

Abilene Christian University

Digital Commons @ ACU

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

8-1978

A Comparative Study of the Servant Words in the New Testament

Jack Roger Reese

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.acu.edu/etd>

Recommended Citation

Reese, Jack Roger, "A Comparative Study of the Servant Words in the New Testament" (1978). Digital Commons @ ACU, *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 712.

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at Digital Commons @ ACU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ ACU.

ACU LIBRARY

FAASIS



0 3064 0035 8306

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
SERVANT WORDS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT



BY
JACK ROGER REESE

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SERVANT WORDS
IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

An Abstract of a Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Graduate School
Abilene Christian University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Jack Roger Reese
August 1978

ABSTRACT

At least twelve Greek words are used at various times in the New Testament denoting some form or function of service. The development of each word in its Greek and Septuagint backgrounds is unique; each word has a unique meaning in the New Testament. Yet the English language cannot adequately translate the full impact of these words as they were used by the original authors. Illumination of each term in light of its philology is necessary.

Nine of the servant words are of particular importance because of their use in the New Testament in describing spiritual servitude. These terms are δούλος, δάκκος, πάς, λειτουργός, λατρεία, χειρουργέω, θεράπων, υπηρετής, and ὀκέτης along with their cognates. This thesis has attempted to uncover through a thorough study of these words some of the basic principles of Christian service. Because of the prominence of two of the servant words, δούλος and δάκκος, a chapter has been devoted to each, tracing the secular Greek and Septuagint backgrounds of the terms, examining their usage in the New Testament, and observing their development in the writing of the Apostolic Fathers. These two

terms are then compared and contrasted. Each of the remaining words are examined in their philological development, in their New Testament contexts, and in relation to the other servant words.

The nine words considered in this thesis fall into three basic groupings. One group is defined by subjection, represented in the extreme by the *δοῦλος* word group. The *δοῦλος* is totally controlled by his master, having no voice, no will, no independent actions. In the New Testament all men are considered to be *δοῦλοι* in some form, either slaves to sin or slaves to Christ. Freedom for the slaves of sin is possible only through death -- Christ's death for man's sake and man's death to his own sin. Such emancipation from sin necessitates a new servitude where man's will is relinquished to the will of Christ. *οἰκέτης* also is defined by subjection and generally has reference to the servant of the household. The distinction between master and slave implied in this term is less severe than that of *δοῦλος*. *παις* too finds its norm in subjection, but because of its connotations of "child," it often describes a relationship with a master more intimate than that of *οἰκέτης* or *δοῦλος*, thus the designation of the Messiah as *παις θεοῦ*.

A second grouping can be made of the servant words which are defined not by their subjection but by their work

for the sake of others. The primary term in this group is *δίακονος*, which has its roots in the serving at table specifically and menial service generally. In the New Testament physical and spiritual *διακονία* can be distinguished, both of which are crucial for the Christian, though spiritual *διακονία*, specifically the ministry of the word, is viewed as more important. *ὑπηρέτης*, *θεράπων*, and occasionally *λειτουργός* are also defined more by their service than by their subjection.

Three of the servant words find their New Testament emphasis in neither subjection nor in service rendered on behalf of others but in priestly ministrations or worship. *λειτουργία* and *λατρεία* are both used to describe the cultic duties of priests, the latter perhaps implying a stronger notion of sacrifice. *λειτουργία* is descriptive of man's work on behalf of those in the world who are Christless. *λατρεία* at times refers to the worship of Christians, even to the sacrificial giving of their lives in service to God. Found only once in the New Testament, *ἱερουργέω* characterizes Paul's priestly ministry in the service of the gospel for the sake of the Gentiles.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SERVANT WORDS
IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Graduate School
Abilene Christian University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

COMPACT
225.84/
R329C

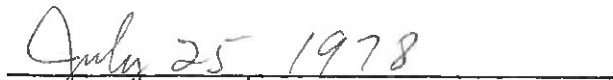
by
Jack Roger Reese
August 1978

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Council of Abilene Christian University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS



Dean of the Graduate School



Date

Thesis Committee



Chairman



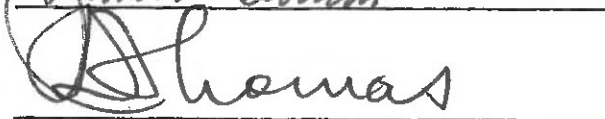


TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	
I. A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM	1
The Importance of the Study	1
The Statement of the Problem	2
The Occurrences of the Servant Words in the New Testament	3
The Organization and Method Procedure	5
The Scope and Limitations of the Study	6
II. THE MEANING OF THE ΔΟΥΛΟΣ WORD GROUP	8
The Greek Background of Δούλος	8
Jewish and Septuagint Usage of Δούλος	19
Slavery to human masters	20
Slavery and kings	25
National bondage	27
Service to a god	28
The New Testament Usage of Δούλος	32
Contrasted with Greek and Septuagint Usage	32
The Δουλέλια of Non-believers	37
Freedom for the Slaves of Sin	43
Freedom through purchase	44
Freedom through death	45
Christians as Δούλοι	47
The Usage of Δούλος in the Apostolic Fathers	53
III. THE MEANING OF THE ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ WORD GROUP	58
The Greek Background of Διάκονος	58
The Jewish Background of Διάκονος	63
The New Testament Usage of Διάκονος	66
Contrasted with Greek and Jewish Usage	66
The Meaning of Διάκονος in the New Testament	69
Physical Διακονία	70
Service at table	70
The general serving of physical needs	73

Spiritual Διακονία	75
Service rendered to God	76
Service rendered to Christ	78
Ministry of the word	79
The ministry of the new covenant	82
The ministry of reconciliation	85
Διακονία as God's Gift.	88
Varieties of Διακονία	89
The Office of Deacon	91
The Usage of Διάκονος in the Apostolic Fathers	93
Δουλέα and Διακονία Contrasted	95

IV. RELATED SERVANT WORDS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT 99

Πᾶς	99
"child" in terms of descent	100
"child" in terms of age	100
Πᾶς as servant	101
Πᾶς Θεοῦ	103
Λειτουργός, Λειτουργία, Λειτουργέω	106
Greek Background	106
Septuagint Background	108
New Testament Usage	109
Λατρεία, Λατρεύω	116
Greek Background	116
Septuagint Background	117
New Testament Usage	119
Ἱερουργέω	123
Greek and Jewish Background	123
New Testament Usage	124
Θεράπων, Θεραπεία, Θεραπέυω	125
Greek Background	125
Septuagint Background	128
New Testament Usage	128
ὑπηρέτης, ὑπηρετέω	131
Greek Background	131
Septuagint Background	133
New Testament Usage	134
Ὀικέτης	140
Greek Background	140
Septuagint Background	141
New Testament Usage	142

The Servant Words Compared	144
Subjection	145
The Activity of Service	146
Priestly Ministry/Worship	148
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	151
Service requires subjection	151
Service requires ministering to the needs of others	153
Service involves priestly ministry	156
Service demands sacrificial discipleship	157
Christ is the model servant	158
BIBLIOGRAPHY	161

CHAPTER I

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

The Importance of the Study

In recent years a re-awakening has occurred in Christian ranks concerning the function and significance of Christian service. Religious journals are replete with articles stressing the values, opportunities, and problems associated with ministry. Many within the religious world are questioning the traditional distinction between clergy and laity. Numerous people within the church claim to be searching for "their gifts" or "their ministries." Though the current emphasis on Christian service is certainly desirable, problems frequently arise because inaccurate and mistaken meanings are assigned to the words "ministry" and "service." Too often the quest for meaning in this context is tainted with theological prejudice and with an unwillingness to re-examine the concept of ministry in light of its occurrence within the New Testament. Therefore, a genuinely Biblical study of the Greek words for service is in order. Such a study would not only aid in correcting certain false

notions, it would also aid in establishing correct ideas concerning Christian service in the New Testament and its implications in today's world.

The Statement of the Problem

At least twelve Greek words are used in the New Testament to describe some form or function of service.¹ Each word has its unique philological background; each has a particular meaning within its context. In some instances, the service is voluntary; in others, it is not. In some contexts, the New Testament authors encourage their readers to be servants; in others, service is to be avoided. Service is described as being both menial and lofty, insignificant and momentous, the cause of deep sorrow and the source of great joy. The overall task of this thesis will be to draw from this material a basic understanding of the meaning of Christian service and the fundamental principles which give the concept eternal impact.

Two words stand out in terms of usage and theological significance: δούλος and διάκονος and their cognates.

¹Three of the terms will not be considered in this thesis. ἔργασθαι and παρέχω only occasionally describe a relationship of service. μίσθιος and μισθωτός are rarely found in the New Testament. None of the terms shed significant light concerning spiritual servanthood or the servile relationship of man to God.

An understanding of the Christian responsibility in ministry is dependent upon an understanding of these two words individually, in contrast with each other, and in comparison to the other servant words in the New Testament.

The Occurrences of the Servant Words
in the New Testament

The idea of service is represented most often in the New Testament by the terms *δούλος* and *διάκονος* and their cognates. The use of these two terms far outnumbers that of any other servant word found in the Scriptures. Out of the 397 times service is mentioned by the New Testament writers, *δούλος*, *διάκονος*, and their cognates are employed 260 times: *δούλος* 165, *διάκονος* 95.

Δούλος, most often translated "slave" or "servant" in the Revised Standard Version, is found 123 times in the New Testament: seventy-two times in the Gospels (thirty in Matthew, five in Mark, twenty-six in Luke, eleven in John), twenty-nine times in the Pauline epistles, once in James, three times in the Petrine epistles, once in Jude, and fourteen times in Revelation. The feminine form, *δούλη*, is used only in Luke: Luke 1:38, 48 and Acts 2:18.

Δουλέω, translated either "slavery" or "bondage" in the RSV, is used four times by Paul and once by the author of Hebrews. *Δουλέω*, "to serve," is used six times in the

Gospels, twice in Acts, and seventeen times by Paul.

Δουλόω, "to enslave," is found once in Acts, six times in the Pauline corpus, and once in II Peter. Δουλαγωγέω, "to subdue," is found only in I Corinthians 9:27.

Διάκονος and its cognates are used more by Paul than by any other New Testament author. Usually translated "servant," "minister," or "deacon" in the RSV, διάκονος is found twenty-nine times: eight times in the Gospels and twenty-one times in Paul's writings. Διακονία, "service" or "ministry," is found thirty-two times in the New Testament: once in Luke, eight times in Acts, once in Hebrews, once in Revelation, and twenty-one times in the Pauline epistles. Διακονέω, "to serve" or "to minister," is used twenty times in the Gospels, twice in Acts, once in Hebrews, three times in I Peter, and eight times by Paul.

Though the other servant words are used less often in the New Testament, their usage nevertheless is significant. Λειτουργός, usually translated "minister" or "servant" with religious or ritualistic connotations, is used along with its cognates fifteen times, all by Luke, Paul, and the author of Hebrews. Θεράπων is used only once in the New Testament, Hebrews 3:5, and is translated "servant." Θεραπεύω, "to serve" or "to heal" is found thirty-six times in the Gospels, five times in Acts, and twice in

Revelation. Θεραπεία, "serving" or "healing," is used twice by Luke and once in Revelation. Though the basic meaning of πῶλος is "child," sixteen of the twenty-five times it is used in the New Testament, "servant" is implied: eight times πῶλος describes an attendant or houseservant, eight times it describes the servant of God. Ὑπηρέτης, translated "servant," "guard," "officer," "attendant," is found twenty-three times, mostly in the Gospels. The verb form, ὑπηρετέω, is used three times, only in Acts. Ὀικέτης, translated "servant" with the connotation of household slave, is found once each in Luke, Acts, Romans, and I Peter. Λατρεία, translated "service," "worship," "ritual duties," is found once in John, twice in Romans, and twice in Hebrews. Λατρεύω, "to serve," "to worship," is found twenty-one times: once in Matthew, eight times in Luke/Acts, four times in Paul, four times in Hebrews, and twice in Revelation. Ἱερούργεω is found only once in the New Testament, Romans 15:16, and is translated "minister."

The Organization and Method of Procedure

In order to determine the meaning of "servant" in the New Testament, the following steps will be taken:

1. A word study of δούλος will be undertaken to determine the early meanings and development of the word

group, its Septaugint and Jewish usage, its usage by the New Testament authors, and its usage in the early church.

2. In addition to tracing its background, Septuagint, New Testament, and Patristic usage, δάκονος, κτλ. will be compared with δοῦλος and its cognates so that the characteristics they share and those that are unique will emerge.

3. Δοῦλος and δάκονος will then be contrasted with the other servant words used in the New Testament: πᾶς, λειτουργός, λατρεία, ἑρουργέω, Θεράπων, ὑπηρέτης and οἰκέτης.

4. Finally, a summary will be given and conclusions made as to the meaning of Christian ministry in light of the New Testament usages of δοῦλος, δάκονος, and their near-synonyms.

The Scope and Limitations of the Study

Numerous questions and problems arise in considering the meaning of service or ministry in light of New Testament teachings. Many of the issues concerning Christian ministry will not be discussed in this paper. Since this thesis is chiefly concerned with the meaning of δοῦλος and δάκονος in the New Testament, its scope will be limited to those areas that give significance and import to the terms. This

study, for the most part, is a historical one: it is concerned with the various contexts in which service was rendered in the New Testament. The primary task is to uncover the meaning of ministry in the minds of the early Christians. The contemporary church's attitude toward service should be derived from this basic understanding.

This thesis will not investigate in depth the office of deacon. Discussion concerning the establishment, development, qualifications, and functions of the deacon (or deaconess) has not typically illuminated the broader question of the meaning of service for the child of God. The fact that the office is so designated by a word exemplifying service, however, further indicates the importance of the concept as it is found in the New Testament.

CHAPTER II

THE MEANING OF THE ΔΟΥΛΟΣ WORD GROUP

The Greek Background of Δούλος

Although a wide vocabulary existed in the early Greek writing for the concept of slave, δούλος was the basic word and remained so throughout Greek history. In the Homeric and Hesiodic literature, δμῶς and δούλος were both used to describe the slave, with very little distinction between the terms.¹ Δμῶς died out quickly, surviving only in Greek poetry.² Δούλος emerged as the primary word for slave. Though its etymology is uncertain³ the early meaning of δούλος is clear and is essential in understanding the Greek philosophy of slavery.

¹M. I. Finley, "Was Greek Civilization Based on Slave Labor?," Historia 8 (1959):146.

²Ibid.

³Some older lexicons offer conjectures as to the etymology of δούλος. For example, John Pickering (A Comprehensive Lexicon of the English Language [Boston: Rice & Kendall, 1855], pp. 320, 324) conjectures that δούλος is derived from δόλος (deceit, fraud, treachery, cunning). R. C. Trench (Synonyms of the New Testament [Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1948], p. 30) asserts that δέω (to tie, to bind) is the root word. Most modern lexicographers leave the question open. The issue is not crucial since the development of δούλος can be traced to the earliest extant writings.

The Hellenistic attitudes regarding slaves can be learned primarily through incidental remarks and through descriptions of the treatment accorded the slave. The Homeric poems and the plays of Euripides depicted clearly the servile relationship of δούλος to δεσπότης, as did the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides. The ancient writers described almost casually the life of the slave. Few efforts were made to justify the practice; the institution was simply taken for granted. In the late fourth century, Lysias, in a speech written for the use of a cripple appealing a decision made by the Athenian Council, argued: "I have a trade which brings me in a little, but I can barely work at it myself and I cannot afford to buy someone to replace myself in it."⁴ In the pseudo-Aristotelian Oeconomica, the peripatetic author asserted the following: "Of property, the first and most indispensable kind is . . . the human chattel. Our first step therefore must be to procure good slaves."⁵ Polybius in the second century B. C. spoke of "necessities," such as "cattle and slaves," the best of which came from "the countries lying round Pontus."⁶ Numerous other references could be noted.

⁴Lysias On the Refusal of a Pension to the Invalid 6.

⁵Aristotle (pseud.) Oeconomica 1.5.1.

⁶Polybius 4.38.4.

A conscious theory of slavery is not evident until the teachings of the Sophists, of whose writings only fragments exist.⁷ A systematic statement of the problem and discussion of the issues did not exist until Aristotle's Politics. Whether through the polemics of Aristotle and Plato or through incidental discussions in other Greek writings, the Hellenistic philosophy of δουλεία and the meaning of the term δούλος can be clearly seen and constructively analyzed.

An excellent way of determining the meaning of a word is by examining that with which the term is contrasted. Identifying various antonyms of δούλος should be a beginning, at least, in the discovery of its meaning. Aeschylus, for example, indicated the degradation of slavery in Prometheus Bound. In the midst of great anger, Prometheus exclaims: ". . . Zeus shall learn how different it is to be a sovereign (ἄρχεεν) and a slave (δουλεύειν)."⁸ The δούλος in this passage is contrasted with one who is in authority, who has dominion over his subjects, who has access to

⁷Robert Schlaifer, "Greek Theories of Slavery From Homer to Aristotle, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 47 (1936):165.

⁸Aeschylus Prometheus Bound 926.

power.⁹ The slave is without power and in subjection. Similarly, Homer contrasted slave (δούλεον) with king (βασιληϊ).¹⁰ Implied in the term βασιλεύς is "lord, master, leader of the people."¹¹ The δούλοι are not the rulers but the ruled, not the powerful but the powerless.

Sophocles, in the mid-fourth century, asserted that a city manned by slaves is a city without men.¹² This striking contrast between man and slave is carried a step farther by Plato in the Gorgias. Not only are the δούλοι not men, they are not even manly (ἀνδρέου).¹³ They do not by their nature have the basic characteristics of manliness. Ἀνδρέους involves masculinity, virility, and courage.¹⁴ To the Greek mind, the slave was not worthy of manhood. The ἀνὴρ and the δούλος had little in common. Their respective functions and purposes were not the same. Though their relationship was not totally antagonistic, each depending in many ways on the other, their characters by the fourth

⁹Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, revised by Henry Stuart Jones, 9th ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1940), p. 447.

¹⁰Homer Odyssey 24. 252, 253.

¹¹Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, p. 309.

¹²Sophocles Oedipus at Colonus 917.

¹³Plato Gorgias 491d.

¹⁴Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, p. 197.

century were viewed as so antonymous as to be almost mutually exclusive.

In the Homeric world, the total separation of *ζυγήρ* and *δοῦλος* had not fully occurred. Some, at least, recognized that a slave could possess the highest virtues,¹⁵ but unless he had earned the respect of men by his individual merit, he was regarded as merely a piece of property.¹⁶ During the rise of the Hellenistic aristocracies, however, an attitude of contempt for the slave gradually dominated the popular thought.¹⁷ In Sophocles' Ajax, for example, Agamemnon expresses utter disdain for all slaves.¹⁸ The Athenian, in Plato's Laws, argues that "the soul of a slave has no soundness in it, and that a sensible man should never trust that class at all."¹⁹ Isocrates recorded that the Lacedaemonians considered the slave worse than criminals and thieves.²⁰ The relationship between *ζυθοροπος* and *δοῦλος*,

¹⁵Schaifer, "Slavery From Homer to Aristotle," p. 113.

¹⁶Ibid. (See Homer Od.22.35-37.)

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Sophocles Ajax 1228ff.

¹⁹Plato Laws 776e.

²⁰Isocrates Panathenaicus 214.

according to Aristotle, is the same as between a man and a tool (*ὄργανον*), for "the slave is a living tool."²¹

Therefore, a man can be a friend qua man but not a friend qua slave.²² The Greek philosophy of slavery, then, contrasted the *δούλος* not only with kings and sovereigns but also with man himself.

Further insight into the meaning of *δούλος* can be gained by examining that with which the term is associated in the Greek literature. For example Polybius, as was mentioned above, linked the *δούλοι* with cattle.²³ Two centuries earlier, Xenophon suggested that "in dealing with slaves the training thought suitable for wild animals is also a very effective way of teaching obedience."²⁴ Slaves, at least to the Greek aristocrat, were chattel to be used as willed. Though not the same as wild or domestic animals, their function was virtually identical. According to Aristotle, ". . . the usefulness of a slave diverges little from that of animals; bodily service for the necessities of life is forthcoming from both, from slaves and from domestic animals

²¹Aristotle Nicomachean Ethics 1161b.

²²Ibid.

²³Polybius 4.34.4.

²⁴Xenophon Oeconomicus XIII.9.

alike."²⁵ The life of the δούλος in the Greek culture was in many respects the life of the animal.

The primary factor which distinguished the slave from the free man in the Greek culture was the binding of the slave's will. The mark of the δούλος was that he was not his own master. His will was not his own. His σώμα and his ψυχή belonged to another. He was, in the truest sense, property. Diogenes Laertius in the third century A.D. attributed the early Stoics as saying, "Freedom is the power of independent action, whereas slavery is the privation of the same."²⁶ The contrast between ἐλευθερίαν and δουλεία is at the heart of the Greek view of slavery. In some ways no man in the world is free, according to Euripides, "for he is either a slave to money or to fortune . . . or people . . . or fear," each of which "prevents him from following the dictates of his heart."²⁷ The slave is not even allowed to utter his own thoughts but must bear "the follies of his rulers."²⁸ Xenophon, in exhorting his officers to submit

²⁵Aristotle Politics 1.2.13.

²⁶Diogenes Laertius VII.121.

²⁷Euripides Hecuba 864-867.

²⁸Euripides The Phoenician Maidens 391-394.

to the rule of Cyrus, contrasted the free man with the slave:

We must distinguish ourselves from slaves in this way, that, whereas slaves serve their masters against their wills, we, if indeed we claim to be free must do of our own free will all that seems to be of the first importance.²⁹

According to Plato, whatever might be enslaved, whether it be man or city, "it least of all (does) what it really wishes."³⁰ The desires and the will of the δούλος are subservient to the δεσπότης. He "wholly belongs to the master."³¹ The δούλος cannot even contradict his master.³² He has no human rights. He is less than a man. No man desired the life of the δούλος, for to the slave "it is better to be dead than alive."³³ Callicles, in Plato's Gorgias, aptly summarized the Greek attitude toward slavery: "How can a man be happy if he is a slave to anybody at all?"³⁴

²⁹Xenophon Cyropaedia 8.1.4.

³⁰Plato Republic 577d.

³¹Aristotle Politics 1.2.6.

³²Aristotle Metaphysics 3.2.7.

³³Plato Gorgias 483b.

³⁴Plato Gorgias 491e.

The distinction between the slave and the non-slave was not always as clear as might be imagined. The ancient Greek society consisted of a spectrum of statuses ranging from the δούλος at one end to the free citizen at the other. In varying degrees of bondage in between were the helots, the debt-bondsmen, the conditionally manumitted slave, and the freedman.³⁵ All six categories rarely, if ever, appeared concomitantly, nor were they equally significant in all periods of Greek history.

For the δούλος, manumission was at least possible. In fact, according to Scott Bartchy, manumission was a frequent practice in both the Greek and Roman societies, so much so that Augustus Caesar in the first century was provoked to introduce laws restricting the numbers and ages of slaves who could be lawfully manumitted.³⁶ Masters chose to free their slaves for several reasons. Owners often motivated their slaves to hard work by promising them manumission after many years of service, thus increasing the efficiency of their work.³⁷ Some slave-owners found it

³⁵Finley, "Was Greek Civilization Based on Slave Labor?," p. 147.

³⁶S. Scott Bartchy, ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ: First-Century Slavery and the Interpretation of I Corinthians 7:21, Dissertation Series, no. 11 (Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973), p. 88.

³⁷Ibid.

difficult to provide both for their slaves and for themselves. Slaves were relatively expensive to own, especially when they grew old and their output lessened. In such situations the owners often totally freed their slaves, or they provided a conditional manumission, or occasionally they employed them as freedmen.³⁸ In some cases the owner freed his female slave in order to marry her.³⁹ Some slaves were freed according to the testament of a deceased owner usually on the condition that they mourn publicly for a set period of time.⁴⁰

The methods of granting manumission varied. Often a third party (whether individual or group) was the agent of manumission, either by acting on behalf of the slave who bought his own freedom, or by purchasing the slave himself and freeing him.⁴¹ Some slaves were manumitted through an act of sale to a god. The slave indirectly bought his own freedom by placing money into the temple treasury out of which payment was made to the master. The slave legally became the property of the god.⁴² In the Delphic

³⁸Ibid., 88, 89

³⁹Ibid., 90

⁴⁰Ibid., 90, 91

⁴¹Ibid., 97

⁴²Adolph Deissmann, Light From the Ancient East Trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan (New York: Macmillan, 1951), p. 322.

inscriptions recording slave manumissions,⁴³ four liberties are mentioned as comprising the substance of freedom:

- 1) He is to be his own legal representative. He is his own master.
- 2) He is not subject to seizure of property.
- 3) He may do what he desires to do.
- 4) He may live where he desires to live.⁴⁴

These characteristics basically distinguished the slave from the non-slave. But freedom, to the Greek mind, was divisible. A freedman might be in possession of any one, two, or three of the elements necessary for complete freedom.⁴⁵ In many instances, the *δούλος* became legally free but had only partial or even no control over freedom from arrest, freedom of action, and/or freedom of movement.⁴⁶ The Greek society was one in which a man could be part free and part slave. Emancipation was often incomplete.

While manumission was a frequent practice both in the Greek and Roman societies and while slaves especially in the

⁴³recorded in volume II of Collitz-Baunack, Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.

⁴⁴W. L. Westermann, "Slavery and the Elements of Freedom in Ancient Greece," Quarterly Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America (January, 1943):10.

⁴⁵Ibid., 12.

