and NT. What is even more surprising, the commentators on the Bible are so sure that every reader knows exactly what is meant that they have practically no comments to make.<sup>25</sup> But is it really so crystal-clear? Let us specify this question somewhat more precisely.

(a) It goes without saying that the Bible and the Christian Church firmly believed in God's transcendence. God is in heaven and Jesus who was once on earth is now at the right hand of the Father in heaven (Eph. 1:20). But what did Jesus promise to His disciples when he said: 'And lo, *I am with you* always, even unto the end of the world' (Matt. 28:20)? This *concluding* verse comes after the declaration that Jesus has received all power (v. 18) and commissioned His disciples (v. 19). It is introduced with that 'and lo' which is always in the Bible the indication of something extraordinary and unexpected. It must be something far more than Christ's 'perpetual presence'<sup>26</sup> which makes the mission possible. Nor can we agree with Dodd who says: 'The church is clearly

conceived as the *locus* of the presence of Christ during the interval between His resurrection and *παρουσία*.<sup>27</sup> It is fairly common, I know, to speak in this way about the church and Christ's presence. But is it not, I dare to ask, *loose thinking*? Are we to credit the early Christians who so clearly knew about Jesus' separation from the *earth* and His glorification in *heaven*, with such a conflicting view? On the other hand, Jesus does not speak to the church (a word Matthew knows), but to the apostles as missionaries. The use of the word 'locus' suggests a static presence while, as will appear from the following pages, Jesus' 'being with them' has quite different associations. This was seen by O. Michel who based himself on some OT texts and explained the expression as 'protection'.<sup>28</sup> Since he, however, did not cover all the evidence, this explanation is insufficient.

(b) The Lord's 'being with a person' cannot be interpreted from the point of view that the liturgy is 'heaven on earth', a favourite idea in Orthodox theology. Such an interpretation conflicts with the sequence in Hippolytus: 'sursum corda', etc., and cannot explain its introduction before prayer and Gospel-reading.

(c) In some places the salutation reads as follows: 'the peace' or 'the grace of the Lord with you' (or something similar). That is perfectly clear: a *gift* of the glorified Lord which can be received on earth. But it is not the same as 'the Lord (Himself) with you', because there the Lord is thought to 'be with somebody' on earth and at the same time in heaven. It is well-known that later Jewish thought introduced all sorts of intermediaries, such as the Name, the *Shekhina*, etc., to safeguard His transcendence and His nearness.<sup>29</sup> God's power is expressed by 'the hand of the Lord was with . . .'.<sup>30</sup> Elsewhere the 'angel of the Lord' is a substitute for God Himself, a tendency already to be detected in the OT;<sup>31</sup> if it is said that he is with somebody,<sup>32</sup> there is no difficulty at all. But in the 'Dominus vobiscum' we do not find such a substitute. Does this 'to be with . . .' express the same ontological presence as in the expression: 'the angel is with . . .' or 'the peace is with . . .', and how can it be reconciled with God's transcendence or Christ's ascension? It will be clear that this difficulty cannot be overcome by philosophical categories or scholastic reasonings, since this kind of thinking stands far apart from the biblical way of thought.

(d) There are some texts in the NT which call for special attention, because there God's 'being with a person' is employed in a

rather curious way and resists any interpretation we have met so far:

(1) In Acts 10:38, the speech of Peter in the house of Cornelius—perhaps a reflection of the ancient *kerygma*<sup>33</sup>—describes Jesus' appearance in these words: 'How that God anointed him with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed of the devil, for *God was with him*'. Here it is meant to explain why Jesus could develop this extraordinary activity. It does not say that God was *in* Him, but *with* Him; it is also more positive than 'protection'. The man Jesus of Nazareth is enabled to do these mighty works because of God's assistance. The second interesting feature is the reference to Jesus' being anointed with the Spirit. This suggests a connection between the Holy Ghost and the 'God with him'. Is this accidental? Or is there a close relation between the Holy Spirit and this 'God was with Him'?

(2) In the brief summary of Joseph's life given by Stephen the phrase recurs as a quotation from the OT. Therefore we shall return to it later (p. 285), but at the present moment it is well worth noticing that in the NT story this expression is far more prominent than in the OT. There it is found four times in connection with the unhappy fortunes of his life, but in the NT it is, one may say, the leading motive of his whole life which is described here in one sentence while in the OT it fills several chapters: 'and the patriarchs, moved with jealousy against Joseph, sold him into Egypt: and *God was with him* and delivered him out of all his afflictions and gave him wisdom and favour before Pharaoh, king of Egypt: and he made him governor over Egypt and all his house' (Acts 7:9 f.). Joseph is treated most inhumanly by his brethren, but not forsaken by God. The term does not describe only God's presence or protection, but the divine assistance which delivers him from evil (negative aspect) and makes him successful (positive aspect).<sup>34</sup>

(3) When Nicodemus comes to Jesus, he says according to John 3:2: 'Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God (*ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐλήλυθας*) for no man can do these signs that thou doest except *God be* (= *ἦ*, subj. depending on *εἰν μὴ*) *with him*.' Here the paradoxical situation which the term provokes at first sight (cf. p. 273) is clearly formulated: 'come from God' (*ἀπὸ* = away!), and at the same time: 'God with him.' These signs (wonders) make manifest the unique character of Jesus' ministry. The moving



power behind it which makes these deeds of Jesus such conspicuous signs, different from the miracles of others, is this: 'God with him.' This has been discovered by Nicodemus in that teacher Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph (1:45). Again it puts into words a positive force and not God's omnipresence. In this category the Jewish rabbi could conceive and explain the remarkable deeds of Jesus. This verse presupposes acquaintance with more 'signs' than have been told in John so far. It also shows the existence of a general rule that could be applied to the special case of Jesus. Billerbeck does not offer any parallel. In the OT there is, however, a text connecting both elements, *viz.* 1 Sam. 10:7: 'and let it be, when these *signs* are come unto thee that thou do as occasion serve thee: for *God is with thee*', the sign being Saul's prophetic enthusiasm,<sup>35</sup> which came so unexpectedly (v. 11). Here it is related with the Spirit of God (v. 6). Is this also the case in John 3:2 as in Acts 10:38? I think it is, because in John Jesus is the bearer of the Spirit in a very special sense, cf. 1:32: 'John bare witness, saying, I have beheld the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven; and it abode upon him'; and the Spirit is typically bound to Jesus during His lifetime on earth (7:39, 16:7).

On closer inspection it can be seen that these applications of the phrase are not so peculiar, but are in full agreement with the usage in the OT. Let us see what light is shed by the OT on our questions.

Very frequently it is said in the OT that God (or the Lord) 'is with a person'.<sup>36</sup> From this abundant material<sup>37</sup> it becomes perfectly clear that this expression *does not define a static presence, but a dynamic power*, as is in harmony with the active character of OT revelation.<sup>38</sup> As a short-hand note it indicates *one reality*, but on analysing this unit one discovers *various aspects* in this expression of God's dealing with man. They can be distinguished in the following manner:

- (a) protection, help, deliverance;
- (b) taking sides with;
- (c) blessing and success, generally very concrete in worldly affairs;
- (d) assurance that there is no reason to fear;
- (e) exhortation to valour;
- (f) sometimes conditioned by man's obedience.

It is double-sided in two respects: (1) it is positive and negative;

(2) it has an effect upon the person's *psyche* and on his outward circumstances.

It would take too much space to discuss all the O.T. texts. Some characteristic illustrations for every aspect will suffice. This analytical distribution should not be taken too rigorously, since the phrase is a unit, several aspects may be found together in the same text.

(a) Gen. 28:15: 'And behold, *I am with thee* and will keep thee whithersoever thou goest' (to Jacob at Bethel).

Exod. 3:11 f., the call of Moses: 'And Moses said unto God, Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt? And he said: Certainly *I will be with thee.*'

Deut. 2:7: 'For the Lord thy God has blessed thee in all the work of thy hand: he has known thy walking through this great wilderness: these forty years *the Lord thy God has been with thee*: thou hast lacked nothing.'

Judges 2:18: 'And when the Lord raised them up judges, then *the Lord was with the judge*, and saved them out of the hands of their enemies.'

1 Sam. 17:37: 'And David said: the Lord that delivered me out of the paw of the lion . . . he will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine. And Saul said unto David, Go and *the Lord shall be with thee.*'

1 Chron. 22:18: '*Is not the Lord our God with you* and has he not given you rest on every side? for he has delivered the inhabitants of the land into mine hands.'

Judith 13:11 (when Judith returns to the city after the slaying of Holofernes): 'Open, open now the gate: *God is with us*, even our God, to show his power yet in Israel, and his might against the enemy.'

3 Macc. 6:13, 15: 'Let the heathen to-day fear thy invincible might, thou glorious one who hast mighty works for the salvation of the race of Israel. . . . Let it be shown to all heathen that *thou art with us*, O Lord, and hast not turned thy face away from us; but as thou hast said, Not even when they were in the land of their enemies have I forgotten them (Lev. 26:44), even so bring it to pass.'

Ps. 90(91):15: '*I will be with him* in trouble; I will deliver him, and honour him.'

Isa. 43:1-2: 'Fear not, for I have redeemed thee. . . . When thou passest through the waters, *I will be with thee.*'

Jer. 15:20: 'I will make thee unto this people a fenced brazen wall, and they shall fight against thee: but they shall not prevail against thee: for *I am with thee* to save thee and to deliver thee, saith the Lord.'

See also Gen. 28:20, 35:3 (with addition of LXX 'and he saved me'); Num. 23:21; Deut. 1:42, 32:12; Joshua 1:5; 1 Sam. 3:19; 20:13; 1 Kings

8:57; 2 Chron. 25:7; Esther 6:13; Judith 5:17; Hag. 1:13; Isa. 8:8, 10 (where the name 'Immanuel' has been translated in LXX, while in 7:15 LXX has transliterated it), 43:5; Jer. 1:8, 19, 49:11 (MT 42:11).

(b) Num. 14:42: 'Go not up, for *the Lord is not with you*'; 2 Chron. 13:12: 'Behold, *God is with us* at our head'; 2 Chron. 32:8: 'with him (Sennacherib) is an arm of flesh, but *with us is the Lord, our God*, to help us and to fight our battles'; Zech. 10:5: 'they shall be as mighty men, treading down their enemies in the mire of the streets in the battle; and they shall fight, because *the Lord is with them*; and the riders on horses shall be confounded.'

