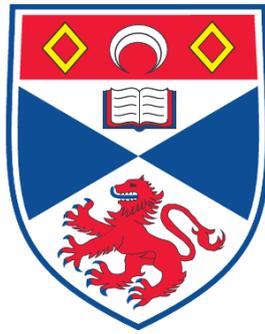


**THE ASCENSION, PLEROMA AND ECCLESIA CONCEPT IN
EPHESIANS**

P. Derek Overfield

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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THE ASCENSION, PLEROMA AND
ECCLESIA CONCEPTS IN EPHESIANS

A Study of Some Related Christological
and Ecclesiological Themes in the Epistle

by

P. DEREK OVERFIELD, B.D.



A thesis submitted in partial
fulfillment of the requirements of the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of St. Andrews

An ABSTRACT of a thesis entitled
The Ascension, Pleroma and Ecclesia Concepts in
Ephesians, submitted to the Faculty of Divinity of
the University of St. Andrews in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The basic aim of the study is to investigate
the relationship between a number of christological
and ecclesiological themes. The first section of the
essay is concerned with the identification of the
traditions employed by the author in his presentation
of an ascension theology in 1:20-23 and 4:8-10.
Having once established these traditions, an attempt
is made to trace a Traditiongeschichte for them.
The second part of the essay is concerned with the
relationship between the ascension theology and the
kephalē and plērōma motifs which are present in both
pericopes. This investigation necessitates an
examination of the Pauline sōma theology. At the same
time within this section an attempt is made to trace
the source of the plērōma terminology as used by the
author of the epistle. In the third section of the
essay the interest is more general; an attempt is
made to discover how the "component parts" of the
author's ascension theology are used elsewhere in the
epistle. In the fourth and last section of the essay
the interest is again with traditions, specifically

the use made of the traditions inherent in the ascension pericopes in the epistle in the writings of both the Church Fathers and of authors outside the main stream of Christian thought.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

I was born 20 May, 1944, and after completing my formal education in 1960 I commenced employment as a laboratory technician in steel and aluminium industries.

My theological education commenced with my entry into the South Wales Baptist College, Cardiff, where in 1970 I received the Diploma of Theology of the University of Wales. I then proceeded to the Baptist Theological Seminary, Rüslikon, Zürich, where I completed the B.D. degree (magna cum lauda). In 1972 I began my research at the University of St. Andrews.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to those who introduced
me to New Testament Studies:

D.G.D.

G.W.

E.B.

and to the one without whom it would not be possible,
namely, my wife.

ABBREVIATIONS

Anal Bib	Analecta Biblica
Arndt-Gingrich	W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich, <u>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian Literature</u> , Chicago: 1957.
ATR	Anglican Theological Review
B-D	F. Blass and A. Debrunner, <u>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</u> (translation and revision of 9th-10th German edition by R.W. Funk), Chicago: 1973.
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
EJ	Eranos Jahrbuch
EKK	Evangelische Katholischer Kommentar zur Neuen Testament
ET	Expository Times
EvTheol	Evangelische Theologie
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IB	Interpreter's Bible
IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
Int	Interpretation
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JEvThSoc	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
Liddell & Scott	H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, <u>A Greek-English Lexicon</u> (ed. H.S. Jones and R. McKenzie) Oxford: 1951.

LXX	The Septuagint
NRT	Nouvelle Revue Theologique
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
RB	Revue Biblique
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali
RGG	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart (3rd ed.)
RHPR	Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SHR	Studies in the History of Religion
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SNTS	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas Monograph Series
Stud Theol	Studia Theologica
Str-B	H.L. Strack und P. Billerbeck, <u>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash</u>
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TTK	Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZNW	Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

Eph 1:20-23 relates, by means of statements which have every appearance of being traditional in the early Church, an ascension theology. Our intention in this first chapter is to examine these traditional statements so that we may be able to understand the author's view of the ascension. We have two basic questions to ask 'How did the author understand the ascension?' and, 'In his use of traditional statements did the author intend that any particular designation or title was to be associated with the ascended Christ?' Before we can begin to provide answers to these questions we must determine the limits of the traditions employed and the presuppositions, if any, that these traditions carried with them.

2. EPH 1:20-23 IN CONTEXT

2.1 An Independent Pericope?

Eph 1:15-23 is one continuous Greek sentence and is therefore quite obviously intended by the author to be understood as a unity.¹ The general theme of the pericope is that of thanksgiving and intercession and the language and style is such

that many have drawn attention to the prayer or hymn-like structure of the pericope.² But it is not a prayer as such; none of the pericopes generally regarded as prayers in the Pauline corpus moves into a discussion of doctrinal matter as does vv. 20ff.³ Pauline prayers express a concern for the fruits of the Gospel that are present in the church to which he is writing, as well as his hopes and intentions for his followers. Vv. 17-19a contain, in terms more general than specific, a summary of the prayers which the author continually makes for his readers. Neither is the passage, in whole or part, a hymn. One of the criteria for distinguishing hymnic quotations employed in a text from those parts of the text which are the author's own composition is that the citations would generally be expected to show differences in both language and style from that of the author.⁴ This is certainly not the case with the pericope in question; the language and thought of many of the phrases of the pericope, particularly vv. 20ff, are repeated elsewhere in the epistle,⁵ especially significant is the repetition of the language and thought of vv. 20ff in 2:1-10.⁶ More significant however is the fact that much of the language and thought of vv. 20ff is found elsewhere in the NT in passages which, in the majority of instances, are not, in the opinion of any major exegete, hymnic.⁷ Now, this counts decisively against seeing vv. 15-23 as hymnic since it is precisely in vv. 20ff, in the

opinion of those who argue for the presence of hymnic quotations, that the hymnic elements are to be found. The theory advanced by R. Longenecker⁸ that in vv. 20-23 the author is "freely paraphrasing the Church's hymn quoted in Phil 2:6-11" is also without foundation. Both passages reflect similar traditions about the exalted Jesus but there are also significant differences.⁹

Although vv. 15-23 is a unity there are good reasons for believing that within this pericope vv. 20ff is to be considered, at least with regard to context, as relatively independent of the preceding verses. Vv. 15-19 contain a summary of the content of the author's prayers for his readers as well as interjections of ascriptions of praise. The most concise summary of the author's prayer is in vv. 18-19a with its emphasis on the calling, inheritance and power that is available for the Christian. But it is on the last of these aspects, the believer's knowledge of the power of God that is available for him, that the author concentrates. In v. 19b the author relates these aspects not to self-accomplishment but to the actions of God.¹⁰ The author's thoughts about the accomplishment of God now turn to the supreme manifestation of this divine power, namely, that which God has accomplished in Christ. This accomplishment is set out in three phases - resurrection, ascension or exaltation and universal dominion. An additional statement

is concerned with the relationship between Christ and the Church. These three phases of God's accomplishment in Christ and the additional statement about Christ and the Church are set out in four christological statements:

- (v. 20a) ἦν ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ χριστῷ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν
- (v. 20b) καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις
- (v. 22a) καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοῦς πόδας αὐτοῦ
- (v. 22b) αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῆ ἐκκλησίας

The phrase in v. 23a ἥτις ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ is not part of the statement in v. 22b as such, but is intended to distinguish between the headship of Christ to the world and to the Church.¹¹ The fact that vv. 20ff contains these four christological statements is the first indication that we are justified in treating this pericope as independent of vv. 15-19. But we can go further. The assertion in v. 20b says essentially the same as that in v. 22a; similarly, although the assertion in v. 22b marks an advance in thought over that of v. 22a, it is nevertheless true that both assertions could easily have been presented in one short phrase such as ὡς κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα. But since this has not been done and since also the author includes both the assertion in v. 20b as well as that of v. 22a, we must conclude both that the author

composed vv. 20ff with a certain degree of deliberate-ness and that he made use of statements that were well known by his readers. This is further justification for our treatment of these verses without direct reference to vv. 15-19.

2.2 1:20-23 and 2:1-10

There are several indications that the author intended a close relationship to be understood between the content of 1:20-23 and 2:1-10. Not only is the main theme of both sections that of resurrection-exaltation, but the two aspects of God's work through Christ, that is, on the one hand exaltation of Christ: subjection of the evil powers (1:20-22), seem to be matched, on the other hand, by the two aspects of the salvation which Christ has achieved as it is applied to Christians, that is, they share in the resurrection of Jesus: they are liberated from the rule of the 'commander of the spiritual powers of the air' (2:1-10).¹²

There is also a distinct parallelism to be noted between the two pericopes with regard to language: *ἐγείρας* and *καθίσας* of 1:20 correspond to *συνήγειρεν* and *συνεκάθισεν* of 2:6; both 1:20 and 2:6 contain the phrase *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*.¹³ A less obvious but none the less important relationship exists between 1:20: Christ is raised *ἐκ νεκρῶν* and 2:1,5: 'you' and 'we' were formerly *νεκροί*. It is probable, though less certain, that *ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσιν τοῖς*

ἐπερχομένοις of 2:7 is intended to balance ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι of 1:21.¹⁴

J.T. Sanders has drawn attention to what he describes as the "very strong parallelism" between 1:20-23 and 2:6f. He sets out this parallelism as follows:¹⁵

1:20	ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ καθίσας ἐν δεξιῇ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις	2:6	συνήγειρεν καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
21	ὑπέρανω πάσης ἀρχῆς οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τοῦτω ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι	7	ἵνα ἐνδειξηται ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσιν τοῖς ἐπερχομένοις

This parallelism is very similar to that to which we have already drawn attention. Sanders does not think that the similarity between these pericopes is of great significance, since, so he argues, it is likely that the entire section Eph 1:20 - 2:7 is an expansion and hymnic alteration of Col 2:10-13. But this is not the case. Col 2:9-15 is not itself hymnic, but is intended to stand as an explanation of the hymn present in 1:15-20.¹⁶ It is undeniable however that Col 2:9-15 does contain much traditional material. Now in Eph 2:6f the author expands upon the συνεζωοποίησεν of the previous verse and, using language very similar to that employed in 1:20f, he describes the consequence

of this event for the believer. What God has done for Christ is now passed on to the church which at one and the same time depends on Christ but yet is organically one with him. Sanders has failed to recognise that in Ephesians the notion that the believer is joined to Christ is less developed than in the parallel verses in Colossians where a definite incorporation of the believer with Christ is proclaimed.¹⁷

Before we ask what is the significance of the parallelism between the verses in question we must note an important difference that exists. Our discussion above has drawn attention to the fact that the greatest degree of similarity exists between 1:20 and 2:6. But we must not ignore the fact that 2:6 does not contain any parallel to *ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ* with reference to the fact that the believer is seated in the heavenly places. This would suggest that this phrase is intended in some way to refer to the difference, in terms of quality or consequence, between the ascension of Christ and that of the believer.

The fact that 1:20-23 and 2:1-10 are so closely tied together strongly suggests that the interpretation of either one of these texts will directly effect the interpretation of the other. Now in 2:1-10 there are some very positive indications

of a realised eschatology.¹⁸ In that in these verses, particularly vv. 5-8, the resurrection of the believer is set in the context of realised eschatology, what is being suggested or inferred is that the author of the epistle is no longer interested in the resurrection of Christ as 'event' per se, but much more is interested in it only inasmuch as it forms the basis for his theology of exaltation. If this is so then we must conclude, at least for the author of Ephesians, that the resurrection has lost its original significance as the pivotal point for faith and has been replaced as such by the exaltation motif in as much as that in this epistle the believer himself is now exalted, in terms of function rather than status,¹⁹ because Christ has been exalted. The Easter event is thus no longer described as life-death-life of Christ but life-death-exaltation of both Christ and the believer.

2.3 1:20 - 2:10 and the Baptismal Theme

It is certainly true that the insistence that the believer has already risen from the dead and, at the same time, has been exalted with Christ (the aorist of 2:6) suggests that the whole section has as its background the ideology of baptism. This is confirmed by the very close relationship that exists between Col 2:13 : *καὶ ἡμᾶς νεκροῦς ὄντας τοῖς παραπτώμασιν* ... *συνεζωοποίησεν ἡμᾶς σὺν αὐτῷ*

and Eph 2:5 καὶ ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασιν
 συνεζωοποίησεν τῷ Χριστῷ . Without making any
 decision as to which of these texts is the 'original',
 if indeed there is any dependence,²⁰ we can say quite
 categorically however, that it is the same salvation-
 event that is being described in both texts and,
 according to Colossians, this event is baptism.
 The significance that is given to συνεζωοποίησεν
 in Col 2:12 must be given to the same word in
 Eph 2:6. This is a further argument for considering
 the ascension theme in the epistle as being part of
 a scheme of realised eschatology in that it has
 regard for man's final state which has been realised
 with the exaltation of Christ.²¹

It is notable that the ascension of the
 believer is characterised by the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ
 Ἰησοῦ .²² This pre-Pauline formulation²³ does not
 have a stereotyped use in the Pauline corpus and
 here in Ephesians it is to be interpreted, in line
 with our presentation of realised eschatology, in
 terms of 'incorporation': the believer is now
 incorporated into the body of Christ.²⁴ We can
 then paraphrase 2:6 : 'if we (in baptism) have really
 attained to life with Christ, we also have a part in
 the triumph of the risen Lord and in his heavenly ascent
 to the throne! '

3. THE TRADITIONSGESCHICHTE

3.1 Literary Traditions

The Greek text of vv. 20-23 may be set out as follows:

ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν	cf. Col 2:12; and less specifically 2 Cor 13:4
καὶ καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ	cf. Mt 22:44; 'Mk' 16:19, Acts 2:34, Heb 1:3, 8:1, 10:12, 12:2.
ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις	
ὑπέρανω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος ²⁵	cf. Col 1:16, 2:10; and less specifically Rom 8:38; 1 Cor 15:24; Tit 3:1; 1 Peter 3:22
καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζέμενου	cf. Phil 2:9
οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι	
καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοῦς πόδας αὐτοῦ	cf. 1 Cor 15:27 and less specifically Heb 2:8
καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ.	cf. Col 1:18
[τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ] ἥτις ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ	cf. Rom 12:5; 1 Cor 12:27; Col 18

τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν πληρουμένου

When the text is set out in this fashion attention is drawn to several NT writings where phrases similar to, and in some instances almost identical to, each individual element of vv. 20-23 are found, as well as to the phrases which have their origin

with the author of the epistle and not in any tradition. It is further clearly seen that these traditions, along with the statements that owe their source not to any tradition but to the author himself, centre on citations that owe their origin ultimately to Ps 109:1a and to Ps 8:6a. But these citations, although unmistakable, are not introduced into the text with any introductory formula, as might well be the case if these citations were intended to stand as proof-texts. We can therefore assume that the author of the epistle is not citing scripture as such, but rather is using traditional formulae which, although having their ultimate source in the psalter, have a more direct relationship with the kerygma and confessions of the early church. That this is so can be demonstrated by the literary form of the Psalm citations, paying particular attention to the occurrence of the same literary forms as they appear elsewhere in the NT literature.

3.1.1. Acts 2:30-35

Ps 109:1 is probably the most frequently cited piece of the OT in the NT.²⁶ Our interest is not in the whole verse as such but in the phrase $\kappa\alpha\theta\theta\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\chi \delta\epsilon\acute{\xi}\iota\omega\nu \mu\omicron\upsilon$. Our intention is drawn to this phrase in Acts 2 for a number of reasons. In Eph 1:20 the citation of the traditional material from Ps 109:1 begins with the transitive $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$; the

only other transitive use of the same verb in the NT is Acts 2:30²⁷ in an allusion to Ps 131:11. Now καθίζω does not appear in the Ps 131:11 citation; this reads Ὁμοσε κύριος τῷ Δαυὶδ ἀλήθειαν καὶ ὅς μὴ ἀθετήσει αὐτήν, ἔχ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας σου. θήσομαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον σου . In the speech in Acts the author uses καθίζω as an equivalent to the θήσομαι of the LXX. In that the words of v. 30 only approximate to those of the psalm itself it is possible that the differences are to be accounted for by either a faulty OT manuscript or an erroneous memory and, consequently, if either of these apply, there is no special significance to be attached to the use of καθίζω . But, irrespective of the actual source of the psalm citation, this is unlikely in view of the author's obvious inference to the tradition associated with Ps 109:1 in v. 33 and the citation of the whole of the same psalm verse in vv. 34bf. The deliberate use of καθίζω in v. 30 can only be intended to introduce, in as precise a manner as possible without the actual citation of Ps 109:1 the concept that the citation of Ps 109:1 introduces in the climactic vv. 34bf. Two other observations are perhaps of more significance. Firstly, the citation of Ps 109:1, or, more correctly, the tradition associated with this psalm citation, has exactly the same purpose in both epistle and in Acts: it is used to lead up to the proclamation of the sovereignty of Christ.

Secondly, in Acts 2:33 with the reference to τῆ δεξιᾷ σου θεοῦ ὑψωθείς the concept of Christ's session at the right hand is connected directly with the concept of exaltation; that is to say, the basic consideration about the place occupied by the one who was raised from the dead leads immediately to a consideration of his function and status as Messiah (v. 36). This is precisely the situation that is envisaged in Ephesians. In Acts 2:30ff the basic question that is being answered is 'How can Christ be David's Son if David calls him Lord (Luke 20:44)' ? The answer is provided by the speech attributed to Peter: Jesus was a descendant of David (v. 30) and God has now made him both Lord and Christ by raising him from the dead and elevating him to his right hand, as David himself had foretold. It was not David who was raised and exalted but Christ. The OT background of the speech in Acts 2 is no doubt very complex and a detailed analysis of it is not part of our task²⁸ but even our brief examination of the part played by Ps 109:1 in vv. 30-35 is sufficient to demonstrate the existence of a tradition based on this psalm verse which argued for the Messiahship of Jesus from the fact of resurrection.

Acts 2:33 also provides us with another facet of the tradition that is of some consequence for the interpretation of the ascension in Eph 1:20ff. In vv. 32f we read *τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεὸς, οἱ πάντες ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν μάρτυρες. τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθείς*. Here *ἀνέστησεν* obviously refers to the resurrection;²⁹ *ὑψωθείς* can only refer to the same event - or at least to the outcome of that event, as is emphasised by *οὖν*. This means that exaltation and resurrection are alternate descriptions of the same event. The same conclusion is reached by means of a different approach by B. Lindars as follows.³⁰ In v. 33 *τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν* and *τοῦτο ὃ ἡμεῖς καὶ βλέπετε καὶ ἀκοῦετε* are obviously Lucan expressions³¹ and *τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου* and *ἐξέχεεν* are re-statements of part of the citation from Joel 3:1-5 (LXX) in v. 17. The remaining phrases *τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθείς* and *λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς* are then in all probability relics of the commentary on Ps 15 which is itself used by Luke to express another aspect of the resurrection. If this is so then *ὑψωθείς* refers to the resurrection event. Both approaches, our own and that of Lindars, require that a local significance be attached to *τῇ δεξιᾷ*, as opposed to the more usual interpretation of the phrase as an instrumental dative. The local significance follows from our argument above that in v. 33 the predominant influence is Ps 109:1.³²

In Acts 2:35 the consequence of the resurrection-exaltation is that Jesus is both *κύριος* and *Χριστός* and in Ephesians the consequence of the same event is that Jesus is *ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου*. This observation is of some importance for it suggests at least the possibility that the ascension account in Ephesians is not primarily to be regarded as either a comment on, or an explanation of, an historic event, but rather is to be seen as an attempt to offer a theological explanation for what has resulted from Christ's resurrection. If this is so then we may say that it is by way of resurrection and not ascension per se that Jesus is the literal fulfiller of Ps 109:1. Acts 2:16-36, perhaps in the form of an homiletic midrash, or at least using midrashic methods, includes a citation of Ps 109:1 "in which a traditional interpretation is disallowed and an application to Jesus is established".³³ It is the same application to Jesus that is attested to by Eph 1:20ff.

3.1.2. 1 Cor 15:27

Ps 8:6 is cited on three occasions in the NT: 1 Cor 15:27, Eph 1:22 and Heb 2:8. Our attention is drawn to the first of these texts because there is exact verbal agreement between the psalm

citation in it and in Eph 1:22.³⁴ Both these citations are at variance with the LXX version of the psalm text which reads πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ . The citation of the psalm text in Heb 2:8 follows that of the LXX without variation. This is not the only indication that there is a relationship between the tradition as it is reflected in Ephesians and 1 Corinthians, the relationship being further indicated by the fact that in both contexts ἀρχή, ἐξουσία and δυνάμις³⁵ not only appear in the same order but in both instances they are prefaced by the emphatic καὶ³⁶.

Thus far we have attempted to show that there were in the early church traditions based on both Ps 109:1 and Ps 8:6 and that these traditions which form the basis of the christological statements in Eph 1:20ff exist separately in Acts 2:30-36 and 1 Cor 15:24-28 respectively. But the discussion relating to Ps 8:6 is not so clear cut as it might seem. The issue is complicated by the fact that whereas Ps 109:1 appears on its own, as in Acts 2:30ff, Ps 8:6 only appears in texts where it stands in close relationship to Ps 109:1. This fact in itself is evidence to suggest very strongly that the traditions associated with the two psalms underwent a further development when the traditions became conflated. This conflation of the traditions gives rise to two

questions: firstly, 'Can we show, in spite of the conflation, any development in that part of the conflated tradition that was associated with Ps 8:6?' and secondly, 'Can we show an overall development or identify any stages of growth in the conflated tradition?' It is the first of these questions that concerns us initially; the second question must be left for our discussion on the theological presuppositions of the conflated tradition.³⁷

In 1 Cor 15:24-28 the citation of the tradition associated with Ps 8:6 is determinative in as much as the citation of, or, more correctly, the allusion to, the tradition associated with Ps 109:1 is made to agree verbally with the tradition associated with Ps 8:6.³⁸ In this pericope the associated or conflated traditions refer to the triumph in the future parousia and not to the present kingdom. Feuillet correctly assesses the differences between 1 Cor 15:24ff and Eph 1:20ff when he writes³⁹ "La différence entre les deux textes est que la primauté absolue du Christ, présentée dans 1 Cor., comme le but encore à venir du développement actuel de l'histoire est célébrée dans Ephésiens comme un fait déjà acquis". The fact that there is this theological difference in the way that the same tradition is used in both 1 Cor 15 and Eph 1 indicates, assuming that our theory that the eschatology of Ephesians is

'realised' is tenable, that the development of the tradition is from that reflected in 1 Corinthians to that of Ephesians. The basic development in that part of the tradition associated with Ps 8:6 is eschatological. But this is not the only development in the tradition; in Eph 1:22 there is also a cosmic dimension that is not found in 1 Cor 15:27. This cosmic dimension is emphasised in the previous verse by both *ὑπεράνω*⁴⁰ and the phrase *οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι*. To this point we will return later.⁴¹

3.2 Theological Traditions

In addition to the literary traditions that we have discussed above there are also 'theological' traditions, that is, verses which although having little or no literary connection with our text in Ephesians by using other language reflect the same theological presuppositions.⁴² Here we will examine three such texts: 1 Peter 3:21d-22, Col 1:15-18 and Phil 2:5-11.⁴³ The essential similarities and differences that are found in the traditions present in these three pericopes can be seen from the following table:

	<u>1 Peter 3</u>	<u>Phil 2</u>	<u>Col 1</u>	<u>Eph 1</u>
Pre-existence of Christ	-	6b	15	-
Christ & creation	-	-	16	-
Christ & his relationship to the world	-	-	(18 ⁴⁴ _a)	-
Incarnation	-	6f	19	-
Suffering & Death of Christ	18c	8	20	-
Resurrection-Ascension	18d, 21d-22a	9a	18b	20
Subjection of powers	22b	10f	-	22a
Head of the Body	-	-	18a	22b
New Name	-	9b	-	-

This summary chart shows that it is precisely the Resurrection-Ascension theologoumenon that is common to all four pericopes. The following discussion will show that not only is this so but, more significantly, it is in all four pericopes basically the same theology that is being set forth.