⁴⁶Ibid., 13.

first century generally had some expectations of manumission, the decision of manumission was entirely in the hands of the owner. Even if the slave had a ready purchaser or a large amount of money to purchase his own manumission, the prerogative belonged to the master. According to Bartchy, "this decision usually served the master's own advantage and was not based on any particular concern for the interests of the person in slavery."⁴⁷ In fact, the slave who had little interest in manumission did not have the right to refuse it.⁴⁸ Even in the question of manumission, the *δοῦλος* was under the total control of his owner, possessing no rights.

Jewish and Septuagint Usage

of Δοῦλος

Slavehood is a common theme in the Old Testament. The idea of slavery is broadly used to describe service of both individuals and nations. The usual Hebrew word for service, *'ebed*, properly meaning "worker," occurs almost 800 times in the Old Testament.⁴⁹ In most of these

⁴⁷Bartchy, First-Century Slavery, p. 104.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Alan Richardson, A Theological Word Book of the Bible (New York: Macmillan, 1951), p. 223.

219290

instances, the workers were the property of their masters, thus implying slavery. Δούλος, κτλ. is the word group most frequently used in the Septuagint in translating ‘ebed, crowding out the various near-synonyms.⁵⁰ A study of the institution of slavery in the Old Testament, and an examination of the δούλος word group in the Septuagint, should provide a background for understanding δούλος, κτλ. in the New Testament.

As in the classical Greek literature, the existence of a slave system is presupposed in the Old Testament. Many Old Testament characters, including Abraham, David, and Solomon, possessed slaves. Domestic slaves had few rights and were considered as property like domestic animals. Men-servants and maidservants in Genesis 24:35 are grouped with flocks and herds, silver and gold, and camels and asses. Slaves were regarded as little more than chattel. They could be bred as money⁵¹ and, like land, they could be inherited.⁵²

⁵⁰Παις, properly translated "child," is used at times in the LXX for ‘ebed, especially in the Servant-poems of Isaiah.

⁵¹Exodus 21:21.

⁵²Leviticus 25:46.

The treatment of slaves in the Hebrew culture, though generally harsh, differed from that of the Greeks. Master and slave were seen as possessing the same human dignity, of being, figuratively, of the same blood. In the words of Job:

If I have rejected the course of my manservant or my maidservant when they brought a complaint against me, what then shall I do when God rises up? When he makes inquiry, what shall I answer him? Did not he who made me in the womb make him? And did not one fashion us in the womb?⁵³

Sirach, several centuries later, wrote that servants should be appointed to the kind of work that befitted them. If a servant chose not to obey, the master was to "make his fetters heavy."⁵⁴ But nothing was to be done that was "without right."⁵⁵ "If you have a slave, treat him as yourself, and do not be furious against your own blood."⁵⁶

Though all slaves in Israel were generally treated better than those of the Greeks, some distinction evidently existed between an Israelite slave and a Gentile slave. Poverty could reduce an Israelite into a bondage no worse

⁵³Job 31:13-15.

⁵⁴Sirach 33:28.

⁵⁵v. 29.

⁵⁶v. 30.

than that of a hired servant.⁵⁷ The servile relationship was to last no longer than six years.⁵⁸ If the year of Jubilee came during the six year period, the Hebrew servant regained his liberty and recovered the property he had lost in his time of need.⁵⁹ All slaves benefitted by the Sabbath rest⁶⁰ and partook in the Paschal celebration.⁶¹ The fact that some slaves chose to remain with their masters following their six years of servitude is an indication of kind treatment.⁶² The masters did not have the right of life over their slaves;⁶³ slaves were given their freedom if abused.⁶⁴ Some gained positions of great importance in the family⁶⁵ and could join their master's family by marriage.⁶⁶ A slave could inherit the property of a master who had no

⁵⁷Leviticus 25:40.

⁵⁸Exodus 21:2.

⁵⁹Leviticus 25:40, 41.

⁶⁰Exodus 20:10.

⁶¹Exodus 12:44.

⁶²Exodus 21:5, 6 and Deuteronomy 15:17.

⁶³Exodus 21:20.

⁶⁴Exodus 21:26, 27.

⁶⁵E.g., Abraham's servant in Genesis 24:2ff.

⁶⁶I Chronicles 2:35.

children,⁶⁷ and could even be one of the heirs of a master who had sons.⁶⁸

The humane treatment of Jewish slaves is an important Old Testament theme. The master is discouraged from being unjustly harsh to his servants because of the deliverance of his predecessors from the slavery of the Egyptians.⁶⁹ This national redemption from slavery, according to Hans Walter Wolff, constitutes "a solidarity" for the Hebrew master, both "with his fathers" and "with his slave."⁷⁰ That the overwhelming sentiment is in favor of the slave rather than the master is demonstrated in the regulation for runaway slaves:

You shall not give up to his master a slave who has escaped from his master to you; he shall dwell with you, in your midst, in the place which he shall choose within one of your towns, where it pleases him best; you shall not oppress him.⁷¹

This law is apparently unique in the ancient orient. In other cultures, the returning of a slave to his master is

⁶⁷Genesis 15:2.

⁶⁸Proverbs 17:2.

⁶⁹Deuteronomy 15:15.

⁷⁰Hans Walter Wolff, "Masters and Slaves," Interpretation 27 (1973):268.

⁷¹Deuteronomy 23:15, 16.

the primary consideration. In the words of Wolff,

The free Israelite who is mindful of God's acts in the history of salvation is to be sympathetic to the runaway slave rather than to his master. Here we perceive not only a trend toward the humane treatment of slaves . . . but an apparently increasing tendency toward regarding the slave as the equal of the free man, and therefore a tendency which leads in the direction of the liberation of slaves.⁷²

The kind treatment of Hebrew slaves should not be overstated, however. Even for the Israelites, it was better to be a free man than a slave.

The treatment of the Jews' Gentile slaves was somewhat different than that rendered their own people. These slaves were acquired from the surrounding nations and through purchase from foreigners passing through the land.⁷³ The inhabitants of towns not belonging to Canaanites⁷⁴ became subject to the people of Israel, falling into a sort of serfdom.⁷⁵ This class of people was assigned to various labors and public works. They numbered approximately 153,600 in II Chronicles 2:17. Private slaves may also have been taken

⁷²Wolff, "Masters and Slaves," p. 209.

⁷³Leviticus 25:44, 45.

⁷⁴The Israelites were instructed to "save alive nothing that breathes" in the Canaanite towns (Deut. 20:16ff).

⁷⁵Gustav Friedrich Oehler, Theology of the Old Testament (New York: Funk & Wagnells, Publishers, 1885), p. 244.

from among these alien workers.⁷⁶ These slaves were considered to be property.⁷⁷ However, a Gentile slave, if circumcized, obtained the right to partake of the Passover and was distinguished from aliens and hired servants.⁷⁸

The treatment of both Hebrew and Gentile slaves in the Old Testament was evidently more humane (or perhaps less inhumane) than that which existed among other nations of antiquity. Slavery was practiced by the Jewish people but not in the same manner as that found in other cultures. The Essenes went so far as to abolish slavery as being unnatural and inconsistent with the common brotherhood of mankind.⁷⁹

In addition to describing the servile relationship of the personal slave to his master, the *δοῦλος* word group is used in the Septuagint in defining other relationships.

1. Slavery and kings. Having the basic meaning of dependence or servitude, the *δοῦλος* word group denotes a restriction of freedom, sometime voluntary but usually not, and is the most frequently used linguistic form describing

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Leviticus 25:45.

⁷⁸Exodus 12:44, 45.

⁷⁹Oehler, Theology, p. 245.

the relationship between subject and king.⁸⁰ David is described by others as the δούλος of Saul,⁸¹ a description he uses for himself in I Samuel 26:18. Joab becomes David's δούλος.⁸² Rehoboam was counselled to "speak good words before the people and serve them" in order that the people be servants of the king.⁸³

Because of its history, Israel perhaps viewed its kings from a different perspective than did other nations of the ancient orient. Israel could not trace its origins to a monarchy which was well established and highly exalted; rather its very identity was that of a slave nation delivered from the hands of the Egyptians. The monarchichal system in Israel developed slowly and painfully. Because of the national recoil against the oppression of slavery, the king was viewed as the defender of the oppressed. In the words of the Psalmist:

May (the king) judge thy people with righteousness,
and thy poor with justice!
Let the mountains bear prosperity for the people,
and the hills, in righteousness!

⁸⁰Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "Δούλος," by Karl H. Rengstorff, vol. 2, p. 266.

⁸¹I Samuel 19:4.

⁸²II Samuel 14:19.

⁸³I Kings 12:7.

May he defend the cause of the poor of the people,
give deliverance to the needy,
and crush the oppressor!⁸⁴

The king ideally was the servant of his people. This servant role is most poignantly described in the Servant Songs of Isaiah. The true ruler turns his back to the scourges⁸⁵ and bears pain and chastisement on behalf of others.⁸⁶

According to Wolff,

This man is not merely a brother among brothers, like the king of Deuteronomy 17; nor does he merely take the side of all the oppressed like the king of Psalm 72; he switches roles completely. He takes the place of others, he bears their punishment and distress, while they are set free.⁸⁷

This Old Testament perspective of the servant king anticipates and finds its ultimate fruition in the Messiah of the New Testament.

2. National bondage. When *παῖς* is used for ebed in the Old Testament, a natural relationship is inferred, while *δούλος* is often used to describe bondage that is illegal or unreasonable.⁸⁸ Thus *δούλος, κτλ.* is used in the

⁸⁴Psalm 72:2-4; see vv. 12-14.

⁸⁵Isaiah 50:6.

⁸⁶Isaiah 53:4, 5.

⁸⁷Wolff, "Masters and Slaves," p. 265.

⁸⁸Rengstorf, "*Δούλος*," p. 266.

Septuagint in describing the servitude of one nation to another. The Israelites were the δούλοι of Egypt.⁸⁹ Their bondage was a burden to them⁹⁰ and was exceedingly cruel.⁹¹ They were servants of the Mesopotamians,⁹² the Moabites,⁹³ the Babylonians,⁹⁴ and other nations. The Philistines became the servants of Israel.⁹⁵ Δουλεία in the Old Testament was both individual and collective in nature.

3. Service to a god. Service in the Old Testament was not restricted to man qua man but was extended to the divine as well. The worshippers of a god are called his servants. Δουλεύω and προσκυνέω are often found in the same context. Ahab "served and worshipped" Baal⁹⁶ as did Ahaziah⁹⁷ and Manasseh.⁹⁸ God warned his people against serving other Gods because it would be a "snare" to them,⁹⁹ yet the Israelites often turned to the service of other gods.¹⁰⁰

⁸⁹Exodus 6:5; 14:5, et al.

⁹⁰Exodus 6:6.

⁹¹Exodus 6:9.

⁹³Judges 3:14.

⁹⁵I Samuel 17:9ff.

⁹⁷I Kings 22:53.

⁹⁹Exodus 23:33.

⁹²Judges 3:8.

⁹⁴Isaiah 14:3.

⁹⁶I Kings 16:31.

⁹⁸II Kings 21:3.

¹⁰⁰Judges 10:6, et al.

That the *δοῦλος* word group is used in the Septuagint to describe the worship of that which is divine is significant. Rengstorf states, "The climax of the historical development is reached when the group comes to describe the relationship of dependence and service in which man stands to God."¹⁰¹ This service to a god or gods stands in contradistinction to the usage of *δοῦλος*, κτλ. in the Greek world. Serving Yahweh was not only acceptable but desirable to the Jewish mind.

Service to the one God in the Old Testament far exceeds mere compliance to written laws. Samuel instructed the people to "fear the Lord, serve him, hearken to his voice . . .," and further, ". . . serve the Lord with all your heart."¹⁰² David instructed Solomon to serve God "with a whole heart and a willing mind."¹⁰³ *Δουλεύειν* in the Septuagint denoted service to God, not in the sense of an isolated act of worship for which *λατρεύειν* and *λεειτουργεῖν* are most often used, but in total commitment to God.¹⁰⁴ The relationship of God and his servants is most clearly seen in

¹⁰¹Rengstorf, "*Δούλος*," p. 267.

¹⁰²I Samuel 12:14, 20.

¹⁰³I Chronicles 28:9.

¹⁰⁴Rengstorf, "*Δούλος*," p. 267.

the Psalms. Only twice in the Psalms does *δούλος* refer to something other than a servant of God.¹⁰⁵ God is the ultimate object of service. He is to be served with fear.¹⁰⁶ He redeems the life of his servants,¹⁰⁷ and blesses them.¹⁰⁸ God keeps his promises to his servants.¹⁰⁹ He shows his servants compassion.¹¹⁰ In the Hebrew mind, to be a servant of God is not a burden but an honor. Exemplary men of God in the Old Testament are called *δούλου*.¹¹¹ The prophets of God are frequently called his *δούλου*.¹¹² The nation of Israel collectively is the *δούλος* of God.¹¹³

Because of its servile relationship to God, the nation of Israel was God's agent in serving the world. Isaiah exhorted Israel to proclaim the good news of Zion to the

¹⁰⁵Psalms 104:17 and 122:2.

¹⁰⁶Psalms 2:11.

¹⁰⁷Psalms 34:22.

¹⁰⁸Psalms 116:7.

¹⁰⁹Psalms 119:65, 76.

¹¹⁰Psalms 135:14.

¹¹¹E.g., Abraham, Psalms 105:42; Moses, II Kings 18:12, David, Psalms 89:3.

¹¹²II Kings 9:7, Jeremiah 7:25, et al.

¹¹³Isaiah 49:3.

cities of Judah,¹¹⁴ to be witnesses for God,¹¹⁵ to fulfill their responsibilities of service because God called them to that service.¹¹⁶ Israel was God's chosen agent to pronounce judgment on the nations.¹¹⁷ God's glory was found through his servant Israel¹¹⁸ modelled by Isaiah himself whose cause was God's cause¹¹⁹ and whose strength was God's strength.¹²⁰ Israel's election was an election to service both to God and to man.

Although δουλεία in relation to God was always an admirable trait to the Hebrew, it gradually diminished in significance in relation to one's fellowman. The δοῦλος of man was viewed more and more disparagingly by the Israelites. By the time of Christ, the Jew generally regarded the slave as the lowest form of humanity, nothing more than chattel. To note the perjorative nature of the term, δοῦλος came to be one of the worst insults that could be hurled against another. According to one proverb, a dog is more honorable

¹¹⁴Isaiah 40:9.

¹¹⁵43:10, 44:8.

¹¹⁶41:9.

¹¹⁷42:1.

¹¹⁸49:3.

¹¹⁹49:4.

¹²⁰49:5.

than a slave.¹²¹ While the idea of δουλεία in Jewish literature does not carry the stigma most often found in the Greek writings, it nevertheless provides a striking background from which the δούλος word group can be clearly viewed in the New Testament.

The New Testament Usage of Δούλος

An understanding of the δούλος word group in the New Testament is dependent upon an awareness of its philological background. The New Testament usage of δούλος, κτλ. was influenced by the cultural, intellectual, and linguistic structure of its time -- it cannot be separated from its usage in Jewish and Hellenistic literature. Nevertheless, the New Testament view of service is decisively unique.

Δουλεία in the New Testament, as in the Greek and Hebrew writings, involves the subjugation of one will to another. The servile relationship is sometimes to δεσπότης¹²² and more often to κύριος.¹²³ In relation to these terms, δουλεία is seen as all-encompassing, totally binding, leaving no place for one's own will. With few exceptions, the

¹²¹From the Mekilta Exodus, the Tannaitic Midrash on Exodus, cited by Rengstorff, "Δούλος," p. 271.

¹²²E.g., Titus 2:9.

¹²³E.g., Matthew 10:24, Colossians 3:22.

gospel writers use *δοῦλος* to describe the relationship of the personal servant to his master. The centurion's slave, for example in Matthew 8:9 did whatever his master asked of him. The will of the master superseded the will of the servant. Such is true in most of the parables of Jesus in which servants are mentioned. The *δοῦλοι* in each case are subject to the authority of their masters. The masters have the right to reward them or condemn them.¹²⁴ In the Pauline epistles, the relationship of the slave owner to slave is similar. The *δοῦλοι* are instructed to be obedient (*ὑπακούετε*) to their earthly masters with fear and trembling (*φόβου καὶ τρόβου*) and with singleness of heart (*ἀπλότητι τῆς καρδίας*).¹²⁵ Slaves are to be submissive (*ὑποτάσσεσθαι*) to their masters; they are to be well-pleasing (*εὐρέστους*) and not contradicting, stubborn, or obstinate (*ἀντιλέγοντας*).¹²⁶ The relationship of slave to his master in the New Testament is parallel to that found in Jewish and Hellenistic literature.

Though the *δοῦλος* word group is used similarly in the Greek and Hebrew writings and in the New Testament, a new perspective and new attitudes concerning slaves and slavery

¹²⁴Cf. Matthew 18:23-25, Luke 19:11-27, and many others.

¹²⁵Ephesians 6:5, cf. Colossians 3:22.

¹²⁶Titus 2:9.

are introduced in the New Testament. The δούλοι are never spoken of disparagingly by the New Testament authors. According to Rengstorf, "The judgment on the slave (in the New Testament) is always material, and it remains so even when it is severe."¹²⁷ The "wicked servants" in Matthew 18:32, Matthew 25:26ff, and Luke 19:22 are so called because of their abuse of other people or material things, not because of their position of servitude. "The δούλος is never despised or rejected simply because he is a slave."¹²⁸ This attitude toward slavery stands in contrast with the Greek and Jewish views. Since a slave was chattel, the Greek and Jewish master could and often did treat him in any manner desired. Few laws restricted the actions of master toward slave. But the law of Christ demands a new outlook on slavery. Slaves are seen in the New Testament not as inferior but as fully equal to their masters. Jesus nowhere advocates an overthrow of the institution of slavery. The New Testament, rather, introduces a new spirit of love each man for the other.¹²⁹

¹²⁷Rengstorf, "Δούλος," p. 271.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹See Galatians 5:13.

Paul seems largely indifferent to the issue of slavery.

In the words of Scott Bartchy:

Nowhere in Paul's writings can we find an attempt either to justify or to call in question the institution of slavery as such . . . Paul apparently regarded slavery as a normal part of society. . .¹³⁰

In I Corinthians 7:20, Paul encourages everyone to "remain in the state in which he was called." However, the issue is muddled somewhat in the next verse. The vagueness of the Greek allows verse 21 to be translated either: "Were you a slave when called? Never mind. But if you can gain your freedom, avail yourself of the opportunity," or ". . . make use of your present situation instead." Scholarly defenses have been made of both positions.¹³¹ Bartchy's exhaustive analysis of this passage indicates that both views may be overdrawn. Paul's comments concerning slavery are but a brief interruption in his list of suggestions concerning marriage. The broader context, however, is what Bartchy calls Paul's "theology of calling."¹³² Paul's concern is

¹³⁰Bartchy, First-Century Slavery, p. 174.

¹³¹For example, supporting "gain your freedom" are Origen, Jerome, Luther, Calvin, Hodge, J. B. Lightfoot, J. H. Moulton, Dodd, Moffatt, Rengstorf, Foerster, the R. S. V., N. E. B., T. E. V., and others. Supporting "stay in slavery" are Chrysostom, the Peshitta, Theodoret, Overbeck, Harnack, Bonhoeffer, Kümmel, Cullmann, Schnackenburg, Conzelmann, Bornkamm, the Jerusalem Bible and others. For a complete listing see Bartchy, pp. 6, 7.

¹³²Ibid., p. 127ff.

that the Christian should live according to God's calling whether married, divorced, or single, whether slave, freedman, or master. His point, then, in verse 21, is neither "take freedom" nor "stay in slavery," but "live according to God's calling."¹³³ To Paul, one's status in life is relatively unimportant in a world that is "passing away."¹³⁴ Therefore "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus."¹³⁵ Paul instructs the Christian masters to treat their slaves "justly and fairly" aware that even they have a "master in heaven."¹³⁶ The Christian master and the Christian slave are characterized by a different attitude than that which prevailed in the Jewish and Hellenistic cultures.

A further indication of the break between Christianity and its Hebrew and Greek backgrounds is the prominence of service in the actions and teachings of Christ and the early Christians. The Greek attitude toward service is epitomized in Plato's Gorgias: "How can a man be happy if he is a

¹³³See Bartchy, First-Century Slave, p. 183.

¹³⁴I Corinthians 7:31.

¹³⁵Galatians 3:28.

¹³⁶Colossians 4:1.

slave to anybody at all?"¹³⁷ In contrast, Jesus taught his disciples that "whoever would be great among you must be your servant (*δούκονος*) and whoever would be first among you must be your slave (*δούλος*)." ¹³⁸ Service is the basis of all relationships for the Christian, both to God and to his fellowman. Jesus set the example in this regard by taking the role of *δούλος* and washing his disciples' feet.¹³⁹ For the Greek, *δουλέια* is worse than death; for the Jew, it is dishonorable; for the Christian, to be great is to be a *δούλος* to God and man.

The importance of the word group in the New Testament extends far beyond the perspective of slavery as a cultural institution and even beyond the Hebrew concept of service to God. Emerging from its philological background, *δούλος* takes on a new and significant meaning. In the New Testament all men, in one form or another, are slaves.

The *Δουλέια* of Non-Believers

That men were *δούλου* before they became believers is a basic assumption of the New Testament. Men become slaves

¹³⁷Plato Gorgias 491e.

¹³⁸Matthew 20:26, 27.

¹³⁹John 13:1ff.

to that which they choose to obey.¹⁴⁰ Without exception, Paul states, all have chosen to obey sin.¹⁴¹ Those who commit sin become slaves to it.¹⁴² The slavery of man to sin,¹⁴³ to the written code,¹⁴⁴ to his own appetites,¹⁴⁵ to corruption,¹⁴⁶ to various passions and pleasures,¹⁴⁷ and the inherent need for release from the corresponding bondage are important themes in the New Testament, lying at the heart of the gospel.

Though other terms are used in describing man's relationship to sin, the *δοῦλος* word group most clearly describes the extreme nature of the bondage. As in the Greek and Hebrew literature, *δουλέα* in the New Testament implies the inability of the *δοῦλος* to control his own life. The life of the slave is subject to the master. The slave of sin is, therefore, dominated by sin. The *δοῦλος τῆς ἁμαρτίας* no

¹⁴⁰Romans 6:16; cf. II Peter 2:19.

¹⁴¹Romans 3:23; cf. I John 1:10.

¹⁴²John 8:34.

¹⁴³Romans 6:6.

¹⁴⁴Romans 7:6.

¹⁴⁵Romans 16:18.

¹⁴⁶II Peter 2:19.

¹⁴⁷Titus 3:3.

longer has the choice; he does not control sin -- sin controls him. It is sin which reigns in the mortal bodies of men, the ultimate purpose of which is to make them obey its passions.¹⁴⁸ The body and the spirit of the unbeliever belong to sin; they are the property of sin itself; they are under sin's dominion.

The concept of slavery to sin is specifically mentioned in only two passages: John 8:34 and Romans 6:7, 16, 17, 20.¹⁴⁹ In each case, man is depicted as being under sin's total control. The Johannine passage is most poignant in this regard. Following Jesus' pronouncement that truth makes men free (v. 32), the Jewish pseudo-disciples respond with obvious incredulity: "We are descendants of Abraham, and have never been in bondage (δεδουλεύκαμεν) to any one. How can you say, 'You will be made free.'"¹⁵⁰ Jesus' reply clarifies the nature of the bondage in which his listeners were truly enslaved: "Every one who commits sin (ποιών τὴν ἁμαρτίαν) is a slave to sin."¹⁵¹ Ποιών, the present active

¹⁴⁸Romans 6:6.

¹⁴⁹Closely related is II Peter 2:19 which describes man as a slave to corruption (φθορᾶς).

¹⁵⁰v. 33.

¹⁵¹v. 34.

participle of $\piοιέω$, indicates that the sin in this context is not a single act of sin but the continual existence of sin.¹⁵² Jesus is not saying that each sin represents slavery (though in a sense that is certainly true) but that the man who continues in sin is enslaved by it. He cannot break away from it by himself. In fact, he is a slave not only to sin but to his own self. Paul describes such a person in Romans 16:18 as serving his "own appetites" and in Titus 3:3 as a slave to "various passions and pleasures." According to R. V. G. Tasker:

Whoever habitually asserts his own will, priding himself on his own independence, following his own instructions, and primarily concerned with pleasing himself -- whoever, in a word, is living a self-centered life -- is a slave. Such a person is confined within the limits of his own self-interest.¹⁵³

Says Merrill C. Tenney: "Sin consists not of a succession of individual offenses, each of which may be pardoned separately . . . it is more like a disease.¹⁵⁴ As disease enslaves its victim, so sin enslaves the sinner. Jesus'

¹⁵²A. T. Robertson, Word Pictures in the New Testament, vol. 5 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930), p. 150.

¹⁵³R. V. G. Tasker, The Gospel According to St. John (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1960), p. 119.

¹⁵⁴Merrill C. Tenney, John: The Gospel of Belief (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1951), p. 148.

emphatic statement can hardly be overlooked: The man who is a sinner by nature a slave. Such enslavement inevitably leads to death.¹⁵⁵ The death resulting from slavery to sin is spiritual death, eternal death, the "eternal destruction and exclusion from the presence of the Lord and the glory of his might."¹⁵⁶ The wages of sin is always death.¹⁵⁷ All non-believers are *δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας*.