Jer. 20:11: 'But *the Lord is with me* as a mighty man (*μαχητής*) and a terrible; therefore my persecutors shall stumble and they shall not prevail.'

See also Deut. 1:42; Judges 1:19, 6:16; 2 Chron. 36:23; Isa. 43:5.

(c) Gen. 21:20: '*God was with the lad* (Ishmael) and he grew.'

Gen. 26:3: 'God said: *I will be with thee*, and will bless thee.'

Gen. 39:23: 'The keeper of the prison looked not to any thing that was under his hand (Joseph), because *the Lord was with him*; and that which he did, the Lord made it prosper.'

Joshua 3:7: 'The Lord said to Joshua, This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that, as *I was with Moses*, so *I will be with thee*.'

Judges 6:12 f.: 'The angel of the Lord appeared unto him (Gideon) and said unto him, *The Lord is with thee*, thou mighty man of valour. And Gideon said unto him, Oh, my Lord, if *the Lord be with us*, why then is all this befallen us? and where be all his wondrous works which our fathers told us of . . .; v. 16: 'Surely, *I will be with thee*, and thou shalt smite the Midianites as one man.'

Ruth 2:4: 'Boaz said unto the reapers, *The Lord be with you*. And they answered him, *The Lord bless thee*.'

1 Sam. 16:18: 'Behold, I have seen a son of Jesse . . . that is cunning in playing, and a mighty man of valour, and a man of war, and prudent in speech, and a comely person, and *the Lord is with him*.'

2 Kings 18:7: '*The Lord was with him* (Hezekiah): whithersoever he went forth he prospered.'

2 Chron. 1:1: 'And Solomon, the son of David was strengthened in his kingdom, and *the Lord his God was with him* and magnified him exceedingly.'

2 Chron. 20:17: 'Ye shall not need to fight in this battle: set yourselves, stand ye still, and see the salvation of the Lord with you, O Judah and Jerusalem: fear not, nor be dismayed: to-morrow go out against them: for *the Lord is with you*.'

2 Chron. 35:21 = 1 Ezra 1:25 a word of Pharaoh Neco (*sic!*): 'What

have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war; and God has commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from meddling with *God who is with me*, that he destroy thee not.'

See also Gen. 21:22, 26:28, 31:5, 39:2-3; Joshua 1:9, 7:12, 14:12; 1 Sam. 10:7, 18:14, 28; 2 Sam. 5:10, 7:9, 14:17; 1 Kings 1:37 (cf. 3:6), 11:38; 1 Chron. 11:9, 17:2, 8, 22:11, 16; 2 Chron. 13:12; Judith 5:17, 13:11; Isa. 58:11 LXX.

(d) Deut. 20:1: 'When thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses and chariots, and a people more than thou, thou shalt not be afraid of them: for *the Lord thy God is with thee*; which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.'

1 Chron. 28:20: 'David said to Solomon his son, Be strong and of good courage, and do it; fear not, nor be dismayed: for *the Lord is with thee*; he will not fail thee nor forsake thee, until all the work for the service of the house of the Lord be finished.'

Ps. 22(23):4: 'I will fear no evil, for *thou art with me*.'

Jer. 1:8 (calling of Jeremiah): 'Be not afraid because of them, for *I am with thee*.'

See also 2 Chron. 19:11, 20:17; Ps. 45(46): 8, 12; Jer. 1:7 LXX, 26(46):28, 49:11; Isa. 43:1 f.

(e) Deut. 31:23: 'He gave Joshua, the son of Nun, a charge, and said, Be strong and of a good courage; for thou shalt bring the children of Israel into the land which I swore unto them: and *I will be with thee*.'

Hag. 2:4 f.: 'Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Jehozadak, . . . be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work, for *I am with you*, saith the Lord of hosts; according to the word that I covenanted with you, when ye came out of Egypt, and my spirit abode among you; fear ye not.'

(f) 1 Kings 11:38: 'And it shall be, if thou wilt hearken unto all that I command thee, and wilt walk in my ways, and do that which is right in mine eyes, to keep my statutes and my commandments, as David my servant did, that *I will be with thee* and will build thee a sure house, as I built for David.'

2 Chron. 15:2: 'Hear ye me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin: *the Lord is with you*, while ye be with him; and if ye seek him he will be found of you; but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you.'

2 Chron. 19:11: Jehoshaphat in appointing judges who must do their work in complete accordance with God's law: 'Deal courageously and *the Lord shall be with the good (man)*.'

Amos 5:14: 'Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live: and so *the Lord, the God of hosts, shall be with you*, as ye say.'

See also 2 Chron. 17:3, 25:7.

It is interesting to see how this term was interpreted in later times. In the paraphrase of the Targum Onkelos, e.g., the element of 'help' comes to the fore. Instead of 'the Lord is with you' it has: 'the Memra of the Lord is to your help' (*bs'dekh*<sup>39</sup>). In the Midrash Rabba Gen. 28:15 is explained as a word of assurance and protection<sup>40</sup> and an annotation on Exod. 3:12 says: 'an expression used only to one who is afraid'.<sup>41</sup> Gen. 39:3 is explained in this way: his master suspected Joseph of witchcraft 'until he saw the *Shekinah* standing on him'.<sup>42</sup>

In Philo and Josephus, representing Hellenistic Judaism, the paraphrases of some relevant texts show that they do not retain the original wording—which was probably unintelligible to their readers—but bring out the element of divine assistance and the happiness it creates.

Philo, *de somniis*, I, 30, § 179, on Gen. 20:15: *μεγίστη δέ ἐστιν εὐεργεσία ψυχῆς πονούσης καὶ διαθλούσης συνοδοιπόρον ἔχειν τὸν ἐφθ-ἀκότα παντῆ θεόν.*

*Quod. det. pot. insid. soleat*, 2, § 3, on Gen. 31:5: Laban is the world of senses; *μετὰ σοῦ ὁ θεός* means a soul in which God walks (*ἐμπεριπατεῖ*).

*De post. Caini*, 23, § 80, on Gen. 39:2: *αὐτὸς ἄνδρα ἐπιτυγχάνοντα εἶπε τὸν Ἰωσήφ οὐκ ἐν ἅπασιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ὁ θεός τὸ εὐδοεῖν ἐχαρίζετο.*

*De fuga et inv.*, 25, § 140, on Exod. 3:12: *ἡ θεοῦ μόνου σύνοδος.*

*De agricultura*, 17, § 78, on Deut. 20:1: *τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως θεοῦ δύναμιν ὑπερασπίζουσιν καὶ προαγωνιζομένην αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ· στρατὸς δὲ θεῖος αἱ ἀρεταὶ φιλοθέων ὑπέρμαχοι ψυχῶν.*

*De migrat. Abrah.*, II, § 62–63, on Deut. 20:1, speaks of God as *σύμμαχος*. . . *τούτου γὰρ ἡ σύνοδος καθαιρεῖ πολέμους, εἰρήνην ἀνοικοδομεῖ, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ συνήθη κακὰ ἀνατρέπει, τὸ σπάνιον καὶ θεοφιλὲς γένος ἀνασώζει.*

Josephus, *Ant.*, I, 19, 2, § 283 = Gen. 28:15, *προνοία*—II, 12, 1, § 268 = Exod. 3:12, *τοῦ θεοῦ συμπρόντος*—V, 6, 2, § 213 = Judges 6:12, *εὐδαίμονα καὶ φίλον τῷ θεῷ*—VII, 4, 4, § 91 = 2 Sam. 7:3, *ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντα αὐτῷ συνεργοῦ πρόντος*—VII, 14, 5, § 357 = 1 Kings 1:37, *τὸν θεὸν Σολομῶνι εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι*—IX, 1, 2, § 11 = 2 Chron. 20:17, *αὐτοῖς μάχεται τὸ θεῖον*. These are not all his paraphrases; we merely choose some examples; the others show the same character. It is interesting to see that Josephus nearly always paraphrases the text of the OT and does not take over the OT phrase itself. This is the more striking, because in another passage of his own inven-

tion he uses the term himself. In its context and explanation it is very illuminating:

*Ant.*, XV, 5, 3, § 138, is part of a speech which king Herod delivers to encourage his troops in the warfare against the Arabs.<sup>43</sup> The Arabs have murdered some ambassadors of Herod, but the Jews are afraid to attack them. Then Herod is reported to have said: 'Now perhaps somebody will say: "What is right in the eyes of God and men is on our side, but they happen to be braver and more numerous." It is, however, in the first place, unfitting for you to say so, because on the side of those with whom the right is, stands God; and where God is present, there are both numbers and bravery.' (*ἴσως τοίνυν ἐρεῖ τις, τὸ μὲν ὄσιον καὶ δίκαιον<sup>44</sup> μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἀνδρειότεροι καὶ πλείονες ἐκεῖνοι τετυχήκασιν. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμῖν ταῦτα λέγειν· μεθ' ὧν γὰρ τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστι, μετ' ἐκείνων ὁ θεός, θεοῦ δὲ παρόντος καὶ πλήθους καὶ ἀνδρεία πάρεστιν.*)

The parallel passage in BJ I, 19, 3 ff., has nothing comparable.<sup>45</sup>

This later Jewish exegetical material is important for the conception of the phrase in NT times. It also clearly points to the avoidance of the wording of the OT and gives the expression a more or less 'neutral' turn. Presumably the difficulty formulated on p. 273 was felt already by these ancient authors. There is a marked difference here from the NT where the phrase is so freely used. At the later stage we shall see a wider implication of this difference and explain its great significance (see p. 293).

A survey of the material in the OT leads to some remarkable observations:

(1) The formula uses the words 'God' and 'the Lord' promiscuously and without distinction in meaning; sometimes both words are combined.

(2) The verb 'to be' is sometimes used, sometimes left out (see below, no. 7). It is employed in all three tenses, depending on the situation. The Lord's active help was there in the past, is experienced in the present and will be there in the future. In past and present it can be seen. As to the future it is not always formulated as a wish (see below, no. 6), but mostly as a definite declaration.