3.2.1. 1 Peter 3:21d-22

The tradition reflected in these verses is very close in both literary and theological content to that which is present in Eph 1:20ff. Our interest centres on the fact that in this text the two themes of Resurrection and Session are brought together. The theological affinity that clearly exists between both Petrine and Pauline texts is such that we can surely conclude that the author of 1 Peter accepts

the Pauline concept of a victorious ascension in which Christ triumphs over all adversaries. In this pericope the subjection of the powers by Christ (and his proclamation to the Spirits)⁴⁵ is to be associated with an ascension, but at the same time there is nothing in this text that will identify this 'going' with the visible ascension from the Mount of Olives, as it is described in Luke-Acts.⁴⁶ The inference of this passage in fact points away from such an understanding. The ascension, or more correctly, the translation of Christ to heaven, is for the author of 1 Peter a fact of dogma which, with the reference to the Session at the right hand of God and subjection of the powers, he expounds as an 'event' having significance for both the material creation and the spiritual world. Although it is not impossible that the author of the epistle does know of a tradition in which the ascension is described in visible terms, his interest here is not on the ascent per se, but on the consequence or goal of this ascent which, as Benoit rightly asserts,⁴⁷ "is by definition, excluded from perception by the senses". That the author's interest is as we have described can be further substantiated by the fact that in v.21d-22 no interval of time is supposed between the resurrection and Christ being at God's right hand. In the phrase θανατωθεῖς μὲν σαρξὶ ζωοποιηθεῖς δὲ πνεύματι (3:18)

σαρξί and πνεύματι are datives of reference and consequently the entire phrase must mean that Christ died in the human sphere but was made alive at the time of the resurrection.⁴⁸ 3:22 may be part of the same hymn as 3:18; even if this is not the case then at least it probably reflects the same underlying creed. In any event, v.18, 21d-22 are to be construed as forming one line of thought with the intervening vv. 19-21c acting as a parenthesis. The reference to the resurrection in v.21d acts as the link word by which the parenthesis is ended and a return is made to the original line of thought. We may then translate as follows: "... being put to death in the flesh but made alive in the spirit (through the resurrection) he has gone into heaven." This translation shows that no time lag is presupposed by the author.

3.2.2. Col 1:15-20⁴⁹

The major theme of both the Christ-hymn and the additional redactional elements in this pericope is that of Christ and his relationship to both world and church. Since our interest at this point is entirely theological it is not necessary for us to attempt to differentiate between original hymn and later redaction, although it is not without significance to the argument that the greatest degree of similarity that does exist between Eph 1:20ff and

Col 1:15ff is, as far as Colossians is concerned, present in those elements of vv. 15-20 which, with the exception of τῆς ἐκκλησίας are not redactional.⁵⁰ Our interest is basically in those elements of the pericope that are concerned with exaltation; that is, the hymnic v. 18b and the interpretative comment in v. 18d. According to v. 18b Christ is the 'beginning' not of creation, but of the 'new creation'; he is the beginning as the one who is first-born from the dead and as such in him the new eschatological age has been inaugurated.⁵¹ In v. 18d the author of the epistle adds his own interpretative comment: Christ is not only the beginning of the new age but he also has absolute rule over all powers and authorities. This fact is emphasised by the emphatic ἀβτδς . While it is conceivable that ἐν πᾶσιν could have the significance of 'in all respects' and thus be further emphasis, it is far more probable that this is a neuter construction which relates to the four times repeated τὰ πάντα . Πρωτεβεῖν must also convey the sense of supremacy over all things by virtue of an exalted position.⁵²

What is clear in all this is that Christ occupies the exalted position - or possesses the exalted status - of ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος and κεφαλή by virtue of the resurrection. Thus it is clear that precisely the same features that are implicit

in the use of Pss 109 and 8 in Eph 1:20ff are present in Col 1:15-20; that is, the exalted status or position of Christ is by virtue of the resurrection; by virtue of the same act he has inaugurated the new eschatological age; and, finally, his position or status as the resurrected one gives him cosmic authority. The ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος, κεφαλή and πρωτεύειν terms all refer to an historical act and this act was the resurrection of Jesus from the dead.

3.2.3. Phil 2:5-11

E. Lohmeyer⁵³ has convincingly shown that the exaltation to which this early Christian hymn refers is the cosmic Lordship of Christ; Christ is Lord of the universe and not only cultic Lord of the Church. As in the previous pericopes our interest here centres upon the segment of the hymn which relates to the exaltation. In this instance it is v.9:
διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ
τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα which demands our initial attention.

There are two possible interpretations for ὑπερύψωσεν : it can either be given comparative force, in which case we are to understand that Christ now occupies a position to which previously he had not attained,⁵⁴ or it can be given superlative force

in which case the ὑπὲρ serves to contrast his exalted status with that of other powers. If the superlative interpretation is accepted then recognition must be given to the implicit proclamation of the uniqueness and absoluteness of Christ.⁵⁵ With regard to context, either interpretation is a possibility, although the reference to τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνομα with its implicit reference to κύριος - which itself indicates status - does offer some support to the latter interpretation. It is the κύριος title which supplies more positive support. In the NT the κύριος title is often associated with Ps 109:1 with its emphasis on 'the right hand of God' and subjection of all enemies. It is significant that the position 'at the right hand' is one that is reserved for Christ.⁵⁶ It may then be that behind the hymn in Phil 2 lies the thought expressed in the psalm text. If this is so then ὑπερυψοῦν could well refer to the uniqueness that is Christ's at the right hand of God.⁵⁷ This is supported by Acts 2:33 where ὑψοῦν is directly associated with a loose reference to Ps 109:1. In Phil 2:5-11 there is no direct reference to resurrection; but, as we have already seen, in Acts 2:33 ὑψοῦν, while relating directly to ascension also quite explicitly refers to resurrection. The same must be true in Phil 2:8f where the διδὲ καὶ denotes both the transition from humiliation to exaltation and at

the same time introduces the element of reciprocity. Martin⁵⁸ brings out the significance of this with his paraphrase: 'He became obedient to the utmost limit of death; that is why God has lifted Him out of death and honoured Him'.

While it is true that the central theme of the hymn is the obedience of Christ, it is also true that implicit in this theme is the fact that Christ is, because of his obedience, elevated to a position of cosmic supremacy by way of the resurrection. It is at this point that the theological parallelism to Eph 1:20ff becomes clear. In Col 1:15-20 and, to a much lesser degree, 1 Peter 3:18-22 the consequence of Christ's exaltation was that the new age had begun. This theme is also present in Phil 2:11a, though in no emphatic form. This is indicated by *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι* with its significance not of 'to proclaim with thanksgiving'⁵⁹ but 'admit', 'acknowledge';⁶⁰ creation openly acknowledges that Christ is now the rightful Lord of the universe by virtue of the fact that he has triumphed over all enemies and has entered upon his reign as Lord of the cosmos. Thus the eschatological aspect that is present in Eph 1:20ff is also present, though not emphatically so, in Phil 2:5-11.

Thus far we have attempted to show that in Eph 1:20-23 there are two types of tradition which have to be considered separately: the literary tradition which is related to Acts 2:30ff and 1 Cor 15:24ff; and the theological traditions found in the early Christian hymns (or hymn-like fragments) and additional redactional elements treated above. Our preliminary conclusion is that both these traditions reflect essentially the same theological concept: that of an exaltation of cosmic significance that is directly consequential to the resurrection and which has an eschatological perspective. The texts that we have discussed in no way suggest that the ascension was reckoned as an event separate and distinguishable from the resurrection. But in Luke-Acts, specifically Acts 1:9-11, it is precisely this form of the resurrection that is presented. Our discussion thus far has indicated that the exaltation or ascension motif in Ephesians is a theological motif which may well be based upon an enthronement ideology. But before we can further explore this possibility we must examine the ascension motif in Luke-Acts with a view to discovering the exact nature of the motif in this two volume work in order that we might either contrast or compare it with that of Ephesians.

However, before we do this it is important that we examine briefly a third possible source for the traditions that we have outlined above, namely the Qumran Scrolls. According to K.G. Kuhn⁶¹ "it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the relationship of the language and style of the Epistle to the Ephesians and that of the Qumran texts can hardly be explained except on the basis of a continuity of tradition". It is this thesis that we will now examine.

3.3 Eph 1:20ff and the Qumran Scrolls

The two passages in the Scrolls which present some kind of exaltation theology and which are basic to the argument⁶² are 1 QH 3:19-22 and 1 QH 11:10-12.⁶³

1 QH 3:19-22 I thank Thee, O Lord
 for Thou has redeemed my soul from the Pit,
 and from the Hell of Abaddon
 Thou has raised me up to everlasting
 height
 ... Thou hast cleansed a perverse spirit
 of great sin
 that it may stand with the host of the
 Holy Ones
 and that it may enter into community
 with the congregation of the Sons of
 Heaven

1 QH 11:10-12 For the sake of Thy glory
 Thou hast purified man of sin
 that he may be made holy for Thee,
 ... that bodies gnawed by worms may
 be raised from the dust
 of the counsel of Thy truth
 and that the perverse spirit (may be
 lifted)

to the understanding which comes
from Thee;
that he may stand before Thee
with the everlasting host ...

In both these hymns the concept of exaltation is quite clear and in these two instances at least it does seem to be associated with some kind of eschatological perspective. But these facts alone do not justify Kuhn's conclusion, particularly since the idea of resurrection does not seem to have been of major significance within the community.⁶⁴ With specific regard to Eph 1:19ff Kuhn also cites a number of other Qumran texts that are of some significance for his argument. The genitive construction in v.19b (τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ) is paralleled in various places, as, for example, in 1 QH 4:32, [טרורר תוכר] .⁶⁵ The first part of the same verse (τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ) also, according to Kuhn, is paralleled in Qumran, as in 1 QH 14:23, [ביתר] [כח] .⁶⁶ Finally Kuhn also draws attention to the fact that the theme of Eph 1:19-21, which he defines as 'the final eschatological victory', is paralleled in 1 QS 4:17-20 and 1 QM 14:14f. The instances noted by Kuhn each in their own way point to similarities that exist between Ephesians and the Qumran texts, but whether these similarities are strong enough to prove conclusively that Ephesians

has been influenced in both language and theology by the Qumran texts is far less certain. What cannot be denied is that the evidence supplied by both Kuhn and Mussner demonstrates the existence of traditions in Qumran which centre on the eschatological unity between earthly and heavenly communities, as is expressed by the re-creation of the individual and his consequent entry into the heavenly sphere. But the evidence supplied is not sufficient to demonstrate a dependence of Ephesians on the Qumran literature. Gnilka⁶⁷ considers the same evidence and rightly concludes "Wenn darum die Qumran-Mentalität als echter Anknüpfungspunkt für den Entwurf von präsentischer Eschatologie im unserem Brief zu betrachten ist, bleibt zu vermerken, dass unser Verf. nicht der Schöpfer dieses Entwurfs ist".

3.4 The Ascension in Luke-Acts

Our interest thus far has been to determine the traditions that are basic to the ascension as it is described in Eph 1:20ff. Now we must turn our attention to a view of ascension, that of Luke-Acts, which seems to depend on a totally different set of presuppositions. In the discussion that follows we shall attempt to isolate the traditions or presuppositions that are basic to the Luke-Acts view of ascension and thus we shall be able to comment on the intention of

the author in presenting the ascension in this fashion.

3.4.1. Luke 24:50-53

This pericope is very Lucan, many of the words, phrases and ideas of these verses occur very frequently in Luke-Acts.⁶⁸ But even if we allow this it does not mean that there is no traditional material in the mind of the author at this point. A comparison of vv. 50-53 with Sir 50:20-22 indicates quite positively that it is this latter text which stands in the background of the Lucan composition, as the following shows:

Sir 50:20-22

τότε καταβάς ἔπῃρεν χεῖρας
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν
υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ δοῦναι εὐλογίαν
κυρίου ἐκ χειλέων αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἐν ὄνοματι αὐτοῦ καυχῆσθαι
καὶ ἐδευτέρωσαν ἐν προσκυνήσει
ἐπιδέξασθαι τὴν εὐλογίαν παρὰ
ὑψιστοῦ καὶ νῦν εὐλογήσατε
τὸν θεὸν πάντων

Lk 24:50-53

καὶ ἔπάρας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ
εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς
καὶ αὐτοὶ προσκυνήσαντες
ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τῷ ἱερῷ
εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θεὸν

Within this pericope εὐλογεῖν is very significant, being used by Luke quite specifically at both beginning (1:28,42,64, 2:28,34) and end (24:30,50,51,53) of his gospel. In Sir 50:20-22 the imagery is of a blessing priest and a responding congregation. The same basic imagery is present in both beginning and end of Luke, but in Lk 24 a necessary part of the response of the disciples is the knowledge that the promised redemption of Israel has been accomplished: the Messianic community, the new 'temple' of God, has been established. This is in stark and deliberate contrast to the beginning of the gospel where Zechariah goes to the temple and prays for the redemption of the nation.⁶⁹ The fact that Luke here, if not exactly dependent on Sir 50:20-22, has modelled his own pericope on this tradition, coupled with his deliberate and significant use of εὐλογεῖν, points to Luke's understanding of the ascension event as it is portrayed here. The emphasis is not on the 'going' of Jesus as such⁷⁰ but on the continuity between Christ and the Church. In Lk 24 the most important verse for Luke is v.49, the commissioning of the disciples; vv. 50-53 then serve, with words and concepts already familiar to his readers, both to conclude the gospel and to introduce his account of the mission of the Church.⁷¹

3.4.2. Acts 1:9-11

Lohfink⁷² has demonstrated that the great majority of words and phrases of Acts 1:9-11 are Lucan. But even if we accept this as so it does not mean that vv. 9-11 are completely independent of traditional material; Luke may have composed certain phrases using language different from that of an extant tradition but nevertheless reflecting his knowledge of that tradition. Even more significant are those words or phrases which do not appear to stem from Luke. It is possible that at this point the author was referring, consciously or otherwise, to either the tradition associated with the ascension or translation of Elijah (2 Kings 2) and that associated with the coming Son of Man (Dan 7) and he then builds up the picture of the ascension of Jesus using this traditional material. There are certain linguistic similarities between vv. 9-11 and both OT texts⁷³ as the following comparison shows.

Acts 1:9-11

καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν βλέ-
πόντων αὐτῶν ἐπήρθη,
καὶ νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν
αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν
αὐτῶν. καὶ ὡς ἀντέλι-
ζοντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν
οὐρανὸν πορευομένου
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες
δύο παρεστήκεισαν ἐν
ἑσθήσεσι λευκαῖς, οἳ
καὶ εἶπαν, ἄνδρες
Γαλιλαῖοι, τί ἐστήκατε
βλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρ-
ανόν; οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς
ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν
εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οὕτως
ἔλεβσεται ὃν πρόπον
ἔθεύσασθε αὐτὸν πορευ-
όμενον. εἰς τὸν
οὐρανὸν.

4 Kings 2:1,9ff

καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἀνάγειν
κρίον ἐν συσσεισμῷ τὸν
ἥλιον ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν,
καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἥλιος καὶ
Ἔλισαιὲ ἐκ Γαλγάλων
καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ διαβῆναι
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἥλιος εἶπε
πρὸς Ἔλισαιὲ αἰτησαὶ τί
ποιήσω σοι πρὶν ἢ ἀναληφ-
θῆναι με ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν
Ἔλισαιὲ, γεννηθῆτω δὴ
διπλᾶ ἐν πνεύματι σου ἐπ'
ἐμὲ. καὶ εἶπεν ἥλιος
ἑσκήρυνας τοῦ αἰτήσασθαι,
ἐὰν ἴδῃς με ἀναλαμβάνομενον
ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ ἔσται σοι
οὕτως, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ γένηται
. . . . καὶ ἀνελήφθη ἥλιος
ἐν συσσεισμῷ ὡς εἰς τὸν
οὐρανὸν.

Dan 7:13

Ἔθεώρουν ἐν ὄραματι
τῆς νυκτός, καὶ ἰδοὺ
μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ, ὡς εἶδες
ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος,
καὶ ἕως τοῦ παλαιοῦ
τῶν ἡμερῶν ἔφθασε,
καὶ προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ.

Particularly significant are the close similarities between ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἀφ' . . . εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν of Acts 1:11 and ἀνελήφθη . . . εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν of 4 Kings 2:12. The relationship between Acts 1:9ff and Dan 7:13 is not so clear; the Lucan reference to the cloud, followed by the observation that Jesus will come again in the same fashion, that is, on a cloud, could well indicate knowledge, or even indirect dependence on, the Daniel text. It is of course also true that the hellenistic world frequently connected the clouds with the movement of beings from earth to heaven.⁷⁴ Ἐναλαμβάνομαι occurs in the Synoptics only at 'Mk' 16:19 but is used relatively

frequently in Acts.⁷⁵ It is only in Acts 1:2,11,22 and 1 Tim 3:16 that it is referred to Jesus. It is perhaps beyond certain proof but we can nevertheless be reasonably sure that the word has its ultimate source in the LXX,⁷⁶ and, moreover, that it was part of the exaltation kerygma of the early Church, as is evidenced by its occurrence in 1 Tim 3:16.⁷⁷

The possibility of a relationship between Acts 1 and Dan 7 centres on the Son of Man identification. If it could be shown that Acts 1:11 does in fact refer to the coming of the Son of Man then it is highly probable that a relationship between the two texts would exist. Luke certainly knows of a coming of the Son of Man in glory,⁷⁸ so the possibility of a relationship must be given a high degree of probability. The language of 1:11b confirms this. θεάομαι only occurs three times in the gospel⁷⁹ and four times in Acts.⁸⁰ It is probable that Luke takes the word over from Q since Luke's formulation in 7:24 is identical to that of Matt 11:7; in both instances Jesus says to the crowd concerning John the Baptist

τὸ ἐξήλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον θεάσασθαι . θεάομαι

though is never connected with the Son of Man tradition. Ἔρχομαι in early Christian tradition was a terminus technicus for the parousia.⁸¹ More significant is the fact that Luke frequently associated the word with the Son of Man tradition.⁸²

Our examination of the ascension account in Acts 1:9-11 indicates quite positively that it is of Lucan composition but at the same time it is a composition that owes its being ultimately to two pieces of early Church tradition. The identification of these pieces of tradition greatly assists us in our understanding of the purpose of the ascension as it is portrayed in Acts 1. Luke has composed Acts 1:6-11 in an attempt to answer the two questions 'Why did the Christophanies end?'; 'Why does the end not come?'.⁸³ Luke's answer stresses two differing aspects of his theology: the ascension has marked the final separation between the historical Jesus and the Church⁸⁴ but at the same time emphasises that the Church, in its new role as the agent of mission, is still in continuity with Jesus who now himself occupies a new role - that of the exalted Lord who will at some future time return to the world.⁸⁵

4. THE TRADITIONSGESCHICHTE & TWO TESTIMONIA

We have already seen that the basic traditions involved in the ascension theology of Eph 1:20-23 are those associated with Ps 109:1 and Ps 8:6. It is to these traditions that we now turn our attention. Our concern at this point is to examine the use made of each tradition in both the

NT and Jewish sources such that we may be able to construct a Traditionsgeschichte for each citation. But not only are we concerned with the individual citations as such; our investigation thus far has indicated the existence of a separate tradition in which the citations from both Psalms were conflated. We shall also attempt to establish the Traditionsgeschichte for this conflated tradition. As we attempt this our concern will be with theological and not historical development. Although in some instances it may well be that the development is historical, it is equally possible that in others we may find that the most theologically developed strand of the tradition may well occur at a comparatively early juncture in the growth of the tradition. In each instance our concern will be to discover a development such that the tradition found in Eph 1:20-23 can be considered as an end-point of that theological development.

4.1 Psalm 109:1

The Psalm reference in Eph 1:20 is allusive, not one single word of the LXX version of the Psalm is exactly reproduced. There is no introductory formula to indicate that an OT text is being referred to;⁸⁶ the allusion or reference is incorporated into the author's flow of language without

either pause or comment.⁸⁷ Ps 109 is probably the most often cited piece of OT found in the NT⁸⁸ and we must distinguish within v.1 of the psalm three different elements, each of which constitutes a traditional formula in its own right. In the first place there is the motif of sitting at the right hand of God, which frequently occurs without reference being otherwise made to the psalm.⁸⁹ Secondly, there is the 'subjection' phrase (v. 1b).⁹⁰ There are also those instances where the complete verse of the psalm is cited; in these instances the emphasis is on the phrase εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου.⁹¹ In Eph 1:20 only the session motif owes its origin to Ps 109:1; the subjection motif which is associated with it is not dependent on v. 1b of the same psalm, as one might expect, but is dependent on Ps 8:6.⁹²

Every passage in which the phrase 'to sit at the right hand of God' is used shows a deviation from the LXX text,⁹³ a fact which itself is evidence of both the widespread use made of the psalm citation and, more significantly, of the growth of a tradition which ultimately was dependent on this verse. The variation in Eph 1:20 is the inclusion of a participial phrase as against the imperative of the LXX. These variations do not prevent us from

concluding with F. Hahn⁹⁴ that Ps 109 :1 "has become the authoritative statement regarding Jesus' heavenly dignity and function".