Similarly, Paul, in Romans 7, describes the relationship of man to the old law as slavery. "We are discharged from the law . . . so that we serve not under the old written code . . ."¹⁵⁸ The law itself was not sin,¹⁵⁹ but the law became a bondage to those who followed it. Though inherently holy and just and good,¹⁶⁰ it became an instrument of sin.¹⁶¹ "Apart from the law, sin lies dead,"¹⁶² but contrasted with the law, man's actions are inevitably

¹⁵⁵Romans 6:16.

¹⁵⁶II Thessalonians 1:9.

¹⁵⁷Romans 6:23.

¹⁵⁸Romans 7:6.

¹⁵⁹v. 7.

¹⁶⁰v. 12.

¹⁶¹v. 7.

¹⁶²v. 8.

imperfect. The written code provided opportunity for sin.¹⁶³ The law became as a heavy weight for God's people, it held them captive, it enslaved them. As with sin itself, the bondage to the old law resulted in death.¹⁶⁴

In Galatians 4, Paul describes slavery to the "elemental spirits of the universe."¹⁶⁵ The meaning of στοιχία του κόσμου is somewhat unclear. Some ancient Christian writers interpreted the phrase as implying the Gentile worship of the heavenly bodies.¹⁶⁶ Some modern scholars have interpreted the elemental spirits as being the physical observance of days and seasons.¹⁶⁷ More than likely the description is of the elementary teaching of the religious knowledge possessed by all men, both Jew and

¹⁶³v. 11.

¹⁶⁴vv. 9-11.

¹⁶⁵Galatians 4:3.

¹⁶⁶E.g. Clement of Alexandria, Exhortation to the Greeks 10, 9, 25; Augustine The City of God Against the Pagans IV, 11.

¹⁶⁷E.g. W. M. Ramsay, A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899), p. 394; R. C. H. Lenski, The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and to the Philippians (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1946), pp. 196, 197.

Gentile.¹⁶⁸ The phrase seems to include ritual observances,¹⁶⁹ but the reference is not to them exclusively. Verses 8-9 indicate that the Gentile Christians had emerged from a worship of idols, of "beings that by nature are no gods," to whom they once were in bondage and whose slaves they were in danger of becoming again. Be it Jew or Gentile, whether the bondage be to sin, to passions and pleasures, to selfish appetites, to corruption, to the written code, to idols, or to the elemental spirits of the universe, the man without Christ is by nature a slave.

Freedom for the Slaves of Sin

Several options were available in the Greek world for the slave who desired freedom. For some, freedom came through their purchase by an interested third party or through their fictitious purchase by some god, an act of emancipation from their master. For the others, only death brought release. The New Testament imagery concerning freedom from sin draws upon these ideas of purchase and death.

¹⁶⁸See, for example, Ernst De Witt Burton, The Epistle to the Galatians (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1920), pp. 215, 216; J. B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (London: Macmillan, 1896), p. 167; Herman N. Ridderbos, The Epistle of Paul to the Church of Galatia (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1953), p. 154; and others.

¹⁶⁹See Galatians 4:9.

Freedom through purchase. The Greek custom of manumission required the owner to accompany his slave to the temple where he received the purchase money from the temple treasury, previously paid out of the savings of the slave himself, whereupon the master granted the slave his freedom.¹⁷⁰ The slave legally became the property of the god. In relation to the world he was a free man. In the New Testament, Christ is seen as the one providing manumission. The non-believer is by nature a slave, but through faith he has become free because Christ bought him. Paul is very specific in this regard: "You were bought with a price" by Christ himself.¹⁷¹ Christ provides emancipation for the slaves of sin because he has purchased them. Christ has paid for the freedom of the δούλος τῆς ἁμαρτίας out of his own treasures. Jesus made the sacrifice to meet the payment: "You were ransomed from the futile ways inherited from your fathers, not with perishable things such as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of

¹⁷⁰Adolph Deissmann, Light From the Ancient East, Trans. Lionell R. M. Strachan (New York: Macmillan, 1951), p. 322.

¹⁷¹I Corinthians 6:20; 7:23.

Christ . . ."172 Jesus gave his life "as a ransom for many."173 As a result, the believer has become a freedman of the Lord (*ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου*)."174

Freedom through death. For many slaves in the Greek world, freedom through purchase was not possible. Only death could separate them from the control of their masters. Similarly, the New Testament teaches that the slave of sin becomes free from sin through dying to it: "for he who has died is freed from sin."175 The significance of the death lies in the relationship of the sinner to the Savior. Death in this context takes meaning only as it is connected to the death of Jesus. Man cannot overcome his slavery to sin because of his own power. The believer becomes dead to sin because he has been "united with (Christ) in a death like

172 I Peter 1:18, 19. According to Adolph Deissmann, "when anybody heard the Greek word 'λύτρον,' 'ransom,' in the first century, it was natural for them to think of the purchase money for manumitted slaves." (Light From the Ancient East, p. 327). Bartchy rebuts Deissmann's conclusions, demonstrating that the New Testament language concerning ransom and purchase has no correlation with the language of sacral manumission (First-Century Slavery, pp. 123, 124.) Nevertheless Christ's death plays a significant role in freeing man from the bondage of sin.

173 Matthew 20:28.

174 I Corinthians 7:22.

175 Romans 6:7.

his."¹⁷⁶ The conquering of sin in the life of the Christian is possible because Jesus "died to sin, once for all."¹⁷⁷ In Romans 6 Paul relates man's death to sin with his baptism, for those "who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death."¹⁷⁸ In the words of Karl Barth,

Baptism bears witness to us of the death of Christ where the radical and inexorable claim of God upon men triumphed. He that is baptized is drawn into the sphere of this event. Overwhelmed and hidden by the claim of God, he disappears and is lost in this death. . . He has forfeited his identity with the man who sins in will and act; he is free from the power of sin, free also of the status of sin. The man over whom sin has power and dominion has died.¹⁷⁹

Only through sharing in Christ's death can man share in his life.¹⁸⁰ Paul claims that the Christian is "always carrying in the body the death of Jesus so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies."¹⁸¹ Life and freedom can come only to the man who is "dead to sin and alive to God

¹⁷⁶Romans 6:5.

¹⁷⁷v. 10.

¹⁷⁸v. 3.

¹⁷⁹Karl Barth, The Epistle to the Romans, trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 193.

¹⁸⁰See Romans 6:4, 5, 8-11.

¹⁸¹II Corinthians 4:10.

in Christ Jesus."¹⁸² The words of Rudolph Bultmann summarize the new relationship of man to God and the new freedom that is his:

Faith's obedient submission to God's grace, the acceptance of the cross of Christ, is the surrender of man's old understanding of himself, in which he lives "unto himself," tries to achieve life by his own strength, and by that very fact falls victim to the powers of sin and death and loses himself. . . . The new self-understanding which is bestowed with "faith" is that of freedom, in which the believer gains life and thereby his own self.¹⁸³

Christians as Δούλου

The freedom to which the Christian has been called is not a freedom from moral standards, a "freedom as an opportunity for the flesh,"¹⁸⁴ nor a freedom from the law of God.¹⁸⁵ Rather it is a new servitude. The man freed from sin has become a δούλος of the "living and true God,"¹⁸⁶ of "the Lord Christ,"¹⁸⁷ and serves "in the new life of the

¹⁸²Romans 6:11.

¹⁸³Rudolph Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, vol. 1, trans. Kendrick Grobel (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1951), pp. 330, 331.

¹⁸⁴Galatians 5:13.

¹⁸⁵Romans 6:15.

¹⁸⁶I Thessalonians 1:9.

¹⁸⁷Colossians 3:24.

Spirit."¹⁸⁸ According to Bultmann,

This freedom arises from the very fact that the believer, as one "ransomed," no longer "belongs to himself" (I Cor. 6:19). He no longer bears the care for himself, for his own life, but lets this care go, yielding himself entirely to the grace of God; he recognizes himself to be the property of God (or of the Lord) and lives for Him.¹⁸⁹

As in its Greek and Jewish usage, δουλέω for the sake of Christ involves total subjection, the relinquishing of one's own will to the will of Christ. The δούλος Χριστοῦ is controlled by Christ; he is Christ's property. Paul writes in Romans 14:

None of us lives to himself, and none of us dies to himself. If we live, we live to the Lord, and if we die, we die to the Lord; so then, whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's.¹⁹⁰

The paradox is striking. The man of God is at the same time both free and enslaved. "All things are yours," Paul asserts, "whether Paul or Apollos or Cephas or the world or life or death or the present or the future, all are yours."¹⁹¹ But this great passage of freedom becomes also a great passage of servitude: "And you are Christ's; and Christ is

¹⁸⁸Romans 7:6.

¹⁸⁹Bultmann, Theology, p. 331.

¹⁹⁰v. 7, 8.

¹⁹¹I Corinthians 3:22.

God's."¹⁹² The same redemption that frees man from a slavery to sin binds him to the Redeemer. Rengstorf says, "When Christ undertakes the work of redemption, He makes the redeemed His own possession, giving them directions and goals by which to shape their lives."¹⁹³ Christ's will becomes the will of the Christian. There can be no escape from the carnal nature of the world, no access to the forgiveness of sins, no hope for spiritual union with the Father apart from an absolute commitment -- an unconditional, irrevocable slavery -- to God. The servant of God is dedicated to him and to no other: "No one can serve two masters . . . You cannot serve God and mammon."¹⁹⁴ Man's decision to commit himself to God can lead only to obedience. According to Paul in Romans 6, a man is a slave to the one he chooses to obey: "either of sin, which leads to death, or of obedience, which leads to righteousness."¹⁹⁵ If a man chooses to be free from sin, he becomes an obedient slave to righteousness,¹⁹⁶ a δούλος θεοῦ, the result of which is

¹⁹²v. 23.

¹⁹³Rengstorf, "Δούλος," p. 275.

¹⁹⁴Matthew 6:24.

¹⁹⁵v. 16.

¹⁹⁶v. 18.

"sanctification and its end, eternal life."¹⁹⁷ As a slave of sin, man keeps doing sin; as a slave to righteousness he keeps doing righteous works, liberated from sin and living "under grace."¹⁹⁸

Service to God finds a natural manifestation in service to man. Paul instructs the Galatian Christians to use their freedom to be servants of one another in love.¹⁹⁹ Similarly, Paul describes in the first Corinthian letter his willingness to become "a slave to all."²⁰⁰ This does not mean he is willing to let man enslave him with their wishes and judgments. Earlier in the letter Paul encourages the Corinthians to avoid becoming slaves of men.²⁰¹ Yet in his freedom, Paul chooses to become a *δοῦλος* to all in order that the gospel might be served. The words are reminiscent of Jesus: "Whoever would be first among you must be slave of all."²⁰²

¹⁹⁷v. 22.

¹⁹⁸v. 15.

¹⁹⁹Galatians 5:13.

²⁰⁰I Corinthians 9:19; cf. Mark 10:44.

²⁰¹I Corinthians 7:23.

²⁰²Mark 10:44.

As opposed to the suppression that results from slavery to sin, slavery to Christ results in sonship. Christians receive a new status in relationship to God. Jesus contrasts the old slavery -- the δουλεία τῆς ἁμαρτίας -- to the life of sonship in John 8:35: "The slave does not continue in the house forever; the son continues forever." The son is a permanent member of the house; he has certain rights that cannot be denied him. The slave is a part of the household according to the master's pleasure, he has no inherent rights in the οἰκία. The distinction between δούλος and υἱός is made even more clear in Galatians 4. Paul contrasts life as δούλου to the elemental spirits²⁰³ with life as δούλα Θεοῦ, for God sent his Son "to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as sons (υἱοθεσία) . . . So through God you are no longer a slave but a son, and if a son then an heir."²⁰⁴ "fellow heirs with Christ," Paul adds in Romans 8:17. In receiving υἱοθεσία, man does not become independent, he does not become free from God as he has become free from the world, but he has chosen to be dependent upon the Father, establishing in

203_v. 2.

204_{vv}. 4, 5, 7.

reality an umbilical relationship with him. Not only has the follower of Christ received liberty from the bondage of sin, he has attained the security and even the inheritance that only the Father can give.

Though the idea of slavery in the New Testament is an important theme, its impact should be considered only when compared with the great commandment of love. According to B. F. Westcott: "The relationship of the believer to Christ, out of which springs his relation to his fellow believer, is essentially one not of service but of love.²⁰⁵ Jesus called his disciples to be more than unwitting instruments, blindly entering into the purposes of their master. "No longer do I call you servants," Jesus tells his apostles, "for the servant does not know what the master is doing; but I have called you friends. . ."²⁰⁶ Jesus had revealed to his intimate friends all that the Father had made known to Him. He had shared with them his goals, his dreams, his power, his suffering, his very life. The disciples' acceptance of that friendship did not terminate their commitment to him as *δοῦλοι*, for Jesus told them in the preceding verse, "You are

²⁰⁵B. F. Westcott, Gospel According to St. John, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1954), p. 205.

²⁰⁶John 15:15.

my friends if you do what I command you."²⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the man who finds freedom from sin discovers not only a paradoxical slavehood to the one who has liberated him along with the blessings of sonship that accompany the liberation, but he attains friendship with the Liberator himself.

The Usage of Δούλος in the
Apostolic Fathers

In the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, those early Christian leaders who were close to apostolic influence and whose writing styles are similar to those of the New Testament authors, the δούλος word group is used with relative infrequency. No systematic explanation is made as to the meaning of slavery, be it slavery to earthly masters, to sin, or to God. The early Christian literature sheds little light on the meaning of service for the child of God.

Δούλος in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers is primarily used to describe the relationship of the personal slave to his master. Both slaves and masters are evidently present in the same church in the early post-apostolic period presenting numerous problems.²⁰⁸ Yet, the idea of

²⁰⁷John 15:14.

²⁰⁸Robert M. Grant, The Apostolic Fathers, A New Translation and Commentary, vol. 4 (Camden, N. J.: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1966), p. 132.

emancipation for the δούλος seems far from the minds of the early Christians. Building on New Testament themes concerning the relationship between slave and master, the Apostolic Fathers encourage masters to treat their slaves kindly, giving their allegiance first to the Lord. The author of The Epistle of Barnabas, in addressing Christian masters, advises,

Thou shalt not command in bitterness thy slave or handmaid who hope on the same God, lest they cease to fear the God who is over you both; for he came not to call men with respect of persons, but those whom the Spirit prepared.²⁰⁹

In a discussion of the duties of bishops, Ignatius writes to Polycarp,

Do not be haughty toward slaves, either men or women; yet do not let them be puffed up, but let them rather endure slavery to the glory of God, that they may obtain a better freedom from God.²¹⁰

No suggestion of manumission is made in the early writings. Slaves are not to rebel against their masters. Instead, they are to obey them as if they were obeying God. Such is the exhortation of the Didache to slaves: "You who are slaves be subject to your master, as to God's representative,

²⁰⁹Epistle of Barnabas 19:7.

²¹⁰Ignatius to Polycarp 4:3.

in reverence and fear."²¹¹ The emphasis in the early days of the church is not in the freeing of slaves but in all men serving the Lord, slave and master, bond and free. No mention is made of emancipation by the church until the Apostolic Constitutions written in the late fourth century.²¹²

The *δούλος* word group is used in the early church not only to describe the servitude of the personal slave to his master, but it also describes the imprisonment of many early Christians for the sake of Christ. Clement of Rome notes the voluntary bondage of some Christians for the purpose of releasing others:

We know that many among ourselves have given themselves to bondage that they might ransom others. Many have delivered themselves to slavery, and provided food for others with the price they received for themselves.²¹³

Ignatius speaks to the Roman church of his servile relationship to the state: "I do not order you as did Peter and Paul; they were Apostles, I am a convict; they were free, I am even until now a slave."²¹⁴ But even in his physical

²¹¹Didache 4:11.

²¹²Apostle Constitutions 4:9:2, cited by Grant, The Apostolic Fathers, p. 133.

²¹³I Clement 55:2.

²¹⁴Ignatius to the Romans 4:3.

bondage, Ignatius expresses hope in his spiritual freedom in Christ: "But if I suffer I shall be Jesus Christ's freed-man, and in him I shall rise free. Now I am learning in my bonds to give up all desires."²¹⁵ The physical bondage of the Christians involve a complete servitude, the will of the *δοῦλος* being totally subjugated to that of the oppressor.

The word group is used in describing not only the slavery of one man to another, but also the bondage to the Father and the Son. The author of II Clement proclaims that the man who is righteous is the man who serves God: "Let us serve God with a pure heart, and we shall be righteous, but if we do not serve him, because we do not believe the promise of God, we shall be miserable."²¹⁶ In the eighth parable of the Shepherd of Hermas, a similar message is presented:

He gave repentance to those . . . whose heart he saw would be pure, and would serve him with all their heart. But in whom he saw guile and wickedness, that they would repent with hypocrisy, to them he gave no repentance lest they should again defile his name.²¹⁷

The servant of God, according to Hermas, must refrain from:

adultery and fornication, from the lawlessness of drunkenness from evil luxury, from much eating,

²¹⁵Ibid.

²¹⁶II Clement 11:1.

²¹⁷The Shepherd of Hermas, Similitudes 8:6:2.

and extravagance of wealth, and boastfulness and haughtiness and pride, and from lying and evil speaking and hypocrisy, malice and all blasphemy (for) he who does not refrain from these cannot live to God.²¹⁸

On the other hand, God's servant must:

serve the power of things which are good, faith, fear of God, love and harmony, words of righteousness, truth, patience; that these there is nothing better in the life of man.²¹⁹

According to Hermas, only the servant of God can have his prayers answered:

How then can (the one who serves not the Lord) pray for anything from the Lord and receive it . . . ? They who serve him, they shall receive their requests. But they who do not serve the Lord, they shall receive nothing.²²⁰

The intense loyalty of the early Christians to Christ and their ensuing servitude to him is reflected in the words of Polycarp when pressed to revile Christ:

For eighty and six years have I been his servant, and he has done me no wrong, and how can I blaspheme my King who saved me?²²¹

In the early church the man who loved God was the man who served him at any cost.

²¹⁸Ibid., Mandates 8:3, 4.

²¹⁹Ibid., 8:9.

²²⁰Ibid., Similitudes 4:4.

²²¹Martyrdom of Polycarp 9:3.

CHAPTER III

THE MEANING OF THE ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ WORD GROUP

The Greek Background of Διάκονος

Διάκονος was used much less frequently in the classical Greek literature than δούλος, yet its meaning and significance are no less clear. Though its etymology is uncertain,¹ its usage provides an adequate background for understanding the term in the New Testament. Generally the Greek writers applied διακονία to menial service, the serving of physical needs, and specifically the waiting at table.

In the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides, the personal servants of a king were called δίακονοι. According to Herodotus, at the death of a Scythian king, fifty δίακονοι (translated "squires" or "lacqueys") were strangled and

¹According to some ancient writers, διάκονος was a derivative of δία and κόνις, "one who runs through dust." But R. C. Trench Synonyms of the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1953) and Hermann Cremer Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1895), claim the antepenultima in διάκονος forbids it. Both suggest δίακω or διήκω, "to hasten," as the root. Most modern lexicographers leave the question open.

buried with him.² Thucydides wrote that the honor of Pausanias was "no better than that which the common run of his servants (*δωκόνων*) received -- to be put to death."³ Usually, however, other words were used to describe such a servant.⁴

Διακονία in the Greek literature was usually used to describe service of relatively little importance. Plato, for example, characterized the foolish philosopher as one who could not handle even the "menial services" such as "how to pack his bedding," and how "to put the proper sweetening into a sauce."⁵ Socrates, in Plato's *Gorgias*, argued that the labors of a "tradesman or a merchant or a manufacturer," such as "a baker or cook or weaver or shoemaker or tanner," minister (*θεραπεύω*) to the body. In so doing they are "slavish (*δουλοπρεπέις*) and menial (*διακονικὰς*) and illiberal (*ἀνελευθέρους*)."⁶ Such *διακονία*, though necessary, was viewed as less than noble. The Greek denigrated such menial service.

²Herodotus 4.71, 72.

³Thucydides, Book I 133.

⁴E.g. *δούλος*, *ὀκρέτης*.

⁵Plato *Theaetetus* 175e.

⁶Plato *Gorgias* 517e, 518a.

Implied in the term *δουκονία* was the caring for the needs and desires of another. Herodotus wrote of a man who befriended Etearchus and who took an oath "that he would do him whatever service he desired."⁷ Plato used the term to describe the serving of a man's want but labelled such service "flatterer's work."⁸ The work of certain men to coordinate the meeting of buyers and sellers at a market place was termed *δουκονία*. This ignoble task was performed by those who were "weakest in body . . . and useless for any other task."⁹ Service for the sake of others was generally undesirable in the Greek world.

Waiting at table seems to have been an important form of *δουκονία* in the Greek literature. Sophocles' character Philoctetes, in describing to Neoptolemus his efforts to stay alive after being shipwrecked on an island, related how his bow "was servant" to his belly.¹⁰ Euripides' Odysseus, while watching the Cyclops eat the flesh of his friends, "went up close and waited on (*δουκονέεισθα*) the Cyclops."¹¹

⁷Herodotus 4.154.

⁸Plato Gorgias 521a, b.

⁹Plato Republic 371c.

¹⁰Sophocles Philoctetes 286, 387.

¹¹Euripides Cyclops 405.

Aristophanes in The Archanians pictured the *δράκωνος* as "a perfect cook."¹² In the first century B.C., Diodorus Sicilus described service at meals as *δρακονία*. Serving others at table came to be the overriding meaning of the term. The most basic *δρακονία* was the serving of food. All other forms of *δρακονία* have their roots in the supplying of the physical needs of a man who is hungry.

Though *δρακονία*, as *δουλεία*, was generally avoided by the Greeks, *δρακονία* was of worth and significance when rendered to the state. In the Gorgias, Socrates agrees with Callicles that the Greek leaders of old were admirable "at least as servants of the state (*δρακόνους εἶναι πόλεως*)," and were "able to procure for the city the things she desired."¹³ The *δρακονία* to the state was rendered for the sake of the state and as such became a noble action. Therefore, one who performed an act of service to the state was to do it "without gifts."¹⁴ Payment for such service was considered inappropriate. The Greek statesman, according to Hermann Beyer, ruled as servant of the state "not for the sake of ruling nor for the sake of his own desires, but for

¹²1015.

¹³Plato Gorgias 517b.

¹⁴Plato Laws 955c.

the sake of the service laid upon him," the main task of which was "the education of good citizens."¹⁵ But δεικονία even to the state did not require the emptying of a man's ego for the sake of others, nor did it lead to true sacrifice.¹⁶

Several early inscriptions indicate that the word group at times described a specialized office within certain communities. According to Moulton and Milligan:

There is now abundant evidence that the way had been prepared for the Christian usage of this word by its technical application to the holders of various offices.¹⁷

In an inscription dated approximately 100 B.C., dedicators of a statue to Hermes are described, among other things, as δεικονοι.¹⁸ Religious connotations of δεικονία can be found in the same source where δεικονοι are included in a list of temple officials.¹⁹ Similarly, the Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum describes a "college" of δεικονοι presided over by

¹⁵Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "δεικονία" by Hermann W. Beyer, vol. 2, p. 82.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷James H. Moulton and George Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1949), p. 149.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

a priest in the service of Serapis, Isis, and other Egyptian mystery cults.²⁰ The New Testament notion of a specialized office of *δίακονος*, then, is not an altogether radical departure from the philological background of the word group.

In terms of the inherent worth of the service, *διακονία* varied little from *δουλεία* in the minds of the Greeks. Though neither servant word reflected virtuous activity, and though the servant of one man could be called both *δοῦλος* and *δίακονος*, the two terms are not synonymous. A *δίακονος* was not necessarily a *δοῦλος*. A free man could and often did perform *διακονία* for the sake of others. *Διακονία* in the Greek world was often voluntary.

The Jewish Background of *Δίακονος*

The *δίακονος* word group is used infrequently in the Jewish literature. *Διακονέω* is not found in the Septuagint; *δίακονος* and *διακονία* are used rarely. Philo and Josephus provide some insight into the meaning of the word group in the Jewish world during the first century A. D.

In the Septuagint, *δίακονος* and *διακονία* are used to translate the Hebrew words na'ar (usually translated "lad,"

²⁰Ibid.

"youth") and shārath ("minister," "personal attendant").²¹ Shārath is most often translated λειτουργεῖν in the Septuagint, often implying a priestly ministry.²² Διάκονος is used for both Hebrew words in Esther in describing the servant of the king.²³ In Proverbs 10:4 the following reference is made concerning the διάκονος: "A son who is instructed shall be wise, and shall use the fool for a servant." In I Maccabees 10:58 the basic meaning of δακονία, to wait at table, is used in the account of Antiochus' sending Jonathan "golden vessels to be served in." In IV Maccabees 9:17 the administrators of torture are called δακονοι.

Philo uses the δακονος word group only in the general sense of serving or waiting upon. He describes, for example, the attendants (δακόνους) at a banquet taking their stand "with everything in order ready for their ministry (ὑπηρεσίαν)."²⁴

²¹Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, A Concordance to the Septuagint (Graz-Austria: Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt, 1954), p. 303.

²²James Hastings, ed. "Minister," Dictionary of the Bible, vol. 3 (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1898), p. 376.

²³Esther 1:10; 2:2; 6:1, 2, 5.

²⁴Philo The Contemplative Life 75. Cf. Ibid., 70.

Josephus uses the word group in several senses.