(3) Frequent though the expression is, it occurs only twice in greetings, viz. Judges 6:12 and Ruth 2:4, the usual greeting-form being: 'peace'.<sup>46</sup> In the former case it is certainly something exceptional, because Gideon is not simply greeted, but called to be a judge and saviour (cf. p. 278). He cannot accept this (v. 15:

'Behold, my family is the poorest in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house'. He understands the full weight of the word of the angel, but he does not discover its truth. For the words 'the Lord is with you' imply blessing in outward things, and the desolate situation of his country and the poor state of his family run counter to this existence of blessedness (cf. v. 13). The whole passage is clear evidence that this form of greeting was unique for a man like him in those circumstances.—As to Ruth 2:4 there is no such indication. It may be that this later book<sup>47</sup> wished to tell this story of the period of the Judges with colours derived from that book. It is also possible to interpret this word as a stimulus to the reapers for their work. Or is there an indication in the name of Boaz? According to a common explanation this name means: 'In him is power.'<sup>48</sup> Can he pronounce that unusual greeting, because he has great power (of Yahweh) in himself?

(4) The Gideon-story is highly significant, because it shows that God's 'being with a person' was not conceived as a permanent fact, but as a dynamic experience that acts in special cases which can be sharply discerned. The declaration of the angel (see below, no. 6) does not appear in his person and situation (v. 13). Then follows in v. 16: 'The Lord said unto him, Surely *I will be with thee*, and thou shalt smite the Midianites.' At that particular time in the future it will become evident (*ἔσομαι*, not *εἶμι*). Another patent example can be found in 1 Sam. 10:6 f. (see p. 205) and Judith 13:11. This dynamic conception, this not permanent, but suddenly appearing presence, when once observed, characterizes also the contents of other texts.

(5) The fact that 'the Lord is with a person' can be discovered by others. It manifests itself outwardly, and even unbelievers see it.

Gen. 21:22: 'And it came to pass at that time that Abimelech and Phicol the captain of his host spake unto Abraham, saying, *God is with thee* in all that thou doest', cf. 26:28.

Num. 23:21, words of Balaam: '*The Lord his God is with him* (Israel) and the shout of a king is among them.'

Joshua 22:31: 'This day we know that *the Lord is with us*, because ye have not committed this trespass against the Lord.'

2 Chron. 15:9: 'And he gathered all Judah and Benjamin and them that sojourned with them out of Ephraim and Manasseh, and out of Simeon: for they fell to him out of Israel in abundance, when they saw that *the Lord his God was with him*.'

Zech. 8:23: 'Ten men shall take hold, out of all the languages of the nations, shall even take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that *God is with you*' (this is more than a movement among the pagans for monotheism; it is seeking protection and blessing from that God who blesses so manifestly His people).

See also Gen. 39:3; Joshua 3:7; 1 Sam. 3:19 f., 16:18, 18:28; 3 Macc. 6:15.

(6) In some places the term is given in the form of a wish. There it is interesting to look at the interpretative work of the LXX. In Exod. 10:10 and Joshua 1:17 it has *ἔστω*, in 1 Kings 1:37 *εἴη*, in 1 Kings 8:57 *γένοιτο* as an exact translation of the Hebrew, but we observe that in places like 1 Sam. 20:13; 1 Chron. 22:11, 16; 2 Chron. 19:11 the Hebrew iussive *γ<sup>ε</sup>ή* ('be') is rendered by the positive *ἔσται*. An odd example of this difference in translation may be seen in a text which is found three times in LXX: 2 Chron. 36:23 = 2 Ezra 1:3 = 1 Ezra 2:3; in the first two cases *ἔσται*, in the last *ἔστω*. It is important to see that this note of certainty about future help and blessing is far stronger than the subjective forms of wish and possibility. The expression is used with the future tense in Gen. 26:3, 31:13, 48:21; Exod. 3:12, 18:19; Deut. 31:23; Joshua 1:5, 3:7; Judges 6:16; 1 Sam. 17:37, 20:13; 2 Sam. 14:17; 1 Kings 11:38; Amos 5:14; Isa. 58:11. It is not only declared by God Himself, but also by men. The certainty existing already in the Hebrew text is underlined and strengthened in LXX. This is important for the rest of our discussion (this is a tendency opposite to that which can be observed with *'āmēn—γένοιτο*).

(7) It is also important to note the instances where the copula is missing in the Greek text (in literal translation of the Hebrew). That feature is not uncommon. In all these cases it is practically always a declaration, as appears from the context and therefore the later translators rightly add 'was' or 'is'.<sup>49</sup>

In 1 Chron. 22:16 the end of the exhortation of David to Solomon is usually translated in an optative form: 'arise and be doing, and *the Lord be with you*', but in view of v. 12 f. ('fear not, etc.', cf. p. 279) and v. 18 which is certainly declarative, it seems better to translate: 'the Lord will be with you' (if Solomon follows the commandments of Moses; this 'conditional' form is very marked in Chron., see p. 279). In Judges 6:12 the greeting is not a wish, but a declaration and so it is conceived by Gideon, as follows from



his answer ('if the Lord is with us', as you say, why this miserable situation); this was also the understanding of Josephus (p. 280). The salutation in Ruth 2:4 is ambiguous; since the answer of the reapers is optative<sup>50</sup> one is inclined to translate the former part in the same way, but in view of Judges 6:12 it may be a declaration, when Boaz sees the work of the reapers.

(8) As will be seen from p. 300, n. 37, there is a curious distribution throughout the OT. It is fairly seldom found in Psalms and prophets, where one would expect it, and rather frequent in the historical books with a marked preponderance in Gen., Joshua, Sam., and Chron. There is no connection with liturgical contexts. It is striking that this 'being of God with . . .' is not bound up with the Ark<sup>51</sup> or the Temple; in those cases the OT speaks about the 'dwelling' of God and this difference once more brings to light the *active* character of the expression we are investigating, in contrast with the static conception, suggested to us by the verb 'to be'. Everywhere in the OT the phrase expresses the same dynamic reality (apart from one element which will be mentioned below, no. 10).

(9) If one makes a list of those 'with whom God is', it is typical that the number of instances where the people of Israel as a whole, the chosen people of God is intended, forms a minority<sup>52</sup>. In the large majority of texts the term is used of *individuals*, and even where the people is meant it is sometimes individualized as in Deutero-Isa. and Jer. 26:28. The line does not go from the people as a whole to the individual, but rather the other way. It is not applied to every pious man in general, but to very *special persons*. It is a marked feature in the history of Jacob, Joseph (Moses), Joshua, the Judges (2:18 in general), Gideon, Saul and David (in 2 Chron. also of several other kings). Among the prophets it is precisely Jeremiah, the best known personality among the prophets, who yields some texts. It is often mentioned in connection with a special divine task, in which the particular man is assured of God's assistance, see e.g. Gen. 28:15; Exod. 3:12; Joshua 1:5; Judges 6:12 ff.; 1 Sam. 10:7; Jer. 1:8, 17, 19; the man himself is afraid to accept the task, because he has no strength in himself.

The OT itself shows that there exists some link between these individuals. It says that the Lord was with Joshua as He was with Moses (Deut. 31:23; Joshua 1:17, 3:7); something similar is said about Saul and David (1 Sam. 20:13) and David and Solomon

(1 Kings 1:37). Is it possible to detect here a typical common factor?

(10) Here we come to a point that is of vital importance for the exact and full understanding of the expression. *Most of the individuals of whom it is declared that 'God was with them' were specially endowed with the Spirit of God.* It is the Spirit with his manifold manifestations (cf. Isa. 11:2); the Spirit of wisdom and strength; the Spirit which makes men speak the words of God as a prophet and do His deeds.

*Joseph:* 4 times it is mentioned that 'God was with him' (Gen. 39:2, 3, 21, 23) and in Gen. 41:38 after his interpreting of Pharaoh's dreams he is called 'a man in whom the spirit of God is'. It is interesting to see that these separate elements (the former is exclusively used for the prison-period; the latter for the explanation of the dreams and the reward of authority as governor) are understood by the early Christians as a unity, as appears from Acts 7:9 f. (p. 275). The Spirit is not mentioned by Stephen, in all probability because it was implied in the words 'God was with him'.

*Moses:* Num. 11:17: 'And I will take of the spirit which is upon thee'; in v. 25 that happens: 'and it came to pass, that, when the spirit rested upon them (the elders), they prophesied'. Cf. Deut. 34:10, Moses was a prophet.

*Joshua:* Deut. 34:9: 'And Joshua, the son of Nun, was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him.'

*Judges:* cf. Judges 2:18; the Spirit is mentioned in the cases of Othniel (3:10), Jephthah (11:29), Samson (13:25, 14:6, 19, 15:14).

*Gideon:* Judges 6:34, when he enters upon his task: 'the spirit of the Lord came upon Gideon' (*ἐνέδυσεν*, cod. B *ἐνεδυνάμωσεν*).<sup>53</sup>

*Samuel:* 1 Sam. 3:19 f.: 'And Samuel grew, and the Lord was with him, and did let none of his words fall to the ground. And all Israel . . . knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord.'

*Saul:* 1 Sam. 10:6 f.: 'And the spirit of the Lord will come mightily upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man. And let it be, when these signs are come unto thee, that thou do as occasion serve thee; for the Lord is with thee'; cf. also the story 19:20 ff.

*David:* 1 Sam. 16:13, after his anointing: 'and the spirit of the Lord came mightily upon David from that day forward'; cf. the description of his person in v. 18, quoted p. 278. Important in this connection is the relation of Saul and David which is characterized by that spirit; 1 Sam. 16:14, after the anointing of David: 'Now the spirit of the Lord had

departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord (note the difference!) troubled him' (cf. vv. 15, 16, 23 and 18:10, 19:9). In 28:16 Samuel says: 'The Lord is departed from thee and is with thy neighbour' (reading of LXX), because Saul had not obeyed God's command (v. 18).

*Israel*: 2 Ezra 19:20 (= Neh. 9:20): 'Thou gavest also thy good spirit to instruct them and withheldest not thy manna from their mouth' (about the period in the wilderness); cf. also Isa. 63:10 ff.

Isa. 44:3: 'I will pour my spirit upon thy seed and my blessing upon thine offspring', cf. 32:15, 59:21.