The psalm itself appears to have been originally an assurance of divine protection for the king on his enthronement.⁹⁵ Whatever its ultimate origin or Sitz im Leben it is almost beyond dispute that it lies behind every statement in the NT of the exaltation of Christ to the right hand of God.

We have already argued that there was a NT tradition which originated from Ps 109:1 and which was used, at least in Acts 2:30ff and in Eph 1:20, to demonstrate that the resurrection proved the Messiahship of Jesus. We must now ask how widespread was this use of Ps 109:1 by Christians in the NT era and, furthermore, how different was this use to that of contemporary Judaism.

Mk 12:35-37, followed by the parallel statements in Mt 22:41-46 and Lk 20:41-44, raises, but does not answer, the question about the applicability of the Son of David title to the Messiah. The setting given to this citation by Mark is controversy and therefore the psalm citation has polemic intent. But within this setting one thing is clear:

Jesus taught, or at least Mark believed,⁹⁶ that the psalm applied to the Messiah. The situation in Mk 14:62 and the parallel Mt 26:64 and Lk 22:69 is even more complex, made so not only by the association of Ps 109:1 with Dan 7:13⁹⁷ but also by the coupling of the Son of Man title with the citation from Ps 109:1. However, it does seem that the passage has a dual emphasis; initially the emphasis is on the parousia which will serve to vindicate the Messianic claim made by Jesus in v.61, but implicit in this is the fact that the Son of Man will be exalted by God prior to his parousia. This exaltation is itself also vindication of the Messianic claim. The Son of Man title presumably was associated with Ps 109:1 both because of the association of the citation with Dan 7:13 and because of the futuristic setting given to the logion. The basic Markan understanding of the vindication of the Messiahship of Jesus is retained by Matthew.⁹⁸ Luke removes the futuristic hope of the parousia but retains the Son of Man and Ps 109:1 association and thus still presents the vindication motif.⁹⁹ As Bultmann¹⁰⁰ has shown, the purpose of the trial before the Sanhedrin, especially as it is related by Mark, is to show that Jesus died for confessing himself to be the Messiah. That Mark, followed by Matthew and Luke, associates this claim so closely with Ps 109:1 is sufficient evidence for

us to conclude that here the psalm was understood messianically. The last Synoptic text with which we have to concern ourselves is the highly contentious 'Mk' 16:19. The use of ἀνελήμφη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν in this text suggests an affinity to those traditions which, as we have seen, underlie Acts 1:9-11;¹⁰¹ the significant difference being in the use of the psalm citation which is absent from Acts 1. A further indication of similarity between Acts 1:9-11 and the 'Markan' text is the incipient notion of continuity between Jesus and the disciples. There is little in this text that is suggestive of messianism,¹⁰² the χριστός title owing its source either to the psalm citation or else to the recognition that Jesus was now exalted.

In the epistles it is much more difficult to find instances where Ps 109:1 is used to assert the Messiahship of Jesus. In Rom 8:34 there may be a trace of this messianic theology;¹⁰³ the concern of this verse is certainly with the futuristic, eschatological acquittal of the believer and implicit in this is the fact that God has by resurrection vindicated Christ, as indicated by the emphatic μάλλον, but the issue is far from clear. The most frequent epistolary use of the psalm is in Hebrews where it occurs six times, and in none of these

citations is the messianic significance of the psalm self-evident. In 1:3,13 the psalm citation is used to depict the heavenly enthronement of the Son of God. It is significant that this enthronement does not imply that Jesus as enthroned Son of God has the capacity to rule; nowhere in the epistle is Christ described as ruler¹⁰⁴ or judge of the world; both these are functions not of the Son but of the Father. In 8:1 the psalm citation has a different function; here it serves to bring together the themes of session and heavenly priesthood. Again no messianism is explicit in the text. In 10:12f the author returns to the theme which he has previously presented in 1:3f; in both pericopes the author is intent on saying that Christ's present task, that of priest, has been fulfilled. Heb 12:2 differs from the preceding citations in that it is basically hortatory rather than doctrinal, but at the same time it probably reflects a tradition much nearer to the messianic use of the psalm than elsewhere in Hebrews in that the citation implies an element of vindication. This is not though the main thrust of the passage which is set out in vv. 3-11. In Hebrews the psalm citation is associated with the 'Son of God' and 'priest' titles, neither of which have any great messianic significance. Basic to all references in the epistle is the thought of Jesus' inescapable glory.

In Jewish sources the messianic interpretation of Ps 110 is also evident, although it was also frequently applied to Abraham¹⁰⁵ and David,¹⁰⁶ but these references are not earlier than the second or third decade of the second century. The difficulty of the messianic references is that they are all without exception much later even than this, not being clearly attested before the latter half of the third century.¹⁰⁷ The earliest advocates¹⁰⁸ of this messianic interpretation are usually identified as R. Chama b. Chamina (c. 260 AD) R. Eleazar b. Pedat (c. 270), R. Levi (c. 300), R. Abbahu (c. 300) and R. Huna b. Abbin Hakohen (c. 350). But this difficulty is in itself not conclusive. As we have seen, the psalm was certainly interpreted messianically in the NT, a fact easily, though not necessarily best, explained if that was the standard Jewish interpretation of the psalm. Mk 12:35-37, and more particularly, the parallel Mt 22:41-46, seems to present the contemporaries of Jesus as accepting the messianic interpretation of the psalm as the norm of exegesis. Even if these passages belong to the authors of the respective gospels (as opposed to reporting the actual belief of the contemporaries of Jesus) they still offer some support to the argument. Strack-Billerbeck¹⁰⁹ argues very vigorously that R. Ishmael's application of the psalm to Abraham was devised as a

decisive counter to the messianic interpretation of the Christians. The evidence is not conclusive but in light of the acknowledged messianic use of the psalm within two centuries of Paul and because there is nothing in either v.1 or v.4 of the psalm that the Jews could not have predicated of the Messiah there is sufficient warrant for supposing a messianic interpretation current in the Judaism of the first century.¹¹⁰

In order to be able to determine a theological Traditionsgeschichte for Ps 110:1 we must now examine these Jewish citations in more detail. The citations are¹¹¹

Midrash Tehillim Ps 2 para. 9

In the decree of the writings it is written, The Lord said unto my lord: "Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool" (Ps 110:1) and it is also written ... R. Yudan said: All these goodly promises are in the decree of the King, the King of Kings, who will fulfill them for the lord Messiah ...

Midrash Tehillim Ps 18 para. 29

R. Yudan said in the name of R. Hama: In the time to come, when the Holy One, blessed be He, seats the lord Messiah at His right hand, as it is said, the Lord saith unto my lord 'sit thou at my right hand' (Ps 110:1) and seats Abraham at His left, Abraham's face will be pale ...

Gen R. 85:9 (on Gen 38:18)

'And he said: what pledge shall I give Thee? and she said: Thy signet and thy cord and thy staff that is in thy hand' ... AND THY STAFF alludes to the royal Messiah, as in the verse, The staff of thy strength the Lord will send out of Zion (Ps CX 2)

Seder Elijah R. 18 (90)¹¹²

Wegen der Fülle von guten Werken, die Gott an David fand, wird er ihn dereinst (in der endgeschichtlichen Heilszeit) zur Rechten der Schekhina setzen, wie es heisst Ps 110:1 : Setze dich zu meiner Rechten ...

b. Sanhedrin 38b (commenting on 'Till thrones were placed' Dan 7:9)

One throne was for Himself and one for David.¹¹³ Even as it has been taught: One was for Himself and one for David: this is R. Akiba's view. R. Jose protested to him: Akiba, how long wilt thou profane the shechina ...

Targum Ps 110:4¹¹⁴

Du David bist bestimmt zum Fürsten in der zukünftigen Welt, darum dass du ein gerechter König gewesen bist.

Numbers Rabba 18:23 (on Num 17:21ff)

'AND THE STAFF OF AARON' - that same staff was held in the hand of every king until the temple was destroyed, and then it was divinely hidden away. The same staff is destined to be held in the hand of the king Messiah ..., as it says, 'The Staff of thy strength the Lord will send out of Zion (Ps 110:2).

The majority of these Rabbinic references refer, as one would obviously expect, to a future event. But at least in the Targum, which applied the whole psalm to David, the view expressed is quite different. The messianic figure is seen as a figure from past history who has authority in relation to the world in the present age. The same theological approach is present in Seder Elijah R.18. This theological development is obviously related to the dwindling expectation of an earthly messianic figure and instead an expectation that was of the shape 'we, the Jewish people, are powerless, but God will bring about his messianic Kingdom in his own time and by his own method'. This approach was still futuristic but at the same time, contained an element of what we have described as 'realised eschatology', though of course this element played no major role in Rabbinic interpretation.¹¹⁵

Our examination of the NT psalm texts has shown a similar but more complex development. There is firstly the explicit claim that Jesus is the Messiah. This claim was first made, (according to Mk 12:35-37 and pars.) albeit in somewhat veiled terms, by Jesus himself. This theme was then taken up by the Church with their use of the Son of Man designation and the futuristic 'coming with glory' motif (Mk 14:62; Mt 26:64). But this futuristic

motif was not universally part of the tradition; it was, at least in one instance, replaced by an already realised eschatology (Lk 22:69; cf. Acts 2:33-36). In the epistles the tradition is not traced back to Jesus but is set in the context of the proclamation of the death-resurrection of Jesus and its application to the believer. Sometimes in this there is a futurist expectation (1 Cor 15:24f), though in other instances this is not stressed to the same degree (Rom 8:34), or, at what we are terming the end point of the tradition, is not present at all, being totally replaced by a scheme of realised eschatology (Eph 1:20, 1 Peter 3:22).

4.2 Ps 8:6¹¹⁶

The Traditionsgeschichte of Ps 8:6 in the NT is much easier to trace. The most extensive citation of the psalm is found in Heb 2:6-8 where vv. 4-6 of the psalm are cited. The author's exegesis however centres on vv. 4f. For him the first part of the citation (v. 4) is only important in that it serves to call attention to man, the created human being. The exegesis of the psalm text takes the form of an exegetical syllogism:¹¹⁷

God has subjected all things to man (propositio major) but at the present time all things are not yet in subjection to him (propositio minor); man in his present state does not function over all that is

created; the psalm, however, has a prophetic character for the author of the epistle and for him this aspect of subjection has been fulfilled with Jesus. This is the conclusio. It is important to recognise that for the author the prophecy extended even to the abasement of Christ. The purpose of the psalm citation in vv. 6-8a is contained in vv. 8b-9: the citation proves that the earthly humiliation of Christ will be followed by an exaltation which is itself interpreted in terms of the total subjection of all things to him. The citation to which the author refers is quite obviously that of Ps 8:4-6 with the omission of the LXX phrase *καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου* ¹¹⁸ but it is introduced with the formula *διεμαρτύρατο δὲ ποῦ τις λέγων* . It is possible that this introductory formula signifies that at this point the author is more dependent upon what he recognises as tradition than on scripture as such. But this is unlikely. The author elsewhere in the epistle uses unusual formulations to introduce scriptural citations,¹¹⁹ most of which include, either implicitly or explicitly, a reference to the Holy Spirit. It is then probable that the author intended not that any one citation should be understood as having special value because of its standing in tradition; in fact, quite the opposite. All relevant scripture had equal value in demonstrating the relationship of Christ to both world and believer.

Before leaving the citation in Hebrews we should note one further purpose that the psalm achieved for the author: it gave him scriptural warrant for his understanding of Christ as the representative of mankind. This will be of some significance in the interpretation of Eph 1:23.¹²⁰

Turning to 1 Cor 15:27 we find that an interpretation of the psalm which emphasises the exaltation of Christ and, more explicitly, the future subjection of all things to him. No attempt is made by exegetical method to show that this is how the psalm is intended to be understood by the community. Paul takes this interpretation of the psalm as his starting point and then restricts his exposition to an assessment of the *τὰ πάντα* that are subject to Christ. The last thing to be subjected is death: as a result of the exaltation of Christ death itself will be destroyed because Christ was exalted from death.

The fact that 1 Cor 15:27 uses as its point of departure the understanding of Ps 8:6 that is advanced by the author of Hebrews leads us to conclude that, since on all counts Hebrews is later than 1 Corinthians, the author of Hebrews uses in his argument in 2:8b-9 a traditional understanding of the LXX of Ps 8:6, while Paul in 1 Cor 15:27 uses

a theologically more developed form of the same tradition. This is to say that the understanding of the psalm verses in Hebrews is more 'original' than it is in 1 Cor 15:27.

In Ephesians the argument has advanced one stage further. Ps 8:6 (with Ps 109:1) is applied to Jesus as though the interpretation which has been worked out in Hebrews and adopted in 1 Corinthians is self-evident. This fact partly explains why it is that the psalm citation is introduced into the text without any introductory formula: it is intended to be understood in its 'new' sense, as opposed to its OT understanding¹²¹ which is basic to both Hebrews and 1 Corinthians. The new understanding of the psalm in Ephesians gives it a cosmic dimension but at the same time relates it to the Church. We may suppose then that our author cited Ps 8 here not just to obtain an eloquent pleonasm but to indicate that his argument, as new as it might seem, was in fact ultimately based in scripture. But even so, we must emphasise that the author of the epistle uses the psalm citation in a way that not only introduces this new cosmic understanding, but also in a way that introduces a new kind of eschatological perspective. Previously, in both Heb 2:8b-9 and 1 Cor 15:27, Ps 8:6 had only been used with a futur-

istic eschatological context.¹²² In Ephesians this eschatological reservation that was attached to the exaltation motif in both Heb 2 and 1 Cor 15 has been abandoned; so much so that in Ephesians a virtually complete de-eschatologising of the motif has taken place.

The argument thus far has been concerned to demonstrate that Eph 1:20-23 has a 'present' eschatological emphasis and that the traditions, both theological and literary, which are associated with this pericope have been subjected to a transition of emphasis such that the realised eschatology which is the author's concern could be stressed. However, before we can go on and relate this judgment to the conflated tradition of Ps 109:1 and Ps 8:6 we must briefly survey the use made of Ps 8 in Rabbinic exegesis.¹²³

In the Talmud Ps 8:5 is discussed in two places, though mentioned in several others. Vv. 6f has no special significance in Rabbinic interpretation and is not treated in any detail. The most significant references are as follows:¹²⁴

Sabbath 88b

R. Joshua b. Levi also said 'When Moses ascended on high, the ministering angels spake before the Holy One, blessed be He, Sovereign of the Universe! What business has one born of a woman amongst us?' 'He has come to receive the Torah' answered He to them. Said they to Him 'That secret treasure, which has been hidden by thee for 974 generations before the world was created, Thou desirest to give to flesh and blood'. 'What is man that thou art mindful of him and the Son of Man, that thou visitest Him' ... O Lord our God, How excellent is thy name in all the earth'. Who hast set thy glory upon the Heavens. 125

Sanhedrin 38b

Rab Judah said in Rab's name: when the Holy One, blessed be He, wished to create man, He first created a company of ministering angels, and said to them: Is it your desire that we make a man in your image? They answered: Sovereign of the Universe, what will be his deeds? Such and such will be his deeds, He replied. Thereupon they exclaimed: Sovereign of the Universe, What is man that thou art mindful of him and the Son of Man that thou thinkest of him.

Rosj Hasjana¹²⁶

Rabh and Samuel quarrel: one says 50 gates of Wisdom have been created in the world which, with a single exception, were put in charge of Moses, for it says: Ps VIII 6: Thou madest him but little lower than God.

Midrash Tehillim on Psalm 8:5

In saying that Thou makest him less only than God they were referring to Jacob who commanded the flocks to bring forth streaked, speckled and spotted young, as it is said ...

In all these citations two things are significant. First, the psalm in Rabbinic literature is not interpreted with reference to the Messiah. The argument advanced by König¹²⁷ that the psalm was already interpreted messianically in the time of Jesus is unconvincing; we cannot assume, as this author does, that Paul, who cites the psalm in 1 Cor 15:27, would only have seen Jesus in the 'Son of Man' citation in the psalm if he had known of Jesus' own use of the title. Secondly, the basic difference between Christian and Rabbinic uses of v.6 of the psalm is closely linked with the sources they used; the Rabbis followed the MT text but christian tradition (also the Peshitta) followed the LXX. The LXX temporal interpretation of וַיֵּא (βραχὺς) is not followed in any Rabbinic exegesis of the psalm. Thus in christian tradition Ps 8:6 was interpreted in a vastly different way from that of Judaism; the messianic interpretation of the psalm, acquired in part by its close association with Ps 110:1, owed its source to an interpretation of the psalm completely unknown in Judaism.

4.3 The Conflated Psalm Tradition

Ps 8:6 is cited on only three occasions in the NT and in each instance in Heb 2:5ff, 1 Cor 15:24-28 and Eph 1:20-23, the citation stands in very

close proximity to a citation of Ps 109:1. This we believe to be not mere coincidence, but evidence of the fact that, although there were separate traditions which developed around each citation, there was also a development which resulted in both psalm citations being brought together in one tradition and, as we shall attempt to show, it is in fact that development that is present in Eph 1:20-23. Further evidence for the association of Ps 8 with Ps 109 is found in Mk 12:36 and the parallel Mt 22:44. In these texts a citation of Ps 109:1 is rendered ... ὑποκάτω ¹²⁸ τῶν ποδῶν σου as against the LXX ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου . It is of course possible that Mk used a Greek text of the LXX which contained this and was then followed blindly by Matthew but corrected by Luke. But it is equally likely that Mark, and perhaps even Matthew also, was influenced at this point by Ps 8:6 which reads ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

Before attempting to discover how and why it was that Ps 109:1 and Ps 8:6 were conflated by the early Church we must further examine the use that is made of these passages in Heb 1 and 2. This epistle differs from both Ephesians and 1 Corinthians in that the psalm citations are not in the close proximity that would lead us to suppose that some association of the citations had been

made in an earlier tradition. Furthermore, again differently from Ephesians and 1 Corinthians, no obvious relationship exists between the citations. But this is in fact not really the case. There is a relationship, albeit a negative one, between the two texts as we shall show. The author of the epistle cites Ps 109:1 in 1:13 in such a way that two of the traditions associated with the psalm text - session and subjection - are referred to explicitly, and the third traditional interpretation, that associated with the $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ title, is at least assumed,¹²⁹ but yet the author makes no comment on, nor adduces any theological proof from, the psalm text at this point. This is deliberate. The citation of Ps 109:1 is not used in relation to Christ's final victory but only as a proof text to demonstrate his superiority over angels. The author introduces Ps 8:6 into his text and it is now this citation that he uses to expound the themes of both victory and dominion. In other words it seems as if the author has deliberately chosen to explain these themes in terms of Ps 8:6 rather than use Ps 109:1, though he also made use of this latter citation. The choice of Ps 8:6 to express victory and dominion instead of Ps 109:1 is precisely the same choice made by the author(s) of 1 Corinthians and Ephesians.

We must now ask how it was that the conflation of these two psalm citations came about. Referring to 1 Cor 15:27 C.K. Barrett¹³⁰ writes "The quotation of Ps CX.1 leads Paul (by the exegetical device gezerah shewah ...) to a similarly worded passage in Ps VIII 7 A different verb is used (in Greek, in Hebrew it is the same) but verbal parallelism between the Psalms is close." There seems nothing intrinsically wrong with this judgement at first sight, but closer examination of the text concerned reveals a startling deficiency: why should the author of the epistle cite Ps 8:6 when it adds nothing to the point of view expressed by Ps 109:1? If we attempt to apply Barrett's reasoning to the association of both psalms in Eph 1:20ff a further difficulty arises, because in this epistle the author has deliberately chosen to use Ps 8:6 in preference to Ps 109:1 to express subjection because, having already cited part of the latter psalm (Eph 1:20b) he would surely have been able to call the rest of the verse to mind. That he does not do so can only be deliberate. There are two reasons for Paul's choice of Ps 8:6 as over against Ps 109:1. First, Ps 8:6 had already established itself in preference to Ps 109:1c in association with Ps 109:1b, a fact that is reflected by the use made of both psalms in Heb 1 and 2 and by Mk 12:36 and Mt 22:44. Secondly, Ps 8:6 expressed an idea or theological motif that,

in the opinion of the author, Ps 109:1c was not capable of suggesting. If the author had used this latter citation it may well have been implied that he was referring to a subjection of all things merely as a subjection of enemies. But by introducing the tradition which associated Ps 8:6 with Ps 109:1b he was showing his preference for the concept portrayed by ὑποτάσσω which was absent from Ps 109:1b, and in so doing he has deliberately chosen to impart the concept of 'all things under his feet in reverential obedience' into his argument. A brief examination of ὑποτάσσω confirms this. The verb occurs 30 times in the NT. In only two of these occasions, Rom 8:7; Heb 12:9; is the idea of subjection primary. In the remainder, although the idea is included, it does not predominate. Of these remaining 28 references the word occurs some 14 times in codes of ethical instruction where the frequent addition of such phrases as ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ (Eph 5:31); ὡς ἀνῆκεν ἐν κυρίῳ (Col 3:18); διὰ τοῦ κυρίου (1 Peter 2:13) to the concept of subjection implies that this subjection is conceived as an action which carries with it the notion of respect and, more significantly, these phrases impart a religious value into the concept of subjection. In the remaining references the word has the sense of religious domination; in the majority of instances the reference is either to

'things' (angels, authorities, powers), or 'the world' being subject to either God or Christ.¹³¹ The concept implied by the verb is then religious rather than physical domination. This preference is important for our argument: Ps 109.1c was, in the tradition employed in Eph 1:20ff, no longer connected with the session motif, although it did in fact remain an authoritative strand of tradition.¹³² The session motif was instead connected with Ps 8:6 which was a statement about the already realised Lordship of Christ, expressed in terms of the reverent obedience of the entire creation. It is precisely this that is envisaged as having taken place in Eph 1:20-23 and consequently the eschatological reservation that was held by Paul in 1 Cor 15:24ff has now been abandoned. That which was previously applied to the triumph of the parousia is now applied to the present kingdom.