(1) The specific sense of waiting at table is referred to in the Antiquities XI, 163: "Someone . . . hastened to perform the service of bringing the king his drink." (2) The service of a lacquey is described as *δουκονία*.²⁵ (3) Nehemiah is said to have served King Xerxes by being his messenger.²⁶ (4) The service of a woman in intercourse is described as *δουκονία*.²⁷ (5) *Δουκονία* is used to suggest the obedience of one will to another: "Elijah knew that it was not of his own will but in obedience to the king's command" that he served.²⁸ Service to God is called *δουκονία* by Josephus. In describing the preparation of the temple for worship in the days of Solomon, Josephus mentions "all the vessels for the service of the sacrifices to God which were carried into the temple."²⁹ David is said to have arranged "that one family should minister to God each week from Sabbath to Sabbath."³⁰

²⁵Josephus Antiquities 19, 129.

²⁶Ibid., 11, 166.

²⁷Ibid., 8, 74.

²⁸Ibid., 9, 25.

²⁹Ibid., 8, 101. Cf. 10, 72.

³⁰Ibid., 7, 366.

In general, the Jewish literature uses the *δίακονος* word group in the same sense as the Greeks. As with *δουλέα*, *δίακονία* does not seem to carry the same stigma to the Jews as it did with the Greeks, yet in contrast to the Hebrew notion of service, the teaching of Jesus concerning *δίακονία* is striking.

The New Testament Usage
of *Δίακονος*

Contrasted with Greek and Jewish Usage

In the Greek literature the *δίακονος* word group described an undesirable relationship between a servant and the one served. Whether the ministry was performed by a *δούλος* to his *δεσπότης* or rendered voluntarily for the sake of another, *δίακονία* in the Greek world was generally avoided. In Jewish literature the word group was rarely used, being replaced in the Septuagint by other servant words. To the Jewish mind *δίακονία* was not an integral part of man's relationship with man or God. In the New Testament the word group stands in sharp contradistinction from its usage in the Greek and Jewish writings. *Δίακονία* becomes the fulcrum upon which rests the Christian's relationship with God and his fellowman.

Διακονία was despised by the Greeks because of its menial nature. The noble man was one who did not have to serve anyone. Service was not so despicable to the Jew, but in the Septuagint, ministry for the sake of others was most often translated λειτουργία (usually implying a priestly ministry) not διακονία. But in the New Testament, service rendered for the advantage of the one served is called διακονία According to D. S. Margoliouth:

The New Testament ministry is not one of the priest as distinct from the people: the exclusive class becomes a universal priesthood. Λειτουργεῖν and its correlates occur only about fifteen times in all, and not in any single case can they be made to apply to a literal priestly function on the part of the Christian ministry. . . The fact seems clear that the New Testament writers prefer διακονεῖν because it connotes two things: the first, which λειτουργεῖν also connotes, ministration Godward in the service of others; the second, which λειτουργεῖν does not connote, lowliness in that ministration.³¹

That the New Testament ascribes the word διακονία to the notion of serving is significant. The menial service in Greek and Jewish literature -- the lowly, humble service of the δάκονος -- becomes the dynamic of the Christian existence modeled by Christ himself.

The ancient Greeks and the Jews in Jesus' day would have had no difficulty in answering the question posed in

³¹D. S. Margoliouth, "Minister, Ministry," Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1898), p. 377.

Luke 22, "Which is the greater, one who sits at table or one who serves?"³² Throughout history, the man who was great was so judged because of the service rendered to him. The greater the man, the more he was served. But Jesus attributes greatness to the one serving: "Whoever would be great among you must be your δούκονος."³³ The menial service of the Greeks and the unimportant service of the Jews has become the key to greatness for the Christian. In the words of Hermann Beyer:

(Jesus) purifies the concept of service from the distortions which it suffered in Judaism. Jesus' attitude to service is completely new as compared with the Greek understanding. The decisive point is that He sees in it the thing which makes a man his disciple.³⁴

While in societies of men possession of power determines greatness, in the kingdom of God greatness is reserved for those who spend their time in serving others.

In the New Testament the essential nature of δούκονία is derived directly from the work and person of Jesus. According to Paul, Christ became a servant (δούκονος) to the circumcised to show God's truthfulness . . ."³⁵ Jesus

³²v. 27.

³³Matthew 20:26.

³⁴Beyer, "δούκονία" p. 84.

³⁵Romans 15:8.

speaks of his own work as *δουλεύειν*: "The Son of man came not to be served but to serve and to give his life a ransom for many."³⁶ That Jesus describes his personal sacrifice for the sake of others as *δουκονία* is significant. His ministry to the world included not only his years of teaching but specifically his redemptive death for the sake of the world. To expect his disciples to be servants is not unreasonable, for the greatest servant is the Master himself. Through his life and his death, Jesus transcends the Greek and Hebrew notions of *δουκονία*, becoming himself the source and pattern of service.

The Meaning of *Δούκονος* in the New Testament

In the New Testament *δούκονος* and its cognates mean a variety of things in their different contexts. In the narrow sense *δουλεύειν* has reference to waiting at table or attending generally to someone's physical needs. This physical service correlates with the usage of the term in Greek and Jewish literature. *Δουλεύειν* is also used with theological significance in a variety of ways. The spiritual *δουκονία* discussed in the New Testament contributes to the uniqueness of Christ's message and to the impact of the early Christians' ministries on their world.

³⁶Matthew 20:28.

Distinguishing between types of *δουκονία* is difficult. Such differentiations are often impossible or arbitrary at best because of the universality or even ambiguity of the service. Physical service, for example, often has spiritual manifestations. Nevertheless, the New Testament writers frequently contrast physical and spiritual service.³⁷

According to T. M. Lindsay,

This distinction between two different kinds of ministry which appears at the very beginning is seen to exist all through the apostolic church and beyond it into the sub-apostolic church.³⁸

Therefore, for the sake of clarity and organization, New Testament *δουκονία* will be discussed on two levels: physical and spiritual *δουκονία*.

Physical Δουκονία

Service at table. Δουκονία is often used in the New Testament with the fundamental meaning of serving food and drink. In John 2, for example, the *δουκονοι* at the wedding party are assistants to the host of the feast (*ἀρχιερέκλενος*) and appear to be voluntary or at least hired servants whose responsibility is to wait on the guests. That they are not

³⁷E.g. Luke 10:38-42, Acts 6:1-6.

³⁸T. M. Lindsay, "Ministry," The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia, vol. 3, ed. James Orr (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1947), p. 2057.

δοῦλοι seems evident in that Mary encourages them to "do whatever (Jesus) tells you,"³⁹ implying they could exercise their judgment and choose not to obey him. To these servants Jesus first reveals his miraculous power by turning water into wine.⁴⁰ In John 12:2 Martha provides δακτυλία to Jesus by serving him dinner while Mary anoints his feet with perfume.

In many instances Jesus uses the status and function of δούκονοι to teach his listeners spiritual lessons. His parable in Luke 12 is insightful because of the reversal in roles, the master serving the δούκονοι at table:

Blessed are those servants whom the master finds awake when he comes (home from a wedding banquet); truly, I say to you, he will gird himself and have them sit at table, and he will come and serve them.⁴¹

The δούκονοι are blessed not so much for what they have done but for what their lord has done for them. He allows them to take the role of masters, prepares a great feast, assumes the role of servant, and ministers to them. Thus will Christ minister to the ones who are watching and waiting when he returns.

³⁹v. 5.

⁴⁰vv. 7-11.

⁴¹v. 37.

The parable in Luke 17 has a different impact. The function of the δούλος is seen as providing διακονία for the master. Jesus speaks to his disciples:

Will any one of you, who has a servant (δούλον) plowing or keeping sheep, say to him when he has come in from the field, 'Come at once and sit down at table'? Will he not rather say to him, 'Prepare supper for me, and gird yourself and serve me (διακονει μου), till I eat and drink; and afterward you shall eat and drink'? Does he thank the servant because he did what was commanded? So you also, when you have done all that is commanded you, say, 'We are unworthy servants (δούλω); we have only done what was our duty.'⁴²

Service at table is only to be expected from the δούλος even after a day of plowing and shepherding. The master in this case does not have an obligation to express thanks. Likewise, for the child of God, performing all that is commanded is only to be expected; "we have only done what was our duty." Salvation comes not from works of διακονία but from the grace of God.

The διακονία mentioned in Acts 6 stems from the idea of serving food but seems to extend beyond in the concern for physical needs. With the disciples increasing in number in Jerusalem, the widows of the Greek-speaking Jews had been neglected in the daily distribution.⁴³ This διακονία

⁴²v. 7-10.

⁴³v. 1.

evidently involved the giving of alms to be used for meals and physical necessities.⁴⁴ Because the Twelve needed to be able to devote themselves to prayer and τῆ διακονίᾳ τοῦ λόγου, they appointed seven men with the purpose of waiting on tables (διακονεῖν τραπέζαις).⁴⁵ Though less important than the ministry of the word, even the menial service of providing food had a significant purpose in the early church.

The general serving of physical needs. The word group describes much more than the serving of food and drink but acquires, in some contexts, the broader meaning of general physical service. Following his forty day fast in the desert and his ordeal with Satan, Jesus is ministered to by the angels.⁴⁶ In Luke 8 Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, "and many others" ministered to Jesus and the Twelve, providing for them "out of their means."⁴⁷ The implication of sacrifice in service is not an uncommon theme in the New Testament. Such is suggested in Jesus' exhortation in Matthew 25 to

⁴⁴Joachim Jeremias, Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1969), p. 131; cf. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I, vol. 4 (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1933), p. 64.

⁴⁵v. 2.

⁴⁶Matthew 4:11, Mark 1:13.

⁴⁷v. 3; cf. Matthew 27:55, Mark 15:41.

provide for those in need. By feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, welcoming strangers into their homes, clothing the naked, caring for the sick, and visiting the outcasts in prison, the righteous have unknowingly rendered *δουκονία* to Jesus himself.⁴⁸ By contrast there are those who will not be welcomed into the kingdom of God, those who shut their eyes to human misery, poverty, and need. By his nature the righteous man is one who gives of himself for the sake of others by caring for the physical needs of those around him.

On numerous occasions, collections were made in the early churches to provide relief for poverty stricken Christians. This administration of physical help is termed *δουκονία* in the New Testament. Barnabas and Paul were commissioned to collect money from Christians in Antioch to help minister to Christians in Judea.⁴⁹ That "mission" (*δουκονία*) was accomplished.⁵⁰ Paul spoke on several occasions of a special contribution for the Jerusalem Christians. He wrote to the church at Rome of his pending journey to

⁴⁸v. 35-44.

⁴⁹Acts. 11:29.

⁵⁰Acts 12:25.

Jerusalem to provide aid (*δρακοῦν*) to the poor Christians there.⁵¹ The benefits of this great ministry were more than that of physical relief for the recipients of the gift, "for the rendering of this service not only supplies the wants of the saints but overflows in many thanksgivings to God."⁵² The response to the needs of others results in God being glorified through the obedience of the *δρακονοι* and by their generosity.⁵³ The Hebrews author, in this regard, reminds his readers that God will not overlook their work "in serving (*δρακονήσαντες*) the saints . . ."⁵⁴ Such service not only benefits those in need but it invokes God's blessings on the server.

Spiritual Δρακονία

Though the serving of physical needs is an important aspect of Christian *δρακονία*, the New Testament indicates that spiritual *δρακονία*, specifically the ministry of the word, is the primary Christian service. Jesus rebukes Martha for being more concerned with physical *δρακονία* than she should

⁵¹Romans 15:25, 26, 31.

⁵²II Corinthians 9:12.

⁵³v. 13.

⁵⁴6:10

be.⁵⁵ The "greater portion" was chosen by Mary "who sat at the Lord's feet and listened to his teaching."⁵⁶ The apostles in Acts 6 appointed special *διάκονοι* to care for the neglected widows because preaching the word of God was more important than serving tables.⁵⁷ Acts of physical service do not decrease in this light -- their necessity is emphasized on numerous occasions in the New Testament. Nevertheless, the importance of physical *διακονία* shrinks in comparison to the necessity of serving the world by preaching the word.

Service rendered to God. That certain individuals in the New Testament are called *διάκονοι Θεοῦ* is a significant break from the Greek and Jewish background of the word group. The child of God is not only the *δοῦλος* of God -- bound to him totally, lost in his will -- he is also the *διάκονος* of God -- ministering to his needs, providing service for his sake and to his glory. Timothy is called God's *διάκονος* in I Thessalonians 3:2, his service being rooted "in the gospel of Christ." In II Corinthians 6, Paul defends his earthly ministry: no obstacles are put in anyone's way, no fault

⁵⁵Luke 10:40, 41.

⁵⁶v. 39, 41.

⁵⁷v. 2.

can be found in his *δουλοῦντα*,⁵⁸ "but as *θεοῦ δούλους* we commend ourselves in every way."⁵⁹ As a servant of God, Paul faced "afflictions, hardships, calamities, beatings, imprisonments, tumults, labors, watching, hunger,"⁶⁰ but was sustained "by purity, knowledge, forbearance, kindness, the Holy Spirit, genuine, love, truthful speech, and the power of God."⁶¹

Governing authorities are called servants of God in Romans 13:4. This service is tied to verses 1 and 2 where the authority is said to be from God, instituted and appointed by God. Within the sphere of government, the ruler is God's minister for good, but also possessing the right to execute God's wrath on the wrongdoer.

Ultimately, all Christians are *δούλους θεοῦ*. All service is rendered to God and for his glory. The contribution for the Jerusalem Christians is said to have glorified God.⁶² I Peter 4 states that if a man is blessed with gifts he is to use those gifts to the fullest, including the gift

⁵⁸v. 3.

⁵⁹v. 4.

⁶⁰vv. 4, 5.

⁶¹vv. 6, 7.

⁶²II Corinthians 9:13.

of service for which God supplies the strength, "in order that in everything God may be glorified through Jesus Christ."⁶³ Man does not receive glory for his service, nor is it for man to seek glory, but each man's ministry is for the glory of God, in his service, for his sake.

Service rendered to Christ. Several men are called *δῶκονοι Χριστοῦ* in the New Testament: Paul (II Cor. 11:23), Timothy (I Tim. 4:6), Epaphras (Col. 1:7). Service to Christ in each case is founded upon service to others. Paul boasts of his risking his life for the sake of teaching; Timothy is exhorted to provide certain practical teachings to his fellow-Christians; Epaphras taught the Colossians about the grace of God. For the Christian, service to Christ stems from the words of Jesus himself: "Whoever serves me must follow me, and where I am, my servant also will be. My father will honor the one who serves me."⁶⁴ The mark of service to Christ is discipleship. Serving Christ necessitates hating self: "He who loves his life shall lose it, and he who hates his life in this world will keep it for eternal life."⁶⁵ As with the *δοῦλος Χριστοῦ*, the *δῶκονος Χριστοῦ*

⁶³v. 11.

⁶⁴John 12:26.

⁶⁵v. 25.

dies to himself, denies himself, despises his own life for the sake of following his Lord. The *δουλοῦν* in this context, however, expands upon the relationship of *δουλέα* to Christ, for the service is voluntary. It is the conscious humbling of one's self in relation to the Master. The servant must follow his Lord. He is to go where his Lord leads. *Διάκονία* requires suffering, sacrificing, losing one's life for the Master's sake. True Christian service can be achieved in no other way. But any man who serves Christ will be honored by the Father. As the prerequisite for discipleship is service, the end result is greatness in the kingdom of God.

Ministry of the word. From the very first days of the church, Christians have been ministering to the world through the gospel of Christ. The New Testament urges a *δουλοῦν* that is beyond that implied from its philological background. The *δουλοῦν* of the word is an essential part of Christian service, even more important than the serving of bodily needs. The Twelve in Acts 6 had a responsibility to distribute the Bread of Life more than that of serving tables.⁶⁶ The gospel proclaimed by the apostles gave "insight into the mystery of Christ" which was made known

⁶⁶v. 2, 4.

to them by the Spirit.⁶⁷ "Of this gospel," Paul claims, "I have been made a minister."⁶⁸ His ministry involved preaching to the Gentiles specifically and to "all men" generally.⁶⁹ In I Thessalonians 3:2, Paul calls Timothy "God's servant in the gospel of Christ"⁷⁰ whose ministry for the Thessalonians included establishing their faith. Because they "spoke of the grace that was to come to you" Peter calls the prophets *δούκονα*: ". . . they were not serving themselves but you . . ."⁷¹ Their message was delivered through the preaching of the gospel.⁷²

In every passage referring to the ministry of the gospel, the broader context includes the idea of suffering. In Ephesians 3 Paul exhorts his readers not to be discouraged

⁶⁷Ephesians 3:4, 5.

⁶⁸Ephesians 3:7, cf. Col. 1:23.

⁶⁹3:8, 9.

⁷⁰"*δούκονον τοῦ θεοῦ*" is a variant reading supported by \aleph , A, P, ψ , 81, vg., syr^h, and others. "*συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*", preferred in the Nestle text, is supported by B. D*, 33, it^d, 86*, and others, and is, according to Metzger, "the reading that best accounts for the others" (Bruce Metzger, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament London: United Bible Societies, 1971, p. 631). Whether a *δούκονος* (servant) of God or a *συνεργὸν* (fellow-worker) with God, Timothy had given special spiritual aid to the Thessalonian Christians.

⁷¹I Peter 1:12.

⁷²Ibid.

in his ministry because of his sufferings, for his sufferings "are your glory."⁷³ In the parallel passage in Colossians 1, Paul says he rejoices in his sufferings as God's minister of the gospel.⁷⁴ One of the purposes of Timothy's ministry to the Thessalonians was to encourage them in spite of the sufferings of Paul's missionary team.⁷⁵ According to Paul, "We told you beforehand that we were to suffer affliction."⁷⁶ In I Peter 1, the message of the prophets included "the sufferings of Jesus and the subsequent glory."⁷⁷ Additionally, his readers were urged to rejoice in spite of the various trials they were to suffer because these trials tested the genuineness of their faith and redounded "to praise and glory and honor at the revelation of Jesus Christ."⁷⁸ Even in Acts 6, Stephen, who was first appointed as a *διδάκων* of tables, publicly proclaimed the word of God⁷⁹

⁷³v. 13.

⁷⁴vv. 23-25.

⁷⁵I Thessalonians 3:2, 3.

⁷⁶v. 4.

⁷⁷v. 11.

⁷⁸vv. 6, 7.

⁷⁹Acts 6:8 - 7:53.

and was ultimately stoned to death.⁸⁰ In each instance, those involved in the *δρακονία τοῦ λογοῦ* took to heart Jesus' exhortation to hate his own life.⁸¹ The man who serves the world with the gospel must be willing to follow Jesus⁸² whose own walk led him into inevitable suffering.

The ministry of the new covenant (II Corinthians 3:3-9).

One of the most significant passages in all the New Testament concerning *δρακονία* is found in II Corinthians 3 where the word group is used six times in seven verses. Paul's claim in verse 6 is the key to understanding the meaning and significance of *δρακονία* in this context: God "has enabled us to be ministers of a new covenant (*δρακόνους καλῆς διαθήκης*)."

In II Corinthians 3:3, Paul asserts that his readers "are a letter from Christ delivered (*δρακονηθεῖσα*) by us." This verb is used elsewhere by Paul only in describing the collection of money⁸³ but is used here in a broader sense. The message of Christ has been served, supplied, ministered

⁸⁰7:58-60.

⁸¹John 12:25.

⁸²v. 26.

⁸³Romans 15:25; II Corinthians 8:19, 20.

by Paul to them, written "not with ink but with the Spirit of the living God, not on tablets of stone but on tablets of human hearts."⁸⁴ Paul seems to be defending his own ministry. A need evidently existed for a "letter of recommendation," not to be written but displayed by the lives of the Corinthian Christians themselves.⁸⁵ Paul's opponents made similar claims to be *διδάκοντες*.⁸⁶ While Paul's ministry relied upon the message of Christ, his opponents, who claimed the same, were actually "false apostles, deceitful workmen."⁸⁷ That Paul distinguishes the writing on tablets of stone from that of human hearts suggests the pseudo-apostles may have been misusing the old law. Such a theme is carried out in the subsequent verses. Paul is contrasting the *δικανομία* of the law with his own *δικανομία* of the gospel of Christ.

In verse 6 Paul explicitly states that his is a ministry of the new covenant in direct contrast with that of the written code. By its nature the written code, the old law, brought with it slavery (*δουλεία*)⁸⁸ and even death.⁸⁹

⁸⁴v. 3.

⁸⁵v. 2.

⁸⁶See II Corinthians 11:23.

⁸⁷II Corinthians 11:13.

⁸⁸Romans 7:6.

⁸⁹Romans 7:9-11.

Because God has made him "sufficient,"⁹⁰ Paul is "qualified" to be a servant, a deliverer of the new covenant of God which brings life through the power of the Spirit.⁹¹ The written code and the Spirit are in opposition⁹² because the Spirit gives life which the law was unable to do. Paul is contrasting his *δικαζούσα* of life with that of his opponents which is the *δικαζούσα* of death. Such it is called in verse 7: *δικαζούσα τοῦ θανάτου*. This "dispensation of death," originally ministered by Moses through the written code, was not in and of itself evil. In fact, the law was "holy and just and good."⁹³ It came with great splendor, so much that the Israelites could not look at Moses' face.⁹⁴ But the splendor of Moses' ministry cannot compare with the Spirit's ministry (*δικαζούσα τοῦ πνεύματος*)⁹⁵ mediated through Christ.⁹⁶ The ministry of Moses was a "dispensation of condemnation (*δικαζούσα τῆς καταρτίσεως*)" blinding the eyes of the Israelites

⁹⁰v. 5.

⁹¹v. 6.

⁹²Cf. Romans 7:6.

⁹³Romans 7:11.

⁹⁴v. 7.

⁹⁵v. 8.

⁹⁶Hebrews 8:6.

whose hearts were hardened.⁹⁷ But Paul's ministry of the new covenant was a "dispensation of righteousness (δουκονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης)"⁹⁸ far exceeding the splendor of Moses' ministry:

. . . What once had splendor has come to have no splendor at all, because of the splendor that surpasses it. For if what faded away came with splendor, what is permanent must have much more splendor.⁹⁹

Paul does not minimize the worth of Moses' ministry, for the less it is, the less would be the ministry of the Spirit in comparison. But in spite of the great magnitude of Moses' δουκονία, it was nothing when compared to the glory of God's new covenant ushered in by his Son¹⁰⁰ and sealed with his Spirit.¹⁰¹

The ministry of reconciliation (II Corinthians 5:18-21).

Paul's δουκονία to the world is not only a ministry of the new covenant but is a ministry of reconciliation. In II Corinthians 5:18 Paul claims that God through Christ "reconciled us to himself and gave us the δουκονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς." In

⁹⁷v. 9, 14.

⁹⁸v. 9.

⁹⁹v. 10, 11.

¹⁰⁰Romans 5:22.

¹⁰¹Ephesians 1:13.

classical Greek *καταλλαγῆ* meant an exchange, often of money.¹⁰² Plato spoke of an exchange of one fear or pleasure for another.¹⁰³ The term came to describe a change from enmity to friendship.¹⁰⁴ *Καταλλαγῆ* in the New Testament generally describes the restoration of God's favor to man, who had been separated from God because of sin and who is reunited with God because of Christ's expiatory death. Though man has existed in a rebellious state against God, God's wrath will not be incurred against the one who has faith in him.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, anyone who is "in Christ" is a "new creation,"¹⁰⁶ he has been brought into a right relationship with God; God does not count his trespass against him.¹⁰⁷ Christ's greatest *δρακοῦν* to the world is the exchanging of the enmity between man and God for friendship. Christ has become the instrument of reconciliation. Because of the action of Jesus on the cross, Christ bears the sin

¹⁰²Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, p. 762; cf Aristotle Oeconomica 2.4, 3.

¹⁰³Plato Phaedo 69a.

¹⁰⁴Liddell and Scott, Ibid., cf. Aristotle Oec. 2.16,2.

¹⁰⁵Romans 4:5-8.

¹⁰⁶II Corinthians 5:17.

¹⁰⁷v. 19.

for men by enduring the penalty for sin -- being made "to be sin . . . so that we might become the righteousness of God."¹⁰⁸ As Christ is the agent of the reconciliation, Paul is the minister -- the proclaimer -- of the reconciliation. Though the third person plural in verse 18 implies Paul and his fellow-workers, the inference is much broader. All who themselves have been reconciled by God through Christ have become ministers of the reconciliation. In the words of Philip Hughes,

It is because the way of reconciliation now stands wide open that the ministry of reconciliation has been committed by God to His servants. There is no service to mankind more crucial and urgent than the exercise of this ministry.¹⁰⁹

Because of the nature of the reconciliation and because of the urgency of the ministry, "we are ambassadors (πρεσβεύομεν) for Christ, God making his appeal through us."¹¹⁰ The δούκονοι τῆς καταλλαγῆς are spokesmen for God himself who proclaim his message: "Be reconciled to God."¹¹¹ Christ's δούκονοι, seeing men in their sinful state, proclaim what God has already done for them through Christ, speaking with

¹⁰⁸v. 21.

¹⁰⁹Philip Hughes, The Second Epistle to the Corinthians (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1962), p. 206.

¹¹⁰v. 20.

¹¹¹v. 20.

the authority of God himself. This function is essential to the concept of *δουκονία* in the New Testament and stands at the heart of the ministry of the gospel of Christ.

Δουκονία as God's Gift

The New Testament speaks of a Christian's ministry as being empowered by God who bestows various gifts to the church. Whatever the capacity for ministry, whatever the mode of service, the strength for that service is God-supplied. Paul was made "a minister according to the gift of God's grace" which was given him "by the working of his power."¹¹² In Acts 21:19 Luke describes Paul as recognizing that the ministry he serves is not his own but God's, for he "related to them one by one the things that God had done among the Gentiles through his ministry." The Christian can claim no power of his own but recognizes that all "sufficiency is from God."¹¹³ According to I Peter 4:11, whoever renders service should give it "as one who renders it by the strength which God supplies." All ministries are given by God and are used for his glory.