In other cases we have to do with the Patriarchs who have a special place in Jewish theology,<sup>54</sup> and Jacob was credited with the spirit in later thought;<sup>55</sup> with anointed kings (if they are obedient) and with Jeremiah who was a prophet (1:5, 7).

Peculiar is the utterance about Pharaoh Neco, 2 Chron. 35:21, but see v. 22: Josiah 'hearkened not unto the words of Neco, *from the mouth of God*', so it is prophetic.

Important also is the connection in Hag. 2:4 f., quoted on p. 279 and the same in 1:13 f. which show that the relation was still felt at that time.

The man to whom this 'the Lord is with you' is said becomes a pneumatic; he is—as in the graphic description of Saul—'turned into another man'. The man who is anxious becomes a hero; receives supernatural insight and is able to speak the word of the Lord. Through that quickening power of the Spirit unexpected results can come about.

This relation between 'God's being with a person' and the Spirit is too frequent in the OT to be incidental or accidental. It may be left to OT scholarship to investigate whether this conception belonged to a certain period of religious development. For the NT scholar it is sufficient to know that this close connection is there, since the early Christians did not read the OT from the historical point of view, but saw it as a unit. In passing, however, it may be remarked that apparently there has been an important change of emphasis. It seems as though this bond between 'God with a person' and the Spirit was loosened after the exile (see Chron.). It is not mentioned by the authors in the NT period (p. 281). If this is correct, it would not be surprising, since it was widely held among the Jews in NT times that there was no revelation of the Spirit in the present time, this being reserved for the eschatological future.<sup>56</sup>

After this detailed discussion of the OT material the NT texts which employ the term need not detain us long. With the OT conception and its associations in mind we discover that in the NT the same reality is met with. Since that has generally been overlooked it will be our task to demonstrate that the term in the NT has still its vital force and that the living understanding of this expression throws into relief its full content.

In the texts quoted before (p. 275 f.) we observed a connection between Jesus' wondrous actions and the Holy Spirit which enabled Him to do them and which was recognized as such. This is not surprising, but in line with the OT conception. The promise to the disciples in Matt. 28:20 gets its full force in this perspective: after having set that enormous task (v. 19), Jesus who has now all authority comforts His weak followers (cf. 26:56) and assures them of His powerful assistance (note: *εἴμι*, not *ἔσομαι*) which will make their activity both possible and successful. That is the surprising declaration at the moment of departure. Matthew returns at the end to the beginning: Jesus was (1:23) and is 'Immanuel' (see below), not only as the suffering Servant, but also as the triumphant king.<sup>57</sup>

Here follow the other texts containing the expression in the NT.

(1) Matt. 1:23, a quotation from Isa. 7:14. The insertion of this quotation is an addition of the evangelist, i.e. it expresses his own conception and the message he wished to convey. It is also important to see that *he* offers the translation of the name which was left untranslated in LXX (see p. 278). This proves that he attached great value to the proper understanding of the name. This proof-text serves as the divine confirmation of what happened to Mary; her awkward position from the human point of view was according to the divine plan. Matthew not only quotes from Isaiah the first part about the virginity,<sup>58</sup> but also the second part with the name (which was not the usual name for Jesus!<sup>59</sup>), and wants his readers to understand it: 'God with us'. Both parts of the citation run parallel with the preceding story: v. 18, 'when his mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, *before they came together she was found with child of the Holy Ghost*'. . . v. 20 (message of the angel to Joseph), '*fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost*'. Because the unusual conception is the work of the Holy Spirit (mentioned twice), Jesus was 'God with us'. Against the OT background we

discover what this means: it is the power of God who comes into action to deliver, to grant His blessing, to call for a new obedience to His will. The fact that Matthew could use this expression and brought it to the fore, without elucidation, shows that the ideas associated with the term were living conceptions for the Christians of the apostolic age.

Jesus' healing work in silence, described in Matt. 12, is seen as a fulfilment of Isa. 42:1 ff.: 'Behold, my Servant whom I have chosen, My beloved in whom my soul is well pleased, *I will put my Spirit upon Him*', cf. 3:16 f., Jesus' baptism with the Spirit.—In 12:28 Jesus asks: 'But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you', pointing at the Agent who works through Him.—This conception is closely akin to that of Acts 10:38.

Matt. 18:20 may also be quoted in this connection: 'For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them'. This *ἐν μέσῳ* stands parallel to *μετά* which is sometimes in LXX a translation of 'in the midst', p. 300, n. 36. In Matt. this verse is the motivation ('for') of the preceding one; it explains why that prayer will be answered. In itself v. 19 is not self-evident. Where the smallest number of Christians are gathered in Jesus' name, they may be sure of *His* active assistance which is a spiritual power, bringing unity of spirit ('agree', v. 19) and contact with the Father.—The rabbinic parallel Aboth III, 2, which is often quoted, shows as much difference of content as similarity!

(2) Luke 1:28, the angel saluting Mary: *χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ*. The sequence of this saying is very illuminating. Mary is troubled by that 'manner (!) of salutation', in all likelihood because it was unusual.<sup>60</sup> Then the angel gives an explanation: 'Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favour with God' (this *χάρις* explains the *κεχαριτωμένη*); her child will be the wonderful fulfilment of the promises given to David. When Mary asks how that will come to pass to her, the virgin, the angel continues: 'The *Holy Ghost* shall come upon thee and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; wherefore also that which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God' (v. 35). The fact that her kinswoman Elisabeth, the barren, is pregnant, is a sign<sup>61</sup> that 'no word from God shall be void of power' (v. 37). Typical in this passage is that 'fear not' which is often connected with 'the Lord with thee' (p. 279). The 'word from God' which is not void, is here the greeting and assurance 'the Lord with thee', and its con-

tent is defined by the great blessings (v. 32 f.), wrought by the Holy Ghost. This extensive passage again shows the heavy dynamic weight attached to these words and the sympathetic understanding of the NT writers. This simple maiden of Nazareth could not rank with the great men of Sacred History 'with whom the Lord was', but God's election brings her there. This is the story of Mary's calling (cf. p. 284; that of Gideon especially may be compared, cf. v. 48). She is afraid and does not know how it shall be, just like men in the OT, but she accepts the task: 'be it unto me according to thy word' (v. 38). The saying 'The Lord with thee' takes away fear and gives strength; its effect is blessing for Mary, the people, the world.

For the special relation between Jesus and the Spirit, see His baptism, Luke 3:22, and His first public appearance, 4:1 (twice), 14 and particularly v. 18, a quotation of Isa. 61:1: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He anointed me', etc., with the declaration in v. 21: 'To-day hath this Scripture been fulfilled in your ears.' This is fundamental for the whole of Jesus' activity in Luke.

(3) John 8:29: 'He that sent me *is with me*; he has not left me alone, for I do always the things that are pleasing to him.' Jesus speaks what the Father has taught him (v. 28; he is the Prophet, cf., e.g., 4:44, 7:40, 52). The association of ideas is familiar from the OT. He is not forsaken by the Father, as was Saul (1 Sam. 18:28; cf. 1 Chron. 28:20 (p. 279)). For ἀρεστιά, a well-known word in LXX for obedience to God's will,<sup>62</sup> see texts on p. 279, under f.

(4) John 14:16 contains the phrase, but the whole context is relevant: v. 12, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the *works* that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto the Father. . . . (v. 15). If ye love me, ye will *keep my commandments* (v. 16). And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter,<sup>63</sup> that he may *be with you for ever* (v. 17), even *the Spirit* of truth . . . ye know him, for he abideth with you and shall be in you (v. 18). *I will not leave you desolate*' (cf. also 16:13 f.). The Holy Spirit takes Jesus' place, but is there for ever, not on certain occasions (p. 282). It is the prophetic Spirit, as is seen from the teaching in these chapters 14-16. The conditions for and the effect of that abiding of the Spirit are the same as those connected with 'The Lord with you' in the OT.

(5) John 16:32: 'Behold, the hour cometh, yea, is come that ye

shall be scattered . . . and shall leave me alone; and *I am not alone, because the Father is with me.*' See above on 8:29. Jesus, left by His followers, is sure of God's protection (cf. the remarkable transposition of the word about the cup in 18:11 as compared with that of the Synoptics, Mark 14:35 ff., and its parallels).

(6) Acts 18:9 f., in a critical situation of Paul's life at Corinth: 'And the Lord said unto Paul in the night by a vision: *Be not afraid, but speak* and hold not thy peace: for *I am with you*, and no man shall set on thee to harm thee: for I have much people in this city.' Paul must continue his divine, prophetic mission. The expression implies both protection, comfort and success; mark the combination with 'fear not' (p. 279). Is this modelled after the experience of Jeremiah (cf. Acts 26:17; Gal. 1:15)? It is superfluous to give many texts for Paul's activity as a pneumatic, see, e.g., Acts 9:17, 16:6 f.<sup>64</sup>

(7) Four Pauline texts may be taken together:

Rom. 15:33: '*The God of peace with you all.*'

2 Cor. 13:11: 'Finally, brethren, rejoice,<sup>65</sup> be perfected, be comforted, be of the same mind, live in peace; and *the God of love and peace shall be (ἔσται) with you.*'

Phil. 4:9: 'The things which ye both learned and received and heard and saw in me, these things do; and *the God of peace shall be (ἔσται) with you.*'

2 Thess. 3:16: 'Now the Lord of peace himself give you peace at all times in all ways. *The Lord with you all.*'

These four texts are all at the end of the respective epistles but they do not give the final greeting,<sup>66</sup> as is most clearly seen from Phil. 4:9. Besides the phrase 'the Lord with you' they have also in common the combination with 'the God of peace'. This is a favourite expression of Paul: the God he preaches is 'the God of peace'. This does not envisage an inward peace of mind,<sup>67</sup> as appears from 1 Cor. 14:33: 'God is not a God of disorder, but of peace.' In Rom. 16:20 and 1 Thess. 5:23 Paul describes what the 'God of peace' accomplishes: the future subjection of Satan and the complete preservation of the Christian.<sup>68</sup> These last verses illustrate the texts we are studying. The peace is connected with the very concrete situation of the people addressed. Through strife and disunity the 'peace' of the church is broken, as is patent from the epistles to the Corinthians, Philippians (strong appeal for unity!) and Thessalonians. If the readers fulfil the commandments

of the apostle, he assures them of God's assistance and protection (2 Cor. 13:11; Phil. 4:9); this is in agreement with the OT conception (p. 277 f.). It is not purely eschatological (Phil. 4:9), but this 'welfare' can be realized among them now, 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace' (Eph. 4:3). It has a declarative force. That he could use it in Rom. 15:33 and 2 Thess. 3:16 without further explanation shows that this phrase was understood by his readers; that there is no copula there is not surprising, see p. 283, and does not diminish its character of declaration. The Spirit has been given to the Christian community (Rom. 8:14 ff.; 1 Cor. 2:12 ff., 12:13).