Ps 8 is not properly a messianic psalm as Ps 110 is, in interpretation if not in origin (see our examination of the psalm in Rabbinic tradition), but it has become so closely associated with the LXX form of Ps 110 that it has acquired what we might term a "christological character" through its use in expanding the christology formulated in the messianic Ps 110. Our examination of Ps 3 leads us to

conclude that the particular value of this psalm for early christian writers was twofold: it allowed them to describe the resurrected Lord as the 'inclusive representative of redeemed humanity'¹³³ and secondly, to clarify the cosmic implications of the universal Lordship of Christ and the total subjection of all powers.

With this theological judgement in mind we can now move on to consider the christologies that are both explicit and implicit in the text in the light of the theological traditions that we have already examined.

5. TWO DEPENDENT CHRISTOLOGIES

5.1 An Enthronement Christology: Ps 109:1

Both Judaism and the Graeco-Roman world were familiar with accounts of resurrection. In general terms we can say that in Judaism resurrection was seen as an event that would be shared only by the righteous and would happen at the end of time. In contrast to the resurrection of the righteous the souls of the wicked would waste away and be no more. We may cite as an example 2 Macc 7:14 (NEB)

'Better to be killed by men
and cherish God's promise to

raise us again. There
will be no resurrection to
life for you'¹³⁴

It was generally assumed that the resurrected would appear in the same form that they possessed on earth.¹³⁵ It is difficult to summarise briefly the idea of an after life in the OT but it is at this point sufficient to say, even with the new emphasis on man as an individual rather than merely being seen as one member of a corporate society that evolved amongst the Hebrews in the exilic and post-exilic periods, that the concept of resurrection never goes beyond a belief that Yahweh's righteousness will ultimately be vindicated, a vindication that will be made clear in an after life.¹³⁶ The only passages that are generally accepted as containing an allusion to individual resurrection are Is 26:18 and Dan 12:2, both of which are apocalyptic in nature and are probably to be dated late in the post-exilic period. If this is so then it is likely that these passages provide us with both the climax of the OT concept of resurrection and the beginnings of the Rabbinical-Judaistic development that reached its climax in 1 Enoch. If Is 53:11f does imply the vindication (resurrection) of the Suffering-Servant who had individual identity then this passage is unique in that it transcends all that is in the OT, in terms of both resurrection and after-life.

There is a radical difference between even the most developed of these concepts and that of the NT. In the NT resurrection was not merely proclaimed as the triumph at some future time of one man over death, but was the resurrection of the believer into the heavens, and, more specifically of Christ to the right hand of God which had already taken place. It is precisely this, at least in as much as it concerns the resurrection of Christ, that is claimed in Acts 2:22-36 as the following motif-analysis shows.¹³⁷

The major christological emphasis in the pericope is the assertion that the Jesus who was crucified καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός ; this has been accomplished by God raising him up from death (v. 32). This is not a Lucan motif; for Luke Jesus is Christ the Lord from his nativity (Lk 2:11) and it is as Christ that he suffers (Lk 24:26,46; Acts 3:18, 17:3, 26:23). Further to this it is significant that events which are, in this passage, associated directly with resurrection are elsewhere in Acts treated as separate events. These are resurrection as ascension (v. 34) which elsewhere is treated as an event quite separate from resurrection (1:6-11) and the resurrection as the outpouring of the Spirit (v. 33) which Luke earlier associated with Pentecost (2:1-4). On the negative side, we must

note that a number of themes which become prominent in the early church are absent from the pericope. No messianic or soteriological significance is attributed to the earthly life of Jesus even though he is described as a worker of miracles and his death was according to the plan of God. The death of Jesus is not related to any messianic suffering, neither is there any reference to the suffering of the Son of Man. The passage does not contain any reference to the parousia or to any final judgement as either of these themes relate to Jesus. There is no direct reference to the life, death or resurrection of Jesus as being a part of the fulfillment of scripture, though obviously this may be inferred from vv. 22f.

The speech attributed to Peter is permeated by an interest in David and by an obvious deliberate desire to relate the resurrection of Jesus to him. In the resurrection Jesus fulfills the promise and oath made to David (2 Sam 7:12; cf also Pss 88:4, 131:11; Acts 2:30) and, furthermore, he fulfills prophecies made by David. He is both successor and superior to David: David was buried and is still dead; Jesus, on the other hand, was buried but now has been raised to the right hand of the Father. Finally, we may note, Jesus, by his resurrection, becomes the literal fulfiller of prophecy; David is described as a prophet who receives

a promise.

The motif analysis of Acts 2:22-36 adequately demonstrates that the resurrection christology is based on an exegesis of OT passages, primarily Ps 15:8-11 (vv. 25-28) and Ps 109:1 (vv. 34f), understood in both an eschatological and messianic fashion. In all probability the psalms provided ideal sources for the early Church inasmuch as both Christian and Jew of this era understood that the psalms were written by David¹³⁸ and, as Hayes comments,¹³⁹ "who could speak more clearly and authoritatively about the eschatological messiah than David himself".

It is but a short step from this point to an enthronement christology. Once the resurrection had become coupled with Ps 109:1 in tradition and allowing at the same time that this psalm was believed Davidic, it was surely natural that the concept of exaltation, which accompanied resurrection, should be placed in the heavenly sphere. The resurrection of Jesus was after all, so the early Church argued, not an event having its Sitz im Leben completely in this world;¹⁴⁰ Jesus is not depicted anywhere as an earthly messiah but much more as one who since the resurrection worked in and from the heavenly places.¹⁴¹

But in saying this we must not over-estimate the dynamic involved in the movement from 'the Resurrected One' to 'the Exalted One'; exaltation does not merely imply that Jesus had gone into heaven - for the early Church this was axiomatic, but more significantly it denotes the special dignity that was now bestowed upon Jesus by virtue of the act of Enthronement. This special dignity was for the early Church more functional than speculative: it was seen as affording Jesus the position of supreme power under God.

Acts 2:22-36 is not the only example of an enthronement christology in the NT, though it does provide the most detailed presentation. The same view is expressed in a more compressed form in both Rom 1:3f and Acts 13:33. Our interest in Acts 2:22-36 is more specifically a result of its connection with the theology of Eph 1:20ff than it is a result of the pericope containing the most complete form of this strand of christology.

In attempting to show that the christology involved in the traditions which are present in Eph 1:20ff is primarily an enthronement christology based on Ps 109:1 we are saying something very positive concerning resurrection and exaltation: the resurrection and its theological correlate exaltation were inter-

preted in the light of Davidic Messianism.¹⁴² In this respect we should note that the first non-Davidic interpretation of Ps 109:1 in Christian tradition appears with Barn 12:10. C.F. Evans¹⁴³ suggests that the concept of exaltation to the right hand of God and the consequent share in God's authority and rule was prior to the idea of resurrection in establishing belief in Jesus' Messiahship for, he argues, "it leads directly to it, while resurrection from the dead, as such, does not". But this cannot be, for in the traditions we have examined we have seen that resurrection was the necessary and fundamental pre-requisite in the doctrine of exaltation. There is, with one possible exception, no instance of exaltation being found in the tradition apart from its connection with resurrection. The possible exception is Hebrews, where the only definite reference to resurrection is 13:20; the ascension, on the other hand, is referred to quite frequently and in 1:3, 8:1, 10:12f, 12:2 the motif is quite definitely associated with Ps 109:1. Both 4:14 and 9:11-28 refer to the fact that Jesus has passed through the heavens. Moreover, according to 10:12f and 12:2 the ascension to the right hand of God takes place immediately after the crucifixion. In this epistle the ascension has a role that is quite unique to the NT: Jesus has been elevated to the right hand of

God in order that he may make intercession for the Church. In all this the resurrection is presupposed. In 1:3 we are told that the ascension occurred after καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος a concept that suggests something more than death. We understand that the reference to the resurrection can only be implicit because of the analogy that is being made with the activities of the High Priest and, this being the case, there can be no equivalent to resurrection. Other similar references where the resurrection is implicit are ἀρχηγός (2:10, 12:2);¹⁴⁴ τὸ μένειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ὑπεραβάτον (7:24); αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὐράμενος (9:12); and also in the reference to Christ as μεσίτης, with its attendant word play with διαθήκη in 9:15ff.

5.2 A Cosmic Christology: Ps 8:6

We have already examined 1 Cor 15:24-28 with a view to determining the traditions that are common to this text and to Eph 1:20-23. The same text will also conveniently serve as a point of departure for our discussion of the cosmic aspect of the christology implied by Ps 8:6.

We have also pointed out that there is verbal agreement between the citations from Ps 8 that are found in 1 Cor 15:27 and Eph 1:22, although

in their agreement they differ from the LXX. But this is not the only instance of verbal agreement between statements based on the psalm citations. The same phenomenon occurs in 1 Cor 15:25,27 where there is exact verbal agreement between an allusion to Ps 109:1 and Ps 8:6; both citations contain the phrase ὑπὸ τοῦ κόσμου αὐτοῦ . The phrase in v. 25 must originate with Ps 109:1 as is shown by the presence of ἐχθρὸς . Now it is hardly likely that the agreement between the citations is coincidental. It is more likely that Paul, or perhaps the tradition on which he relied, deliberately altered the citation from Ps 109:1 in order to emphasise that both this psalm and Ps 8 are equally applicable to the reign of Christ. Moreover, we note that in v. 25 πάντα has been introduced into the text to elaborate ἐχθρὸς, again surely dependent on the occurrence of the same word in Ps 8:6 as cited in v. 27. The author's interpolation of it into his allusion to Ps 109:1 in v. 25 seems based on his understanding of the tradition which he follows, namely that the two psalms interpret one another.

The cosmic nature of the apostle's thinking is also reflected by his use of πάντα ; it occurs no less than eleven times in 1 Cor 15:20-28.¹⁴⁵ Since our concern is basically with the cosmic dimen-

sion of Christ's rule we can for the moment ignore the references in v. 22. All the remaining references with the exception of the two instances in v. 24, are directly related to ὑποτάσσω and, therefore, to the tradition associated with Ps 8:6. The instances in v. 24, although not connected so directly with ὑποτάσσω, do, in their association with καταργέω reflect the same theology since the verb as well as meaning 'destroying' (RSV) or 'abolishing' (NEB) can also carry the significance of 'dethroning'.¹⁴⁶ The significance of this interpretation is that it provides a way of bringing together both enthronement and cosmic christologies: in dethroning these powers Christ has taken their place and thus is himself now enthroned having cosmic powers in subjection to him.

The third cosmic aspect in 1 Cor 15:24-28 is present in the reference to ἀρχαί and ἐξουσίαι the plural forms only being found here, Eph 1:21 and Col 2:10, though the singular forms are found in Rom 8:38, Eph 3:10, 6:12; Col 1:16, 2:15. Δύναμις is only found in a similar list in Rom 8:38 apart from here and Eph 1:21. Even more significant than the scant occurrences in the NT of these forms is the fact that neither ἀρχαί or ἐξουσίαι are found either in Hellenism or in Gnosticism in this sense of spiritual

powers,¹⁴⁷ though both forms occur fairly often in the Ascension of Isaiah, for example 1:4, 2:2, and in Test Levi 3:8. Whatever may or may not be the specific identity of each of these terms, we can be certain that in total they are representative of the whole universe. We have already pointed out that the same theological presuppositions underlie 1 Peter 3:21d-22, Col 1:15-18 and Phil 2:5-11 as underlie both Eph 1:20-23 and 1 Cor 15:24-28. In the Colossian and Philippian texts those things which are put in subjection are explicitly identified as both celestial and terrestrial. Admittedly in 1 Peter, 1 Corinthians and Ephesians the concept is not so clear. There is nothing in the language of 1 Cor 15:24 or Eph 1:22 that suggests that these powers are other than the angelic or superhuman beings who, in Jewish mythology, are the rulers of the various heavenly spheres.¹⁴⁸ But 1 Cor 15:20ff makes it quite clear that these powers are enemies. This argues quite decisively against the Jewish mythological interpretation of the powers, at least in 1 Cor 15:24ff. The powers then must be cosmic entities that are both representative of the whole universe and at the same time hostile to God.¹⁴⁹

Our discussion thus far has centred on 1 Cor 15, but since the same traditions underly this text as Eph 1:20ff, coupled of course with the fact that verbal agreement exists between the citation of Ps 8:6 in both texts, we can say without doubt that the same theology is also assumed and, therefore, the powers are cosmic in nature and equally hostile to God. The cosmic aspect in Ephesians is further emphasised by the addition of *καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι* in Eph 1:21. One can ask at this point to what extent these powers have changed in becoming subject to Christ. C.D. Morrison asserts¹⁵⁰ "By their subjection under Christ the invisible powers have rather lost their evil character, and they also now stand under and within the Lordship of Christ, as long as they are subject to him and do not seek to become emancipated from their place in his service". But Eph 6:10-13 militates against this view; here the Christian is still combating these powers and so, being hostile to the Christian they, though defeated in principle, must be assumed to be hostile to God.

Before leaving this discussion there is one more point, particularly as it refers to Eph 1:20ff. The statement of Christ's supremacy over these powers in v. 21 is not only intended as a

description of an event having merely an objective reality. The author may well believe that the defeat of the powers by Christ is an event that is historically verifiable. But even if he does understand it in this way, he has no obvious interest in proclaiming it as such. His interests extend to the subjective nature of the event; for him the importance of the ascension is two-fold: it has happened and, consequently, that which Christ has accomplished in the event, namely the subjection of powers, he has accomplished for and on behalf of Christians. The significance of the defeat of the powers is only to be found in the Church; in 2:1-10, the explanation of 1:20-23, the author moves from the objective victory over the powers to the effect of this victory on the believers.

6. THE ASCENSION: THREE INTERPRETATIONS

The above discussion has indicated that there are a number of differing approaches from which the constituent traditions and resulting ascension pericope in Eph 1:20-23 can be interpreted. We can distinguish these varying approaches as follows:

historical: that is, the main emphasis of the author is concerned with a datable, describable event;

pseudo-eschatological: this approach would understand that the ascension was not the final event, but that

both it and the subsequent session were interim events prior to the parousia; and finally theological: this approach emphasises not the ascension event as such, but concentrates much more on the status and function of the ascended one and, at the same time, it would not seem to differentiate between a 'historical' resurrection and a 'historical' ascension. We have already suggested that it is this last approach that is taken by the author of Ephesians and it is now this possibility that we must examine further.

6.1 Historical

The historical or descriptive account of the ascension is found only in the 'longer ending' of Mark (16:9-20) and in Luke-Acts. Similarly it is only in these instances that a clear distinction between resurrection and ascension is clearly maintained. Despite the recent efforts of W.R. Farmer¹⁵¹ to demonstrate otherwise, it is doubtful whether these verses can be reckoned as being part of the original gospel. A detailed examination of them is not part of our task and is unnecessary for our thesis. The evidence cited by Metzger¹⁵² seems to prove adequately the non-authenticity of these verses. The ascension account itself is restricted to v. 19: ὁ μὲν οὖν κύριος [Ἰησοῦς] μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἀνελήμφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ

a verse very similar in part to Acts 1:11 ἀναλημφθεις ... εις τον ουρανον . We should note though that the presence of ἀναλαμβάνομαι does not necessarily confirm that Mk 16:19 is in fact an example of a 'describable' ascension; in fact the reverse may well be the case.¹⁵³ However, it is true that in vv. 9-20 a distinction is made between resurrection and ascension: resurrection has as its primary purpose the providing of visible proofs that Jesus survived death (ἐφανερώθη vv. 12,14) and provides opportunity for the disciples to meet with the risen Jesus; ascension is the event whereby this period is brought to a close and it signifies the beginning of the mission of the Church (16:20). In Lk 24:50-53 and Acts 1:9-11 resurrection and ascension serve exactly the same purpose as in 'Mk' 16:19f; the describable, visible nature of the event is however emphasised to a much greater degree in the Lukan texts, particularly Acts 1:9-11.

In the three so called 'historical' accounts of the ascension there are a number of common features. Firstly, resurrection and ascension are two distinct events ('Mk' 16:5f, Lk 24:3-7,51;¹⁵⁴ Acts 1:3a, 9-11). There is a time-lag between the events¹⁵⁵ ('Mk' 16:14, ὕστερον ; Lk 24:22 ἄρθριναι ἐπι τὸ μνημεῖον, 29 πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐστὶν καὶ κέκλιεν ἤδη

ἡ ἡμέρα ; Acts 1:3 ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὀπιτανόμενος
 αὐτοῖς). The resurrection is not witnessed as an
 event, but the ascension is ('Mk' 16:14,19 αὐτοῖς ,
 i.e. the eleven disciples; Lk 24:33,50, the eleven
 plus the two of the Emmaus road; Acts 1:2,6, the
 'apostles whom he had chosen'). Now if Eph 1:20ff
 contains an account of the ascension that is to be
 judged 'historical', we would expect it to contain
 some, if not all, of these features. But this is
 not the case. The ascension as such is not mentioned;
 the movement of thought is from resurrection to
 session. Furthermore, instead of there being wit-
 nesses to the ascension the believers are described
 as being involved in it (2:6). The only similarity
 between the account in Ephesians and the 'historical'
 accounts is the presence of Ps 109:1 in Eph 1:20 and
 'Mk' 16:19. Our previous examination of the traditions
 present in both Lk 24:50-53 and Acts 1:9-11 and the
 purpose served by both these pericopes, as well as
 'Mk' 16:9-20, when coupled with the examination of
 the features that are common to the 'historical'
 accounts adequately demonstrate that however the
 account in Eph 1:20ff is to be described, it cannot
 be described as 'historical'. We may further add
 that with the exception of the citation of Ps 109:1
 in 'Mk' 16:19 all the traditions and themes present
 in Eph 1:20ff are totally absent from the accounts

in 'Mk' 16:9-20; Lk 24:50-53 and Acts 1:9-11.

6.2 Pseudo-Eschatological

According to L. Cerfaux¹⁵⁶ "the phrase 'is seated' or 'is at the right hand of God' ... proves that Christ is reigning while waiting for the Parousia" (our emphasis). The emphasised part of the statement stands in direct contrast to our findings thus far; we have found that the futuristic element is conspicuously absent from the traditions which are used to explain the ascension in Eph 1:20ff. As this text, along with Mt 26:64 and pars; Acts 2:34; Rom 8:34; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3,13, 8:1, 10:12, 12:2 and 1 Peter 3:22, is used by Cerfaux, it is obvious that an examination of these texts is demanded.

The basic text for Cerfaux is Mt 26:64
ἀπ' ἄρτι ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενον ἐκ
δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ where he claims that the 'session' is
directly connected to the parousia. This is of
course true, but what is significant here is that
there is in this text a conflation of two traditions:
that of the futuristic Son of Man, associated with
Dan 7:13 and that of 'session' associated with
Ps 109:1. Luke in 22:66-71 presents such a trun-
cated version of Mk 14:55-64 that he cannot be follow-

ing Mark at this point but must be dependent on a separate source. Luke omits any reference to a future coming and instead elaborates the reference to the present exaltation and so emphasises what in Mark 14:62 is hardly even implicit: the glorification of Jesus does not await the parousia but is effective from the resurrection (ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν).¹⁵⁷ Thus the Lucan reference proves quite conclusively that Cerfaux's statement is not true for all texts. It remains now for us to comment briefly on the remaining texts that he cites. Acts 2:34 depends for its futuristic reference on the following phrase (v. 35a) ἕως ἄν θῶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. ἕως certainly has temporal connotations, as in Mk 2:9, 6:10; Lk 21:32; Jn 21:22f; 1 Cor 4:5 etc, but here the time element inferred does not relate to any time yet in the future but to a time that has been fulfilled with the resurrection and exaltation of Christ (v. 36). There are certainly places where Luke does imply that the Kingdom of Jesus will begin only with a future parousia, as in Lk 22:29f; Acts 1:6f; but this theme is not present in 2:34f where resurrection, enthronement and the continuing Lordship of Jesus through indefinite time are interpreted essentially as one event.¹⁵⁸ Rom 8:31-39 is concerned with the future as it will apply to the believer and not with any 'new' event, such as the

parousia, in which Christ will participate. The present *ἔστιν* and *ἐντυγχάνει* (v. 34) indicate continuing activity by Christ on behalf of believers. The future *χωρῖσει* seems to indicate a future confrontation between believer and adversary, though the 'attack' is not completely a futuristic expectation, as is shown by the present *κατακρινῶν* (v. 34). The concern of the entire passage is with the assuredness of the believers continuing with Christ in both present and future time. In Col 3:1 there is no mention of any parousia, neither is it implied; indeed the presence of the aorist *συνηγήρθητε* makes any parousia speculation out of place at this point in the epistle. Lohse¹⁵⁹ comments appropriately: "God's eschatological act has already taken place; he has called man from death to life". In Hebrews the futuristic element is certainly more conspicuous than in any of the above texts and in the epistle is most pronounced in 1:13 and 10:12f. In 1:13 the argument again centres on *ἕως* as in Acts 2:34. It may well be that the parousia is implied here but it is equally possible that this verse refers back to 1:3f, in which case the statement *ἕως ἔνθα θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου* (v. 13b) is not intended to add anything new to the first part of the citation from the same psalm but is intended to emphasise the glory of Christ

(v. 3). A slightly different and more probable explanation may well be that the second part of the psalm citation (v. 13b) refers more explicitly to the time when Christ καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος . In 10:12f there is a definite reference to a time as yet unfulfilled (τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκδεχόμενος ἕως) but even so, this has no definite reference to the parousia. The phrase is certainly intended as an expansion of the psalmist's ἕως and must denote a waiting period and so of course could imply the parousia. What is certain is that the psalm citation is included not primarily to infer a future parousia but to support the author's argument that Christ completed his sacrificial work once and for all in his death. 1 Peter 3:22 has no futuristic content although elsewhere in the epistle in 1:7 and 4:13 definite reference is made to a future revelation but again it is not associated with the psalm text.

In light of all that we have said about the texts referred to by Cerfaux it would indeed be strange if Eph 1:20 did in fact imply a future parousia. In this text the subjection of the enemies has already been accomplished with the 'session' and consequently any futuristic element is absent. Whatever is intended by the ascension theology portrayed in Eph 1:20-23 we cannot show that the author in any way

implies that the ascension is to be understood as a prelude to a future parousia.

6.3 Theological

If the ascension was not regarded by the author of Ephesians as an event historically separate from the resurrection and if it was not seen as an event which served as a prelude to some future occurrence, we must now ask what is implied by the fact that the ascension traditions and resurrection traditions were so closely linked. We must ask in effect whether it is in this epistle that we find traditions which relate not to event, but to status.