¹¹²Ephesians 3:7.

¹¹³II Corinthians 3:5.

Just as the New Testament attributes the work of ministry as coming from God, so it is also attributed to Jesus Christ. Paul describes his ministry as more valuable than his own life, having received his ministry "from the Lord Jesus."¹¹⁴ Paul and Apollos are servants through whom the Corinthians believed "as the Lord assigned to each."¹¹⁵ Though their services were different (Paul planted, Apollos watered), each of their ministries was from the Lord. In Colossians 4:17 Paul asks Archippus to "fulfill the ministry which (he has) received in the Lord." Paul thanks Christ for appointing him to the service he was engaged in.¹¹⁶ Christian service is not from human origin but is divine in nature.

Varieties of Διакονία

Διакονία applies to all service rendered on behalf of the church and describes the very character and activity of Christians in their concern for others. Ultimately, the whole church is involved in Διакονία, each Christian having responsibility for ministry. As the body of Christ consists

¹¹⁴Acts 20:24.

¹¹⁵I Corinthians 3:5.

¹¹⁶I Timothy 1:12.

of individual members with varying functions.¹¹⁷ God provides gifts (χαρίσματα) that "differ according to the grace given to us."¹¹⁸ Seven distinct gifts are mentioned in Romans 12. In I Corinthians 12:8-10, as in verses 28, and 29, nine are listed. In Ephesians 4:11, four are suggested. The plurality of gifts corresponds with the plurality of needs. The gifts of δακονία become so closely associated with the δάκονος that the minister himself is called a gift of God:

And his gifts were that some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, for the equipment of the saints, for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ.¹¹⁹

Whether each of the three phrases in verse 12 are coordinate or whether the last two are subordinate to the first is debatable.¹²⁰ In either case one of the purposes of God's gifts to the Christian is that he may be fitted for the "work of ministry," a ministry which is inherently tied to the equipping of the saints and the building up of Christ's

¹¹⁷Romans 12:4, I Corinthians 12:14ff.

¹¹⁸Romans 12:6.

¹¹⁹Ephesians 4:11-12.

¹²⁰The second two phrases begin with εἰς while the first begins with πρὸς.

body. That every Christian has a work of ministry is implied in verses 7, 8, and 11:

But grace was given to each of us according to the measure of Christ's gift. Therefore it is said, "When he ascended on high he led a host of captives, and he gave gifts to men."

Individuals have different gifts "according to the grace given to us,"¹²¹ gifts with a wide variety of functions.¹²² But whatever gift a Christian may have, he is to use it to the fullest.¹²³ Through the utilization of these different gifts, the source is the same for each of them:

Now there are varieties of gifts but the same Spirit; and there are varieties of service but the same Lord; and there are varieties of working, but it is the same Lord who inspires them all in every one.¹²⁴

The multiplicity of ministries is an essential characteristic of Christ's church.

The Office of Deacon

The *διακονος* word group in the New Testament is most often used in a non-technical sense. It is applied to all sorts of person with all types of service, general as well as specific. On occasion, however, the context demands a

¹²¹Romans 12:6.

¹²²Romans 12:4, 5.

¹²³Romans 12:6.

¹²⁴I Corinthians 12:4-6.

technical rendering of the term -- the specialized ministry of the deacon. New Testament data concerning the office of deacon is slim. Only two passages clearly use the technical sense of the word: I Timothy 3:8, 12 and Philippians 1:1. The former passage enumerates various qualifications of the office-holder; the latter reference is incorporated in Paul's greeting to the church in Philippi. In both places deacons are mentioned immediately after bishops. In fact, the qualifications of the two offices as described in I Timothy 3 are similar. Some have suggested that the official *διάκονοι* in the early church were literally assistants to the *ἐπίσκοποι*, though in no way is the deacon's role seen as exclusively that of the bishops' servants. Their ministry was for the congregation as well.¹²⁵ In neither passage are the specific functions of a deacon mentioned. Some have given the technical sense of the word group to its usage in other New Testament passages. Phoebe, a *διάκονος* of the church at Cenchreae¹²⁶ may or may not have been a church official. Archippus in Colossians 4:7 was possibly a deacon. Much discussed

¹²⁵See C. F. D. Moule, "Deacons in the New Testament," Theology 58 (November, 1955):405-407; and Beyer, "Διακονία," pp. 91, 92.

¹²⁶Romans 16:1.

is the *δίακονία* of the Seven in Acts 6 which may have been the prototype of the eventual church office, though certainly no special office is explicitly mentioned.

The Usage of *Διάκονος* in the
Apostolic Fathers

The most frequent usage of the *δίακονος* word group in the post-apostolic literature has reference to the work or office of deacon. The Didache mentions a two-fold breakdown of church leadership -- *ἐπισκόπους* and *διακόνους* -- and lists some of their mutual characteristics:

Appoint therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, meek men, and not lovers of money, and truthful and approved, for they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers.¹²⁷

Later writings describe three levels of leadership -- bishop, presbyters, and deacons.¹²⁸ The qualifications of deacons mentioned by Polycarp to the Philippians parallel Paul's in I Timothy 3:

Likewise must the deacons be blameless before his righteousness, as the servants of God and Christ and not of man, not slanderers, not doubletongued, not lovers of money, temperate in all things,

¹²⁷Didache 15:4; cf. I Clement 42:5.

¹²⁸Cf. Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans 8:1, to the Magnesians 6:1, to Polycarp 6:1.

compassionate, careful, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who was the "servant of all."¹²⁹

Most other references to *δρακονία* in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers involve the giving of money or physical service to the poor or needy. The rich man who provides for the poor "without hesitating" is said to have "fulfilled his ministry rightly."¹³⁰ All the *δοῦλοι* of God are encouraged to "look after widows and orphans" by providing for them out of one's wealth, establishments, fields, and houses, "that you should fulfil these ministries" for Christ's sake.¹³¹ The ministration of bishops "for the common good" is called *δρακονία*.¹³² Bishops are encouraged to minister to the destitute and widows and receive "the servants (*δοῦλοι*) of God into their houses gladly and without hypocrisy."¹³³

Eventually a strong connection developed between *δρακονία* and *λεειτουργία*, so that *δρακονία* often described acts of Christian worship and *λεειτουργία* acts of physical

¹²⁹Polycarp to the Philippians 5:2.

¹³⁰Shepherd of Hermas, Similitudes 2:7.

¹³¹Shepherd of Hermas, Similitudes 1:8, 9.

¹³²Ignatius to the Philadelphians 1:1.

¹³³Shepherd of Hermas, Similitudes 9:12:2.

service.¹³⁴ Such a blending of the two concepts is an indication of the ultimate separation between the usage of the *δίακονος* word group in ancient Greek and in the Christian literature. While in the classical Greek, *δίακουία* was almost totally separated from worship of the gods, in Christian literature it is inherently connected with worship. The writings of the early Christians gave the concept of service significant spiritual meaning.

Δουλεία and Δίακουία Contrasted

Δουλεία and *δίακουία* at first glance appear to be synonyms. Both describe service rendered to another. Both are frequently translated "servant" in English versions of the New Testament. Yet their differences, though subtle, are significant. An examination of those differences should result in a more complete understanding of each word in its New Testament setting and should help answer the broader question of the meaning of service for the Christian.

The primary difference between *δοῦλος* and *δίακονος* is the nature of subjection in regard to each term. The

¹³⁴G. W. H. Lampe, "*Δίακουία* in the Early Church," Service in Christ: Essays Presented to Karl Barth on his 80th Birthday, James I. McCord and T. H. C. Parker (eds.) (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966), p. 49.

subjection of the δούλος is total. He has no will of his own; his will has been enveloped by the will of another. He is literally in bondage to his κύριος or his δεσπότης. His obedience is complete. The focus of διακονία, on the other hand, is not subjection but service rendered for the sake of another. While the δούλος is defined by his subjection, the διάκονος is defined by his work. The δούλος can provide διακονία,¹³⁵ but the διάκονος is not necessarily a δούλος. In fact, in classical Greek διακονία often described the service of a free man given voluntarily. The δούλος is always subject to a master. Whether the διάκονος is in subjection is not crucial to the meaning of the term. A person is considered a διάκονος because of the nature of his work. Implied in the term διακονία is menial labor, waiting at table, general physical service, and more broadly any service rendered for the advantage of another. To say, however, that διακονία describes a servant's relation to his work and not his relation to a person is to misunderstand the nature of διακονία. R. C. Trench has done a disservice in this regard. According to Trench:

The difference between διάκονος on one side, and δούλος and θεράπων on the other, is this -- that

¹³⁵E.g. Demosthenes 19:69.

δούλος represents the servant in his activity for the work . . . not in his relation, either servile, as that of the *δούλος*, or more voluntary, as in the case of *θεράπων*, to a person.¹³⁶

This statement, often quoted by subsequent lexicographers, has become the standard for distinguishing between the terms. Yet concerning *δουλεύω*, F. J. A. Hort writes,

It is a strange mistake of Archbishop Trench's (his article on this word and its synonyms being indeed altogether less careful than usual) to say that *δούλος* does not represent the servant in his relation to a person.¹³⁷

The fact is that *δούλος* often describes service in relation to a person in addition to its relation to a task. In Luke 12:37 Jesus says, "(the master) will gird himself and have them sit at table, and he will come and serve them."¹³⁸ According to Matthew 20:28, ". . . the Son of man came not to be served but to serve." Crucial to the meaning and purpose of Christ's *δουλεύω* is that mankind is the object of his ministry. Reciprocally, one of the great privileges of being a Christian is being a *δούλος* of God¹³⁹ and of Christ.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶R. C. Trench, Synonyms of the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1953), p. 32.

¹³⁷F. J. A. Hort, The Christian Ecclesia (London: Macmillan & Co., 1897), p. 203. Parentheses his.

¹³⁸Emphasis mine.

¹³⁹I Thess. 3:2; II Cor. 6:4; John 12:26.

¹⁴⁰II Cor. 11:23; I Tim. 4:6; Col. 1:7.

However, it is not man's subjection which makes him God's *δούλος* but rather the nature of his service.

Jesus' pronouncement in Mark 10:43¹⁴¹ not only indicates the distinctiveness of *δούλος* and *δούλος*, but it also denotes their complementary nature:

. . . but whoever would be great among you must be your servant (*δούλος*), and whoever would be first among you must be slave of all (*πάντων δούλος*).

The child of God is both *δούλος* and *δούλος*. His greatness is derived from his willing service rendered for the sake of others, service that is often menial and undesirable, the service of meals, the ministry of physical needs, the spiritual *δουλοῦν* presented to the world through the agency of Christ's gospel. It is a noble service yet humble by its very essence, a selfless service yet one inevitably leading to greatness. But he who would be first in the kingdom must also lose his own will; he must become the "slave of all." Discipleship is inherently characterized by slavery -- slavery to the living God, slavery to the Lord Christ, slavery in the Spirit, slavery to all. The Christian is not only a servant in terms of his work but also in terms of his relationship to his Master. He is both *δούλος* and *δούλος* because Christ, the model servant, is living within him.

¹⁴¹Cf. Matthew 20:26.

CHAPTER IV

RELATED SERVANT WORDS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Though δούλος and δούκωνος are the prominent servant words in the New Testament, several others are used with considerable theological significance. These terms are near-synonyms; they are not identical. Each has its unique philological background and meaning within each context. Together they constitute a substantial body of material, shedding light on the forms and functions of Christian service. An examination of these terms, in contrast to the two primary servant words, should provide a deeper understanding of the Biblical meaning of service. The words to be considered are: πάλς, λειτουργός, λατρεία, ἱερουργέω, θεράπων, ὑπηρέτης, and οἰκέτης and their cognates. An examination of the background and meaning of these terms will be followed by a comparative analysis of the terms with δούλος and δούκωνος.

Πάλς.

Fundamental to the meaning of πάλς is the notion of subordination, most often in the form of a child in relation

219290

to a parent or an adult. In terms of descent, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ means a son or daughter. This usage is found often in the Greek literature. In the Iliad, Agapenor is said to be the son ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma$) of Ancaeus.¹ Plato refers to "our children ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\delta\omega\nu$) of both sexes."² In the Nemean Odes, Pindar discusses $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\delta\omega\nu$ δε $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$: "the children's children."³ Numerous other examples could be cited. In the Septuagint $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ can occasionally be found with the meaning of physical descendant. In Proverbs 4:1, for example, children are instructed to hear the instructions of a father.⁴ Only in John 4:51 is $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ used in the New Testament clearly with the meaning of son. Jesus tells the official that "his son ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma$) was living." $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ in this passage is parallel to $\beta\iota\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, which is used in the earlier verses to refer to the same boy.

In terms of age, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ means a boy or girl. Homer uses the term in this sense on numerous occasions.⁵ According to Pindar, various trials make a man preeminent, "whether as a boy among boys ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\grave{\iota}$ νεότῳ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma$) or a man among men."⁶

¹Homer Iliad 2, 609.

²Laws 788a.

³7.100.

⁴cf. 20:7.

⁵e.g. Odysseus 4, 665: Iliad 2, 289. ⁶3.72.

In the Protagoras, Plato notes that the Spartan can often make "his interlocutor seem like a helpless child ($\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\varsigma$)."⁷ $\pi\alpha\lambda\varsigma$ in the Septuagint is used infrequently in this sense. The servants in Genesis 26:34 had been feeders of cattle "from our youth ($\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$) even to this time." In Deuteronomy 22:13ff, proof of the virginity of a girl ($\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$) is to be supplied by her father. In the New Testament $\pi\alpha\lambda\varsigma$ is only occasionally used with the meaning of a child. In Matthew 2 Joseph is told to take the child ($\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$) Jesus to Egypt because Herod was to have all the male children ($\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$) put to death.⁸ In Luke 2:43 "the boy Jesus ($\rho\iota\eta\sigma\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$ \acute{o} $\pi\alpha\lambda\varsigma$)" is said to have remained in Jerusalem as his parents were returning to Galilee. The scribes and Pharisees are described in Matthew 21:15 as "indignant" as they witnessed "the children ($\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$) crying out in the temple, 'Hosanna to the Son of David.'" In Acts 20:12, Eutychus is referred to as a young man -- a "lad ($\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$)."

Though the term $\pi\alpha\lambda\varsigma$ is often used to describe a child in terms of age and descent, it can equally have reference to a servant. The usage of $\pi\alpha\lambda\varsigma$ in this sense is not at all uncommon in the Greek and Jewish writings. In secular Greek the household servant who answers his master's door is often

⁷342e.

⁸v. 13, 16.

referred to as *παῖς*.⁹ In Plato's Charmides Critias' personal attendant was called *παῖ*.¹⁰ *παῖς*, meaning servant or attendant, is frequently used in the Septuagint. In fact, of the 807 times the Hebrew servant word 'ebed is found in Jewish Scriptures, it is translated *παῖς* and its cognates 340 times in the Septuagint, more than any other servant word including *δοῦλος*. Pharaoh's servants, for example, are called *παῖδων* in Genesis 41:37. Saul's servants in I Samuel 16 are called *παῖδες* in verse 15 and *δοῦλος* in verse 16.¹¹ The king's servants in Daniel 2:7 are called *πασιῖν*. Artaxerxes' servants are referred to as *παῖδων* in I Esdras 5:33, 35. In I Maccabees 1:6, 8, the servants of Alexander are considered to be *παῖδας*. In the New Testament, the use of *παῖς* to refer to a man's servant is infrequent. In Matthew 14:2, Herod's servants are called *πασιῖν*. The centurion's slave in Luke 7 is referred to as both *δοῦλος* and *παῖς*.¹² The menservants and maidservants of Luke 12:45 are described as *παῖδας* and *παῖδες*. The father's servants in the story of the prodigal son are called *παῖδων*.¹³

⁹E.g. Aeschylus The Libation-Bearers 653, Aristophanes The Acharnians 395, The Clouds 132.

¹⁰155a.

¹¹Cf. I Samuel 18:22, 23, 26.

¹²v. 3, 7.

¹³Luke 15:26.

The term *παις* reaches its greatest theological significance in describing man's relationship to God. David refers to himself as *παις Θεοῦ*¹⁴ and encourages the *παιδες κυρίου* to praise the name of the Lord.¹⁵ David is called *παις Θεοῦ* in the New Testament in Luke 1:69 and Acts 4:25. Isaiah refers to the nation of Israel collectively as *παις Θεοῦ*,¹⁶ as does Luke in the Magnificat.¹⁷ Jesus is called *παις Θεοῦ* in Matthew 12:18, Acts 3:13, 26 and 4:27, 30. The problem related to these Old and New Testament passages centers around whether the *παις Θεοῦ* should be translated "child of God" or "servant of God." In most instances the context gives a clear indication, though occasionally a passage is debatable. With few exceptions¹⁸ *παις Θεοῦ* seems to refer to God's servant rather than child. The *παις Θεοῦ* passages of Isaiah 41-53 have been much discussed in this

¹⁴Psalms 68:17, cf. 17:1, 35:1.

¹⁵Psalms 112:1.

¹⁶41:8, 42:1, 44:1, 2, 21.

¹⁷Luke 1:54.

¹⁸Notably, Jewish literature from the inter-testamental period (e.g. Book of Wisdom 2:13, II Maccabees 7:34) and the developing Patristic tradition of *παις Θεοῦ* as child of God (e.g. Martyrdom of Polycarp 14:1, Irenaeus 3.12.5, 6.) See L. L. Carpenter, Christian Application of the Doctrine of the Servant (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1929), pp. 140ff.

light. Two distinct traditions of interpretation developed concerning these passages by the time of Christ. In Hellenistic Judaism the *πᾶς θεός* of Isaiah 41-53 is thought to have reference to the people of Israel and was construed as "child of God."¹⁹ According to Palestinian Judaism, however, nine of the *πᾶς θεός* passages in Isaiah 41-53 refer to the people of Israel;²⁰ two of the passages have reference to Isaiah himself;²¹ Messianic interpretation was assigned to Isaiah 42:1ff, 43:10, 49:1f, 6f, and 52:13ff with the connotation of servant.²² With the exception of Isaiah 43:10, the New Testament also mentions these as Messianic. By the time of the New Testament writings, the designation of the Messiah as *πᾶς θεός* -- servant of God -- seems firmly established.

That τὸν πᾶσα ῥυτὸν Ἰησοῦν in Acts 3:13²³ refers to Jesus as servant rather than child is little debated. Both David and Jesus are called *πᾶς θεός* in Acts 4:23, 27, and

¹⁹Theological Dictionary of the Bible, s. v. "*πᾶς θεός*," by Joachim Jeremias, vol. 5, pp. 648, 685.

²⁰41:8, 9; 42:19 (twice); 44:1, 2, 21 (twice); 45:4; 48:20; 49:3. See Jeremias, "*πᾶς θεός*," p. 684.

²¹49:5, 50:10. See Jeremias, "*πᾶς θεός*," p. 686.

²²Jeremias, "*πᾶς θεός*," p. 699.

²³cf. Acts 3:26; 4:27, 30.

David is undoubtedly to be viewed as God's servant here.²⁴ Moreover, *πᾶς θεοῦ* had become a well-known designation of those who serve God faithfully.²⁵ Moses, Jacob, Abraham, David, the three in the fiery furnace, and others had been called *πᾶς θεοῦ* in Jewish literature. However, because *πᾶς θεοῦ* had come to be regarded as a common formula referring to noteworthy historical Hebrew figures, the servant of God passages in Acts 3 and 4 do not necessarily echo the Messianic predictions of Isaiah 41-53. Certainly the statement that God "glorified his servant Jesus" (Acts 3:13) is reminiscent of Isaiah 42:13, but whether Luke or Peter (whose sermon Luke is quoting) had that in mind is unclear. Nevertheless, that Jesus is to be viewed as God's servant is plainly indicated.

Considering its abundant usage in the classical Greek and in the Septuagint, *πᾶς* is used with surprising infrequency in the New Testament. The word is not found in any of the epistles. The Christian is nowhere encouraged to be *πᾶς* either to God or to man. When it is used, whether implying child or servant, the *πᾶς* always finds himself in

²⁴See Jeremias, "*πᾶς θεοῦ*," p. 704.

²⁵F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles, Volume I: Prolegomena I (London: Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1920), p. 391.

a subordinate even subservient role. In general, the *πάρις* of secular Greek and the Septuagint is replaced with *δοῦλος* and *ὑλός* in the New Testament.

Λειτουργός, Λειτουργία, Λειτουργέω.

The usage of the *λειτουργός* word group in the Septuagint and the New Testament is very different from that found in secular Greek. While *λειτουργός, κτλ.* in the Biblical literature is used almost uniformly in a cultic or priestly sense, the word group in the ancient Greek generally refers to secular service. Its etymology gives some indication of its meaning. From *λήϊτος*, concerning a nation or a people (related to *λαός*), and *ἔργον*, work, *λειτουργός* implies one who renders service for the sake of a people.²⁶

In the Hellenistic literature, *λειτουργία* most often refers to special services rendered to the state by a group of citizens whose income was above a fixed level. The service could be rendered voluntarily²⁷ or else was demanded by law, usually on a rotation basis.²⁸ Such service included

²⁶Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "*λειτουργός, κτλ.*," by Hermann Strathmann, vol. 4, p. 216, and Hermann Cremer, Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), pp. 761, 762.

²⁷Strathmann, "*λειτουργός*," p. 216.

²⁸Antiphon 138.26

the giving of work or money to the phyla (subdivisions or districts within the Ionic and Doric communities),²⁹ payment of certain military taxes, and special services performed by wealthy emigrants.³⁰ In a broader sense the word group came to describe all kinds of services rendered to a government or a community. Eventually, the word group extended to any type of service rendered for the sake of another. Aristotle, for example, uses this general sense in calling those who render *λειτουργία* to an individual "δούλου" while calling those who render it to the community "artisans and hired laborers."³¹ A woman could perform *λειτουργία* to the state "in the matter of producing children."³² The *λειτουργός* word group is occasionally used in describing sacerdotal ministration, but these references are uncommon in the secular Greek. Diodorus Sicilus refers to the *λειτουργία* of the Egyptian priesthood.³³ Several second and first century B. C. inscriptions and papyri include

²⁹Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "φολή," by Christian Maurer, vol. 9, p. 245.

³⁰For further discussion, see Strathmann, *Ibid.*

³¹Politics 1278 a, 12-14.

³²*Ibid.* 1335b, 28, 29.

³³1.21.

references to the λειτουργία of men to various gods, usually including monetary offerings and certain cultic actions.³⁴

The cultic sense of the λειτουργός word group was adopted by the Septuagint translators in denoting the services of the Levites and priests especially in the tabernacle and temple. In general, the word group is used in the Septuagint for the Hebrew shērēth, but only when the reference is cultic.³⁵ The Levites, for example, are said to have entered the tabernacle "to minister in their service (λειτουργεῖν τῆν λειτουργίαν)."³⁶ Even the priestly service performed for pagan gods is described as λειτουργία.³⁷

The disparity of meaning implied in the usage of λειτουργός, κτλ. in the secular Greek and in the Septuagint is puzzling. In classical Greek the word group primarily is used for service rendered to the state; any cultic reference is rare. In the Septuagint the word group describes with few

³⁴For further details, see James H. Moulton and George Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1949), p. 373.

³⁵When not describing the functions of a priest, shērēth is variously translated λειτουργεῖν (e.g. Ezra 20:32), δουλεύειν (e.g. Isaiah 56:6), διακονεῖν (e.g. Esther 1:10), and θεραπεύειν (e.g. Exodus 33:11).

³⁶Numbers 8:22; cf. 16:9, 18:21, 23.

³⁷II Chronicles 15:16.

exceptions cultic service. Though no answers are certain, the usage of the word group to describe the ministry of priests seems appropriate. The priests in the Old Testament offered service to God and in so doing provided service for the people of God. The nation of Israel was ultimately served by the λειτουργία of the priests. But the λειτουργία of the Septuagint was not a ministry of the state but of the temple, of God himself. According to Strathmann:

The LXX translators obviously felt a need to try to fix a regular and exclusive term for priestly ministry, and thereby to show that the cultic relation to God is something special as compared with all the other relations of service in which men might stand.³⁸

The Septuagint usage of λειτουργός, κτλ. provides a distinctive background from which the New Testament perspective of the word group emerges.

The use of the λειτουργός word group in the New Testament correlates at times with the general popular usage of the ancient Greeks, and more frequently with the cultic usage of the Septuagint. Paul's description of earthly rulers as λειτουργός in Romans 13:6 is an example of the general usage of the term. The earthly authorities are "ministers of God" not in the sense that they provide a priestly

³⁸Strathmann, "Λειτουργός," p. 221.

function for the people³⁹ but in the sense that any public servant provides services for the citizens. The λειτουργός of verse 6 are earlier called δίακονοι (verse 4) where the benefit received from the service of rulers is mentioned. The reference in Romans 13 is not too different than two verses in Hebrews 1 which describe angels as λειτουργός. In verse 7 they are called God's servants; in verse 14 they are described as "ministering spirits (λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα) sent forth to serve (δρακονία)." In neither passage is a cultic ministry implied. Rather the angels act as agents of God in dispensing his will and therefore provide service to God's children. The object of the λειτουργία in Romans 15:27 and II Corinthians 9:12 is the collection of money for the Jerusalem Christians. Several interpretations of the word in these contexts are made. Some opt for a λειτουργία similar to that of the special service supplied by the wealthy Christians for the public welfare of the church in Jerusalem.⁴⁰ Others see the λειτουργία in terms of a priestly

³⁹As advocated by John Murray, The Epistle to the Romans, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., pp. 145, 5.