Later rabbis saw in the phrase a word of assurance (p. 280) which would have been impossible if it were just a wish. The proper understanding of Matt. 1:23 and Luke 1:28 also brings to light the existing and active assistance of God's Spirit which is not wished or hoped for, but is present.<sup>69</sup> The Pauline texts have the same value: they are a firm declaration of God's saving power. That is in line with the whole biblical conception of the term, with the two texts where *ἔσται* is used and with Paul's unwavering conviction about the reality of Christ's redeeming work which is on its way to final victory.

The optative *δῶη* in 2 Thess. 3:16, cf. Num. 6:26, does not militate against this interpretation. Paul hopes that the Lord of peace will give peace in every manner (that is the important point!) and he can express this wish just because he is sure that this Lord is 'with them'.

It is usual in this and other cases to add in translating the subjunctive 'be', but that can only be done because the phrase 'the Lord with you' is considered just a pious exclamation (just as in Dutch the saying 'Adieu' in bidding farewell has lost its value) and is completely under-estimated.

In passing I may say that the final greetings have the same force: 'the grace of the Lord is with you all'. The subjective interpretation falls short of the certitude of Paul's faith. As a last farewell he assures the readers again of the sole, but firm ground of their Christian existence, cf. Acts 20:32. In all probability stress must be laid on the word 'all'.

A parallel may be drawn from the use of 'peace' in greetings. This word has a strong dynamic force, as was clearly pointed out by W. S. van Leeuwen (p. 303, note 67). The peace given in greeting is not a desired thing, but an existing reality: it is sent out and may come back to the giver, Luke 10:5; its working depends on the receiver, but there is no doubt about the reality of the gift.

This 'being of God with the Christians' is the present reality of the Holy Spirit in the church. The proof is found in 1 Cor. 14:25.



In a church-gathering the Spirit gives prophetic power to the believers by which they reveal the secrets of the unbeliever's heart. This is so surprising and shocking to him that thereby he is moved to adoration, 'declaring that God is among you indeed' (*δεντως* = in reality and not only professed). This recognition of the divine presence is well known from the OT (p. 282 f.).<sup>70</sup> Here the presence of the Lord is bound up with the prophetic experience (p. 284 ff.) and manifests itself to the outsider. This picture of a service in the apostolic age shows that these Christians came together in a pneumatic atmosphere, filled by the Pneuma of God (cf. also 2 Cor. 1:21 f.: 'He that stablisheth us with you in Christ, and anointed us, is God who also sealed us and gave us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts').

(8) 2 Tim. 4:22: '*The Lord with thy spirit.* The grace with you all.' This combination of singular and plural form is somewhat surprising, especially after this personal letter. It is found in all three Pastoral Epistles, highly interesting being Tit. 3:15. It is an indication that these personal letters were also meant to be read in the community. Is 'with thy spirit' here the same as 'with you'? One is led to think so, because in some greetings Paul writes: 'the grace with you all', but in Gal. 6:28; Phil. 4:23; Philem. 25 'the grace with your spirit'.<sup>71</sup> One may say that there is identity, but not in the sense that 'thy spirit' = 'thysself' (see p. 273), but that 'you' are the Christians, i.e. men and women endowed with the Spirit (see above and 1 Cor. 5:5; 1 Thess. 5:23). Now, there is a diversity of gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor. 12:4 ff.) and therefore it is possible that Paul is thinking here of the divine assistance to Timothy's special charisma, cf. 1 Tim. 4:14; 2 Tim. 1:6 f. For the discharge of his task Timothy will need fortitude, wisdom, long-suffering, etc. It is an assurance that there is no reason to fear; an assurance also of God's protection and blessing for his work (cf. 2:22 ff.).

In the so-called 'Apostolic Fathers' there is only one text with the expression which may be mentioned here: Barnabas 21:9: 'the Lord of glory and all grace with your (plur.) spirit.' This final greeting is not copied from one of the NT texts. 'Spirit' must be here the spirit living in the church as a whole to which this letter is addressed. The words following the admonition: *σώζεσθε*, 'children of love and peace', are an assurance, that He Who has given love and peace can preserve them, safe and well, for the coming Age.

In reviewing these texts from the NT<sup>72</sup> we discover that in the light of OT usage they receive their full force. The phrase is like a short-hand note. At face-value it does not seem of great importance and is therefore passed over in the commentaries. On closer inspection, however, it turns out that the NT authors themselves understood its full meaning perfectly well and were sure that their readers would understand it as well. They did not use an out-worn phrase, but wrote it down as expressing a self-evident truth. There is a marked difference here from later Judaism (p. 286). In its humble wording it contains the fulness and certitude of the Christian faith.

Jesus, the Messiah = Christ = Anointed One with the Spirit, the mediator of the new Covenant, is the IMMANUEL and does His work of salvation; His followers, anointed with the Spirit, form the new Israel and stand in the line of the prophets, heroes and kings of the old Israel, obedient to God's will and assured by His blessing.

Let us now turn back to our starting-point: the dialogue between minister and congregation.

In the course of our argument many passages with the phrase: 'the Lord with somebody' were passed in review. They revealed a number of different applications of the same weighty conception. It will be impossible to use it inadvertently. It is impermissible to confine the interpretation of the dialogue to the use of the phrase in greetings. As a matter of fact it only occurs in greetings in very few instances and there the contexts show the exceptional character of this salutation. The term defines *the dynamic activity of God's Spirit given to particular chosen individuals or the people of God, enabling them to do a work of God in word or deed by protecting, assisting and blessing them; this presence of the Spirit manifests itself in the individual and to the outside world.*

This is the answer to the third question, formulated on p. 273. These texts also solve the other riddles. The 'Lord' is here not so much the Father or the Son; it is the manifestation of the Lord in the Spirit (cf. 2 Cor. 3:17, an interpretation of an OT text!). The greeting is a declaration (p. 283 f.) that the Spirit of God is really present. The response of the congregation is very much to the point: when the minister assures them of the presence of the Spirit who 'is with them', i.e. with their spirit as Christian folk, they in

their turn assure him of the same divine assistance with his spirit, he having a special charisma<sup>73</sup> and standing in need of that assistance because of his prophetic work.

This dialogue has not been made after a biblical model, since that is not found anywhere. But it is deeply rooted in the biblical revelation. It has been formulated by the early Christians led by a deep experience of the Spirit. In the present state of the available material it is impossible to say when or where it first took shape. It has no parallels in the world of Greek or Jewish religion. It is a spontaneous creation of the Christian Church.

These short sentences which for the first time are met as an introduction to the Prayer of Thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστία*) are, if properly understood, highly significant for the ancient church service. There we find its *Sitz im Leben*. Other texts from the first and second centuries will help us to understand more fully in what surroundings it originated.

On the early Christians the new era had dawned. For them the New Covenant had come, 'not of the letter, but of the Spirit' (2 Cor. 3:6). This explains why in the NT the phrase has again its full weight and connection with the Spirit, while in later Judaism it had lost this relation (p. 280 f). The early Christians lived under the guiding inspiration of the Holy Spirit. That was not only so in the apostolic age, but also in later generations. It is often said that after the time of the apostles there is a decline of charismatic force; that Christian life becomes more institutionalized. To a certain extent that may be true, but on the other hand it must be said that we often get a false picture through the fragmentary state of the surviving source-material. Yet even so there are sufficient statements about the living experience of the Spirit in the church. 1 Clement 2:2 shows this, when he speaks about a 'full effusion of the Holy Spirit on all' (cf. also 46:6). Much illustrative and relevant material has been collected long ago by Weinel in an excellent book that is unduly neglected at present.<sup>74</sup>

Christian worship, too, stood in this magnetic field of the Holy Spirit, and was its centre. This determining factor of the early liturgy is often overlooked in recent discussion of this subject. Prayer especially is a work of the Spirit. This is conspicuous in Paul. Two passages in Rom. 8 help us to see the background of the dialogue: vv. 15 f.: 'Ye received the *spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit himself beareth witness with our*

*spirit*, that we are children of God', and v. 26 f.: 'In like manner the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity; for we know not how to pray as we ought: but *the Spirit himself maketh intercession for us* with groanings which cannot be uttered; and he who searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God.' To offer a right prayer, acceptable to God, the assistance of the Holy Spirit is necessary; it must be a combined action of Divine and human spirit. This 'spiritual' character of prayer comes to light also in 1 Cor. 14:14 f. It is typical of Christian prayer, as Harder in his important monograph has rightly observed,<sup>75</sup> and must be explained not from hellenistic presuppositions about 'spiritualization', but from the basic idea of the New Covenant. Very relevant also is Eph. 5:18: 'Be filled with the *Spirit*, speaking one to another in psalms and hymns and *spiritual* songs (i.e. inspired by the Spirit) . . . giving thanks always for all things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God the Father'; 2:18: 'for through Him (Jesus, our peace) we both (Christians from Jewish and pagan stock) have *in one Spirit* our access unto the Father', and 6:18: 'With all prayer and supplications praying at all seasons *in the Spirit*.' This effectual presence of the Spirit in a church service is brought out by 1 Cor. 14:25 (see p. 292).