We have already argued that the traditions in Eph 1:20-23 centre on Pss 109:1 and 8:6 which are present in a conflated tradition. Of these two psalm citations the former is to be considered as primary for: (i) it is this citation that is connected directly to the resurrection motif (v. 20); it is the same citation that is applied to the resurrection and exaltation of believers in the corresponding verses in the following chapter (2:6f); (ii) it is the citation of Ps 109:1 that is determinative for the explanatory statements in v. 21b and, for the christological statement expressed in the citation of Ps 8:6 in v. 22 and for the final christological

statements in v. 22b: Christ is κεφαλὴ to the Church not, primarily, because all things are subject to him, but because he is at the right hand of God.¹⁶⁰ Of these two reasons the first is of major significance because it implies that the emphasis is not on ascension as such, but on its theological equivalent, exaltation; Christ is exalted not by virtue of any physical ascension, but by virtue of the fact that 'he is raised from the dead'. The prime focus of the material is on the resurrection which God has accomplished and, sequentially, upon the fact that Christ is enthroned at God's right hand. Thus we see that the emphasis has indeed moved from event to status. This does of course not mean that the author of the epistle had no knowledge of a physical ascension. It may well be, though we have no way of proving it, that the concept of a physical, historical ascension was in the author's mind. If this was so then we must say that the author chose to emphasise the 'theological' approach in preference to the 'historical'. This would suggest that the question which confronted the author was no longer one of explaining the cessation of the resurrection appearances, but was one of explaining the relationship that existed between, on the one hand, the resurrected, exalted Christ and God, and on the other, the relationship between the resurrected, exalted Christ and the Church.

The language employed by the author is not so much metaphorical as theological, particularly such terms or phrases as ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις .¹⁶¹ ὑποτάσσω ,¹⁶² κεφαλή ... τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ ,¹⁶³ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ,¹⁶⁴ τὸ πλήρωμα .¹⁶⁵ In claiming that Christ is at the right hand of God the author is affirming the absolute and complete authority of Christ over the whole universe so that to say "'Christ has ascended and now sits at the right hand of God,' means simply that he lives and rules with the power and authority of God himself".¹⁶⁶

7. THE IDENTITY OF THE ASCENDED ONE

In our discussion thus far we have suggested that Jesus in his exaltation was identified as the exalted Davidic Messiah, but this is not the only option open to us.

7.1 Son of Man

According to S.F.B. Bedale¹⁶⁷

"The words (He put all things under his feet) are quoted again (previously at 1 Cor 15:27) at Eph 1:22 with reference to Christ's supremacy over principalities and powers: that is, the triumph here described is the triumph of the Son of Man. Behind this lies, perhaps, the vision of Daniel 7".

There certainly is evidence to connect Ps 109:1 with the Son of Man title, as in Mk 14:62 for example, where obviously the title owes its being to the presence of Dan 7:13. But the situation is not as clear as it is sometimes assumed to be. There are in all just six passages in early Christian literature which connect Ps 109:1 with the Son of Man title: Mk 14:62 = Mt 26:64 = Lk 22:69; Acts 7:56; Barn 12:10f; and in Hegesippus as recorded by Eusebius EH 2:23,13.¹⁶⁸ We can immediately omit Barn 12:10f; here Ps 109:1 is reckoned as Biblical basis for the Son of God title and, furthermore, it is unlikely even that the Son of Man phrase is here intended to be understood in titular fashion; if this is indeed so then we must assume that the title is used in a manner quite opposite to that of the gospels.¹⁶⁹ The text in Eusebius certainly emphasises the title but the section seems to have been based or even modelled on both Mt 26:64 and Acts 7.¹⁷⁰ Lk 22:69 does not follow Mk 14:62 in citing the text of Dan 7:13 but does of course retain the Son of Man title. The citation from Daniel has no place in Luke's understanding of the glorification of Jesus as beginning from the resurrection.¹⁷¹ According to N. Perrin¹⁷² Acts 7:56 (and Mk 14:62) represents the remnant of a Christian exegetical tradition in which the original interpretation of the resurrection in terms of Ps 109:1 was expounded

by the use of Dan 7:13. Perrin can conclude:¹⁷³

"the resurrection of Jesus is now interpreted as his ascension to God as Son of Man". Two things must be said against Perrin's argument. Firstly, since Luke deliberately chooses not to use Dan 7:13 in Lk 22:69 why should we assume that it is present in Acts 7:56? If it is present then we must admit that its emphasis has changed from a futuristic coming in glory to one which stresses the present exalted position. Secondly, in Acts 7:56 Luke seems to be relying on - and decisively altering - primitive traditions concerning eschatology.¹⁷⁴ Here the Son of Man title is part of the Lucan re-writing of these traditions and does not itself then necessarily stem from Dan 7 at all.¹⁷⁵ From all this it becomes quite obvious that Dan 7:13 is not to be inferred as present in every instance where Ps 109:1 is connected with the Son of Man title; if it is in the background it is so much so that its futuristic emphasis can be totally ignored by the author, specifically of course by Luke. When we turn to Eph 1:20-23 with this in mind we see that the two basic elements vital to the Ps 109:1/Dan 7:13 tradition are both absent; there is no use of the Son of Man title and no reference to any eschatological or apocalyptic 'coming'. Hence we can only conclude that if the tradition in this pericope is related to the Ps 109:1/

Dan 7:13 tradition, it can only be at such a late stage of development that the original tradition has lost both its identity and its theological importance.

A further possibility is that the Son of Man title is to be inferred in Eph 1:20-23 from the citation which ultimately owes its origin to Ps 8. In Heb 2:6ff there is a citation of Ps 8:6 which includes ὄψις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and this passage does seem to be a continuation of Heb 1:13 where the author cites Ps 109:1. In 1 Cor 15:25, Ps 8:6 is again used and it is possible that the Adam speculation presupposed in this context combined with the presence of Ps 8:6 would suggest the inference of the Son of Man title. But we must count as decisive against any theory that would automatically link the Son of Man title with the presence of Ps 8:6 the fact that in none of the instances mentioned above - and these are the only instances where Ps 8:6 occurs in the NT - is the Son of Man title used christologically and thus it must remain extremely unlikely that the title was in fact connected with this psalm.¹⁷⁶ Paul never uses the Son of Man title though of course this does not mean either that he does not know of the christological use of the title or that he does not present the implied theology without mentioning the actual title.¹⁷⁷

It is possible of course to explain the non-use of the title by Paul by referring to the fact that, with the exception of Acts 7:56, the title is never used by anyone apart from Jesus. But this explanation is hardly adequate; a much more likely explanation is that the title with all its futuristic implications was not itself adequate because it was not connected with a general resurrection of the dead. As Mowinckel¹⁷⁸ correctly summarises: "The Son of Man was inseparable from the realistic future hope according to which God's purpose for Israel would be fulfilled on a new earth, and not in any impersonal world of pure spirituality ...". In short, the Son of Man tradition had nothing to say about life being given to the dead and therefore could not stand behind Eph 1:20-23, or its parallel 2:1-10, where it is precisely this theme of new life that is dominant.

7.2 The Davidic Messiah

In his book Paul and Rabbinic Judaism W.D. Davies consistently argues that for Paul "the christian dispensation becomes understandable only in the light of his conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah of Jewish expectation".¹⁷⁹ How true is this statement in relation to Eph 1:20-23? To answer we must examine again a number of texts that we have already noted in relation both to

messianism and to other matters.

We have already seen that Ps 109:1 was interpreted messianically, though not exclusively so, in Judaism, though admittedly these messianic applications of the psalm in Jewish sources are without exception much later than the first century. But two NT texts offer some support for this understanding. Mk 12:35-37 is on all counts difficult to evaluate. Although the Marcan setting is unlikely to be original;¹⁸⁰ it is probable that the logion has its origin with Jesus since it is unlikely that the evangelist would create a pericope which left itself open to such ambiguity as do these verses.¹⁸¹ Mark represents Jesus not as denying the Davidic sonship of the Messiah but as attempting to clarify the nature of messiahship: the messianic kingdom will not merely be a repetition of the Davidic kingdom; the messianic reign will be neither political nor military. The fact that Mk 12:35-37 contains a citation of Ps 109:1 which is applied to the Messiah by Jesus is of course significant for reference to the same psalm citation in Ephesians, but of even more significance is the fact that the amendments which Jesus issues to the common interpretation are both, in their different ways, taken up by the author of Ephesians: the kingdom, significantly the kingdom of Christ and of God in

5:5, contains both Jew and Gentile (1:10, 2:14-20, 3:13-16); the messianic rule extends to the 'heavenly places'.¹⁸² Both these points will be taken up again in our discussion of the christology of Ephesians.¹⁸³ The second text to which we must return is Acts 2:36, paying particular attention to the phrase ὅτι καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησε . The κύριος title is of major importance for Luke in Acts;¹⁸⁴ here Luke¹⁸⁵ justifies this description of Jesus by appeal to Ps 109:1. In a secondary sense the κύριος title is also justified by the same citation inasmuch as the messiahship of Jesus is confirmed by his resurrection. But what is of more significance here, however, is the background against which the speech is set, that of Jewish messianic expectation. Jewish expectation foresaw an earthly messiah who would function as king (v. 30) but in the argument of Luke the enthronement of Jesus was no earthly event (vv. 31f). A similar argument is based on the words of Ps 15:8-11 in vv. 25-28: the psalm cannot refer to David since David did go to Hades and his body did see corruption; the words therefore must refer to the messiah of whom David was a figure and in whose name he spoke these words. These words were only fulfilled by Jesus and therefore he must be the Messiah.¹⁸⁶ Not only does the citation of Ps 109:1 appear in the same form and

with the same function in both Acts and Ephesians but also, and this is of some importance, the Sitz-im-Leben of the messianic enthronement is identical in both writings.

Evidence for the messianic identification of Jesus in Eph 1:20-23 is also provided by 1 Cor 15:24-28, the second piece of traditional material which, as we have seen, is closely related to the Ephesian text. In 1 Cor 15:27 (= Ps 8:6) the Greek text does not state to whom all things are being subjected. There are two obvious alternatives: Christ, to whom submission has been made initially; or God, to whom Christ will eventually hand over dominion when he himself has established it. The key to the interpretation lies in v. 28 where τῷ ἰσχυραντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα must refer to God's subjection of all things to Christ. This phrase determines the meaning of the same words in v. 27b; no different meaning from v. 28 can be intended. This in turn means that the subject of the psalm citation in v. 27a must be Christ and not God. But we must not overlook the fact that, according to v. 21, Christ is both Son of God and at the same time the incorporator of mankind. Moreover, it is not primarily as Son but as Second Adam, that is, as the incorporation of mankind, that he will eventually reign over all creation.

The author then sees the fulfillment of the words of Ps 8 in the representative man Jesus Christ to whom, in an assured future, all creation will be subjected. This interpretation is important for it allows us to conclude that the prime value of Ps 8 in early Christian tradition was that it enabled people to express the concept of the exalted Lord as the 'inclusive representative' of redeemed society. This means that we have further evidence for the movement away from the Son of Man theology as we suggested above and for the recognition and proclamation of Jesus as the promised Messiah. It is this stage that we suggest has been reached in Ephesians.

¹R. Fowler 'Ephesians 1:23' ET 76 (1964) p.294 accepts that vv. 15-23 is to be construed as a unity but at the same time argues that the basic Greek sentence is in fact vv. 19b, 23b which is interrupted by the parenthetical statement in vv. 20-23a. This gives rise to what Fowler describes as an 'envelope structure'; he translates: 'A power seen in the action of his mighty strength ... by which all things in every way are brought to completion'. But this theory with its associated translation is to be rejected because it does not consider sufficiently the relationship of v.19b to vv. 18-19a and because it totally ignores the relationship, both in terms of language and theology between πλήρωμα and πληρωμένου in v.23; cf n.10 and pp. 194f, 197-203 below.

²Cf for example, J.T. Sanders "Hymnic Elements in Ephesians 1-3", ZNW 56 (1965), pp. 214-232, and New Testament Christological Hymns, Cambridge: 1971; p.24 n.1; G. Schille Frühchristliche Hymnen, Berlin: 1965; pp.103f.

³Cf G.P. Wiles, Paul's Intercessory Prayers, Cambridge: 1974; pp. 22-29.

⁴This criterion is noted by E. Stauffer New Testament Theology, London: 1955; pp. 338f. This however cannot be accepted as being absolute for the obvious reason that the author may well have had a deliberate reason for using either or both the language and style of the hymnic quotations elsewhere. The author could also be so familiar with the quotations that he uses similar terminology elsewhere quite unconsciously.

⁵Cf 1:20 ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις with the same phrase in 1:3, 2:6, 3:10 and 6:12; 1:21 ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας with 2:2 ἀρχῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ αἵθερος and with 3:10 ἵνα γνωρισθῇ ὑμῖν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις; 1:23 τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τᾶ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν πληρωμένου with 1:10 εἰς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ πληρώματος ... ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα and with 3:19 ἵνα πληρωθῆτε εἰς πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ.

⁶See below pp. 5-9.

⁷See below pp. 10-18.

⁸The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity,
London: 1970; p.128.

⁹See below pp. 18, 23-26.

¹⁰It is possible to take the *κατά* clause as either connected to the participle *πιστεύοντας* (v.19) or as being associated with all three *τις* clauses. The latter interpretation is to be accepted because to accept the former interpretation would be to make v.20, or at least to imply that it should be understood as, subservient to *πιστεύοντας* of v.19, which in our interpretation we accept as secondary to the main theme of the passage. Cf T.K. Abbott The Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, Edinburgh: 1897; pp. 30f.

¹¹See below pp. 274-78.

¹²The same is noted by H. Schlier Brief an die Epheser, Dusseldorf: 1971; pp. 86-89, 102-106 and L. Cerfaux La Theologie de l'Eglise suivant saint Paul, Paris: 1948; p.255.

¹³This phrase is only to be found in Eph 1:3,20; 2:6, 3:10 and 6:12. On its significance see R.T. Lincoln "A Re-examination of 'The Heavens' in Ephesians", NTS 19 (1973-74), pp. 468-483. Cf below n.161 and pp. 302-06.

¹⁴The phrase in 2:7 could refer to the angelic powers existing in this present age and thus have no reference to any future time.

¹⁵"Hymnic Elements", pp. 219f.

¹⁶Cf E. Lohse Colossians and Philemon, Philadelphia: 1971; pp. 99f.

¹⁷That Sanders be proved wrong is not essential to our argument. It is sufficient to establish that, irrespective of any dependence on Colossians, there is an intended connection between 1:20ff and 2:1-10.

¹⁸The use of the perfect participle σεσωσμένοι in 2:5,8 is a hapax legomenon in the Pauline corpus. This use of the verb helps to create the very strong note of realised eschatology that is present in these verses. Cf B-D para 318.

¹⁹In 2:1-10, particularly vv.1-4 the obvious inference is that in their exalted state the believers, being no longer subject to the 'commander of the spiritual powers of the air', are now in a position of superiority over this figure. In 1 Cor 4:8 Paul refutes as heretical the notion that the resurrection or exaltation of believers had taken place. The fact that this doctrine is so clearly espoused by the epistle to the Ephesians may indicate a difference in authorship from 1 Corinthians. On this cf. J.M. Robinson, "Kerygma and History in the New Testament", in J.M. Robinson and H. Koester, Trajectories Through Early Christianity, Philadelphia: 1971; pp. 20-70 especially pp. 34f.

²⁰For a full discussion on the relationship between the two epistles cf E. Percy Die Probleme der Kolosser- und Epheserbrief, Lund: 1946; especially pp. 360-433; C.L. Mitton The Epistle to the Ephesians, Oxford: 1951; pp. 55ff.

²¹Eph 2:7 forbids us from accepting that the scheme has no futuristic content whatsoever. In light of this we must say that 2:6, with all its emphasis on salvation as a present event, is itself proleptic in that it also has regard for man's final state; the emphasis however is still on the fact that the final state can be achieved in the present time. Similar uses of a proleptic aorist are 1:3 and Rom 8:30. Cf R. Schnackenburg Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul, New York: 1964; p.77.

²²In Col 2:12 the believers are raised 'in Christ' (ἐν χ) but this is set in a conflict situation and is intended to emphasise the significance of Christ as over against the assertions of the false teachers (Col 2:8).

²³Cf W. Kramer, Christ, Lord, Son of God, London: 1963; pp. 141-146.

²⁴J.A. Allen "The 'in Christ' Formula in Ephesians" NTS 5 (1958/59), pp. 54-62, argues that here, in contrast to the chief Pauline letters, the formula has an instrumental sense. But this argument fails to consider sufficiently the presence of the σῶμα motif in the related pericope 1:20-23. Our argument also speaks against that of G. Vermes, "Baptism and Jewish Exegesis: New Light from Ancient Sources", NTS 4 (1957/58), pp. 309-319, especially p.319, who argues that in Paul, Baptism is the "Christianised form of the Jewish sacrament of circumcision". He also has not realised the significance of baptism and the doctrine of the believer being ἐν Χριστῷ ; cf below pp. 293-302.

²⁵On the significance of κυριότης and its relationship to ἀρχή, ἐξουσία and δύναμις see below n.35.

²⁶Mt 22:44, 26:64; Mk 12:36, 14:62, (16:19); Lk 20:42f, 22:69; Acts 2:34f; Rom 8:34; 1 Cor 15:25; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3,13, 8:1, 10:12,13, 12:2.

²⁷The intransitive form of the verb is found in Heb 1:3, 8:1, 10:12, 12:2.

²⁸For a detailed analysis of this speech cf R. Zehnle, Peter's Pentecost Discourse, New York: 1971.

²⁹Cf Acts 2:24, 3:15, 4:10, 5:30, 10:40, 13:30; 1 Peter 1:21 etc.

³⁰Cf his New Testament Apologetic, London: 1961; pp. 42f.

³¹Cf Acts 1:4, 2:16. We should however not overlook the fact that ἐπαγγελία is a common NT word although this does not necessarily mean that it is not Lucan in this particular context.

³²In Acts 5:31 ἰψὼ occurs in the active voice and has God as the subject. If we are to interpret τῇ δεξιᾷ in both 2:33 and 5:31 as an instrumental dative then we are presumably arguing that Ps 117:16 lies behind both verses. But the active voice of ἰψὼ in 5:31 makes this unlikely for this verse and equally, since both verses obviously are intended to convey the same idea, for 2:33.

³³E.E. Ellis, "Midrash and Targum" in Neotestamentica et Semitica (Festschr. in honour of M. Black), Edinburgh: 1969; p.66. Cf also J.W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, Assen: 1953; pp. 47-52; J.W. Bowker "The Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form", NTS 14 (1967/68), pp. 96-111.

³⁴With the exception that 1 Cor 15:27 contains the particle γάρ which Eph 1:22 omits.

³⁵Κυριότης which is absent from 1 Cor 15:24 is found only in Eph 1:21 and Col 1:16 in the Pauline corpus. It is likely that ἀρχή, ἐξουσία and δόναμις are part of the tradition that became associated with this form of the citation of Ps 8:6 and, since there are other parallels between Col 1:16:19 and Eph 1:20-23, it is likely that κυριότης of Eph 1:22 is not part of the tradition associated with Ps 8:6 but in some way owes its source to Col 1:16, or at least to the tradition reflected there. G. Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism. Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition, New York: 1960; pp. 18f suggests that the author of Colossians knew of some Jewish tradition such as the (lost) Apocalypse of Zephaniah which, in a citation supplied by Clement, uses both κυριότης and θρόνος which also appears in Col 1:16. But in view of the fact that we do not possess this document the theory is at best only speculative. Cf. M.R. James, The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament: Their Titles and Fragments, London: 1920; p.73.

³⁶The double use of πᾶσα in 1 Cor 15:24 may reflect a variant, possibly earlier, form of tradition; or it might be an emphatic addition to the tradition made by Paul for apologetic purposes.

³⁷See below pp. 52-58.

³⁸See below pp. 46-52.

³⁹A. Feuillet, "L'Église, Plêrome Du Christ d'après Ephes 1:23", NRT 78 (1956), p.458.

⁴⁰ Ὑπεράνω occurs only here, 4:10 and Heb 9:5. In this third reference the significance is obviously 'above' in the sense of 'vertically above'; in both references in Ephesians the significance is certainly much more than this. In 4:10 the following ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα gives an obvious cosmic significance to ὑπεράνω. In that 4:7-10 contains the same basic presuppositions as 1:20-23 the same cosmic dimension must be assumed for ὑπεράνω in 1:21. H. Merklein, Das kirchliche Amt nach dem Epheserbrief, Munich: 1973; p.69, says of 4:10 "Die Parallelität zu Eph 1:20-23 ist offensichtlich!"

⁴¹ See below pp. 65-70.

⁴² The use of the phrase 'theological tradition' is only intended to imply that the theological point or religious view which the author of Ephesians expressed by using a tradition based on Ps 109:1 and Ps 8:6 was also current in the non-Pauline and pre-Pauline schools of thought in the early Church. Consequently these traditions can be expected to have differing sources and need not have any connection with each other except that they all emphasize the same view of the ascension as that found in Ephesians.

⁴³ Heb 1:3b reflects a different tradition. Here the exaltation of Christ is linked directly to his sacrificial death, the language portrays Christ as the great High Priest; cf 4:14. The only clear reference to the resurrection in Hebrews is 13:20 where there is no reference to exaltation.

⁴⁴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας is not part of the original hymn. In this hymn σῶμα was equated with κόσμος but the author by his redactional addition completely changes the significance; cf below n.50; n.9 of chapter 4, and above pp. 21-23.

⁴⁵ In both v.19 and v.22 πορευθεῖς refers to the same event, as is evidenced by the repetition of the same verb in the same grammatical form.

⁴⁶ On the ascension in Luke-Acts, particularly Acts 1:9-11, see below pp.29-35.

47 P. Benoit "The Ascension" in Jesus and the Gospel I, London: 1973, p.215. The same may be said of the resurrection; it is not a 'visible' event. The NT emphasis on the resurrection is twofold: (a) it happened, and (b) as a consequence of it, Christ was seen; cf 1 Cor 15:4-8. W.J. Dalton Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits, Rome: 1965; p. 186, correctly comments "the real but invisible ascension of Christ ... is nothing more than the prolongation of his real but invisible resurrection".

48 ζωοποιέω normally refers to the resurrection; cf Jn 5:21, 6:63; Rom 4:17, 8:11.