⁴⁰See C. K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 240.

ministry based on the Septuagint usage of the term. According to this view, the ministry takes the form of an act of divine service of a high order.⁴¹ In all likelihood, neither interpretation is wholly correct, but rather a general service for the sake of Christians in need is implied.⁴² The clearest example of a non-cultic usage of the λειτουργός word group is found in Philippians 2:25, 30. Epaphroditus is said to have ministered to Paul (presumably in the payment of gifts) and has risked his life in so doing. Even though the gift as mentioned in 4:18 is described in cultic language ("a fragrant offering, a sacrifice acceptable and pleasing to God"), Epaphroditus' ministry was simply a service rendered to one in need. Only in the sense that it aided Paul in his spiritual activities can the λειτουργία be called "sacred."⁴³

In many passages the λειτουργός word group is used to describe a sacred or priestly ministry. The reference in

⁴¹See Philip Hughes, Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1962), p. 337, and John Murray, Romans, vol. 2, p. 219.

⁴²As noted in chapter 3, pp. 60 and 61 above, δεικνόντα is also used to describe the contribution to the church in Jerusalem.

⁴³See Jac. J. Muller, The Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to Philemon (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1955), pp. 100, 101, and J. B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879), pp. 123-125.

Luke 1:23 to Zechariah's ministry in the temple is parallel to the usage of the word group in the Old Testament. Other passages apply Old Testament connotations to New Testament principles. Paul, for example, describes himself in Romans 15:16 as a λειτουργὸν Χριστοῦ to the Gentiles "in the priestly service (ἑρουργοῦντα) of the gospel of God" Though some⁴⁴ deny a cultic interpretation here,⁴⁵ most scholars agree as to the priestly implications of λειτουργός in this passage. Paul figuratively has taken on the role of priest, serving the gospel by leading the Gentiles to God. The Gentiles are Paul's holy offering sanctified by the Holy Spirit. In Philippians 2:17 Paul again speaks of a priestly λειτουργία: ". . . I am being poured out like a drink offering on the sacrifice and service coming from your faith."⁴⁶ The sacrifice in this context is the faith of the Philippians⁴⁷ who are exercising their ministry of service to God

⁴⁴E.g. R. C. H. Lenski, The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (Columbus, Ohio: Wartburg Press, 1945), p. 879.

⁴⁵insisting on general service based on the apparent necessity to use ἑρουργέω to define the ministry.

⁴⁶New International Version.

⁴⁷See Ralph P. Martin, The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1959), p. 120.

even through their visible offering of gifts to Paul⁴⁸ and their sharing in Paul's suffering. Paul's own life-blood, which he suspects will be shed for the sake of Christ, becomes the accompanying libation through which he renders his priestly function.

In no New Testament book does the λειτουργός word group appear more frequently than Hebrews, a fact not surprising in light of the obvious familiarity of the Hebrews author with the Old Testament cultic vocabulary. In comparing the priestly ministry of Jesus, a claim the author takes pains to authenticate, with the cultic functions of the Old Testament priests, the λειτουργός word group takes on great significance. The issue is met directly in the eighth chapter. In the chapters preceding, Christ has been shown to have the true qualifications of priesthood based on the order of Melchizedek, a priesthood superior even to the Levitical priests.⁴⁹ In chapter 8 Christ's ministry is said to be superior because he ministers from a superior place and because the new covenant is superior to the old. In verse 2 Christ is depicted as a λειτουργός "in the sanctuary and the true tent." His service is performed from the heavenly realm,

⁴⁸Philippians 4:18.

⁴⁹e.g. 2:17, 3:1; 4:14-16; 5:1-10; 6:19, 20; 7:1-28.

in the tabernacle made not by man but by God. As "every high priest is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices," Christ as high priest offered his life for the sake of those he serves. This sacrifice⁵⁰ is not to be construed as continuing --⁵¹ Jesus' death was once for all. His continuing λειτουργία is one of intercession, the offering of prayers to God on behalf of God's children.⁵² Additionally, his λειτουργία is "much more excellent than the old" because he mediates from the perspective of the new covenant (verse 6), a mediation resulting in "the promised eternal inheritance" for "those who are called."⁵³ The new covenant became effective through the offering of Christ's blood⁵⁴ as "even the first covenant was not ratified without blood."⁵⁵ Moses, for example, sprinkled with blood all the vessels used in

⁵⁰see 7:27, 9:14.

⁵¹The aorist προσενέγκη prevents this interpretation. See B. F. Westcott, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, reprinted 1920), p. 217.

⁵²See Westcott, Ibid., Thomas Hewitt, The Epistle to the Hebrews (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966), p. 131, and Neil Lightfoot, Jesus Christ Today: A Commentary on the Book of Hebrews (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1976), p. 155.

⁵³9:15.

⁵⁴9:16, 17

⁵⁵v. 18.

worship (λεειτουργίας).⁵⁶ The purification of vessels of worship by blood is far surpassed by the offering of Christ's life for the sins of men. According to Hebrews 10:10, "we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all." While the λειτουργία of the Levitical priests was a daily service involving repeated sacrifices "which can never take away sins."⁵⁷ Unquestionably, the λειτουργός word group finds its greatest theological significance in terms of the ministry of Christ.

The λειτουργία of Acts 13:2 connotes a slightly different meaning than that of the word group as found in other passages. The context is the gathering of prophets and teachers in Antioch who engage in worship (λεειτουργία) and prayer.⁵⁹ The usage of the word group to describe the worship of Christians bears some importance as to its developing meaning. According to Hermann Strathmann, "(This verse) is

⁵⁶v. 21.

⁵⁷v. 11.

⁵⁸v. 12.

⁵⁹According to Barclay M. Newman and Eugene A. Nida, A Translator's Handbook on the Acts of the Apostles (London: United Bible Societies, 1972), p. 244, λειτουργούντων should be translated "were serving" in the general sense if the reference is to the five men named (Barnabas, Symeon, Lucius, Manaen, and Saul.) If the reference is to the larger gathering, "were worshipping" is the proper rendering.

the first to attest a transfer of the important OT cultic term to the purely spiritual Christian service of God, even though the reference be only to a small prayer fellowship of leading men."⁶⁰ This designation of worship as λειτουργία is evidently borrowed in some instances by the Patristic writers⁶¹ who also reflect the Greek and Septuagint usages. Eventually, however, the church transferred the Old Testament concept of the priest to the Christian clergy.⁶²

Λατρεία, Λατρεύω.

The λατρεία word group is derived etymologically from λάτρον (to pay or hire), λάρπος (a hired servant). Thus the original meaning of λατρεύειν is to serve someone for pay, a sense of the term found rarely in Greek literature.⁶³ More commonly the word describes a general service, often with no explicit reference as to whether the work is compulsory or voluntary. Λατρεία describes variously physical labor,⁶⁴

⁶⁰Strathmann, "Λειτουργός," pp. 226, 227.

⁶¹e.g. Didache 15:1.

⁶²Strathmann, "Λειτουργός," pp. 228, 229.

⁶³See Solon 13.48.

⁶⁴Sophocles Trachiniae 830.

business transactions,⁶⁵ obeisance,⁶⁶ slavery,⁶⁷ and in some cases service to the gods.⁶⁸ The term is applied in a number of ways to a number of tasks or relationships. No technical usage developed in the Greek writings.

The Septuagint translators eliminate all meanings of the word group other than that of service rendered to deity. Usually used for the Hebrew ‘ābhadh, λατρεύω describes service of a religious nature, while δουλεύω is used when ‘ābhadh implies a service rendered to humans.⁶⁹ Λατρεία is used in a general religious sense numerous times in the Septuagint. The Hebrews are encouraged to serve God "in the mountains"⁷⁰ and "in the wilderness."⁷¹ They are forbidden to serve other gods.⁷² The children of Isarel are exhorted to serve the Lord in righteousness and justice.⁷³ But λατρεία and λατρεύω

⁶⁵Plutarch 2.107c.

⁶⁶Xenophon Ages 7,2.

⁶⁷Xenophon Cyropaedia 3. 1, 36.

⁶⁸Plato Apologia 23a, Phaedra 244e; Euripides Ion 152.

⁶⁹Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "λατρεία, λατρεύω," by Hermann Strathmann, vol. 4, p. 60.

⁷⁰Exodus 3:12.

⁷¹Exodus 7:16.

⁷²Deuteronomy 5:9.

⁷³Joshua 24:14; cf. vv. 15-24.

in the Septuagint imply more than just a general religious service, taking on a specific cultic connotation, not of a priestly ministry, but of sacrificial cultic worship.

According to Cremer, the difference between λατρεύω and προσκυνέω is that "λατρεύω denotes adoration manifest in act by service, by sacrifice, but προσκυνέω adoration in word and gesture, prayer and confession."⁷⁴ In Exodus 4-10, the sacrificial nature of λατρεύω is indicated through God's repeated instruction to Moses, "Go in to Pharaoh and say to him, "These things saith the Lord God of the Hebrews; send my people away that they may serve me."⁷⁵ In explaining to Pharaoh the type of worship necessary, Moses says, "Thou shalt give to us whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices which we will sacrifice to the Lord our God and our cattle shall go with us . . . for of them we will take to serve (λατρευσατε) the Lord our God."⁷⁶ Worship of Yahweh God is called λατρεία in the Septuagint⁷⁷ as is the worship of other gods. Though λατρεία in the Septuagint has its outward manifestations in sacrificial cultic worship, the inward dedication and

⁷⁴Herman Cremer, Biblico-Theological Lexicon, p. 756.

⁷⁵Exodus 9:1; cf. 4:23; 7:26; 8:1; 9:13; 10:3, 7, 8.

⁷⁶Exodus 10:25, 26.

⁷⁷e.g. Exodus 23:25, Deut. 28:47, II Sam. 15:8.

commitment to the one God is not lost in the term. The type of service demanded by God is stated in Deuteronomy 10:12:

And now, Israel, what does the Lord thy God require of thee but to fear the Lord thy God, and to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve (λατρεύειν) the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul.

The man who loves God serves and worships him with his whole being.

In the New Testament no trace of the classical Greek background can be found in the λατρεία and λατρεύω passages. As in the Septuagint, all references are to spiritual service. The uses of λατρεία and λατρεύω in the New Testament fall into three basic categories: (1) general spiritual service offered to God; (2) specific activities of worship to God; and (3) sacrificial cultic service. Perhaps typical of the general sense of the term is in II Timothy 1:3 where Paul states, ". . . I serve (God) with a clear conscience." Such purity of motive is also mentioned in Acts 24:14-16 in the context of Paul's defense of "the Way." The life of the Christian, he says, is rooted "in the law (and) written in the prophets" (verse 14) pointing toward an ultimate resurrection (verse 15). Therefore, "I always take pains to have a clear conscience before God before men" (verse 16).⁷⁸

⁷⁸See also Acts 27:23.

From that clear conscience, then, Paul boldly proclaims to Felix, "I worship (λατρεύω) the God of our fathers." Similarly, a general service or worship is the idea of the term in Hebrews 12:28 where acceptable worship to God is to be accompanied by reverence and awe. Such service is connected to a sense of gratitude to God for offering "a kingdom that cannot be shaken." Λατρεία is the natural response of the Christian to God's glorious works.⁷⁹ Paul's λατρεία in Romans 1:9 specifically describes his mission activity: ". . . I serve (God) with my spirit in the gospel of his Son . . ." The service rendered to his hearers through Paul's preaching is a λατρεία rendered even to God.

In several New Testament passages the connotation of λατρεία, λατρεύω is that of a specific activity of worship rendered to God. For example, the λατρεία mentioned by Jesus while being tempted in the desert correlates with Satan's use of προσκυνέω. Satan's enticement to worship him is met with Jesus' emphatic reply: "You shall worship (προσκυνήσεις) the Lord your God and him only shall you serve (λατρεύσεις)." ⁸⁰ Both terms seem to imply adoration and service, with the former connoting perhaps a greater

⁷⁹Cf. Luke 1:74, Hebrews 9:14.

⁸⁰Matthew 4:10, Luke 4:18.

reverence and the latter greater sacrifice.⁸¹ The prophetess Anna is said to have rendered λατρεία to God, worshipping with fasting and prayer.⁸² The λατρεία of Acts 26:7 seems to refer specifically to prayer offered "earnestly . . . night and day." Not only does the context indicate that the mode of λατρεία in this passage is prayer, but such is implied by the absence of a recipient.⁸³

Λατρεία and λατρέω are occasionally used in a cultic sense, describing both general cultic worship and priestly ministry. Thus the Septuagint distinction between λατρεία and λειτουργία is lost. The sacrificial worship of the children of Israel is referred to by Stephen in Acts 7:7, ". . . and they shall come out and worship me in this place." In the same sense, λατρέω describes man's worship of heathen gods.⁸⁴ Several passages in Hebrews imply a sacrificial priestly ministry. Priests, for example, are said to "serve a copy and shadow of the heavenly sanctuary"⁸⁵ and serve the tent

⁸¹J. Reiling and J. L. Swellengrebel, A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Luke (London: United Bible Societies, 1971), p. 192.

⁸²Luke 2:37; cf. Revelation 7:15, 22:3.

⁸³Strathmann, "Λατρεία," p. 63.

⁸⁴Acts 7:42, Romans 1:25.

⁸⁵8:5.

from an altar.⁸⁶ These passages undoubtedly refer to a Levitical ministry, certainly not the ministry of the Jewish people in general. Similarly, the worship (λατρείας) mentioned in Hebrews 9:1 is conducted by the ἱερείς who are said to perform their "ritual duties."⁸⁷ The ministry in each of these cases is a sacrificial ministry made on behalf of the children of God,⁸⁸ much along the lines of λειτουργία.

Λατρεία is used with a unique linkage to sacrificial service in Romans 12:1. Rather than the slaying of animals for the sake of the recipient of worship, sacrifice in this passage refers to the surrender of the Christian's own life for the sake of God. The child of God is exhorted to present his body "as a living sacrifice (θυσίαν ζῶσαν), holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship (λογικὴν λατρείαν)." Λατρεία in this passage does not lose the connotation of the cultus, but rather sheds light on the type of worship that is acceptable to God. True worship extends beyond outward ritual. Λατρεία to God is not an external form but an internal response to the mercies of God. Such service demands the renunciation of man's will; it demands

⁸⁶Hebrews 13:10.

⁸⁷v. 6; cf. 9:9, 10:2.

⁸⁸8:3; 9:7, 9; 10:1; 13:11.

the offering not of animals but of self for God's sake. In contrast to the priestly ministry that developed among the Jews, cultic service that is acceptable to God finds its norm in λογικῆν -- that which is rational, reasonable, spiritual. Rational worship in this context is not opposed to emotional worship, but to an automatic or mechanical service.⁸⁹ Therefore, the outward activity results from an inward commitment. The λογικῆν λατρεία of the Christian results in the reshaping of inner lives as well as the distinctiveness of outward behavior. In many respects the λατρεία word group reaches its climax of development in this passage.

Ἱερουργέω.

Ἱερουργέω is a relatively late Greek word derived from ἑρός and ἔργος. Used rarely in the Greek literature, the term describes a priestly ministry or a service accompanied by sacrifice. In Plutarch, for example, ἑρουργεῖν depicts the "performing of sacred functions"⁹⁰ and the celebration of "certain sacred rites."⁹¹ In the only Septuagint reference, a variant reading in IV Maccabees 7:8 (ἑρουργούνας being

⁸⁹See Murray, Romans, vol. 2, p. 112.

⁹⁰Numa 14:1.

⁹¹Alexander 31:4.

substituted for *δημιουργούνας*) describes a priestly ministry in relation to the Law "at the risk of (the priests') own blood." Josephus and Philo generally used the term with the meaning of sacrifice. In the Jewish War, Josephus describes worshipers who are killed while offering sacrifices (*ἱεροουργούτων*).⁹² Philo, in Noah's Work as a Planter, suggests that "there is not a single bad man who really performs a sacrificial act (*ἱεροουργέει*)." ⁹³ The noun form *ἱεροργία* is found in Plato describing marriage-sacrifice.⁹⁴ According to Moulton and Milligan, isolated papyri and inscriptions indicate that *ἱεροργέω* by the time of the New Testament refers in the wider sense to "a sacred function" and normally "should receive the full force of 'sacrifice.'" ⁹⁵

In the New Testament *ἱεροργέω* is found only in Romans 15:16, connected in that passage to Paul's *λεητοργία*. Paul claims that grace had been given to him by God "to be a minister (*λεητοργῶν*) of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service (*ἱεροουργούνας*) of the Gospel of God, so that the offering of the Gentiles may be acceptable, sanctified by

⁹²5, 14. cf. 5, 16; Antiquities 7, 333.

⁹³164. Cf. On the Cherubim 96, On the Migration of Abraham 98.

⁹⁴Laws 775a.

⁹⁵Moulton and Milligan, Vocabulary, p. 301.

the Holy Spirit." Paul's ministry functions as a type of priestly offering for the sake of the Gentiles. Implied, though not explicitly stated, is the sacrificial ministry typical of the usage of the term in contemporary Greek literature. Paul's priestly function evidently involves sacrificing and mediating for the sake of the recipients of the service.⁹⁶ In Philippians 2:17, for example, Paul couches in priestly terms a discussion of his inevitable martyrdom.⁹⁷ His priestly service to the Gentiles manifests itself in the preaching of the gospel, an act not characteristic of Levitical cultic practices. As a result of his preaching, the Gentiles themselves are presented to God as an acceptable offering, purified and made holy through the work of the Holy Spirit.

θεράπων, θεραπέα, θεραπέω

Like many of the other servant words, the *θεράπων* word group has both general and specialized meanings in the secular Greek. Often the term is virtually synonymous with *δούλος*, *ὑπηρέτης*, and *ὀκρέτης*. Homer uses *θεραπέα* to

⁹⁶See H. C. G. Moule, The Epistle to the Romans (London: Pickering & Inglis, Ltd., n.d.), pp. 410, 411.

⁹⁷See pages 94 and 95 above.

refer to the service of a squire to his master.⁹⁸ It variously describes the service rendered to one's parents,⁹⁹ reverence for men's graves,¹⁰⁰ the service of a charioteer,¹⁰¹ and of minstrels and poets.¹⁰² *θερατεία* often means service done to gain a favor,¹⁰³ thus flattery,¹⁰⁴ and even the indulging of one's love of pleasure.¹⁰⁵ In Plato's Euthyphro not only is *θερατεύειν* mentioned in relation to the handling of horses, hunting dogs, and oxen, but it describes "attention to the gods."¹⁰⁶ Using the word group in the sense of divine service is not unusual in secular Greek. "If you want the favor of the gods," says Xenophon, "you must worship the gods (*θερατεύετεον τοὺς θεοὺς*)."¹⁰⁷ Lysias uses the term in

⁹⁸Odysseus 13.265, cf. 16, 253.

⁹⁹Euripides Ion 183, Plato Republic 467a.

¹⁰⁰Plato Republic 469a.

¹⁰¹Homer Iliad 5.580.

¹⁰²Hesiod Theogony 100.

¹⁰³Thucydides 3.11.

¹⁰⁴Thucydides 1.9, 3.12.

¹⁰⁵Xenophon Cyropaedia 3.1, 18.

¹⁰⁶13a-e.

¹⁰⁷Memorabilia 2.1, 28; cf. Euripides Ion 111, Plato, Republic 469b.

almost a cultic sense referring to "those deities whom we worship (*θεραπεύοντες*) and to whom with our devotions and purifications we sacrifice and pray."¹⁰⁸ Numerous cultic usages of the word group can be found in the inscriptions and papyri.¹⁰⁹

θεραπεία not only is used of general service but takes on the specialized sense of healing, care for the sick, medical treatment. Thucydides speaks of physicians who were unable to "cope with (*θεραπεύοντες*)" the plague¹¹⁰ which often resulted in the death of a victim "in spite of careful nursing (*θεραπευόμενα*)."¹¹¹ According to Plato's Protagoras, a good doctor results from thorough study of "the cure (*θεραπέλειας*) of the ailing."¹¹² Likewise Aristotle states, "the physician who is to heal (*θεραπεύουσα*) the eye or the other parts of the body must know their anatomy."¹¹³ The *θεραπεία* in classical Greek at times has reference to the healing of the soul as well as the body.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸Against Andocides 51.

¹⁰⁹Moulton and Milligan, Vocabulary, pp. 288, 289.

¹¹⁰2.47.

¹¹¹2.51.

¹¹²345a.

¹¹³Nicomachean Ethics 1.13.7.

¹¹⁴plato Gorgias 513d.

The *θεράτων* word group in the Septuagint reflects many of the same meanings found in secular Greek. Typically, *θεραπεία* is used to describe general service rendered to man or God. Pharaoh's servants, for example, are called *θεραπόντων* in Exodus 9:8.¹¹⁵ The same word is used in Genesis 50:17 to designate "the servants of God."¹¹⁶ The later Jewish literature tends to use the word group in the sense of healing. The reference is most often to physical healing¹¹⁷ but the cure often stems from divine hands. In Wisdom 16:12, the restoring of physical health comes from "neither herb nor mollifying plaister" but from "thy word, O Lord, which healeth all things." In Philo, the word group often designates spiritual healing, the healing of the soul.¹¹⁸

With but few exceptions¹¹⁹ *θεράτων*, *θεραπεία*, and *θεραπέω* are used in the sense of healing in the New Testament. Jesus' power to heal is intimately connected with the

¹¹⁵Cf. Job 3:19, Proverbs 18:14.

¹¹⁶Cf. Exodus 4:10, I Chronicles 16:40, Job 1:8.

¹¹⁷E.g. Tobit 12:3.

¹¹⁸E.g. Allegorical Interpretations 3.118, On the Special Law Books 2, 239.

¹¹⁹Luke 12:42 where Jesus calls household servants *θεραπέας*, and Acts 17:25 and Hebrews 3:5 discussed below.

preaching concerning the kingdom¹²⁰ and is an intricate part of his earthly ministry. The *δύναμις* utilized by Jesus is shared with his disciples who in Luke 10:9 are encouraged "to heal the sick . . . and say to them, 'The kingdom of God has come near you.'" The power of healing in the New Testament manifests itself in two forms: the curing of illnesses and infirmities¹²¹ and the exorcism of unclean spirits.¹²² In all these Jesus and his followers exercise the power of God over darkness and over Satan. Jesus brings not only salvation to his disciples as their Savior but also indicates his power and compassion as the Great Physician.

Two New Testament passages are of particular interest because they stray from the usual meaning of the terms. In Acts 17:24, 25, Paul says to the Athenians, ". . . (God) does not live in shrines made by man, nor is he served (*θεραττεύεται*) by human hands . . ." The *θεραττεύεται* in this context takes on almost a cultic meaning -- ritual acts performed to an idol and worship offered to it. On one level Paul seems to be saying that temple activities and idol worship are futile because God cannot be capsulized into a physical

¹²⁰Matthew 4:23, 9:35.

¹²¹E.g. Mark 1:41, 5:23, Luke 14:4, Acts 3:7.

¹²²E.g. Matthew 8:16, Luke 14:4, Acts 8:7.

creation. But more than that, Paul's argument seems to rest on the teachings of the Greek philosophers: "What advantage do (the gods) derive from what they get from us?"¹²³ and further, "the deity, if he be really such, has no wants."¹²⁴ In other words, God needs nothing from men. He is not dependent upon man's worship and service for his existence. Rather than man supplying the needs of the gods, the one God is the supplier of man's needs. "He himself gives to all men life and breath and everything."¹²⁵

The noun *θεράπων* is found only once in the New Testament where Moses is described in Hebrew 3:5 as a servant in God's household. Ordinarily, *δούλος* would be expected as in Revelation 15:3 where Moses is called *δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ*, but evidently a more intimate relationship is suggested in this passage. According to Westcott, "*θεράπων* suggests a personal service freely rendered."¹²⁶ Moses is honored much as the *ὀκρέτης* of God's heavenly home,¹²⁷ occupying both "position

¹²³Plato Euthyphro 15a.

¹²⁴Euripides Heracles 1345.

¹²⁵v. 25.

¹²⁶B. F. Westcott, Hebrews, p. 78.

¹²⁷cf. Deuteronomy 24:5.

and a role of subservience, appropriate for Moses."¹²⁸ But while Moses is faithful in God's house as a servant, Christ is faithful over God's house as a son.¹²⁹ Where Moses' honor as *θεράπων* is great, Christ's honor as *υἱός* is even greater.

ὑπηρέτης, ὑπηρέτω.

ὑπηρέτης is generally assumed to be derived from ἑρέτης (rower), thus "under-rower" or perhaps more accurately, "a member of an organized team of oarsmen."¹³⁰ The term quickly came to apply not just to the rower who takes instruction from his superior, but to virtually anyone in a position of subordination. ὑπηρέτης is first found in Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound in which Hermes is characterized as *θεῶν ὑπηρέτης* -- messenger of the gods.¹³¹ The notion of rendering *ὑπηρέσια* to the gods, or serving others for a divine purpose, is not unusual in the secular Greek.

¹²⁸Neil Lightfoot, Jesus Christ Today, p. 88.

¹²⁹v. 6.

¹³⁰For a discussion of the linguistic problem, see L. J. D. Richardson, "ΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣ," Classical Quarterly 37 (1943): 55-61.

¹³¹954.