This feeling of the presence of the Spirit during divine worship continued in later times. One of the rules in Hippolytus' Church-Order says: 'They shall be zealous to go to the assembly (*ἐκκλησία*) where the Spirit abounds' (Lat. tr., *floret*).<sup>76</sup> A text from the prophet Hermas (middle second century) is very enlightening.<sup>77</sup> In picturing the difference between the true and the false prophet he lets the former 'having the Divine Spirit' enter 'into an assembly of righteous men who have faith in the Divine Spirit'; when 'this assembly offers up prayer to God, then the angel of the prophetic Spirit who is destined for him, fills the man: and the man being filled with the Holy Spirit speaks to the multitude as the Lord wishes' (Mand, xi, 9).<sup>78</sup> This prophet does not speak on his own authority; what he potentially possesses is suddenly stirred up when the assembly is praying. In the case of the false prophet that does not happen, but then 'the earthly spirit flees from him through fear, and that man is made dumb' (§ 14). The true prophet finds a sympathetic environment in such an assembly, but the spirit of the false prophet cannot stand it: 'the empty prophets,

when they come to the spirits of the righteous, are found on leaving to be such as they were when they came' (§ 15); in the Spirit from God there is power, but the earthly spirit is powerless (§ 17). The critical moment for the prophet is that of prayer; then the whole meeting-place is filled with the Spirit and the spirit of the incoming prophet must be in tune with that of the congregation. For effective prayer an interplay between the Holy Spirit and that of man is indispensable. This becomes clear from the previous Mandatum. Here Hermas combats grief, because it crushes out the Holy Ghost 'which was given to man a cheerful spirit' and he continues: 'Grieving the Holy Spirit he works iniquity, neither entreating the Lord nor giving thanks<sup>79</sup> to Him. For the entreaty of the sorrowful man has no power to ascend to the altar of God.'<sup>80</sup> The reason for this is that a mixture of grief with this entreaty makes it impure; grief cannot be mixed with the Holy Spirit any more than vinegar with wine (Mand., x, 3).<sup>81</sup> This grief is a sister of doubt and anger; people like Hermas do not understand, because their minds are occupied with worldly business.<sup>82</sup> 'Those, on the other hand, who have the fear of God, and search after Godhead and truth, and have their hearts turned to the Lord (*καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἔχοντες πρὸς κύριον*),<sup>83</sup> quickly perceive. . . . For where the Lord dwells, there is much understanding' (Mand., x, 1). The 'Holy Spirit' here is that which dwells in man (Mand., x, 2, 5) and is subject to all sorts of human emotions. This peculiar conception<sup>84</sup> is clearly conceived by Hermas as the characteristic Christian 'spirit' which the newly-baptized has received as that element which stamps him as a Christian (cf. p. 292). The sequence of thought in Hermas often lacks clearness. But in the main his way of looking at things is simple: in the Christian dwells the 'Holy Spirit', given by God to make him pure, obedient to God's will, together with all sorts of other 'spirits', leading forces; for a prayer acceptable to God this 'Holy Spirit' must be free from other influences; when the Christian comes to the church, where other Christians, the people of God, are gathered, and the Holy Spirit in its fulness is present, then it becomes clear whether the individual 'spirit' is in tune with the Holy Spirit.

This conception of prayer and service was not a private idea of Hermas. In *Didache*, x, 7, it appears that saying the 'eucharist' was not bound to certain formularies, if a prophet was doing it.<sup>85</sup> This presupposes that it was part of the activity of the Spirit. From

Tertullian, *De Oratione*, 16, it follows that Hermas had a very deep influence upon the practice of prayer,<sup>86</sup> and though Tertullian combatted this slavish imitation of the Roman author, he shares with him certain important ideas.<sup>87</sup>

The material available for the reconstruction of the history of the liturgy does not enable us to determine the exact date and place of the origin of the dialogue. It may be anywhere in the first or second century. The connections with ideas in Hermas make a date in the middle of the second century quite probable.

Within the picture presented to us by Hermas, the dialogue finds its natural place and explanation.<sup>88</sup> A real Eucharist (prayer of thanksgiving) can only be offered in the right spiritual atmosphere both in the congregation as a whole and in its individual members. And 'spiritual' means here that the Spirit of God is present; He is the life-blood of the church. That Spirit must flow and not be hampered by emotions and worldly thoughts. That spirit has been given, but must be vivified.

*The Lord with you*, says the minister with a word of assurance: here where the people of God is gathered in the name of Jesus IMMANUEL the dynamic presence of the Spirit is found which enables them to perform the holy work of the spiritual sacrifices; He assists these weak men and women; He will keep their spirits in the right condition.

*And with thy spirit*, rings the answer: like them the minister called to that work of the Spirit, to say the prayer, needs to be assured of that assisting power of the Spirit which keeps his spirit from all worldly thoughts, etc.

*Lift up your hearts*, now calls the minister: when the church again sees what it means to be the church of Christ and stands in the right atmosphere, they are called to direct their hearts<sup>89</sup> to the heavenly altar where the prayers are offered.

*We lift them up unto the Lord*, is their answer: to Him, Whom they are about to thank for His wonderful work in creation and re-creation. After this preparation the Thanksgiving can be said.

If this spiritual background has been discovered one also understands how this same introduction can be used before the reading of the Gospel. 'The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; and he cannot know them, because they are spiritually judged' (1 Cor. 2:13).

The history and work of Jesus Who was anointed with the Spirit is pre-eminently spiritual.<sup>90</sup>

Is everyone in our churches where these old and revered words are repeated hundreds of times aware of their deep, heart-searching meaning? I wish they were. But if not, let these words not be used in vain, for 'the letter killeth, but the Spirit gives life'. That is a judgment and the hope of the Church!

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Dienstboek voor de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk (in ontwerp, 's Gravenhage 1955)*, 9, 11, 13, etc. The legend of Dutch silver coins has also 'God met ons' (God with us), and as my colleague Prof. Quispel reminded me, the same version 'Gott mit uns' was on the belts of German soldiers, even during the Nazi period. The origin of these applications cannot be traced here; it is however interesting to see the application of the same formula in widely divergent places.

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian, *De virg.* vel. 1: 'Sed dominus noster Christus veritatem se, non consuetudinem, cognominavit.' This is still a valuable, all-too-often forgotten rule.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia*<sup>2</sup> (1949), Bd. i, 447.

<sup>4</sup> Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition*, ed. G. Dix (1937), 7, cf. also 39, 50. Because the salutation is always regarded as a special unit, I will do the same. At the end of this paper however it will be seen (p. 297) that the two parts in Hippolytus belong together and cannot be separated.—On various forms of the 'Sursum Corda', see C. A. Bouman, 'Variants in the Introduction to the Eucharistic Prayer', VC 4 (1950), 97 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The material has been collected in a very convenient form by K. Frör, *Salutationen, Benediktionen, Amen*, in K. F. Müller-W. Blankenburg (eds.), *Leiturgia, Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes* (1955), Bd. ii, 570-81.—In the course of the following discussion I refer to Jungmann and Frör, because they offer the latest and most complete discussion of the subject.—In passing it may be remarked that the short article of H. Leclercq, 'Dominus Vobiscum', in F. Cabrol-H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, is quite unsatisfactory.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. K. Frör, *op. cit.*, 575, Ak. 33: 'In der Geschichte der Salutationen sind viele und wesentliche Zusammenhänge noch nicht geklärt'.

<sup>7</sup> Though the ascription of this reconstructed work to Hippolytus by Schwarz and Connolly has been challenged, I believe with the majority of scholars at present, that it is correct.

<sup>8</sup> P. Morrishoe, 'Dominus Vobiscum', in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, v, 114 writes: 'Its origin is evidently Scriptural, being clearly borrowed from Ruth ii 4 and 2 Paral. xv 2.'

<sup>9</sup> Biblical texts are quoted from the Revised Version; in some places, however, I have left out the copula in order to bring out the original wording.

<sup>10</sup> K. Frör, *op. cit.*, 575.

<sup>11</sup> J. A. Jungmann, *op. cit.*, 448.—On p. 446 ff. he mentions several other explanations, e.g.: 'dass . . . wenn der Priester das Gebet aller Gott darbringt, der Herr ihnen nahe sein und Gottes Gnade Ihr Beten begleiten möge', but he remarks that this idea does not explain the greeting-form.

<sup>12</sup> K. Frör, *op. cit.*, 573; this last interpretation is quoted from the German liturgical reformer Wilhelm Löhe (1853).—Frör's parallel with the *Maranatha* is derived from Wetter; this Swedish scholar (*Altchristliche Liturgien, I das christliche Mysterium* (1921)) gave an interpretation of the early Christian liturgy as an ancient mystery-cult; though his book contains several interesting observations, his method was arbitrary and his views have rightly been abandoned.

<sup>13</sup> It is of course certain that Paul wanted his letters to be read to the whole congregation and even to others (Col. 4:16), but is it reasonable to suppose that 1 Cor. was read as an introduction to a communion service? It would take us too far, if we were to discuss this point here; let it only be said that the chronological difference should not be overlooked.

<sup>14</sup> A farewell greeting with religious content, like our Dutch 'Adieu' (= à Dieu) or the old 'God bless you' and 'God speed' are greetings that can only be used in that situation. The meaning does not depend on the form, but on the situation.

<sup>15</sup> Neither W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish background of the Christian Liturgy* (1925) nor C. W. Dugmore, *The influence of the synagogue upon the divine office* (1944) mentions it.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. W. Ewing, 'Greeting', in J. Hastings, DCG (1906), i, 692 f.

<sup>17</sup> The rabbinic material in SB i, 380 ff., on Matt. 5:47 and ii, 584 f., on John 20:19.—Billerbeck mentions one text, Mishna Berakoth, ix, 5, where influence of Ruth 2:4 is found, but he adds: it 'ist so unbestimmt gehalten, dass sie ziemlich wertlos erscheint. In der rabbin. Literatur haben wir kein Beispiel gefunden, dass man sich beim Gruss irgendwie nach jener Verordnung gerichtet hätte.'—In the OT the formula 'Peace on you' is the usual form of greeting, Gen. 43:23; Judges 19:20; 1 Sam. 25:6, etc.; see the important pages on greeting written by J. Pedersen, *Israel, its life and culture* (1926), i–ii, 202 f., 303 f., 524 f.—In the other semitic languages the same form is found.

<sup>18</sup> See also Acta Thomae 27: 'And the Lord was revealed to them by a voice, saying: Peace be unto you, brethren' (tr. M. R. James, p. 376) after the sealing of Gundaphorus and Gad. Later on they see the appearance of a youth who is Jesus. Cf. with this the use of the Dialogue in Hippolytus, ed. Dix, 39.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Jungmann, *op. cit.*, 449.