49 An ascension theology is also present, perhaps in a more explicit form, in 2:15. On this see below pp.123-28.

50 We take the analysis of E. Schweizer "Die Kirche als Leib Christi in den paulinischen Antilegomena" in Neotestamentica, Zürich: 1963; pp. 293-316 and "The Church as the Missionary Body of Christ" ibid; pp. 317-329, especially pp. 324-326. The sum total of both articles is that Schweizer recognises as hymnic vv. 15, 16a, 16d, 17, 18a, 18b, 19, 20a. For a detailed examination of the various attempts at analysis in the 130 years prior to 1965 cf. H.J. Gabathuler Jesus Christus: Haupt der Kirche-Haupt der Welt, Zürich: 1965. For a more recent discussion cf E. Lohse, op. cit. pp. 41-61.

51 The same sense, the beginning of a new age, is also conveyed in the LXX by the use of πρωτότοκος, and ἀρχή. Cf Gen 49:3 Ρουβην, πρωτότοκός μου σὺ, ἰσχύς μου καὶ ἀρχὴ τῶν τέκνων μου. In the LXX πρωτότοκος is used 130 times, usually in genealogies and historical treatments, to indicate not temporal priority but sovereignty of rank.

52 Cf E. Lohse, op. cit., p.56 n.176, W. Michaelis " πρωτότοκος " TDNT 6, p. 881f.

53 Kyrios Jesus: Eine Untersuchung zu Phil 2:5-11, Heidelberg: 1928. The most recent thorough examination of the Philippian hymn is that of R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, Cambridge: 1967. For his treatment and summary of Lohmeyer's work cf pp. 25-30.

⁵⁴Cf for example, J. Héring "Kyrios Anthropos" RHPR 16 (1936), p.208: " ἡπερῴωσεν ἐτ ἔδωκεν ὄνομα, indiquent clairement l'investiture avec une dignité nouvelle et supplémentaire" O. Cullmann The Christology of the New Testament, London: 1963² adopts Héring's view when he writes (p.180) "... after his death Jesus did not simply return to the form of existence he already had ... before his incarnation. He has now entered a still closer relationship with God ...".

⁵⁵Cf for example, F.W. Beare A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians, London: 1959, p.85: "The thought is not that God exalts him to a higher rank than he held before ... No such comparison between the pre-existent state of Christ and his exalted state is envisaged".

⁵⁶See above pp. 5-9.

⁵⁷The same point is made by R.P. Martin op. cit. p.246.

⁵⁸Ibid p.231.

⁵⁹As advocated by J.B. Lightfoot St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, London: 1896⁴ p.115.

⁶⁰So Arndt-Gingrich ad. loc.

⁶¹"The Epistle to the Ephesians in light of the Qumran Texts" in Paul and Qumran (ed. J. Murphy - O'Connor), London: 1968 p.117. J.T. Sanders "Hymnic Elements," p.227, argues that while Kuhn's position is basically correct it is however something of an over-statement to argue that 1 QH draws on the same tradition as Eph 1-3. Some support for Kuhn is nevertheless offered by E. Käsemann "Christus, das All und die Kirche" TLZ 81 (1956), pp. 585-590 who attempts to show that Eph 1-3 follows in general terms the outline of the Covenant Renewal Service of 1 QS 21-23.

⁶²Kuhn does not pay much attention to specific parallels between Eph 1:20ff and the Scrolls; F. Mussner, "Contributions made by Qumran to the Understanding of the Epistle to the Ephesians" in Paul and Qumran, pp. 159-178 does however deal with the relationship between Eph 2:1-6 and Qumran (pp. 164-167) and in so doing cites 1 QH 3:19-22 and 1 QH 11:10-12.

⁶³Translation from G. Vermes The Dead Sea Scrolls in English Hammondsworth: 1973⁴.

⁶⁴Ibid p.51. Cf N. Kehl "Erniedrigung und Erhöhung in Qumran und Kolossä " ZTK 91 (1969).pp. 364-394 esp. 383ff.

⁶⁵Cf also 1 QH 7:9f, 15:4, 18:8f; 1 QS 11:19f.

⁶⁶Cf also 1 QH 3:34, 11:29, 19:42.

⁶⁷Der Epheserbrief, Freiburg: 1971 p.126. Mussner "Contributions", p.178 likewise concludes "... the thematic material of Eph has its roots in a tradition that is also represented at Qumran ..." (our emphasis). The Qumran evidence points to a coherence of tradition and not to a dependence.

⁶⁸Εὐλογεῖν occurs 14 times in the gospel and twice, thematically in Acts 3:24f; χαρά occurs 8 and 4 times respectively; a similar use is made of διὰ παντός in Acts 3:25, 10:2; τὸ ἱερόν occurs 13 and 24 times respectively. G. Lohfink Die Himmelfahrt Jesu, Munich: 1971; esp. pp. 147-151, 163-176 has carried out a very thorough and detailed analysis of the verses in question and concludes that the following additional words or phrases are also Lucan in origin: ἐξάγειν; ἕως πρὸς Βηθανίαν, διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν; ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.

⁶⁹This does not mean that Luke sees Jesus as a new High Priest, as is suggested by P.A. van Stempvoort "The Interpretation of the Ascension in Luke and Acts" NTS 5 (1958-59) pp. 37f. In Lucan Christology no significant part is played by the High Priest typology. Cf Lohfink op. cit. p.169.

⁷⁰This is true even if ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν (v.52) is original. It may well be that this phrase is a later redactional attempt to interpret διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν being absent from both χ^* and D although present in p⁷⁵ χ^c A B C K et al.

⁷¹Cf P. Schubert "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24", BZNW 21 (1957), pp. 165-186, particularly p.165, where Schubert writes "... prominent and unmistakable is the obvious and close literary transition from volume I (Lc 24:50-53) to volume II (Acts 1:1-4) however obscure and puzzling, textually, grammatically and exegetically, its details have proved to be".

⁷²Op. cit. pp. 186-202. Those definitely Lucan are βλέποντων αὐτῶν; ἐπήρθη; ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν; ὡς ἀτενίζοντες ἦσαν; πορευομένου αὐτοῦ; ἄνδρες δύο; παρειστήκεισαν αὐτοῖς; ἐν ἐσθήρεσι λευκαῖς; τί ἐστήκατε βλέποντες; ἐλεύσεται.

⁷³The similarities between Acts 1:9-11 and 4 Kings 2 are well documented by R. Pesch "Der Anfang der Apostelgeschichte: Apg 1:1-11", EKK 3 (1974), pp. 7-35, especially pp. 15f, whom we here follow.

⁷⁴Cf A. Oepke, "νεφέλη" TDNT 4, pp. 906f. Also significant are Exod 19:9 and Ps 98:7. The same imagery is found in the NT in 1 Thess 4:17.

⁷⁵1:2,11,22, 7:43, 10:16, 20:13,14, 23:31. Elsewhere in the NT it only occurs in Eph 6:13,16; 1 Tim 3:16.

⁷⁶We have already seen that Luke 24:50-53 is based, directly or indirectly, on Sir 50:20-22; the fact that ἀναλαμβάνομαι is also found in Sir 48:9 is also strong evidence for this. The word again occurs in 1 Mac 2:58 with reference to Elijah. The word occurs in the LXX approximately 100 times.

⁷⁷See below pp. 329f.

⁷⁸Cf 9:26. Cf also 12:40, 17:22. In 9:22 the Son of Man designation is applied to the one who will after three days be raised from the dead.

⁷⁹Lk 5:27, 7:24, 23:55. Of these 5:27 and 23:55 are not found in the parallel Markan passages.

⁸⁰Acts 1:11, 8:18, 21:27, 22:9.

⁸¹Cf Mk 8:38 and pars 13:26 and pars 14:62 and pars Mt 10:23, 16:28, 24:42, 25:31; Lk 18:8; Jn 21:22f; 1 Cor 4:5, 11:26; 2 Thess 1:10; Heb 10:37; Rev 1:7, 3:11, 16:15, 22:7,12,17,20.

⁸²9:26, 12:40, 18:8, 19:10. Cf also 17:26f, 18:30f, 22:18.

⁸³The phrasing of 1:7 may reflect Luke's knowledge of Mk 13:32; in both texts curiosity concerning the time of the end is both rejected and forbidden. E. Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, Oxford: 1971, pp. 114ff argues that Acts 1:6-11 presents us with the contemporary situation against which Luke's own theological standpoint is directed. Luke apparently depicts the early Church's delimited expectation of the end and goes on to oppose it with 'compensatory factors' - the Spirit and mission - which, so Haenchen argues, are hallmarks of the epoch of the Church. But the pericope can equally be interpreted as being a rejection of a narrow nationalism (1:6) and at the same time an espousal of world mission (1:8). This is a more reasonable explanation for the criticism of speculation concerning the end time in view of Luke 24:47-49.

⁸⁴C.F.D. Moule "The Ascension - Acts 1:9", ET 68 (1956-57), p.208 well describes Luke's use of the ascension in Acts 1 when he writes: "It is like an acted declaration of finality ... it is an acted declaration of the opening of a new chapter; it is a matter of finality only within a certain period, for it is expressly linked with the hopes of Christ's return".

⁸⁵For our assessment of the ascension theology of Ephesians as it relates to that of Luke-Acts see below pp. 71-74.

⁸⁶The only two instances of Introductory Formulae in Ephesians are 4:8 and 5:14, both of which employ $\delta\iota\delta\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$. Both citations introduced by this formula are problematic. 5:14 is not part of scripture as we know it, probably being part of a baptismal hymn of the early Church. The citation of Ps 67:19 in 4:8 differs in one essential element from the LXX (which at this point follows the MT) but is an exact translation of this particular element as it is recorded in the PT. On this see below pp. 91-93. For our discussion on the introductory formulae in Ephesians see below pp. 111-15. It should also be noted, however, that the author does introduce unmistakable OT citations into the text of the epistle without the use of any Introductory Formulae, as in 6:2ff.

⁸⁷This is frequently the case with Ps 109:1, the citation being used in these instances to refer to the fact that the exaltation of Christ has taken place, or, as in a few instances, that it will soon take place. Cf Mk 14:62 and pars 16:19; Mt 26:64; Rom 8:34; 1 Cor 15:25; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3, 8:1; 10:12ff, 12:2; 1 Peter 3:22. On the occasions when the psalm citation is used as a proof text the Introductory Formula occurs as a variation of the form $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ Δαυΐδ λεγέι . Cf Mk 12:36 and pars; Acts 2:34.

⁸⁸v.1 is cited in Mt 22:44, 26:64; Mk 12:36, 14:62, 16:19; Lk 20:42f, 22:69; Acts 2:34f; Rom 8:34; 1 Cor 15:25; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3,13, 8:1, 10:12,13, 12:2; 1 Peter 3:22 and v.4 in Jn 12:34; Heb 5:6,10, 6:20, 7:3,17,21.

⁸⁹Cf Mk 14:62, 16:19; Rom 8:34; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3, 8:1, 12:2; 1 Peter 3:22. In Mk 14:62 and pars the session motif is associated with both the Son of Man tradition and a tradition derived from Dan 7.

⁹⁰Cf 1 Cor 15:25. Both the session and subjection motifs occur at Heb 10:12f.

⁹¹Cf Mk 12:36 and pars; Acts 2:34. In Heb 1:3 the session and subjection motifs are explicit but the emphasis is nevertheless on the unwritten phrase.

⁹²This is due to the fact that in Eph 1:20, Ps 109:1 stands as one element in the conflated tradition Ps 109:1/Ps 8:6. On this tradition see below pp.52-58.

⁹³The deviations are of three kinds: the imperative $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\nu$ is replaced by $\delta\epsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$, cf Rom 8:34; 1 Peter 3:22; or by a participial phrase, cf Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; or by a preterite statement, cf 'Mk' 16:19; Heb 1:3, 8:1, 10:12, 12:2. Mk 14:62 bears little or no relationship textually to Ps 109:1 but at the same time it cannot be doubted that this psalm, or at least a tradition based on it, lies behind this verse.

⁹⁴The Titles of Jesus in Christology, London: 1969; p.129.

95 The date of composition and Sitz im Leben of the psalm are much in dispute. As far as the use of the psalm in Eph 1:20 is concerned the problem revolves around the messianic interpretation of its opening verses. D.M. Hay Glory at the Right Hand: Ps 110 in Early Christianity (SBL Monograph series vol. 18) Nashville: 1973; pp. 19-33, argues that there is little evidence that the psalm was originally messianic in sense. R. Tournay "La Psaume CX" RB 67 (1960), pp. 5-44 argues that the psalm was composed by ruling priests in the post-exilic - pre-Maccabean period and that it expresses a priestly Messianism of universal pretensions. C.H. Dodd According to the Scriptures, London: 1952; p.120 and B. Lindars op. cit. p.45f both argue that the phrase 'Sit down at my right hand' could not have been applied to an earthly king because the NT age was no longer at home with the oriental imagery of the psalms. But allowing a pre-exilic date for this psalm, as is suggested by Dodd and Lindars does not rule out the possibility that this psalm was applied to the Hasmonean Dynasty, even if it was not composed for them. If this is the case then the argument of both Dodd and Lindars is faulted, because it is at least possible that some memory of such an important political use of the psalm would have persisted well into NT times. This would make the application of the psalm to an earthly person certainly possible. For literature on the date and Sitz im Leben of the psalm, see Hay op. cit., p.19 ns. 1-3.

96 Mk 12:35-37 may well represent the authentic words of Jesus; it is unlikely that Mark would have composed or used a tradition which failed to answer its own question. Cf E. Lohmeyer Das Evangelium des Markus Göttingen: 1937; p.263; F. Borsch The Son of Man in Myth and History London: 1967; p.394f; Hay op. cit., p.110.

97 The Dan 7:13 citation is retained by Matthew but not by Luke. On this see below pp. 81f. The logion is almost certainly not authentic. Cf E. Schweizer The Good News According to Mark London: 1971; pp. 326f.

98 Mt 25:31 and to a lesser degree 19:28 infer that the Messianic enthronement will take place at the parousia. Both these verses reflect Jewish apocalypticism as found in 1 Enoch 61:8, 62:2.

99 O. Linton "The Trial of Jesus and the Interpretation of Ps CX" NTS 7 (1960-61) pp. 258-262 argues that the condemnation of Jesus resulted from a 'literal' understanding of Ps 110. But this does not consider sufficiently the Jewish understanding of this same text.

100 History of the Synoptic Tradition Oxford: 1963; pp. 269-271.

101 Cf n.76 above.

102 Basic to all the other synoptic texts was the fact that Jesus' claim to messiahship was vindicated by the resurrection/session or ascension/session. Here there is also a vindication theme, but it is the gospel message and not the claim of Jesus which is vindicated.

103 Further evidence for this may be the $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'Iησοῦς title; it should however be noted that 'Iησοῦς has dubious textual validity, it is present in $\rho^1, 22, 52$ χ C L T Z Δ Ψ but omitted by B E F G H S U Υ Ω D. Cullmann op. cit. p.112 believes that the $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'Iησοῦς formulation in the Pauline corpus is evidence that Paul was aware that $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ was basically the Christian term for $\Gamma\psi\lambda$; cf below pp.287-302, 313-17 for our discussion of messianism in Ephesians.

104 $\delta\upsilon\iota\varsigma$ ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων (1:3) probably must be understood as implying that the authority that was the Father's would ultimately be also the Son's and thus the sense of 'ruler' is present here, but not in any developed sense. Heb 2:5ff is also to be similarly interpreted.

105 Midrash Mekilta, commenting on Ex 15:7f, refers to Gen 14:9ff and Is 41f and then adds a paraphrase of Ps 110:1-4. The same texts are referred to in b Sanhedrin 108b. Cf J. Lauterbach Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael Vol 2. Philadelphia: 1935; p.45; A. Guilding "Some Obscured Rubrics and Lectionary Allusions in the Psalter" JTS 3 (1952) pp. 51-55.

106 The Targum of Psalm 110 applies it to David. Cf also Seder Eliz. R 18 (90) as cited by Str-B IV p.457.

¹⁰⁷ Cf for example, Genesis Rabba 85:9 which interprets v.2 of the psalm messianically.

¹⁰⁸ It is possible that R. Akiba (c 125) also referred Ps 110 to the Messiah. In b. Sanhedrin 38b, in connection with Dan 7:9, he taught that one throne was for God and the other for the Davidic Messiah. Since Ps 110 is the only scriptural text which describes someone apart from God being enthroned it is possible that the Rabbi had Ps 110:1 in mind at this point.

¹⁰⁹ Str-B Vol IV Excursus 'Der Psalm 110 in der altrabbinischen Literatur', pp. 452-456, especially pp. 458-460.

¹¹⁰ At least one late Rabbinic text, Midrash Tehillim on Ps 2 para 9 applies Ps 110:1, along with several other texts, to the Nation of Israel.

¹¹¹ The translations of the Midrash Tehillim are those of W.B. Braude The Midrash on Psalms (Yale Judaica series) New Haven: 1959; (2 Vols); the translations of the citations of Talmud and the remaining Midrashim are those of the Soncino editions of the respective tractates, or as otherwise noted. For the sake of completeness we also include here rabbinic citations of other verses of the psalm, particularly v.4, which the rabbis also regarded as messianic.

¹¹² Cited as in Str-B IV p.457.

¹¹³ To be understood as the Messiah, so J. Shacter Sanhedrin Vol 1 London: 1935 (Socino Edition); p.245 n.6.

¹¹⁴ As in Str-B IV p.457. It is significant that the thought of priesthood and the name Melchizedek are no longer mentioned; the verse has instead become regarded as messianic and eschatological.

¹¹⁵ Cf S. Mowinckel He That Cometh Oxford: 1959; pp. 337-345.

¹¹⁶ Ps 8:3 is also cited at Mt 21:16.

¹¹⁷ Here following S. Kistemaker The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Amsterdam: 1961; pp. 102-108.

118 This phrase is in fact present in χ A C D* P et al; it is omitted by P⁴⁶ B D^C K et al.

119 e.g. 3:7, 5:6, 10:16.

120 See below pp.200-03.

121 Cf B.S. Childs "Psalm 8 in the Context of the Christian Canon" Int 23 (1969), pp. 20-31.

122 This futuristic eschatological emphasis is clearer in 1 Cor 15 than in Heb 2. In the former text the subjection of all creation to Christ is an event which is not yet, but which must happen in an assured future. Cf J.K. Freeborn "Eschatology in 1 Cor 15" TU 87 (1964), pp. 556-568; C.K. Barrett A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians London: 1968; pp. 358f; F. Hahn op. cit. p.132. In Heb 2 the initial emphasis is on the fact that universal dominion is the future destiny of man, but although Christ is exalted the future salvation which he will accomplish is not yet fully realised. Cf H.W. Montefiore A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, London: 1964; pp. 58-61; W.B. Wallis "The Use of Psalms 8 and 110 in 1 Corinthians 15:25-27" J.Ev. Th. Soc. 15 (1972) pp. 25-29; S. Kistemaker op. cit., pp. 102-108.

123 For a more detailed survey, see A. Vis The Messianic Psalm Citations, Amsterdam: 1939; pp. 24-28.

124 Citations from Soncino Edition unless otherwise stated.

125 Significantly the citation does not go on to include v.6 although this verse would have strengthened the argument being advanced by the Rabbi at this point.

126 Citation from Vis op. cit., pp. 26f.

127 E. König Die messianischen Weissagungen des Altes Testament as cited by Vis, ibid.

128 ὑποδάτω in Mk 12:36 is not well supported textually, only being found in B D^{9f} W among the major witnesses; the alternative ὑποδάδιον is much better attested: χ A K L X et al. But because ὑποδάτω is not disputed in Mt 22:44 it presumably must be also read in Mk 12:36

129^{Cf} 2:3

130^{Op. cit.}, pp. 358f

131^{Cf} Luke 10:17,20; Rom 10:3; 1 Cor 15:27, 16:16; Eph 3:21, 5:24; Phil 3:1; Heb 2:5,8; James 4:7; 1 Peter 3:22.

132^{Cf} Heb 10:13.

133^{In} the psalm 'Son of Man' (v.5) may be taken in the generic sense but it is surely the first man as the ideal type or representation that is in the author's mind. Heb 2:5ff, after referring to this prototype man concludes (v.8) "we do not yet see everything in subjection to him (= man). But we see Jesus ... ". The author makes the transition from Adam, the psalmist's prototype, to Christ, the last Adam, in whom man's destiny is accomplished. Cf A.J.M. Wedderburn "The Body of Christ and Related Concepts in 1 Corinthians" SJT 24 (1971) pp. 74-96. For our own treatment of 'inclusive personality' as it relates to Eph 1:20-23 see below pp.200-03.

134^{Cf} also 4 Ezra 4:27-30; 1 Enoch 62:13-16; 2 Macc 12:43-45.

135^{Cf} 2 Baruch 50:1-4.

136^{Cf} Pss 49:15, 73:24. Ezek 37 contains a metaphorical account of resurrection and relates it to the confident hope of a national resurrection from the 'death' of exile. Cf G. von Rad Old Testament Theology, I Edinburgh: 1962; pp. 405ff; W.D. Davies Paul and Rabbinic Judaism London: 1970³; pp. 285-320.

137^{Here} we follow J.H. Hayes "The Resurrection as Enthronement and the Earliest Church Christology" Int 22 (1968), pp. 333-345, esp. pp. 338f.

138^{Cf} 11 QPS^a 17:11 where it says of David "All these he composed through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High", as cited by Hayes op. cit., p.339.

139^{Op. cit.}, p.337.

140 Cf Rom 6:10; 1 Cor 15:20ff, 2 Cor 5:17; Eph 1:20-23; 2:6; Phil 2:9-11; Col 1:20, 3:2; Heb 1:3f; 1 Peter 1:3-5.

141 For a similar tradition regarding enthronement in the heavenly places, cf Test. Levi 2:10, 4:2. Jewish Apocalypticism often transferred many actions and concepts to the heavenly sphere, often in the process postulating their pre-existence. For a similar idea in Qumran cf 11QMelch where Melchizedek is understood as a heavenly redemptive figure. On this cf J.A. Fitzmyer "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11" JBL 86 (1967) pp. 25-41.

142 For our consideration of all other possible identifications, see below pp. 80-88.

143 Resurrection in the New Testament, London: 1970; p. 137.

144 Cf also Acts 3:15, 5:31. In both contexts ἀρχαῖς is associated with resurrection.

145 In v.28 [τὰ] πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν may be equivalent to the classical παντάπασιν and thus would emphasise the complete superiority of God; cf below pp. 195f.