Sophocles speaks of serving "the divine power."¹³² According to Plato, Socrates considered his philosophical exhortations divinely conceived, for "the god commands me to do this, and I believe that no greater good ever came to pass in the city than my service (*ὑπηρέσειαν*) to the god."¹³³ The word group also has reference to general service rendered to another. The type and object of service are dependent upon the various contexts in which the terms are found. The herald who proclaims messages of tragedy is called *ὑπηρέτης* by Euripides.¹³⁴ Xenophon similarly uses the term of an orderly who attends a commander in war.¹³⁵ The Athenian stranger in Plato's Laws speaks of paying back the debts one owes his parents for raising him, "so that he ought to give them service (*ὑπηρέσειαν*) to the utmost of his power."¹³⁶ Doctors' assistants are called *ὑπηρέται* but are so entrusted with medical responsibility that they are often called doctors as well.¹³⁷ Plato speaks of men who gain "a victorious

¹³²Electra 1306.

¹³³Apology 30a.

¹³⁴Hector 503.

¹³⁵Cyropaedia 2.4,4 and 6.8,13. See Thucydides 3.17 and Plato Republic 467a.

¹³⁶717c; cf. Plato Republic 467a.

¹³⁷Plato Laws 720a; cf. 961e.

reputation" by serving their native laws.¹³⁸ The various agents who carry out the law of a nation are called ὑπηρέται.¹³⁹ Aristotle insists that the primary function of δοῦλος is bodily service (σωματικὰς ὑπηρεσίας)¹⁴⁰ and sees the necessity for δοῦλος to be able to serve (ὑπηρετεῖν) in the menial tasks (δουλοῦσιν πράξεις) of the house.¹⁴¹

In general, the ὑπηρέτης word group in secular Greek has reference to one who willingly accepts his role of subordination to another. According to Karl Rengstorf, "the reference is always to service of any kind which in structure and in goal is controlled by the will of him to whom it is rendered."¹⁴² But the ὑπηρέτης often has responsibility and authority and is usually paid for his work.¹⁴³ Ὑπηρεσία is service performed by a free man who has the option to discontinue his service if desired.

The ὑπηρέτης word group is found rarely in the Septuagint and has little bearing on its usage in the New Testament.

¹³⁸Laws 729d.

¹³⁹Laws 873b, 914a, 956e.

¹⁴⁰Politics 1.5,3.

¹⁴¹Politics 3.2,8.

¹⁴²Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, by Karl Rengstorf, "Ὑπηρέτης," vol. 8, p. 532.

¹⁴³Ibid.

In Job 1:3, ὑπηρέσια designates Job's "household," presumably meaning house-servants. General service performed for a man is suggested in Isaiah 32:5 and for a king in Proverbs 14:35. The word group is found several times in the Wisdom of Solomon, referring to the work of a carpenter (13:11, 12), of a potter (15:7), the serving of a man's appetite (16:21), service and obedience to God (16:24, 25), and serving the commandments (19:6). According to Rengstorf, "the idea of both voluntary and honorable service is bound up with this word in the OT."¹⁴⁴

ὑπηρέτης, κτλ. are rarely used in the New Testament. The verb form ὑπηρέτω is found only three times while ὑπηρέσια does not occur at all. Primarily ὑπηρέτης refers to a guard, officer, or attendant who has been assigned certain responsibilities. Thus the assistant to the president of the synagogue who receives the scroll from Jesus is called ὑπηρέτης.¹⁴⁵ The guards who arrest Jesus are described as ὑπηρέται,¹⁴⁶ as are the guards who witness Peter's denial.¹⁴⁷ The use of ὑπηρέτης in these passages is similar to the

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 535.

¹⁴⁵Luke 4:20.

¹⁴⁶John 18:3, 12, 18, 22; cf. John 7:32.

¹⁴⁷Matthew 26:58, Mark 14:54.

general usage of the term in secular Greek. Some of the *ὑπηρέτης/ὑπηρετέω* passages are somewhat more difficult to interpret. Gaining an insight into these passages should illuminate the broader notion of service in the New Testament.

In his prologue Luke refers to certain "ministers of the word (*ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι του λόγου*)" who delivered to Luke accounts of Jesus' life.¹⁴⁸ The phrase is original to Luke, found nowhere else in the New Testament. Presumably the *ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι του λόγου* are also the eyewitnesses (*αὐτόπται*) mentioned in the same verse who felt compelled to share the gospel with others.¹⁴⁹ Why Luke chooses this expression rather than the more common *διδάκοντες του λόγου* is not clear. Perhaps the *ὑπηρέται* are to be seen not only as servants of the word but of the person of Christ -- the incarnate Word.¹⁵⁰ Such would correspond with other Lukan passages in which preaching Jesus and preaching the gospel

¹⁴⁸Luke 1:2.

¹⁴⁹Lenski, among others, sees no compelling evidence to assume that the ministers were necessarily eyewitnesses. See R. C. H. Lenski, The Interpretation of St. Luke's Gospel (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1951), p. 30.

¹⁵⁰See Leon Morris, The Gospel According to St. Luke (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 65, 66.

are linked.¹⁵¹ The term may be used to emphasize the subordinate relationship of the ministers to the message and to the Messenger himself. According to Rengstorf, the expression finds meaning in that it "establishes continuity between the preaching of Jesus and the history of Jesus. . . . The choice of *ὑπηρέτης* makes good sense in this connection since the word emphasizes the fact that the *ἀποστόλοι* were not propagandists for their own views of what happened with Jesus but had unreservedly put their persons and work in the service of Jesus' cause."¹⁵² The term is used similarly in Acts 26:16 where Paul relates to Agrippa how Jesus had appeared to him in a vision saying, ". . . I have appeared to you . . . to appoint you to serve and bear witness (*προχέρισάσθαι σε ὑπηρέτην καὶ μάρτυρα*) to the things in which you have seen in me."

In John 18:36, Jesus makes it clear to Pilate that if his "kingdom were of this world, (his) servants (*ὑπηρέται*) would fight. . . ." The central question is whether Jesus is referring to his closest disciples as *ὑπηρέται* who would fight if his kingdom were earthly or whether Jesus, if his kingdom were of this world, would have *ὑπηρέται* who would

¹⁵¹Acts 8:4, 9:20.

¹⁵²Rengstorf, "*ὑπηρέτης*," p. 543.

fight for his cause. That Jesus would refer to his disciples as ὑπηρέται is not beyond possibility. According to Westcott, Jesus' reference is to "the Jewish conceptions of a kingdom and to the Jewish officers, corresponding in this context with the royal dignity Christ assumes."¹⁵³ Furthermore, disciples of Christ are called ὑπηρέται in at least one other New Testament passage -- I Corinthians 4:1. On the other hand, in no other gospel account does Jesus call his disciples ὑπηρέται nor is there any indication even his most intimate group of followers truly understood the nature of his spiritual kingdom.¹⁵⁴ That they were not officers and guards who were willing to fight physically for Jesus' sake grows more out of the character of Christ than the character of his apostles. If his kingdom were earthly, Jesus would undoubtedly have had fighting men, officers, ὑπηρέται to protect him, but he did not. The ὑπηρέται in this passage appear to be hypothetical.

In Acts 13:5, Paul and Barnabas are said to have John (Mark) with them on their missionary journey "to assist them." In what capacity John Mark serves as ὑπηρέτης is

¹⁵³B. F. Westcott, The Gospel According to St. John (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971, reprinted from The Speaker's Commentary), p. 260.

¹⁵⁴E.g. Mark 8:31-33.

unclear. According to B. T. Holmes, the term at times signifies a person whose function involved looking after documents, thus John Mark's responsibility is to carry a gospel document with him.¹⁵⁵ C. S. C. Williams similarly views Mark's role as a special authority on the Old Testament who may have furnished "proofs from the Old Testament that Jesus was the Christ" and drew up "simple catechetical forms for converts to learn by heart" and "interpreted (Saul's and Barnabas') sermons to a Greek-speaking audience."¹⁵⁶ Others suggest that his responsibility was to baptize while Saul and Barnabas preached.¹⁵⁷ According to F. F. Bruce, John Mark "may have begun to take notes of the kerygma, especially as proclaimed by Peter. . . This would have made him a useful companion to the missionaries. He may also have had first-hand knowledge of some of the events of Passion week."¹⁵⁸ Nowhere, however, is his specific work stated or implied.

¹⁵⁵B. T. Holmes, "Luke's Description of John Mark," Journal of Biblical Literature 54 (1935):69.

¹⁵⁶C. S. C. Williams, A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1957) p. 136.

¹⁵⁷For a discussion, see R. C. H. Lenski, The Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles (Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1944), p. 498.

¹⁵⁸F. F. Bruce, Acts of the Apostles: A Greek Text and Commentary (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1952), p. 259.

More than likely his was a general service, doing whatever Saul and Barnabas asked of him.

Numerous questions arise with Luke's usage of *ὑπηρετέω* in Acts 13:36: "For David, after he had served (*ὑπηρετήσας*) the counsel of God in his own generation, fell asleep, and was raised with his fathers . . ." The meaning in the Greek is unclear. Did David serve the counsel or purpose of God or did he serve "his own generation?" Did David fall asleep in his generation or through God's will?" Or, perhaps, did David in his generation serve the will of God? Though the language is somewhat vague, the emphasis of Paul's sermon at the synagogue in Antioch of Pisidia is clear: David's service (though performed under God's will) was temporary; but Christ who was sinless is able even now to forgive sins.¹⁵⁹

The *ὑπηρετής* of I Corinthians 4:1 can scarcely be differentiated from *δούκονος*.¹⁶⁰ "This is how one should regard us," says Paul, "as servants of Christ (*ὑπηρετῆς Χριστοῦ*) and stewards (*οἰκονόμοις*) of the mysteries of God." The *ὑπηρετής* of Christ has no individual significance, he can make no personal claims, the work is not his own. He belongs to Christ; Christ is his master and his authority.

¹⁵⁹v. 37ff.

¹⁶⁰cf. I Corinthians 3:5.

ὄυκέτης.

ὄυκέτης is one of many cognates in the ὄυκος word group¹⁶¹ and generally refers in secular Greek to a servant, particularly a servant within a household or in charge of household duties. The general notion of the term is implied by Herodotus who speaks of certain Athenians who did not yet have servants.¹⁶² He also uses the term to describe entire households, including evidently the wife and children.¹⁶³ Plato differentiates between ὄυκέται and δοῦλοι in his Laws by describing a group of men who will become "like servants (ὄυκέται) keeping no servants (ὄυκέτας) nor any slaves (δοῦλοι)." ¹⁶⁴ Aristotle writes that an ox takes the place of a servant (ὄυκέτης) for the poor.¹⁶⁵ The treatment of the ὄυκέτης in the Greek world was basically the same as that of the δοῦλος -- he is at the disposal of his master, under his will, obedient to his commands -- yet some were

¹⁶¹A similar term -- ὄυκονόμος (steward) -- describes a chief slave, the manager of a household, administrator, and thus its emphasis is on appropriating responsibility and managing well rather than the subjective relationship of a slave to his master.

¹⁶²Herodotus 6.137.

¹⁶³7.170; 8.4, 106, 142. Cf. Aeschylus Agamemnon 733, Xenophon Cyropaedia 4.2,2.

¹⁶⁴763a; cf. 753d.

¹⁶⁵Politics 1:1, 6.

evidently given positions of special responsibility.¹⁶⁶

In the Septuagint, *οἰκέτης* takes the general meaning of servant, with the type and object of service dependent upon the context. The term is often used as virtually synonymous with *δούλος*. In Exodus 12:44, Moses is told to circumcize all servants (*οἰκέτην*) bought with money. In Leviticus 25:39, the Israelites are told that a brother that cannot pay his debts "shall not serve thee with the servitude of a slave (*οὐ δουλεύσει σου δουλείαν οἰκέτου*)." The nation of Israel is said to have been "slave (*οἰκέτης*) in the land of Egypt."¹⁶⁷ The term is connected with *παῖς* in Genesis 9 where the servant (*παῖς*) Chanaan is ordered to be a slave (*οἰκέτης*) to his brothers, literally a "bond-servant (*παῖς οἰκέτης*)."¹⁶⁸ In Genesis 50:17, 18, Joseph's brothers refer to themselves as servants (*θεραπώνων*) of God and servants (*οἰκέται*) of Joseph. In Exodus 32:13, Moses calls Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob servants (*οἰκέται*) of God. At times the word suggests an undesirable slavery, while at other times it is a more intimate term describing a familial relationship.

¹⁶⁶See R. C. Trench, Synonyms of the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1953), p. 33.

¹⁶⁷Deuteronomy 5:15.

¹⁶⁸v. 25, 26.

Philo and Josephus use the word with the meaning of both general servant and household slave. Philo speaks of becoming a servant (*ὄκείτην*) to wisdom.¹⁶⁹ In the Life of Josephus, Justus' domestic servant (*ὄκείτης*) is said to have died in battle.¹⁷⁰ In his treatise Against Apion, Josephus refers to "our women-folk and dependents (*ὄκείτων*)," evidently meaning both slaves and children.¹⁷¹ By the time of the first century A.D., *ὄκείτης* had developed no special or technical meaning, implying merely a type of subordination usually centered around a house or family.

ὄκείτης is found in the New Testament four times, translated "servant" in each case. In only one of these cases does the term identify specific individuals. The *ὄκείται* of Acts 10:7 are the domestic servants of Cornelius. They are a part of his "household" and "feared God" along with their master.¹⁷² They were dispatched by Cornelius to Joppa to find Simon Peter.

¹⁶⁹The Posterity and Exile of Cain 138.

¹⁷⁰341.

¹⁷¹2, 181.

¹⁷²v. 2.

In Romans 14:4 Paul warns his readers against judging another man's servant. The *οἰκέτης* belongs to his master and therefore is responsible to him. Paul is questioning the right of individuals to meddle in the domestic affairs of others. The servant stands or falls under the scrutiny of his master, and therefore no other person can judge the merit of his work. On a larger scale, the man who is weak¹⁷³ is not to be judged by those who are strong, for Christ is the Master, and he "is able to make him stand."¹⁷⁴

The *οἰκέται* in I Peter 2:18 are instructed to be submissive to their *δεσπόταις*. The term in this passage seems to be parallel with *δοῦλοι* in similar Pauline passages.¹⁷⁵ As with Paul, Peter does not question the institution of slavery but seeks to remind his readers of their Christian responsibilities in whatever state they find themselves. They are to respect their masters not only if they are kind and gentle, but if they are overbearing as well. These domestic servants are reminded of the slavery of Christ "who suffered for you, leaving you an example that you should follow in his steps."¹⁷⁶

173_vv. 1-3.

174_v. 4.

175_vE.g. Ephesians 6:5, Titus 2:9.

176_vI Peter 2:21.

Finally, in Luke's gospel Jesus is quoted as saying, "No servant (οἰκέτης) can serve (δουλεύειν) two masters . . ."177 This passage is parallel to Matthew 6:24 which reads, "no one (οὐδείς)" rather no "no servant." Why Luke chooses the word for domestic servant and not Matthew is unclear. Perhaps οἰκέτης is used because Luke places the story after the parable concerning the dishonest steward (οἰκονόμος). The cognates οἰκέτης and οἰκονόμος are compatible in this passage, the former describing a subordinate relationship and the latter a managerial responsibility, each appropriate within its context. The language in Luke 16 is certainly more specific than that of Matthew 6, for the house servant is committed to service in one house only and cannot serve two household masters. Likewise, no man can serve both God and mammon.

The Servant Words Compared

Though each servant word has its unique etymology and basic emphasis, the words as found in both secular and Biblical Greek are hard to differentiate and are at times used almost interchangeably in the New Testament. Meanings often vary from context to context and from author to author.

177 Luke 16:13.

Perhaps through grouping the words according to basic backgrounds and meaning, individual differences can be considered and collective implications drawn so that the concept of service in the New Testament can be further defined.

The *δοῦλος* word group represents the extreme in terms of subjection. No other servant word is characterized by the same type of submissiveness that is inherit in the *δοῦλος*. The *δοῦλος* has no will of his own; he is totally controlled by his master. While the *οἰκέτης* is also subject to his master, the distinction between master and slave is less severe. In the secular Greek literature the *οἰκέται* are often respected members of the household who assume important responsibilities. The word occasionally even includes the non-servants of a household -- the wife, children, and dependents. *Παῖς* too finds its norm in subjection but, because of its connotations of "child" both in terms of age and descent, it often describes a relationship with a master more intimate than that of the *οἰκέτης* or *δοῦλος*. *Παῖς* is often used as an endearing term, though the notion of submission is never lost. *Δούλος*, *οἰκέτης*, and *παῖς* can often refer to the same individual and are at times synonymous in the Greek literature. The uses of the terms in the New Testament overlap as well. Both Paul and Peter, for example, instruct Christian slaves as to their Godly

responsibilities to their master. Paul uses *δοῦλος*;¹⁷⁸ Peter uses *οἰκέτης*.¹⁷⁹ *δοῦλος* and *πᾶς* are both descriptive of the relationship of men to God. *πᾶς* is used rarely in this sense in the New Testament and is used only of David and Christ. *δοῦλος θεοῦ* is found frequently and is the norm for all Christians in their relationship to God. *δοῦλος*, *οἰκέτης*, and *πᾶς* each find their definition in terms of a subjective relationship to a master.

Διακονία, on the other hand, is defined not by its subjection (though the *δίακονος* may be a slave subject to his master) but by its work for the sake of another. The work of the *δίακονος* is often menial and physical, yet it is rendered to the other's advantage. The *ὑπηρέτης* and the *θεράπων* are also defined more by their service than by their subjection. The *ὑπηρέτης* in Greek literature is sometimes paid wages for his work which is often voluntary. The term is used of an apprentice learning his master's skills and applies to virtually anyone who willingly accepts a role of subordination to another. *ὑπηρέσις* can describe general service of almost any nature. *θεραπεία* also refers to any

¹⁷⁸Ephesians 6:5, Titus 2:9.

¹⁷⁹I Peter 2:18.

kind of general service. The *θεράπων* may be a free man or a slave but his service is willingly given on behalf of another. Because of its connotation of healing, *θεραπεία* is generally seen as freer and more tender than that of the *ὑπηρέτης* and certainly that of the *δοῦλος*, *ὀκέτης*, and *παῦς*. Likewise, the service of the *διάκονος* is often depicted as a service of love rendered for the advantage of another without regard for self. These three terms are at times synonymous in the New Testament. Timothy is called by Paul a *διάκονος θεοῦ*¹⁸⁰ as Moses is seen as God's *θεράπων*.¹⁸¹ Several men in the New Testament are called *διάκονοι Χριστοῦ*.¹⁸² Similarly, Paul speaks in I Corinthians 4:1 of *ὑπηρέτης Χριστοῦ*. Paul often describes the ministry of the Christians as the *διάκονία* of the word and of the gospel.¹⁸³ Luke characterizes the men who delivered him accounts of Jesus' life as *ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου*.¹⁸⁴ Though *διάκονος*, *ὑπηρέτης*, and *θεράπων* and their cognates each retain their specific and unique backgrounds and meanings, they find some commonality

¹⁸⁰I Thessalonians 3:2.

¹⁸¹Hebrews 3:5.

¹⁸²II Corinthians 11:23, I Timothy 4:6, Colossians 1:7.

¹⁸³E.g. Acts 6:4, Ephesians 3:7, Colossians 1:23.

¹⁸⁴Luke 1:2.

in their relation to service for the sake of others rather than subjection to a master.

Λειτουργός is used at times in the New Testament in terms of general service rendered to another, often virtually synonymous with *δούκονος*. For example, earthly rulers are called both *λειτουργός* and *δούκονος*.¹⁸⁵ In Romans 15 and II Corinthians 9, the collection of money for the Jerusalem Christians is called both *λειτουργία* and *δουκονία*. Epaphroditus' service to Paul in response to his physical needs is termed *λειτουργία*.¹⁸⁶ However, the *λειτουργός* word group is used most frequently in the sense of a cultic or sacerdotal ministry. The ministry of priests is described as *λειτουργία* in the New Testament.¹⁸⁷ Paul participates figuratively in a *λειτουργία* on behalf of the Philippian Christians¹⁸⁸ as does Jesus in a more significant way for all of mankind.¹⁸⁹ Similarly in its one New Testament reference, *ἑρουργέω* depicts its etymological background in describing the priestly work of Paul in the service of the gospel for

¹⁸⁵Romans 13:4, 6.

¹⁸⁶Philippians 2:25, 30.

¹⁸⁷Luke 1:23, Hebrews 8:2.

¹⁸⁸Philippians 2:17.

¹⁸⁹Hebrews 8, 9, and 10.

the sake of the Gentiles.¹⁹⁰ *λατρεύω* is also used in a cultic sense in the New Testament with virtually no distinction from *λεειτουργέω* and *ἱερούργεω*, other than its unique emphasis on sacrifice. The ritual duties of priests mentioned in Hebrews 9:1, and the ministry of priests in the tent,¹⁹¹ are examples of this specialized meaning of the term. But *λατρεία* and *λατρεύω* are used in the New Testament in a broader sense as well. *Λατρεία* is descriptive of general worship to God¹⁹² as well as specific acts of worship.¹⁹³ Furthermore, *λατρεία* in Romans 12:1 describes the life of the Christian that is given completely in sacrificial service to God. The *λεειτουργέω*, *ἱερούργεω*, and *λατρεύω* word groups are very closely related in the New Testament in referring to priestly ministry, yet the backgrounds and implications of each are unique.

Each of the servant words has specific applications in specific contexts, yet three basic functions or relationships are expressed by nine terms. In increasing order of severity *πάσις*, *οἰκέτης*, and *δούλος* and their cognates describe the

¹⁹⁰Romans 15:16.

¹⁹¹Hebrews 13:10.

¹⁹²Hebrews 12:28.

¹⁹³Acts 26:7.

subjugation of man's will to man or God. ὑπηρέτης, θεράπων,
and δακονος and their cognates depict service rendered for
the sake of another. The λειτουργία, λατρεία, and
ἱεραουργέω word groups generally refer to priestly ministry.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The concept of servitude as found in the New Testament is of major significance in terms of the relationship of the Christian to God and his subsequent response to his fellow-man. Numerous terms are used in various contexts denoting types of service rendered. Each of the servant words has a unique philological background and offers special contributions to the overall understanding of service in the New Testament. From a comparative study of these words in the New Testament, several conclusions can be drawn as to the significance of service for the Christian.

1. Service requires subjection. The *δοῦλος* word group in both Biblical and secular literature denotes a complete subjugation of one will to another, a slavery which is all-encompassing and totally binding. In the New Testament, all men are considered to be slaves in some form. By his very nature, man is the *δοῦλος* of whatever overcomes him,¹ of whatever he chooses to obey.² For the man who lives apart

¹III Peter 2:19.

²Romans 6:6.

from Christ, his slavery is to sin. No other word could adequately describe the plight of the sinner than δουλεύω, for the δούλος τῆς ἁμαρτίας is under the total control of sin. Sin masters the will and therefore the behavior of the sinner. The sin which reigns in the heart of the Christless man molds him according to its desires, causing him to obey its passions. Sin's slave is bound up in the service of Satan, under sin's authority.

Freedom is possible for the δούλος of sin only through death -- Christ's and the sinner's. Christ's death provides manumission through the symbolic purchasing of the sinner's life. Christ has ransomed the sinners through the offering of his blood. Since man cannot overcome his slavery to sin through his own power, Christ's death is necessary in order to free the sinner from his bondage. But the sinner's death is also required, for the sinner must die to his own selfish will, to the power of the law of sin. In so doing, he is joined with Christ in his death thus achieving release from sin's control.

The emancipation from the slavery of sin necessitates a new servitude, a relinquishing of man's will to the will of God. The man who would follow the Lord must belong to him. The ransom offered to free man from the dominion of sin binds him to the Redeemer so that the will of the Christian is

subsumed under the will of Christ. No forgiveness of sins is possible apart from a voluntary slavery, an absolute and binding commitment to God through his son. The New Testament perspective of δουλεία is distinct from the Greek and Jewish traditions in that service is the basis of all relationships for the Christian. Greatness in the kingdom of God is reserved for the δούλος of God and man.

Παῖς and οὐκέτης join δούλος in describing the slave subject to his master. The root meaning of παῖς is "child," and the service implied is somewhat more intimate than that of the δούλος. Both David and Jesus are called παῖς θεοῦ in the New Testament. οὐκέτης is used in the New Testament always of the personal slave of a human master, generally referring to a household servant. Neither παῖς nor οὐκέτης assume the extreme nature of the servile relationship of the δούλος to his master. Ultimately, the man who would be a servant of God must lose his own will, submerging it under the all-encompassing will of God.

2. Service requires ministering to the needs of others.

Διακονία has its roots in physical service, especially menial service rendered for the sake of another. In both secular and Biblical Greek, the service can be either voluntary or involuntary. In either case, the δίακονος is more defined

by his service than by his subjection. As with *βουλέα*, *δουκονία* is viewed generally as undesirable in classical Greek and in the Septuagint, but in the New Testament it is viewed as the dynamic of the Christian's relationship with God and his fellowman. Two types of *δουκονία* can be distinguished in the New Testament: physical and spiritual. The serving of physical needs is essential to the task of the church and is reflective of the Biblical injunction to love one's neighbor, but spiritual *δουκονία* is seen as more important. Through the ministry of the word, the gospel of Christ is shared with those whose spiritual needs are great. The man separated from God is served with a ministry of the new covenant,³ a ministry which brings life through the power of the Spirit. The *δουκονία* of the Christian to the unbeliever is a ministry of reconciliation,⁴ a service in which the sinner is restored into the favor of God through the agency of Christ's death. Ultimately, the whole church is involved in *δουκονία* as each Christian has been given various gifts by God. These gifts not only serve to usher the lost man into the presence of God but are designed to build up the body of Christ as well.

³II Corinthians 3:6.