<sup>20</sup> F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*<sup>7</sup> (1943), § 442, 10: 'und ebenso'.

<sup>21</sup> So Chrysostomus, In 2 Tim. hom. 10, 3 (PG, 62, 659), as cited by Jungmann, *op. cit.*, 449, n. 16, and Theodorus Mops., *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments*, ed. A. Mingana (1933), vol. vi of *Woodbrooke Studies*, 90 ff.: he speaks of 'an ordinance found in the church from the beginning'.

<sup>22</sup> Especially in the citing of OT texts, see W. Foerster in TWNT iii, 1085 ff.

<sup>23</sup> So by Jungmann, *op. cit.*, 449 and F. L. Cross (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1957), 414, s.v. *Dominus Vobiscum*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the Hebrew Lexicon of L. Köhler, that on the NT by Walter Bauer and on the Syriac of J. Payne Smith, s.vv.



<sup>25</sup> It is significant that the voluminous TWNT does not contain the word *μετά* and has nothing relevant under *εἰμι* in Bd. ii, 396 ff.

<sup>26</sup> A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew* (1915), 437.—Cf. the interesting remark of the Syriac Didascalia 21, ed. R. H. Connolly (1929), 180. 'But now by His working is He with us, but visibly He is absent, because He has ascended to the heights of heaven and sat at the right hand of His Father.'

<sup>27</sup> C. H. Dodd, 'Matthew and Paul', in *New Testament Studies* (1953), 61.

<sup>28</sup> O. Michel, 'Der Abschluss des Matthäusevangeliums', in *Evangelische Theologie* 10 (1950-51), 16-26, n. 86.—BGDW (1957), col. 1006, gives the translation 'Beistand'; that is right so far as it goes, but not sufficient, as the rest of this paper will prove.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism* (1932), i, 434 ff. and index, ii, 446, s.v., 'Name', i, 429 f.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. 1 Chron. 4:10; Luke 1:66; Acts 11:21, and the note of A. Plummer, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (1922), 38.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Moore, *op. cit.*, i, 401 ff.; Th. C. Vriezen, *Hoofdstukken der Theologie van het Oude Testament*,<sup>2</sup> (1954), 259.

<sup>32</sup> See Epist. Jer. 6 to the exiles in Babylon: 'For my angel is with you'.—Apoc. Abrah. X, transl. G. H. Box (London 1919), p. 79: 'Stand up, Abraham! Go without fear; be right glad and rejoice; and I am with thee', says the angel Jaol, bearer of the ineffable Name (p. 46) who has 'been sent to thee to strengthen thee and bless thee in the name of God'.—In Hermas, Mand. v, 1, 7, vi, 2, 3, xii, 3, 3; Sim. v, 3, 4, v, 7, 6 speak of the guiding angel of Hermas.

<sup>33</sup> C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments* (new edn. 1944), 27 f.

<sup>34</sup> The great attention given here to Joseph makes him a type of Christ, who also suffered from the zeal of his brethren (Matt. 27:18), Whose way went through ignominy to glory (Luke 24:26); cf. also Acts 7:9 f., 10:38; Luke 2:52.

<sup>35</sup> 1 Sam. 10:6 f. LXX: *καὶ ἐφαλεῖται ἐπὶ σέ πνεῦμα κυρίου καὶ προφητεύσεις μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ στραφήσῃ εἰς ἄνδρα ἄλλον. καὶ ἔσται ὅταν ἤξῃ ταῖς σημεῖα ταῦτα ἐπὶ σέ, ποίει πάντα, ὅσα ἐὰν εὐρηῇ ἡ χεὶρ σου, ὅτι θεὸς μετὰ σοῦ = Josephus, Ant. VI, 7, 2, § 56-57, καὶ γενόμενος ἔνθους προφητεύσεις σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὡς πάνθ' ὄντων ὁρῶντα ἐκπλήττεσθαι τε καὶ θαυμάζειν, λέγοντα πόθεν εἰς τοῦτ' εὐδαιμονίας ὁ Κεῖσος παῖς παρήλθεν · ὅταν δέ σοι ταῦτα γένηται τὰ σημεῖα, τὸν θεὸν ἴσθι μετὰ σοῦ τυγχάνοντα.*

<sup>36</sup> Because the early Christians read the Bible in its Greek form, we take the LXX as a basis. In most cases the expression renders *hāyāh 'im*; sometimes like Gen. 21:20, 39:2-3; Judges 1:19; Hag. 1:13, 2:4 it stands for the preposition 'eth, without change of meaning. In Joshua 22:31 it is a translation of *b<sup>e</sup>thūkh*; in Num. 14:42; Deut. 1:42 of *b<sup>e</sup>kirb<sup>e</sup>khem*. In Gen. 35:3 LXX has an interesting explanatory gloss: MT God 'was with me in the way which I went' = LXX ἦν μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ διέσωσέν με ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. It is added by the LXX in Esther 6:13; Isa. 58:11 and Jer. 1:17; the texts in Judith and 3 Macc. are of course additional material of LXX.

<sup>37</sup> For the sake of completeness, since not all texts can be mentioned in the text, I give here the full list of texts where the expression is found in the OT. The distribution is interesting (see p. 284): Gen. 21:20, 22, 26:3, 24, 28,

28:15, 20, 31:3, 5, 13, 35:3, 39:2, 3, 21, 23, 48:21; Exod. 3:12, 10:10, 18:19; Num. 14:42, 23:21; Deut. 1:42, 2:7, 20:1, 31:23 32:12; Joshua 1:5, 9, 17, 3:7, 6:27, 7:12, 14:12, 22:31; Judges 1:19, 2:10, 6:12, 13, 16; Ruth 2:4; 1 Sam. 3:19, 10:7, 16:18, 17:37, 18:14, 28, 20:13 (28:16); 2 Sam. 5:10, 7:3, 9, 14:17; 1 Kings 1:37, 8:57, 11:38; 2 Kings 18:7; 1 Chron. 11:9, 17:2, 8, 22:11, 16, 18, 28:20; 2 Chron. 1:1, 13:12, 15:2, 9, 17:3, 19:11, 20:17, 25:7, 32:8, 35:21, 36:23; 1 Ezra 1:25, 2:3; 2 Ezra 1:3; Esther 6:13; Judith 5:17, 13:11; 3 Macc. 6:15; Ps. 22 (23):4, 45(46):8, 12, 90(91):15; Amos 5:14; Hag. 1:13, 2:4; Zech. 8:23, 10:5; Isa. 8:8, 10, 43:2, 5, 58:11; Jer. 1:8, 17, 19, 15:20, 20:11, 26:28, 49:11.

<sup>38</sup> Cf., e.g., G. E. Wright, *God who acts* (1952); J. de Groot-A. R. Hulst, *Macht en wil, de verkondiging van het O.T. aangaande God*, (n.y.).

<sup>39</sup> G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch*<sup>2</sup> (1922), 296 b.

<sup>40</sup> Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, tr. H. Freedman (1939), ii, 633, 637 f., 701 f.—In Gen. 31:5 'immädhi was read as 'immüdhi my pillar, support, i.e., 677.

<sup>41</sup> Midrash Rabbah, Exodus, tr. S. M. Lehrman (1939), 63.

<sup>42</sup> Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, p. 807.

<sup>43</sup> See E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*<sup>3-4</sup> (1901), 303.

<sup>44</sup> A well-known Greek combination, see: H. G. Liddell-R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (1940), ii, 1260, and frequent in Josephus, cf. A. Schlatter, *Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josephus* (1932), 37, 96 ff.

<sup>45</sup> In Ant. XIII, 10, 7 § 300 speaking about the three offices God had given to John Hyrcanus (high-priest, king and prophet), he says: *συνῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον, καὶ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ τ' εἰδέναι καὶ προλέγειν*, = B.J. I, 2, 8, § 69, *ὁμλεῖ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ὡς μηδὲν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγνωεῖν*. It is remarkable that it is not the phrase *εἶναι μετὰ* which is used, but *συνεῖναι*. Was the latter expression more appropriate according to Josephus, more intimate? If this inference is correct it sheds some light upon our investigation.

<sup>46</sup> See above, p. 272.

<sup>47</sup> Th. C. Vriezen, *Oud-Israëlietische Geschriften* (1948), 220; H. H. Rowley, *The Growth of the Old Testament* (1950), 150; O. Eissfeld, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1956), 595: all post-exilic date with perhaps older material in it.

<sup>48</sup> The etymology of Boaz as 'in him is power' is rejected as old-fashioned by H. A. Redpath, 'Boaz', in HDB i, 308, but in the newest dictionary known to me: *Býbels Woordenboek* (1954-1957), kol. 198 it is still maintained.

<sup>49</sup> See: Gen. 21:22, 39:2 (cf. v. 3); Num. 23:21; Deut. 2:7, 20:1; Joshua 22:31; 1 Sam. 10:7, 16:18, 18:28; 2 Sam. 5:10, 7:3; 1 Chron. 11:9, 17:2; 2 Chron. 1:1, 13:12, 15:9, 20:17, 35:21; Esther 6:13; Judith 13:11; Ps. 45(46)8, 12; Zech. 8:23; Isa. 8:8, 10; Jer. 20:11.

<sup>50</sup> *εὐλογήσαι*; for the ending see: Blass-Debrunner, *op. cit.*, § 85.

<sup>51</sup> In view of Num. 10:35 f. (cf. A. H. Edelkoort, *Numeri* (1930), 118 f.) and 1 Sam. 4:6 as compared with vs. 3 one would have expected such a connection. But Num. 14:42; Deut. 1:42 show that there is no such direct relation. There is here also a distance between popular belief and God's revelation, as is clearly witnessed by Amos 5:14, cf. also Jer. 7. Obedience is essential (1 Sam. 15:22 f.,

important because the 'being of God with him' plays such a large part in the story of Saul, p. 285 f.), cf. p. 279.