146 Cf J.Y. Lee "Interpreting the Demonic Powers in Pauline Thought" NT 12 (1973) pp. 54-69 esp. p.55.

147 So G.H.C. MacGregor, "Principalities and Powers: The Cosmic Background of Paul's Thought", NTS 1 (1955), pp. 19ff and the literature cited there; cf also Lee op. cit.

148 Cf C.D. Morrison The Powers That Be, London: 1960; pp. 17-25.

149 Cf Schlier op. cit. pp. 88f; Gnllka op. cit. pp. 63-66.

150 Op. cit., pp. 32f.

151 The Last Twelve Verses of Mark (SNTS Monograph Series, vol 25) Cambridge: 1974.

152^{B.} Metzger A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, London: 1971; p.125. The evidence presented there can be summarised as follows: vocabulary and style is non-Markan; the connection between v.8 and vv. 9-20 is awkward; the subject of v.8 is the woman, that of v.9 is Jesus; ἀναστᾶς δὲ and πρῶτον are appropriate at the beginning of a narrative but ill suited in their present position if v.9 is indeed the original continuation of v.8.

153^{Cf} above p. 30 and n.76.

154^{This} follows even if καὶ ἀνεφέρτεο εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν is omitted from the text because an event separate from resurrection is quite definitely implied by δέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

155^{The} comment of C.F.D. Moule "Acts 1:9" p.206, with reference, amongst others, to Lk 24:51; 'Mk' 16:19; Acts 1:9 that "they all point in the direction of making 'resurrection' and 'ascension' interchangeable or identical rather than distinguishing them as two separate stages "is not tenable, at least as it applies to these texts. It may well be that in all texts with the exception of Acts 1 the resurrection and ascension are understood as occurring on the same day but even if the two events are part of one process, they are nevertheless two events, each of which has its own time locale.

156^{Christ} in the Theology of St. Paul, London: 1959; p.52.

157^{Cf} M.D. Hooker The Son of Man in Mark, London: 1967; p. 167, n.2: "it is possible that he has deliberately omitted these words precisely because he understood them as a reference to the parousia, and this seemed inappropriate in a context concerned with immediate vindication". For the argument that Luke is here following an independent source other than Mark, cf E.E. Ellis The Gospel of Luke, London : 1966; p.260.

158^{So} H. Conzelmann Die Apostelgeschichte, Tübingen: 1963; p.30.

159^{Op. cit.} p.132.

160^{See} below pp. 278-80.

¹⁶¹R.T. Lincoln op. cit. p.480 seems correct when he summarises the theological import of this phrase as follows: "The reference is to this heaven as it takes its place in the cosmic drama of redemption. In Ephesians heaven still has a controlling function, but now in a redemptive sense, for the significance of the ascension of Christ ... is that it involved initial and terminal points, both considered as definite localities, the one where Christ was - on earth; the other where he now is - in heaven"; cf our own discussion below pp. 302-06.

¹⁶²Cf above pp. 57f.

¹⁶³Cf below pp. 274-78.

¹⁶⁴Cf below pp. 280f.

¹⁶⁵Cf below pp. 259-61, 280f.

¹⁶⁶B. Metzger "The Meaning of Christ's Ascension" in Search the Scriptures (Feschrift R.T. Stamm) ed. J. Meyers et al., Leiden: 1969; pp. 127f. Metzger cites with agreement K. Barth, Credo, London: 1936; p.113: "As a sign and wonder this exaltation is a pointer to the revelation, that occurred in his resurrection, of Jesus Christ as the bearer of all power in heaven and earth". P.E. Davies, "Experience and Memory: The Role of the Exalted Christ in the Life and Experience of the Early Church" Int 16 (1962) p.192 argues that "The resurrection faith in the exalted Lord has its true ground and controlling frame of reference in what we know and accept of Jesus in the days of his flesh. The first and primary impulse towards this towering structure of faith comes from Jesus". Davies bases his argument on Mk 13:35f and 2 Cor 5:14,16 but his interpretation of these texts is not convincing.

¹⁶⁷"The Theology of the Church" in Studies in Ephesians (ed. D. Nineham), London: 1956; p.74.

¹⁶⁸T. Holtz "Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes" TU 85 (1962) p.19, suggests that Rev 1:3f reflects a similar tradition. This is possible but if Ps 109:1 does lie behind this text it is so distant that the actual psalm citation is no longer influential in any respect.

169 Cf C. Colpe " υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου " TDNT 8, pp. 480f.

170 Cf H. J. Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, Tübingen: 1949; pp. 79-82.

171 See above pp. 38f.

172 Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus, London: 1967; pp. 173-179.

173 Op. cit. p.179.

174 Cf C.K. Barrett, "Stephen and the Son of Man" in Apophoreta (Festschrift for E. Haenchen) BZNW 30 (1964), pp. 32-38.

175 Against this cf H.P. Owen, "Stephen's Vision in Acts 7:55-56", NTS 1 (1955), pp. 224-226, where it is argued that Stephen's vision is proleptic; he sees forward to the glory of the parousia. This would then infer a connection with the Son of Man and the future 'coming' of Dan 7.

176 Cf E. Schweizer " υἱὸς ", TDNT 8, p.372.

177 Practically all the imagery associated with the Son of Man in the Synoptics appears in the Pauline corpus; e.g. the descent of the Son from heaven (1 Thess 4:16); the clouds (1 Thess 4:17); the judgment (Rom 14:10; 2 Cor 5:10). For a complete list of parallels cf K. Smyth "The Heavenly Man and Son of Man in St. Paul", Anal Bib 17, (1963), pp. 219-230. esp. p.227.

178 Op. cit. p.434.

179 Op. cit. p.285.

180 12:35 does not specify who the hearers of Jesus are; v.37b refers quite vaguely to a crowd. In Mark the holders of the messianic dogma attacked by Jesus are described as 'scribes' (v.35), in the parallel passage in Matt 22:41-46 as Pharisees (v.41); in Lk 20 scribes are mentioned in the preceding pericope and may be therefore intended to be understood in the actual parallel account (vv. 41-47) particularly since Luke follows Mark in the warning that Jesus issues to his disciples against the 'scribes'. Cf Schweizer Mark, p.254.

181 See above n.96.

182 See n.161 above. It is perhaps significant that in 2 of the 5 occurrences of ἐν τοῖς ἑπουραντοῖς 1:20, 2:6, the phrase is directly associated with the Χριστός title.

183 Cf below pp. 287-302, 309-12.

184 Jesus is described as χῆριος on 55 occasions, χῆριος Ἰησοῦς 12 times and χῆριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός 4 times. On the centrality of this title for Luke cf Zehnle, op. cit. p.68.

185 We assume the speeches to be Lucan compositions, although containing much traditional material. Cf E. Schweizer, "Concerning the Speeches in Acts" in Neotestamentica, Zürich: 1963.

186 A similar argument based on the same psalm is advanced in the name of Paul in Acts 13:34-37.

CHAPTER 2

1. EPHESIANS 4:8-10 IN CONTEXT

This pericope at first sight stands as an integral part of the larger section 4:1-16 which deals with the question of the unity of the Church in the light of the apparent diversities that exist within the Church. But there are good reasons for considering 4:8-10 as a separate entity, having both a definite beginning and end. Eph 4:6 has every appearance of being doxological: "La phrase se termine par la mention 'un seul Dieu, Père de tous', laquelle s'élargit dans une ample clause qui a valeur de doxologie et qui convient bien ponctuer la finale de la pericope IV:1-6: ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πάντων"¹, whereas v. 7 is not included in this pericope because "c'est là une affirmation nouvelle et qui fait corps avec la citation du verset suivant et avec son explication en IV:9s".² It is also of some importance to note that vv. 8-10 can easily be omitted with no obvious break being caused in either the flow of the text or its meaning.

It would seem, therefore, that the mention of 'gift' in v. 7 leads the author to cite a version of Ps 67:19 in v. 8 which he then feels it necessary to comment upon in vv. 9f. In v. 11 the

author returns to the original theme, the diverse gifts and the unity of the Church. Therefore, although accepting Cambier's view that there is a break between v. 6 and v. 7 as above, we can see that v. 8 is only connected to v. 7 by the common idea of 'gift(s)' and that in fact the natural progression of thought is from v. 7 to v. 11. V. 8 stands as a scriptural citation intended to 'prove' the previous verse, but because the citation is open to more than one interpretation the author offers his own interpretation of the OT text that he has cited in vv. 9f. These considerations have indicated that vv. 8-10, although an integral part of the larger unit vv. 1-16, can be treated separately from the remainder of the unit, at least in terms of function and purpose within the epistle. This is not to say that vv. 8-10 have no significance for the surrounding context, for as we shall see below,³ these verses cannot be interpreted without reference to τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ (v. 7); but at the same time vv. 8-10 must themselves be interpreted so as to allow us to interpret vv. 11ff without unnecessary disruption of the flow of thought in the whole pericope. We shall proceed therefore to examine firstly the OT citation and secondly the nature and purpose of the explanatory comment that the OT citation required from the author.

2. PSALM 67:19a : A CITATION (= EPH 4:8)

2.1 Textual Traditions

2.1.1 The Targums

The text of Ps 67:19a that is cited by the author of Ephesians does not follow either the LXX or the MT. The LXX version, which renders the MT quite faithfully,⁴ is ἀνέβη εἰς ὕψος ἡμιμαλώτευσας αἰχμαλωσίαν ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ.⁵ The author of Ephesians has changed the verbs from the second person to the third person, a change which, if not necessitated by the context, is certainly more suitable in the present situation than the second person would be. This change is, for our purposes, unimportant. Much more important (and much more difficult to explain and to account for) is the change from the LXX (and its MT equivalent) ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ to ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. This rendering is, however, equivalent to the version of the psalm which is found in the Targum which reads as follows:⁶

פליקה לרקיע מיטא נבייא שפירא

עפיתא אלפתא פיתונא אודיהא יתבתא

להון מתגן לפני נשא

This then being the case, it is conceivable that the author was citing at this point, deliberately or otherwise, a translation (possibly his own if he was in fact citing the Targumic text deliberately) of the Targum in preference to either the LXX or MT.⁷ It is quite possible that the Targumic tradition of Ps 67:19 was known in the Early Church: Tertullian cites Eph 4:8 as eleganter filiis hominum non passim hominibus⁸ which is certainly at least possibly derived from the Targumic כְּבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל the same tradition or version may also lie behind the fact that Justin Martyr twice cites Ps 67:19 as ἔδωκεν δόματα .⁹ But the evidence provided by Tertullian and Justin Martyr is in no way to be regarded as conclusive: both could well have been influenced by Eph 4:8. Also we should note that although filiis hominum is certainly the equivalent of the Targumic כְּבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל we have no other indication that Tertullian was in any way influenced by the Targumic text. The situation is no clearer in Justin Martyr because he was in no way bound to any particular version of the OT; indeed many of his citations seem to correspond to no known version of the OT text.¹⁰

At this stage we can do little more than admit the possibility that the author of the epistle had the Targum, or at least a Christian tradition which knew this form of the text, in mind when he cites the psalm text in 4:8. Further discussion of this matter must now be left until section 2.3.2 below when the Rabbinic interpretation of Ps 68 (= 67 LXX) and its possible consequences for Eph 4:8 will be considered in more detail.

2.1.2 A Variant Hebrew Textual Tradition

It has to be admitted, even if the author is being influenced in any way by a Targumic tradition as outlined above, that this tradition only influences one word in the Ephesian citation (ἔδωκεν for ἔλαβε) and does not influence in any other way the form or interpretation of the psalm text.¹¹ This then opens the way for a second possibility: the citation in 4:8 witnesses to a Hebrew text which read רָבַח instead of קָרַב ¹² and that it is this text, or more probably a translation of it, that underlies the citation in 4:8. There is no textual evidence to support such a contention however, so this can only be conjectural.¹³ We should not overlook though the fact that there is internal evidence which does suggest quite strongly that ἔδωκε already existed in the form of the text of

Ps 68:18 known to the author of the epistle. The key word in the argument of vv. 7-10, and the one word that links the OT citation with the thoughts expressed in vv. 1-16, is in fact ἔδωκες and consequently it is unlikely that the word was inserted into the citation by the author of the epistle in place of any other. It is then at least plausible to suggest that the version cited by the author depends ultimately on an original Hebrew variant.¹⁴ But this internal evidence alone is not sufficient for us to decide in favour of the possibility of a variant textual tradition underlying the citation of Ps 68:18 in v. 8. As with our discussion of the possibility of the citation being based on the Targum, we must now leave the matter for further discussion as under 2.3.1 below, when the OT interpretation of Ps 68 and its possible consequence for Ephesians will be discussed.

2.1.3 A Modified Text

There is yet a third possibility: the author of the epistle deliberately chose to alter the LXX or MT text in order to obtain from the OT citation a meaning more suited to his purpose than was supplied by the text in its original form, so that "le prédicateur chrétien reconnaît cette idée dans la seconde proposition du psalmiste qu'il trans-

forme radicalement pour l'effet à obtenir (impossible d'expliquer cette modification par une autre version grecque ou par un targum ou par une métathèse des lettres du mot hebreu)".¹⁵ Bonsirven considers the author's use of the OT text as "typologie forcée et poussant jusqu'à l'extrême limite la loi du genre".¹⁶ We have already pointed out that the weight attached to the word ἔδωκες in the relationship between vv. 7-10 and the surrounding context in vv. 1-16 makes it extremely unlikely that the author deliberately modified the text to suit his argument. But this does not negate the possibility that the author cited an interpretative paraphrase known to himself and his readers which was understood as stating very plainly the intended meaning of the Psalmist. This could well be the case if it was understood that ηρῶ had the proleptic significance 'to fetch', being understood in the form 'to take in order to give'.¹⁷ If this were so then ἔδωκες δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις could easily be accepted as a correct interpretive comment or explication of ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ and is therefore to be described as an example of peshar exegesis.¹⁸ As with the preceding examination of the other two possibilities discussed, we must now leave further discussion on this point to 2.3.3 below when we will examine the NT interpretation of Ps 67:18 and its consequence for Ephesians.

2.2 Ps 67 in the New Testament : Two Theories

2.2.1 The Acts of the Apostles: Lindars' Theory

According to B. Lindars¹⁹ Ps 67:19 is also alluded to in Acts 2:33, 5:31.

With respect to 2:33 Lindars comments that "the use of λαβών testifies to the unmodified text of Ps 68:19".²⁰ (= MT) We can summarise his argument as follows: he takes as his point of departure the phrase τῆ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθείς τὴν τε ἔπαγγελίαν (Acts 2:33) which he believes owes its structure to an OT tradition which is a combination of either Ps 109:1 or Ps 117:16 with words from Ps 15:11. Lindars suggests that at first sight the latter pairing Ps 117:16 with Ps 15:11 seems more likely in view of the close similarity between δεξιᾷ κυρίου ὑψωσεν of Ps 117:16 and τῆ δεξιᾷ ... ὑψωθείς of Acts 2:33. But, he argues, a close examination of 5:31, a passage that, in his view, has close affinities with 2:33, proves the case to be otherwise. The argument now centres on whether or not τῆ δεξιᾷ is to be translated as an instrumental dative: if so then Ps 117:16 is, in all probability, its source ; but if this is not the case then an alternative source must be found. Lindars argues, correctly so we believe, that the presence of ὑψώ

in the active voice with God as its subject in 5:31 indicates that the dative is not instrumental but merely indicative of place. This then must mean that Ps 109:1 is to be understood as the OT basis for the tradition in both 2:33 and 5:31. The question then must be asked, according to Lindars, as to the source of ὑψώ which, although coupled with a phrase from Ps 109:1 in both the texts of Acts is not part of the psalm.²¹ Lindars identifies the second source as Ps 67:18 (ἀνέβη εἰς ὕψος ... ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ), with the verbal link being provided by λαβών . According to Lindars this, which he admits "may not seem very probable at first sight"²² is confirmed by οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς of 2:34a.²³

The above argument requires that 2:34a be closely related to 2:33 not only in the actual text of Acts, but, and this is even more necessary, that the relationship exists in the tradition that underlies the text. That a close relationship exists in the text there can be no doubt, but it can hardly exist in the tradition which underlies the text. The citation from Ps 109:1 was a well known piece of OT tradition which was used to 'prove' among other things the Lordship of Jesus, and in the instances in which it is used in this way²⁴ (or indeed in any

other way), it is never connected with Ps 67:19. The phrase οὐ γὰρ Δαυιδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς is a piece of Lucan editorial material by which he connects his conclusion that Jesus is τῆ δεξιᾷ οὐρανῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθεῖς (2:33a) with the scriptural warranty for such a statement (2:34bf).²⁵ We have thus shown that Acts 2:34a does not in fact confirm the probability of Ps 67:19 being the tradition underlying Acts 2:33b. This now casts serious doubts on the theory that λαβῶν of Acts 2:33 is in any way related to the tradition in Ps 67:19.

If our argument is correct and Ps 67:19 is not alluded to in Acts 2:33 then it is obviously all the more difficult to maintain that the same psalm text lies behind 5:31. Lindars argues that the presence of τοῦ δοῦναι in such close proximity to τῆ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ supports his identification of Ps 67:19 as the source for Acts 5:31. But if Luke was aware that this material was traditional and if he was equally aware of its source, then it is difficult to see why he should use δίδωμι instead of λαμβάνω at this point. The answer is surely that δίδωμι is not in any way derived from a tradition depending on Ps 67:19 but, at least in this instance, is for Luke simply an alternative way of expressing that which elsewhere he expresses in the phrase

καὶ κηρυχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν καὶ
ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (Luke 24:47).

The argument above has shown that it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty that Ps 67:19 occurs either in Acts 2:33 or 5:31. This is important because, as we shall see later, one possible interpretation of Ps 67:19 in Eph 4:8, although not depending on a possible occurrence of the psalm in Acts, would be very much strengthened if it could be shown that Ps 67:19 in a different form from that of Eph 4:8 did occur in either or both Acts 2:33, 5:31.

2.2.2 Ephesians: Lock's Theory

W. Lock²⁶ could write of Ephesians "it has been called the Christian 68th Psalm and recalls in many ways that great Jewish Psalm of victory ... He [the author] quotes it and applies it to Christ (iv:8) but besides this quotation there are many points of similarity with it in thought and language". If this view is correct we should have yet another point of departure for the interpretation of Eph 4:8.²⁷ We shall then examine this view in some detail, paying attention to the individual texts cited by Lock as being based on, or related to, phrases in the psalm.

The first point of contact between the epistle and the psalm is, according to Lock, the idea that the Christian Church has become God's dwelling place. Here Lock cites Eph 2:22, 3:17 and Ps 67:17 which are as follows:

Eph 2:22 ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς συνοικοδομεῖσθε εἰς κατοικητήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν πνεύματι

Eph 3:17 κατοικήσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν ἐν ἀγάπῃ

Ps 67:17 τὸ ὄρος ὃ εὐδοκῆσεν ὁ θεὸς κατοικεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ γὰρ ὁ κύριος κατασκηνώσει εἰς τέλος

There are no obvious literary similarities. Eph 2:22 cannot be separated from 2:19f, the pericope being concerned with the building up of the new temple, which is of course the Christian community. 2:22 expresses the logical conclusion that must follow from the fact that Christ is the corner stone of the new structure (2:20) : by his agency believers become part of this structure.²⁸ The same idea is expressed more explicitly in 3:17. Although it is not possible to show that either or both of these Ephesian texts cited by Lock are in anyway dependent on Ps 67²⁹ what is at least certain is that both express the same idea.³⁰

The second supposed similarity noted by Lock is that both Ephesians (3:16, 6:10) and the psalm (vv. 29,36) emphasise God's gift of strength.

Eph 3:16 δυνάμει κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ

Eph 6:10 τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐνδυναμοῦσθε ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ κράτει τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ

Ps 67:29 δυνάμωσόν ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο ὃ κατηρίσω ἡμῖν

Ps 67:36 ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ αὐτὸς δώσει δυνάμειν καὶ κραταιώσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ

Again we note that there are no obvious similarities that would suggest a literary dependence by the author of the epistle upon the psalm. But, on the other hand, it is conceivable that someone who was familiar with these particular phrases in the psalm might well be responsible for Eph 3:16 and 6:10.³¹

The third similarity noted by Lock is that in both psalm and epistle the same description of God's people - as God's inheritance - is found. Lock cites Eph 1:18³² and Ps 67:10³³:

Eph 1:18 τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις

Ps 67:10 βροχὴν ἐκούσιν ἀφοριεῖς ὁ θεὸς τῇ κληρονομίᾳ σου

This is the weakest similarity to which Lock points. Neither of the verses cited by him actually describe the people of God as God's inheritance. Eph 1:18 expounds the hope to which God has called his people, with a probable play on the similarity between κλήσις and κληρονομία . The psalm, on the other hand, refers to the benefits received from God.

The last important similarity to which our attention is drawn is the emphasis on God's graciousness in Eph 2:7 and again in Ps 67:11.

Eph 2:7 τὸ ὑπερβάλλον πλοῦτος τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἐν χρηστότητι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς

Ps 67:11 ἠτοιμάσας ἐν τῇ χρηστότητι σου τῷ πτωχῷ ὁ θεός

Again we note that the similarity between these two texts rests much more upon the fact that they both express the goodness of God with χρηστότητι than upon anything else. In Ephesians the concern is primarily with the kindness of God expressed by means of his salvation; in the psalm the concern is primarily with the kindness of God in his provision of homes for the poor.