⁴II Corinthians 5:18.

In terms of activity rendered for the sake of others, *διδάκονος* is joined by *ὑπηρέτης*, *θεράπων*, and occasionally *λειτουργός*. *ὑπηρέτης* is most often descriptive of an attendant, guard, or officer. John Mark, for example, was the special assistant to Saul and Barnabas.⁵ In two places *ὑπηρέτης* is virtually synonymous with *διδάκονος* in describing ministers of the word⁶ and servants of Christ.⁷ *θεραπέυα* strays from the normal reference to the act of healing in only two places in the New Testament. In Acts 17, Paul emphasizes to the Athenians that the true God is not served with human hands.⁸ In Hebrews 3:5, Moses is called God's *θεράπων*, freely and tenderly offering service to the Father. Occasionally *λειτουργία* is descriptive of general service rendered for the advantage of others. In Romans 13, earthly authorities are called both *διδάκονοι* and *λειτουργοί*. Physical needs are provided for in the *λειτουργία* to the Jerusalem Christians⁹ and to Paul by Epaphroditus.¹⁰ In each of these instances the service administered is not defined by its subjection but by its activity for the sake of others.

⁵Acts 13:5. ⁶Luke 1:2. ⁷I Corinthians 4:1.

⁸v. 25.

⁹Romans 15:27 and II Corinthians 9:12.

¹⁰Philippians 2:25, 30.

3. Service involves priestly ministry. Three of the servant words find their New Testament emphasis in neither subjection nor service rendered on behalf of others but in priestly ministrations or worship. *Λειτουργός* and *λατρεία* are virtually synonymous in the New Testament, the latter perhaps implying a stronger notion of sacrifice. Both are used to describe the ritual duties of priests.¹¹ *Λειτουργία* is descriptive of Paul's work on behalf of the Gentiles¹² and specifically the Philippian Christians,¹³ as well as Jesus' service to all of mankind through his death.¹⁴ *Λατρεία* at times refers to the worship of the Christians even to the sacrificial giving of their lives in service to God. *Τεραρχέω*, found only in Romans 15:16, characterizes Paul's priestly ministry in the service of the gospel for the sake of the Gentiles.

Ultimately, the New Testament concept of priestly ministry involves the giving of one's very life for the sake of those who are Christless. The *λειτουργὸν Χριστοῦ* by his nature is giving of himself in the priestly service of the gospel of God. God's servant willingly offers his own body

¹¹ *Λειτουργία* -- Luke 1:23, Hebrews 8:2; *λατρεία* -- Hebrews 9:1.

¹²Romans 15:16. ¹³Philippians 2:17.

¹⁴Hebrews 10:10.

as a "living sacrifice" to God, thus involving himself in "spiritual worship (λογικῆν λατρείαν)".¹⁵ True worship, then is not a ministry of external form but of internal response to the mercies of God, not only for the worshipper, but also in behalf of those in the world who are the real recipients of the Christian's priestly ministry.

4. Service demands sacrificial discipleship. The mark of service to Christ is discipleship. Christ's servant is one who will follow him at any cost. Therefore, discipleship necessitates hating one's self: "He who loves his life shall lose it, and he who hates his life in this world will keep it for eternal life."¹⁶ The man whose heart is right has such an attitude of love that the affairs of this world appear by comparison to be hatred. Serving Christ requires losing one's life for the sake of the master; it requires suffering. In every passage referring to the ministry of the word, the broader context includes the idea of suffering.¹⁷ In each instance those involved in the proclamation of the gospel took to heart Jesus' exhortation to hate his own life. The man who follows Christ must be willing to share in the very suffering which ultimately led to the death of the Master himself.

¹⁵Romans 12:1.

¹⁶John 12:25.

5. Christ is the model servant. Though each of the servant words has unique implications in the New Testament, the overall impact is threefold: The Christian is a slave under the all-encompassing will and guidance of God; he serves his fellowman within and outside the church physically and spiritually according to need; he is involved in a priestly ministry in terms of his work on behalf of those who are lost, the sacrificial offering of his own life for God's sake, and his continual worship of God accompanied by reverence and awe. But each of these avenues of service would be meaningless were it not for the example set by the master servant himself. Christ's function as the Messiah was not one of being served but one of serving. Christ was the ultimate δούλος, God's faithful servant. He was God's faithful servant as a child tending to his Father's business. He was God's faithful servant in his submission to baptism at the commencement of his earthly ministry. He was God's faithful servant through Satan's temptations, through persecution by his oppressors, through the misconceptions of his friends. He was God's δούλος par excellence in his march toward death, in his desire that God's will be done, in his

¹⁷Ephesians 3:13; Colossians 1:23-25; I Thessalonians 3:2-4; I Peter 1:6-11; Acts 6, 7.

action before his accusers, in his agony on the cross, in his triumphant resurrection. But his servitude was apparent not only through his subjection and obedience to God even unto death, it was illustrated by the loving actions administered to his fellowman. Christ as *δουκονος* was the embodiment of love, the compassionate servant offering unrestrained mercy. His every action emanated from a generous heart and was rendered for the ultimate benefit of those he served. He healed the eyes of those who could not see as well as those whose spiritual eyes had been blinded. He opened the ears of those who could not hear and those whose ears had shut out the calling of God. Christ's was a ministry of footwashing, a ministry of healing, a selfless ministry for the advantage of those in need, culminating in the giving of his own life for the sake of the people. Likewise, his priestly ministry was enacted through his death. Since "every high priest is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifice,"¹⁸ Christ as the great high priest offered his life as a sacrifice for sins, thus sanctifying those who believe in him. Though his body was given "once for all,"¹⁹ his priestly ministry is continuing through his intercession in the offering of prayers

¹⁸Hebrews 8:3.

¹⁹Hebrews 10:10.

to God on behalf of God's children. Whether through his subjection, his activity for the sake of those whom he loves, or his priestly ministry, Christ's servitude is the ground and source of the Christian's ministry, for Christ not only shares in man's servitude but is the well-spring from which the strength and motivation to serve flow.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Aeschylus. Agamemnon. Translated by Herbert Weir Smyth. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Aeschylus. The Clouds. Translated by Herbert Weir Smyth. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Aeschylus. The Libation-Bearers. Translated by Herbert Weir Smyth. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Aeschylus. Prometheus Bound. Translated by Herbert Weir Smyth. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- The Ante-Nicene Fathers. 8 vols. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.
- The Apostolic Fathers. 2 vols. Translated by Kirsopp Lake. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.
- Aristophanes. The Archanians. Translated by Benjamin Bickley Rogers. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924.
- Aristotle. Metaphysics. 2 vols. Translated by Hugh Tredennick. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933.
- Aristotle. Nicomachean Ethics. Translated by H. Rackham. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.

- Aristotle. Politics. Translated by H. Rackham. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932.
- Aristotle. (pseud.) Oeconomica. Translated by Hugh Tredennick. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935.
- The Bible. Revised Standard Version. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1953.
- Diogenes Laertius. The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers. 2 vols. Translated by R. D. Hicks. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925.
- Euripides. Cyclops. Translated by Arthur S. Way. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912.
- Euripides. Electra. Arthur S. Way. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912.
- Euripides. Hector. Arthur S. Way. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912.
- Euripides. Hecuba. Arthur S. Way. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912.
- Euripides. Heracles. Arthur S. Way. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912.
- Euripides. Ion. Arthur S. Way. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912.
- Euripides. The Phoenician Maidens. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912.
- Herodotus. 4 vols. Translated by A. D. Godley. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925.
- Hesiod. Theogony. Translated by Richmond Lattimore. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1959.

- Homer. Iliad. 2 vols. Translated by A. T. Murray. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925.
- Homer. Odyssey. 2 vols. Translated by A. T. Murray. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919.
- Isocrates. Panathenaicus. Translated by George Norlin. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928.
- Josephus, Flavius. The Life. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Josephus, Flavius. Jewish Antiquities. 9 vols. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930.
- Josephus, Flavius. The Jewish War. 3 vols. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.
- Lysias. Against Andocides. Translated by W. R. M. Lamb. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930.
- Lysias. "On the Refusal of a Pension to the Invalid." Translated by W. R. M. Lamb. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.
- Novum Testamentum Graece, 25th ed. Edited by Eberhard Nestle, Erwin Nestle, and Kurt Alands. Stuttgart: Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1963.
- Philo. Allegorical Interpretation. Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929.
- Philo. On The Comtemplative Life. Translated by F. H. Colson. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941.
- Philo. On Noah's Work as a Planter. Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930.

- Philo. On the Cherubim. Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929.
- Philo. On the Migration of Abraham. Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932.
- Philo. On the Special Law Books. Translated by F. H. Colson. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1937.
- Philo. On the Prosterity and Exile of Cain. Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929.
- Pindar. The Nimean Odes. Translated by John Sandys. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915.
- Plato. Apology. Translated by Harold North Fowler. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914.
- Plato. Euthyphro. Translated by Harold North Fowler. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914.
- Plato. Gorgias. Translated by W. R. M. Lamb. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925.
- Plato. Laws. 2 vols. Translated by R. G. Bury. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Plato. Phaedo. Translated by Harold North Fowler. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914.
- Plato. Protagoras. Translated by W. R. M. Lamb. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924.
- Plato. Republic. 2 vols. Translated by Paul Shorey. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930.

- Plato. Theaetetus. Translated by Henry North Fowler. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921.
- Plutarch. Alexander. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919.
- Plutarch. Numa. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914.
- Polybius. The Histories. 6 vols. Translated by W. R. Paton. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922.
- The Septuagint Bible. Edited by C. A. Muses. Indian Hills, Colorado: The Falcon's Wing Press, 1954.
- Sophocles. Ajax. Translated by F. Storr. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913.
- Sophocles. Oedipus at Colonus. Translated by F. Storr. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912.
- Sophocles. Philoctetes. Translated by F. Storr. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913.
- Sophocles. Trachiniae. Translated by F. Storr. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913.
- Thucydides. History of the Peloponnesian War. 4 vols. Translated by Charles Forster Smith. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919.
- Xenophon. Agésilas. Translated by E. C. Marchant. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925.
- Xenophon. Cyropaedia. 2 vols. Translated by Walter Miller. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914.

Xenophon. Memorabilia. Translated by E. C. Marchant. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.

Xenophon. Oeconomicus. Translated by E. C. Marchant. The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.

LEXICONS AND CONCORDANCES

Abbott-Smith, G. A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament. Third edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1937.

Arndt, William F. and Gingrich, F. Wilbur. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.

Barr, James. The Semantics of Biblical Language. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.

Cremer, Hermann. Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek. Translated by William Urwick. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895.

Deismann, Adolph. Philology of the Greek Bible. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925.

Girdlestone, Robert B. Synonyms of the Old Testament. Second edition. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans' Pub. Co., 1897.

Goodspeed, Edgar J. Index Patristicus. Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1907.

Hatch, Edwin and Henry A. Redpath. A Concordance to the Septuagint. Graz-Austria: Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt, 1954.

Lampe, G. W. H. A Patristic Greek Lexicon. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965.

Liddell, H. G. and Scott, Robert. A Greek-English Lexicon. Revised by Henry Stuart Jones. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940.

- Moule, C. F. D. An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek.
Cambridge: University Press, 1963.
- Moulton, James Hope and Milligan, George. The Vocabulary of The Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1949.
- Moulton, W. F. and Geden, A. S. A Concordance to the Greek Testament. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1899.
- Parkhurst, John. A Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament. Seventh edition. Edinburgh: Thomas Turnbull, 1813.
- Pickering, John. A Comprehensive Lexicon of the Greek Language. Boston: Rice and Kendall, 1855.
- Rengstorff, Karl H. A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1973.
- Robinson, Edward. A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1885.
- Sophocles, E. A. Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. 2 vols. New York: F. Ungar Publishing Co., 1957.
- Thackeray, Henry St. John. A Lexicon to Josephus. Paris: Librairie Orientalistic Paul Geuthner, 4 vols., 1930-1955.
- Thayer, Joseph Henry (trans.). A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament being Grimm's Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti. New York: American Book Company, 1886.
- Tregelles, Samuel P. (trans.). Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1950.
- Trench, R. C. Synonyms of the New Testament. Grand Rapids: W. M. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1953.
- Vincent, Marvin R. Word Studies in the New Testament. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956.

Vine, W. E. An Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words. Westwood, N. J.: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1966.

Young, Robert. Analytical Concordance to the Bible. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1952.

DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS

Baker's Dictionary of the Bible, 1960 ed. Edited by Edward P. Harrison. s.v. "Minister, Ministry," Leon Morris.

A Companion to the Bible, 1958 ed. Edited by J. J. von Allman. s.v. "Ministry in the Old Testament," G. Pidoux; "Ministry in the New Testament," Ph.-H. Menoud.

Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, Ecclesiastical Literature, 1969 ed. Edited by John McClintock, s. v. "Minister," James Strong.

Dictionary of the Apostolic Church, 1926 ed. Edited by James Hastings. s.v. "Minister, Ministry," Alfred Plummer.

A Dictionary of the Bible, 1900 ed. s.v. "Minister, Ministry," John Massie.

Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, 1909 ed. Edited by James Hastings. s. v. "Minister, Ministration," James Donald; "Minister," E. C. Dargon; "Service," W. W. Holdsworth.

A Dictionary of Theology, 1969 ed. Edited by Alan Richardson. s.v. "Ministry," J. C. Davies.

Encyclopaedia Biblica, 1899 ed. s.v. "Ministry," P. W. Schmiedel.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 1922 ed. s. v. "Ministry," A. J. Machean.

The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, 1962 ed. s.v. "Christian Ministry," M. H. Spepberd; "Minister in the Old Testament."

The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume. s.v. "Slavery in the OT," W. Zimmerli; "Slavery in the NT," W. G. Rollins.

The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia, 1947 ed. s.v. "Ministry," T. M. Lindsay.

The New Bible Dictionary, 1907 ed. s.v. "Minister, Ministry," G. S. M. Walker.

Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. s.v. "Διάκονος," Hermann W. Beyer; "Δούλος," Karl H. Rengstorf; "εργάζομαι," Georg Bertram; "θεραπεία," Hermann W. Beyer; "τερουργέω," Gottlob Schrenk; "λατρεύω," Hermann Strathmann; "λεειτουργός," Rudolph Meyer and Hermann Strathmann; "δικέτης," Otto Michel; "πάις," Georg Bertram; "πάις θεού," Joachim Jeremias and Walter Zimmerli; "επηρέτης," Karl H. Rengstorf; "φύλη," Christian Maurer.

A Theological Word Book of the Bible, 1951 ed. Edited by Alan Richardson. s.v. "Minister, Ministry," H. J. Carpenter; "Servant," J. Y. Campbell; "Service," Alan Richardson.

Wycliffe Bible Encyclopedia, 1975 ed. s.v. "Minister, Ministry," Paul Feinberg.

PERIODICALS

Bartling, Walter J. "Ministry to Ministers: An Examination of the New Testament 'Diakonia'" Concordia Theological Monthly, 33(June, 1962):325-36.

Cooper, Robert M. "Leitourgos Christou Issou: Toward a Theology of Christian Prayer," Anglican Theological Review, 47(July, 1965):263-75.

Dorow, Maynard. "Church, Ministry, and Mission Fields," Concordia Theological Monthly, 35(September, 1964):455-69.

Finley. "Was Greek Civilization Based on Slave Labor?" Historia 8 (1959):145-164.

Hase, Hans Christoph von. "Diakonia: Today's Task,:" Scottish Journal of Theology 20(March, 1967):57-74.

- Holmes, B. T. "Luke's Description of John Mark." Journal of Biblical Literature 54(1935):66-75.
- Lampe, G. W. H. "Ministerial Priesthood," Modern Churchman 5(April, 1962):200-11.
- Moule, C. F. D. "Deacons in the New Testament," Theology 58(1955):405-7.
- Mudge, Lewis S. "Servant Lord and His Servant People," Scottish Journal of Theology 12(June, 1959):113-28.
- Price, James L. "Servant Motif in the Synoptic Gospels," Interpretation 12(January, 1958):28-38.
- Richardson, L. J. D., "ΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣ," Classical Quarterly 37(1943):55-61.
- Schlaifer, Robert. "Greek Theories of Slavery From Homer to Aristotle," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 47(1936):165-204.
- Tatton, C. "Some Studies of New Testament Diakonia," Scottish Journal of Theology 25(November, 1972):423-434.
- Westermann, W. L. "The Freedman and the Slaves of God," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 92(1948):55-65.
- Westermann, W. L. "Slavery and the Elements of Freedom in Ancient Greece." Quarterly Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Science in America 1(1943):322-47.
- Wolff, Hans Walter. "Masters and Slaves." Interpretation 27(1973):259-272.

UNPUBLISHED ARTICLES

- Ferguson, Everett. Historical Developments Related to the Public Ministry of the Word in the Church of the First and Second Centuries. (M.A. Thesis). Abilene Christian College, 1954.

Pursley, William Lee. The Sacrificial and/or Priestly Ministry in the Pauline Epistles. (M.A. Thesis). Abilene Christian College, Aug. 1968.

Taliaferro, Gary D. The Meaning of "Freedom" in the New Testament. (M.A. Thesis). Abilene Christian College. May, 1974.

BOOKS

Bartchy, S. Scott. ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ: First-Century Slavery and the Interpretation of I Corinthians 7:21. Dissertation series, no. 11. Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973.

Beardslee, William A. Human Achievement and Divine Vocation in the Message of Paul. Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1961.

Bromiley, G. W. Christian Ministry. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1959.

Bultmann, Rudolph. Theology of the New Testament. 2 vols. Translated by Kendrick Grobel. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1951.

Carpenter, L. L. Christian Application of the Doctrine of the Servant. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1929.

Cullmann, Oscar. The Early Church. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956.

Deissmann, Adolph. Light From the Ancient East. Translated by R. M. Strachan. New York: Macmillan, 1951.

Dobschutz, Ernst von. Christian Life in the Primitive Church. London: Williams and Norgate, 1904.

Ferguson, Everett. Early Christians Speak. Austin: Sweet Publishing Company, 1971.

Green, Michael. Called to Serve. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964.

- Hanson, A. T. The Pioneer Ministry: The Relation of Church and Ministry. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961.
- Harnack, Adolph. The Missions and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries. Translated and Edited by James Moffatt. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962.
- Heinisch, Paul. Theology of the Old Testament. Translated by William G. Heidt. St. Paul, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1955.
- Hort, F. J. A. The Christian Ecclesia. London: Macmillan and Company, 1897.
- Jackson, F. J. Foakes and Lake, Kirsopp. The Beginnings of Christianity. 5 vols. London: Macmillan and Company, 1942.
- Jeremias, Joachim. Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1969.
- Kirk, Kenneth E. The Apostolic Ministry. London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd. 1946.
- Lindsey, T. M. The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries. London: Macmillan and Co., 1907.
- Manson, T. W. The Church's Ministry. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958.
- Manson, T. W. Ministry and Priesthood: Christ's and Ours. Richmond: John Know Press, n.d.
- McCord, James I. and Parker, T. H. C. (eds.) Service in Christ: Essays Presented to Karl Barth on the 80th Birthday. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966.
- Oehler, Gustav Friedrich. Theology of the Old Testament. New York: Funk & Wagnells, 1885.
- Paul, Robert S. Ministry. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965.

Payne, J. Barton. The Theology of the Older Testament.
Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1962.

Robinson, J. A. "The Christian Ministry in the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Periods," Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry, Ed. H. B. Swete. London: Macmillan and Co., 1918.

Streeter, B. H. The Primitive Church. New York: Macmillan and Company, 1936.

COMMENTARIES

Albright, W. F. and Mann, C. S. Matthew: Introduction, Translation, and Notes. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971.

Arndt, William. Bible Commentary: The Gospel According to St. Luke. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956.

Ash, Anthony Lee. The Gospel According to Luke. 2 vols. Austin: Sweet Publishing Co., 1972.

Barclay, William. The Gospel of Luke. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956.

Barclay, William. The Gospel of Mark. 2nd Ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957.

Barclay, William. The Gospel of Matthew. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958.

Barclay, William. The Letters of James and Peter. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960.

Barrett, C. K. A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957.

Barrett, C. K. Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1968.

Barrett, C. K. A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

- Barth, Karl. The Epistle to the Romans. Translated by Edwyn C. Hoskyns. London: Oxford University Press, 1933.
- Beare, Francis Wright. The First Epistle of Peter. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958.
- Bigg, Charles. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902.
- Black, Matthew. Romans. London: Oliphants, 1973.
- Bruce, F. F. Acts of the Apostles: A Greek Text and Commentary. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1952.
- Bruce, F. F. The Epistle to the Romans. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1963.
- Brunner, Heinrich Emil. The Letter to the Romans. London: Lutterworth Press, 1959.
- Burton, Ernst De Witt. The Epistle to the Galatians. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1920.
- Cole, R. A. The Gospel According to St. Mark. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1961.
- Cranfield, C. E. B. I and II Peter and Jude: Introduction and Commentary. London: SCM Press, 1960.
- Creed, John Martin. The Gospel According to St. Luke. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1930.
- Dodd, C. H. Epistle to the Romans. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932.
- Filson, Floyd V. A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew. London: A. & C. Black, 1960.
- Grant, Robert M. The Apostolic Fathers, A New Translation and Commentary. 6 vols. Camden, N.J.: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1966.
- Geldenhuis, Norval. Commentary of the Gospel of Luke. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1952.

- Grosheide, F. W. Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1960.
- Hewitt, Thomas. The Epistle to the Hebrews. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966.
- Hughes, Philip E. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1962.
- Leany, A. R. C. The Letters of Peter and Jude. Cambridge: The University Press, 1967.
- Leenhardt, Franz J. The Epistle to the Romans. London: Lutterworth Press, 1961.
- Lenski, R. C. H. The Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1944.
- Lenski, R. C. H. The Interpretation of St. Luke's Gospel. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1951.
- Lenski, R. C. H. The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and to the Philippians. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1946.
- Lenski, R. C. H. The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945.
- Lenski, R. C. H. The Interpretation of St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1937.
- Lightfoot, J. B. Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. London: Macmillan and Co., 1896.
- Lightfoot, J. B. St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. London: Macmillan and Co., 1894
- Lightfoot, Neil. Jesus Christ Today: A Commentary on the Book of Hebrews. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1976.
- Luthi, Walter. The Letter to the Romans. Trans. Kurt Schoenenberger. London: Oliver and Boyd, 1961.

- McMillan, Glenn Earle. The Gospel According to Mark.
Austin: Sweet Publishing Co., 1973.
- McNeile, Alan Hugh. The Gospel According to St. Matthew.
London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1952
- Manson, T. W. "Romans," Peake's Commentary on the Bible,
Ed. Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley. New York:
Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1962.
- Manson, William. The Gospel of Luke. New York: Harper,
n. d.
- Martin, Ralph P. The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians.
Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1959.
- Metzger, Bruce. A Textual Commentary on the Greek New
Testament. London: United Bible Societies, 1971.
- Mitton, C. Leslie. The Gospel According to St. Mark.
London: Epworth Press, 1957.
- Moffatt, James. The First Epistle of Paul to the Corin-
thians. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938.
- Moffatt, James. The General Epistles: James, Peter, and
Judas. New York: Harper and Brothers, n. d.
- Morris, Leon. Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. Grand
Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1958.
- Morris, Leon. The Gospel According to St. Luke. Grand
Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1974.
- Moule, C. F. D. The Gospel According to Mark. Cambridge:
The University Press, 1952.
- Moule, H. C. G. The Epistle to the Romans. London: Picker-
ing & Inglis, Ltd. n. d.
- Muller, Jac. J. The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians
and to Philemon. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans
Publishing Co., 1955.
- Murray, John. The Epistle to the Romans. 2 vols. Grand
Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965.

- Newman, Barclay M. and Nida, Eugene A. A Translator's Handbook on the Acts of the Apostles. London: United Bible Societies, 1972.
- Nygren, Anders. Commentary on Romans. Trans. Carl C. Rasmussen. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1949.
- Plummer, Alfred. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970.
- Plummer, Alfred. The Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.
- Ramsay, W. M. A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. London: Hodden & Stoughton, 1899.
- Reiling, J. and Swellengrebel, J. L. A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Luke. London: United Bible Societies, 1971.
- Ridderbos, Herman N. The Epistle of Paul to the Church in Galatia. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1953.
- Roberts, J. W. I and II Peter and Jude. Austin: Sweet Publishing Co., 1963.
- Robertson, A. T. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925.
- Robertson, A. T. Word Pictures in the New Testament. 5 vols. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1931.
- Robinson, Theodore Henry. The Gospel of Matthew. New York: Harper, n.d.
- Sanday, William and Headlam, Arthur C. The Epistle to the Romans. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896.
- Schweizer, Eduard. The Good News According to Mark. Trans. Donald H. Madvig. Richmond: John Knowx Press, 1970.
- Selwyn, Edward Gordon. The First Epistle of St. Peter. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1961.

- Stibbs, Alan M. The First Epistle General of Peter.
Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1959.
- Strachan, R. H. The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935.
- Tasker, R. V. G. The Gospel According to John. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1960.
- Tasker, R. V. G. The Gospel According to St. Matthew.
Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1961.
- Tasker, R. V. G. The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1958.
- Taylor, Vincent. The Gospel According to St. Mark.
London: St. Martin's Press, 1952.
- Tenney, Merrill C. John: The Gospel of Belief. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1951.
- Tinsley, E. J. The Gospel According to Luke. Cambridge: The University Press, 1965.
- Westcott, B. F. The Epistle to the Hebrews. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., reprinted 1920.
- Westcott, B. F. Gospel According to St. John. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1954.
- Williams, C. S. C. A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1957.