<sup>52</sup> Num. 14:42, 23:21; Deut. 1:42, 2:7, 20:1, 32:12; Joshua 7:12, 22:31; 1 Kings 8:57; 2 Chron. 25:7, 32:8; Judith 5:17, 13:11; 3 Macc. 6:15; Amos 5:14; Zech. 8:23, 10:5; Isa. 8:8, 10, 43:2, 5, 58:11; Jer. 49:11. Compare p. 300, n. 37.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, iii-iv, 35: 'Yahweh's promise to be with Gideon means: that he needs the blessing for his deed, but it is further added that he is to act with a special force. . . . It was Yahweh's soul which filled him and was active in him.'

<sup>54</sup> Moore, *op. cit.*, i, 536 ff.

<sup>55</sup> F. Büchsel, *Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament* (1926), 122.

<sup>56</sup> For late Jewish material see the references in SB iv, 2, 1229 f., Register s.v. Geist, heiliger; also H. Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes nach der populären Anschauung der apostolischen Zeit und der Lehre des Apostels Paulus*<sup>3</sup> (1909), 50 f.; Büchsel, *op. cit.*, 123 ff.

<sup>57</sup> See the article of O. Michel, quoted above p. 300, n. 28, adopted by J. Jeremias, *Jesu Verheissung für die Völker* (1956), 33.

<sup>58</sup> It is interesting to see that Justin Martyr who quoted Isa. 7:14 on several occasions (Dial. 43:8, 67:1, 71:3, 84) always cites the first half about the virgin birth only. In Apol. 33 the full text is quoted, though not with the name IMMANUEL (p. 278) but with the Greek translation; in the course of his explanation he speaks about the 'power' of God by which it happened and cites Luke 1:31 f.; then he explains the name 'Jesus' but does not speak about 'God with us'.

<sup>59</sup> The name 'Jesus' is explained in Matt. 1:21; Matthew is the only one among the Evangelists who does so and this is the more striking since the idea of 'saving' is not prominent in his gospel, see my paper: *L'usage de σώζω 'sauver' et ses dérivés dans les évangiles synoptiques*, in *La Formation des Évangiles* (1957), 178 ff. These names had a meaning which is of the utmost importance for the understanding of the gospel.

<sup>60</sup> Vs. 29 *διελογίζετο ποταπὸς ἔλη ὁ ἀσπασμὸς οὗτος*, cf. p. 272 and 281 f.

<sup>61</sup> J. M. Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (1930), 20: 'The angel authenticates his message.' Note the introduction with 'behold'. In the stories of Moses, Gideon, Saul and Jeremiah too one finds this authentication by a sign when they do not dare to believe the message.

<sup>62</sup> See HRCS, s.v.

<sup>63</sup> J. Behm in TWNT v, 812, and W. Bauer, *op. cit.*, col. 1227, s.v. *παράκλητος* translate it by 'Helper'; He is called to the aid of the disciples.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. E. Benz, 'Paulus als Visionär', in *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz*, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse 1952, No. 2, 81-121.

<sup>65</sup> RV translates 'farewell', taking it in the ordinary Greek sense at the end of letters. In view of the following imperatives and Phil. 4:4 'rejoice' seems preferable; the greeting comes in vs. 13. This interpretation is given by H. Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief* (1924), 426 and E. B. Allo, *Second Epître aux Corinthiens* (1956), 343.

<sup>66</sup> As far as Rom. 15:33 is concerned this depends of course on the decision whether Rom. 16 is taken as a separate epistle or as an original part of Romans. I do not accept the hypothesis that ch. 16 was an epistle to Ephesus, but cannot argue the question here, see: H. Lietzmann, *An die Römer*<sup>3</sup> (1928), 128 ff.

<sup>67</sup> See on the expression 'God of peace', O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer* (1955), 337, n. 3; on 'peace' the fine monograph of W. S. van Leeuwen, *Eirene in het Nieuwe Testament* (1940 (Leyden thesis)).

<sup>68</sup> See my remarks on 1 Thess. 5:23 in 'Aramaeismen bij Paulus', in *Vox Theologica* 14 (1943), 122 f.

<sup>69</sup> Blass-Debrunner, *op. cit.*, § 128, 5 suggests that in Luke 1:28 we should add εἰη, as is usually done, but see above p. 283.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Isa. 45:14; Zech. 8:23 and the commentary of J. Moffat, *The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (1938), 224 f.; F. W. Grosheide, *De Eerste Brief aan de Kerk van Korinthe* (1957), 371.

<sup>71</sup> See N. A. Waaning, *Onderzoek naar het gebruik van ΠΝΕΥΜΑ bij Paulus* (1939 (thesis: Amsterdam Free University)), 132 f.—In this text 'your' is plural.

<sup>72</sup> We left one text undiscussed, Rev. 21:3, because it is purely eschatological and therefore on a different level from those we are discussing.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. the consecration prayers in the Church Order of Hippolytus. This is the origin of the patristic interpretation, p. 299, n. 21. The variety of the gifts of the one Holy Spirit is given by Paul, 1 Cor. 12:8 ff. and parallel texts.

<sup>74</sup> H. Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapostolischen Zeitalter bis auf Irenäus* (1899).

<sup>75</sup> G. Harder, *Paulus und das Gebet* (1936), 163 ff.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. also the Syriac Didascalia ch. 1, ed. R. H. Connolly (1929), p. 2: 'God's planting and the holy vineyard of His Catholic Church, the elect who rely on the simplicity of the fear of the Lord, who by their faith inherit His everlasting kingdom, who have received the power and fellowship of His holy Spirit, and by Him are armed and made firm in the fear of Him', etc., and ch. 26, p. 246: 'A believer is filled with the Holy Spirit and an unbeliever with an unclean spirit', etc.; the whole following paragraph is relevant, because it shows that this teaching was not a pious theory, but reality, for on that basis he combats the view of over-anxious people who want to re-introduce all sorts of baptismal rites in the Christian church, a Jewish practice which brings them again under the slavery of the 'Second Legislation'.

<sup>77</sup> I cannot remember having come across this text in recent discussions on the liturgy of early Christianity. This side of the picture is not found in Justin Martyr's famous account in his Apology, but it should not be forgotten that these contemporaries wrote for different readers, Justin's information being destined for outsiders, Hermas addressing his fellow-Christians. It may be, however, that Justin's phrase about the 'president' who prays *ση δύναμις αὐτῶ* has a double meaning: not only according to his personal ability (cf. Apol. 13:1, 55:8, Dial. 80:3), but also according to the power of the Spirit granted to him (67:5).

<sup>78</sup> The English quotations are taken from the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. i.—Extremely helpful is the commentary of M. Dibelius, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (1923) who pointed out the special character of this conception.

<sup>79</sup> For this translation see Dibelius, *op. cit.*, 535.

<sup>80</sup> Prayers are conceived here as 'spiritual sacrifices', see the note of E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (1946), 160 ff. on 1 Pet. 2:5 and Tertullian, *De Oratione*, 28.

<sup>81</sup> Tertullian, *De Oratione*, 12.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. also Hermas, *Sim.* ii, 5 ff. about the prayer of the poor and the rich: 'the poor man is rich in intercession and thanksgiving, and his intercession has great power with God . . . the intercession of the poor man is acceptable and influential with God'; that of the rich man misses this power, because he is distracted by his riches and worldly cares, but he can be helped by giving alms to the poor man: 'and the poor man, being helped by the rich, intercedes for him, giving thanks to God for him who bestows gifts upon him'.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. the same expression in Hermas, *Vis.* iii, 10, 9: 'Your doubts make you senseless and the fact that you have not your hearts turned towards the Lord'. Dibelius, following Funk here, refers to the 'Sursum Corda'. They are 'senseless' as regards heavenly revelations: they are not understood, because there is doubt (the spirit is not in the right state) and their heart (see below, n. 89) is not directed towards the Lord. In the note of Dibelius the connection with the Preface is not clarified; there is no direct dependence on either side, but both spring from the same 'spiritual' source.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. the interesting 'Exkurs' of Dibelius on the Pneumatology of Hermas, *op. cit.*, 517 ff.

<sup>85</sup> In *Did.* ix-x some formularies for the thanksgiving are given, but at the end it is said: 'but permit the prophets to thank as much as they wish'; this is of course not the prophet's private wish; he speaks 'in the Spirit'. This rule resembles Justin's 'according to his own ability' (*Apol.* 67:5) and that in Hippolytus' Church Order, ed. Dix, 19. These testimonies show that there was not yet any fixed formulary absolutely prescribed. Hippolytus has to shield bishops who use formularies against criticism, which shows that the general feeling was against these set forms. The fact that in Rome in the second century the bishops formulated the eucharistic prayer 'according to their ability' puts them on a line with the prophets of the *Didache*; it shows again that this prayer was seen as an action inspired by the Holy Spirit.

<sup>86</sup> For the 'mos quibusdam' to sit down on a couch after prayer they appealed to Hermas, *Sim.*, v, 1; his book was considered part of Scripture, see the commentary of G. F. Diercks, *Tertullianus De Oratione* (1947), 159 ff. (thesis: Amsterdam). The canonical authority of Hermas in many circles of the early church is well-known, see A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Bd. I *Ueberlieferung und Bestand* (1893), 51 ff. If, *teste* Tertullian, Hermas was followed in such a minor point, his ideas must have been very influential.

<sup>87</sup> See above, n. 81, cf. also ch. 1 and 28 f. for the primary importance of the Spirit in prayer.—In the writings of Tertullian there is no trace of the dialogue; see E. Dekkers, *Tertullianus en de geschiedenis der Liturgie* (1947). This may be purely accidental in view of his works as a liturgical source. At any rate I do not venture to draw any inference from his silence.

<sup>88</sup> The 'salutation' and the 'sursum corda' are taken together, as they stand in Hippolytus, cf. p. 298, n. 4.

<sup>89</sup> W. Bauer, *op. cit.*, col. 797: 'Mittelpunkt u. Quelle des geistigen Lebens

mit seinem Denken, Wollen, Fühlen . . . beim natürl. wie beim erlösten Menschen.'

<sup>90</sup> When we have so explained the meaning of the 'Dominus vobiscum' and its legitimate place in the worship of the second-century church, it seems permissible to infer that the formulae of the Eastern Liturgies using the form with 'Peace' or 'the grace of the Lord with you' are later developments, adopting either the ordinary salutation or a more 'rational' text (cf. p. 274) in the dialogue. If this inference is sound, it witnesses to a change in the conception of the Liturgy. The decision on this point must be left to further research.