Lock also calls our attention to two supposed similarities between the epistle and the psalm which are of much less consequence - the exhor-

tation to sing psalms (Eph 5:19, Ps 67:5,34)³⁴ and finally, the fact that the epistle begins with the words with which the psalm ends: εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς.³⁵

No single instance of this supposed similarity between Ephesians and Ps 67 is sufficient on its own to convince anyone that such an affinity as Lock suggests does exist. But the fact that there is at least the possibility that in six instances³⁶ the psalm was in the author's mind when he wrote the epistle, coupled with the certain citation of the psalm, albeit in a version differing from both MT and LXX, in Eph 4:8, is not easily discounted. We intend therefore at this point to let the hypothesis that Ephesians and Ps 67 are, apart from 4:8, not entirely without connection stand. This hypothesis, along with two other interpretations that can be derived from previously cited evidence, and one further possibility that we shall find exists, will be more thoroughly discussed and some conclusions drawn in section 4 below.³⁷

2.3 Ps 67 and its Interpreters

2.3.1 The Old Testament

Oesterley is typical of many commentators when he says of Ps 68: "It may be safely said that no

other piece in the Psalter offers the student difficulties so great as those presented by Ps 68. The majority of scholars, attempting to find a single (or even a double) thread running through it, are reduced to a theory of textual corruption so extensive as to necessitate a practical rewriting of the whole and, even so, the results are never quite satisfactory".³⁸ But this view of the psalm fails to consider the fact that the lack of both unity and sequence may well offer the clue to the correct understanding of the psalm as it is presented to us in the OT. If the psalm once formed part of the accompaniment of a solemn festival procession then the various sections of the psalm would be expected to be related, not to each other by any literary means, but to the various ritual actions of the procession, each separate section of the psalm acting as an individual accompaniment to a particular action in the procession or festival.³⁹

Irrespective of our ability to identify the Sitz-im-Leben of the psalm correctly we must note that the dominant themes in the psalm are those of God the conqueror redeeming captive Israel, and, secondly, the subsequent sharing with them the gains of his victory.⁴⁰ Nowhere in the psalm is the first of these motifs more explicit than in v. 18ff:

Yahweh ascends as conqueror the hill which he has chosen;⁴¹ the worshippers celebrate this fact, recognising at the same time that they, the nation of Israel, have been saved from death and their enemies have been overpowered. The purpose of the ascent is that Yahweh, as king of the world, shall sit on the throne of Sinai.⁴²

We accept then that Ps 68 is a triumphal hymn in which the defeats of the Egyptians and the deliverance of the Israelites became mythologised when the hymn was adapted to suit its role as an accompaniment for a religious festival involving the king. This interpretation of the psalm will, as we shall see, play an important role in our final assessment of the Ascension theme in Ephesians.

2.3.2 The Rabbinic Material

As we have seen Ps 68 is probably the most difficult psalm in the psalter, but the Targumist seems quite unaware of the difficulties. He assumes that the psalm speaks of the giving of the Law to Moses on Sinai. The Targumist's understanding of v.18 fits into this general pattern of interpretation: he simply refers this verse to Moses' ascent to heaven to learn the law and then to teach it to the sons of men (וַיַּעֲלֵם מֹשֶׁה אֶל-יְהוָה). The verse in the psalter

which speaks of 'gifts' (מתנות) in all probability led the Targumist to see in it a reference to the gift par excellence: the Law of Moses. A consequence of this is that he has taken לקחת מתנות as referring to the presentation of this 'gift', i.e. the Law, to the Nation. It would seem then that this interpretation of Ps 68:18 necessitated the change from לקח to חלק rather than resulted from it.⁴³

Ex Rabba 28:1 to Ex 19:3 provides us with three alternative meanings for עלית למרום the last of which corresponds in large measure to the interpretation accepted by the Targumist. The fact that Ex Rabba cites Ps 68:18 according to the MT but understands it, or at least offers one interpretation of it, in a way that corresponds to the Targumic rendering of the same verse is further evidence that the Targumic paraphrase necessitated, rather than depended on, a change from לקח to חלק. The three interpretations offered by Ex Rabba 28:1 are as follows:⁴⁴

"And Moses went up unto God. It is written, Thou hast ascended on high, Thou hast led captivity captive. What is the meaning of 'Thou hast ascended?' - Thou hast been exalted because thou didst wrestle with Angels on high. Another explanation of 'Thou hast ascended on high': no

creature has prevailed as Moses did ... Another explanation of 'Thou hast ascended on high, thou has led captivity captive': one who enters a city usually takes away something unnoticed and unprized by the inhabitants, but Moses ascended on high and took away the Torah on which all had their eyes - hence: thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive: Lest you think that because he captured it, he took it gratis, the Psalmist adds: Thou hast received gifts among men, that is, it was given to him for a price. Lest you think that he actually paid in money, the Psalmist assures us that it was 'gifts' namely, that it was given to him as a gift.⁴⁵

Ps 68:18 also provided the basis for a very different strand of Rabbinical teaching, namely that the Messiah would receive gifts from men. This is clearly seen in Pesachim 118b:⁴⁶

Egypt is destined to bring a gift to the Messiah. He will think not to accept it from them, but the Holy One, blessed be He, will instruct him, 'Accept it from them: they furnished hospitality to my children in Egypt'. Immediately nobles shall come out of Egypt (bringing gifts).

The last mentioned strand of teaching is obviously not our concern; it has no bearing upon either the actual citation in Eph 4:8 or upon the interpretation of the psalm text. But from the evidence cited from both the Targum and Exodus Rabba we can conclude that there was a very definite tradition associating Ps 68, particularly v. 18, with

Moses. Since, as we have already seen, the citation in Eph 4:8 does resemble, at least textually, the Targum and, in addition to this, τὸ δὲ (ἀνέβη) τὸ ἔστιν εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ (κατέβη) is "une formula très Rabbinique",⁴⁷ it is at least possible that the same association must be made in the epistle as in the Rabbinic Literature, that is, the association of the psalm with Moses. Thus we have established the second of our hypotheses:⁴⁸ the Ascension motif in Eph 4:8, by virtue of the association of the motif with the Rabbinic interpretation of Ps 68:18, is to be defined in terms of Christ the New Moses.⁴⁹

2.3.3 Ps 67:19 in Eph 4:8: Caird's Theory

G.B. Caird's⁵⁰ concern in dealing with Eph 4:7-11 is to discover what the author meant by the descent of Christ. His thesis is "that the descent in question is to be understood as Christ's return at Pentecost to bestow his spiritual gifts upon the church".⁵¹ Our interest is not in the descent as such, but, in so far as Caird's theory sheds further light on the citation in Eph 4:8, we will have to examine his argument briefly. A second feature that interests us is that if Caird is correct then any theory that interprets Eph 4:8-10 in terms of the descent of the Divine Redeemer, that is, in Gnostic terms, is obviously contradicted.⁵²

The evidence presented by Caird falls into three classes: textual, grammatical, and liturgical. The first two classes, as they are not our immediate concern, we shall only summarise. Textually Caird, along with all modern exegetes, considers *πρωτον* (Eph 4:9 in some MSS) as an interpretative gloss.⁵³ But Caird differs from many exegetes by accepting that *πρωτον* was an erroneous gloss: the author in Ephesians was (in his opinion) deducing a subsequent descent.⁵⁴ Grammatically Caird takes *τῆς γῆς* as a genitive in apposition to *τὸ κατώτερα*, suggesting that to accept it as a partitive genitive, (thus accepting a translation 'the lower parts of the earth', i.e. the underworld) is to run contrary to the theology of the Epistle: the conflict with the 'principalities and powers' in Ephesians takes place *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις* not in Hades; "if Christ wanted to overthrow the powers of darkness, what was required was not a descent into Hades but an ascent to heaven, and this is precisely what the quotation from Ps 68 is taken to assert 'when He ascended on high, He took prisoner a host of captives' ".⁵⁵ At this point it is sufficient that we note this comment.

The liturgical evidence, the third and final class of evidence cited by Caird is much more

relevant to our concern. According to Caird "the argument of Ephesians 4:7-11 is clearly this: Psalm 68 is no longer to be regarded as a Jewish Pentecostal psalm, commemorating the ascent of Mount Sinai by Moses and his subsequent descent to bestow the Torah upon Israel; it is a Christian Pentecostal psalm, celebrating the ascension of Christ and his subsequent descent at Pentecost to bestow spiritual gifts upon the Church".⁵⁶ Caird arrives at this conclusion after considering the relationship between the citation in Eph 4:8 and the Targum to Ps 68:18, - he argues that the Targum preserves an ancient tradition of exegesis which in origin antedates Ephesians but was known to its author. If our author is correct then there is of course a great similarity between Acts and Ephesians in that it is these two works (and only these) which connect the events of 'ascent' and 'descent' to Pentecost. It is worth noting that in his argument Caird does not refer to the same evidence as does B. Lindars⁵⁷ but instead he cites the Rabbinic treatment of Ps 68:11⁵⁸ which he claims is the basis for Acts 2:3ff.

In summary fashion we can say that Caird argues that the emphasis in Eph 4:7-11 is not on Ascension as such, but on the 'descent' of Christ.⁵⁹ We shall argue below⁶⁰ that the converse is in fact

the case. At this point it is sufficient to say that we believe that Caird's argument is strong enough to have established a third hypothesis:⁶¹ the ascent and descent in Eph 4:7-11 are to be interpreted in light of the Christian Pentecost tradition.⁶²

2.4 The Introductory Formula $\delta\tau\acute{o}\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$

Before leaving our examination of the psalm citation in 4:8 we must consider in some detail the formula that is used to introduce the citation and at the same time make some attempt to resolve the associated problems. The Introductory Formula $\delta\tau\acute{o}\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ occurs five times in the NT: Heb 3:7, 10:5; James 4:6; Eph 4:8, 5:14.⁶³ Eph 5:14 is the only occasion when the formula introduces a text that is not found in the LXX as we now have it.⁶⁴

The use of this Introductory Formula in Eph 4:8 and 5:14 gives rise to three basic problems. Firstly, in both texts the subject of the verb is left undefined.⁶⁵ Secondly, although the OT is either cited or alluded to on several other occasions in the epistle,⁶⁶ it is only in these two texts that an Introductory Formula is used. We must obviously ask why this is so. The third issue is the natural correlate of the first two: what, if any, is the relationship between the two citations.

There are two possible subjects for λέγει : either θεός or γραφή . It is unlikely that θεός is to be supplied as it is not specifically implied by the context,⁶⁷ whereas elsewhere in the Pauline corpus γραφή in the sense of either a specific author or scripture generally, is obviously intended.⁶⁸ But there is also the possibility that the author did not intend either θεός or γραφή to be specifically understood as subject. It is conceivable that this is a deliberately vague use of an Introductory Formula by the author, implying that neither text is to be understood as scriptural,⁶⁹ although the context of 4:8 and the fact that the author comments directly upon the citation militate strongly against this view. This, coupled with the fact that this Introductory Formula was used elsewhere in the NT as well as in Philo and the Mishnah⁷⁰ to introduce definite OT citations lead us to reject this third possibility. We therefore conclude that the subject of λέγει is γραφή in either particular (the psalm section of the Scriptures) or general (scripture as a whole) terms. We therefore accept that the purpose of διό λέγει in 4:8 is to tell the reader that that which follows is to be understood as scripture.⁷¹

Although the author of the epistle frequently uses scriptural citations it is only in 4:8 that he employs scripture in a way that is at all similar to a proof text; in the other instances he rather presents his own argument by the use of scriptural words.⁷² The author uses 4:8 to substantiate the argument that he has just advanced, namely, that each individual Christian has received the gift of grace. We note, however, that regardless of the fact that the same Introductory Formula is employed in 5:14, the citation there does not fulfill the same purpose as in 4:8. The argument advanced in the verses that immediately precede 5:14 is that light will expose all evil and in this instance it is the argument that substantiates the theology that is expressed in the citation: Christ himself will appear and give light to the faithful.⁷³ It is thus entirely possible that having decided that the citation in 5:14 required an Introductory Formula then the author was influenced by the one he had already used in 4:8. There is then no warrant for the citation in 4:8 being regarded as anything less than scripture because the same Introductory Formula is used with this text as with the non-scriptural citation in 5:14.⁷⁴

We have already offered some comment on the relationship between the Introductory Formulae in 4:8 and 5:14; it now remains for us to examine the citations that these Formulae introduce, particularly in light of the suggestion made by M. McNamara noted above.⁷⁵ Although it is not possible to be specific at this point it would seem unlikely that both 4:8 and 5:14 could have once formed part of the same hymn, at least not in the form in which both citations now stand. The words of 5:14 form a metrical triplet⁷⁶ which is not the precise form of 4:8; the citation in 5:14 has all the appearances of a baptismal hymn, whereas the citation in 4:8 has nothing within it that would suggest baptism. There is also a difference in the style of language employed in the two citations: 5:14 contains language that is quite possibly associated with the paschal celebrations of the Early Church⁷⁷ whereas the language of 4:8 is that of exaltation. A further point is that although 5:14 is not a direct citation of any known scripture, it does represent the general sense of several OT passages⁷⁸ whereas 4:8 is, to all intents and purposes, a direct citation of a psalm text and it is not likely, though by no means impossible, that an early Christian hymn would contain both direct scriptural quotations and references so indirect as those of 5:14. Finally, we would point out that as 4:8 is 'scriptural'

there would be thus no real reason to decide that it was cited from a hymn rather than from the psalm of which it was part.

2.5 The Concept of 'Gift' in Ephesians

$\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$ occurs twelve times in Ephesians⁷⁹ and on no fewer than five of these occasions is the verb associated with $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$.⁸⁰ The verb in the epistle is never directly associated with the giving of the Holy Spirit. In the other Pauline epistles (including the Pastorals) the verb is associated with $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ at Rom 12:3,6, 15:5; 1 Cor 1:4, 3:10; 2 Cor 8:1; Gal 2:9; 2 Tim 1:9. The verb is associated with the gift of the Holy Spirit at Rom 5:5; 1 Cor 12:7; 2 Cor 1:22, 5:5; 1 Thess 4:8. Omitting such epistles as 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy and Titus where the verb does not occur with sufficient frequency for statistical judgements to be made, we can conclude from these statistics that $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$ and $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ are linked together in Ephesians with a far greater frequency than in any other Pauline epistle. This conclusion is not without consequence and, as we shall see below, is of some importance in our evaluation of the $\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ of 4:8.

The concept of 'gift' in Ephesians is expressed by the substantives $\delta\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\nu$,⁸¹ $\delta\omega\pi\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ ⁸² and

δῶμα .⁸³ Δῶρον is otherwise almost exclusively confined to Matthew⁸⁴ and Hebrews⁸⁵ in the NT. Apart from these two books the word occurs only at Mk 7:11;⁸⁶ Lk 21:14; Rev 11:10; Eph 2:8. Although δῶρον is used for gift in the sense of a present from one person to another⁸⁷ it is used much more commonly to describe a contribution to the temple⁸⁸ or a sacrifice.⁸⁹ The occurrence of δῶρον in Eph 2:8 is hapax legomenon in the Pauline Corpus and, by virtue of this fact and in light of the peculiar way it is used in the epistle, its interpretation is no easy matter. The fact that there is no grammatical agreement between τοῦτο and κίστεως indicates that καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξ ὑμῶν, θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον is not a parenthetical comment intended to elucidate κίστες. It is much more likely that the author is emphasising and defining τῆ χάριτι' by denying those things which are in apposition to it: "first of all the objective source χάρις by οὐκ ἐξ ὑμῶν and, secondly, of the subjective element by οὐκ ἐξ ἐργῶν".⁹⁰ But this explanation does not fully solve the problem of interpretation. As we have seen δῶρον is used almost exclusively to signify votive gifts offered by men to God. This is decidedly not the way in which the word is used in Eph 2:8. The answer to the problem may well lie in extra-Biblical sources. Philo distinguishes between δῶμα and δόσις on the one side as

less valuable and δῶρον and δωρεά on the other as more valuable⁹¹ and consequently testifies to a period in time when a new value had been given to δῶρον and it is this new value that the author of Ephesians has in mind in his use of the word. Whereas once it signified the gifts offered by men, now, in light of his own Christian experience, the author can apply it to the supreme gift of God; this for him is the whole concept of salvation. What the author has then done in effect is to transfer the onus of sacrifice from man to God. The δωρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ is then nothing less than Christ himself.

Δωρεά apart from its occurrences in Jn 4:10 and Heb 6:4, occurs only in Acts⁹² and in the Pauline Corpus.⁹³ In Acts it always refers to the Holy Spirit but in the epistles it is invariably associated with χάρις . Ephesians is no exception to this.⁹⁴ Eph 3:7 does not present any particular problem of interpretation; the author has simply repeated the comment he made in 3:2 with the difference that that which was described as δοθείσης μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς is now described as δωρεάν τοῦ θεοῦ . The reason for this change would seem to be that δωρεά was understood in a more legal sense, denoting a formal endowment⁹⁵ and, in saying ἐγενήθην διακονος κατὰ τὴν δωρεάν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ δοθείσης μοι

κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ , the author is stating his claim to apostleship in the strongest possible terms.⁹⁶ In Eph 4:7 the emphasis is again on the χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ . At this point the author obviously has Rom 12:6 and 1 Cor 12:4ff in mind. But the one significant difference between these texts and 4:7 is that the author of Ephesians chooses to use δωρεά instead of χάρισμα which is the most usual word for gift in the Pauline Corpus.⁹⁷ The reason for this is quite simply that χάρισμα is never used in the Pauline Corpus for χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ . In both Rom 12:4 and 1 Cor 12:4ff the author talks in general terms of the gifts that various members of the church have received; in Eph 4:7 the author is more explicit: the supreme gift is χάρις which is given to each believer 'according to the measure of the gift (of the Grace) of Christ'. The reason for the author's explicitness is that in these letters the gifts are the gifts of the Spirit; in Ephesians it is the gift of the exalted Lord and is χάρις.

Δῶμα only occurs three times in the NT apart from Eph 4:8⁹⁸ and in each of these instances the idea conveyed is that of a material gift. The question to be asked concerning the occurrence of the word in Eph 4:8 is, therefore, what precisely is the author intending to convey. A number of facts have

to be discussed before we can come to any decision on this matter. Firstly we must note that δόμα is not the author's own word, but it is that of the psalmist. We cannot surmise that the author of the epistle retained the word simply because he wished to stay as close to the psalm text as possible for as we have already seen, he was prepared to accept a version of the psalm that differed from both LXX and MT, implying therefore his willingness to deviate from accepted texts in order to facilitate his own argument. Obviously therefore δόμα is used quite intentionally by the author of the epistle; he obviously understands the word to convey precisely the sense that he intends. The word in its original context in the psalm does refer to material gifts as offered by a captive nation to a conquering king. This could be the sense implied by the author in 4:8 but it is unlikely in view of the deliberate change from λαμβάνω to δίδωμι. In the immediate preceding verse the author has used λαμβάνω in conjunction with χάρις, a use which if not peculiar to Ephesians is very typical of it. Now if in 4:8 δόμα is intended to refer to material gifts then the author has used δίδωμι, which immediately precedes it, in a sense which is quite unique to the epistle. In light of the fact that δίδωμι has been introduced by either the author or his source into the text -

and if the latter is the case we can only surmise that the author has not disagreed with the word that the source had chosen - we can discount this possibility. If material gifts are not intended by δόμα then the obvious inference is that either some form of spiritual gift or ability or the supreme gift of 'grace' (an indirect reference to the 'gift' of Christ, cf 5:25) is intended. As we have suggested, the fact that δόμα is linked with δίδωμι would suggest the latter to be the case. The problem here is that δόμα occurs in the plural form and should surely have been singular if χάρις was intended. It is therefore probable that δόμα does in fact refer to some form of spiritual gift or ability, but the fact that it is linked with δίδωμι would suggest that the intended meaning is as in the paraphrase: 'he gave spiritual gifts to men by virtue of the grace that was already theirs'.

Our examination of the concept of 'gift' thus far has shown that δῶρον , δωρεά and δόμα although having slightly differing emphases in Ephesians, do all, at least by implication, refer to the χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ . With this in mind we can now comment on Eph 4:11.

The substance of Eph 4:11 is parallel to that of 1 Cor 12:28 but this parallelism should not be allowed to obscure the differences that there are between these two verses. Two of these concern us:⁹⁹ firstly, it is Christ who is the giver of the gifts in Ephesians and not God, as in 1 Corinthians and, secondly, the preference of the author of Ephesians for *δίδωμι* rather than the *τίθημι* of the earlier epistle. We have already pointed out that Eph 4:11 follows directly on from the thought of 4:7; in this latter verse *ἡ χάρις* and *τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* are surely parallel.¹⁰⁰ Consequently the subject of *δίδωμι* is not Christ but God. If this is the case it becomes apparent that the use of the citation of Ps 67:19 with its accompanying explanation has resulted in a change of subject for *δίδωμι* in 4:11. In other words, if the author had not sought scriptural warrant for his argument in Ps 67, and always supposing that his argument was otherwise unchanged, then the subject of *δίδωμι* in 4:11 would have been God, as it was of *τίθημι* in 1 Cor 12:28. This shows how closely connected 4:11 is with the thought of the preceding verses and at the same time enables us to explain the purpose of the scriptural citation. It is generally assumed¹⁰¹ that it is the *δωρεά* in 4:7 that reminds the author of the citation, the emphasis and connection between

the author's text and citation being the concept 'gift'. This of course cannot be completely denied but it is at least equally probable that having the OT text in mind the author sees that the phrase ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος ἠχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλώσιαν , which though not essential for his original purpose, when applied to Christ summarises all that he intended with the phrase δωρεὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ . We are thus suggesting a twofold development in the use of the OT citation: originally it was intended that the emphasis would be placed on ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις and it was in line with this that the author of the epistle used ἔδωκεν instead of ἔλαβεσ. But, in addition to this, in the light of his own understanding of the ascension, he was able to incorporate the otherwise redundant phrase ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος ἠχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλώσιαν . This theory also provides an answer to the second difficulty: ἔδωκεν in 4:11 was used deliberately to emphasise the connection between this verse and the OT citation - the gifts are the gifts of the exalted, victorious Christ.

2.6 Colossians 2:15 and Ephesians 4:8 :
A Theological Parallelism?

Before turning our attention from the psalm citation in Eph 4:8 to the theological comment on the citation in the following verse we must examine Col 2:15, a verse that has theological if not literary affinities with the psalm citation. Our interest in this verse is in both the use of θριαμβεύω and the terms ἀρχαί and ἐξουσίαι . Both these latter terms are of course present in Eph 1:21ff and if therefore we can show some similarity in theological content between the θριαμβεύσας of Col 2:15 and ἠχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλώτων we shall have established that the theology of Eph 1:21ff and Eph 4:8ff is at least basically of the same type.

In an examination of Col 2:15 there are two major problems, first, whether God or Christ is intended as the subject of ἀπεχθυσάμενος and secondly, what is the exact intended meaning of θριαμβεύσας . A minor problem concerns the identity of τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας . Turning to this minor problem we believe that here the words must refer to the supernatural powers which it was believed once dominated the world. It is true that the phrase need only refer to human powers¹⁰² but here, as elsewhere in the Pauline corpus, the context of the phrase demands

that cosmic or supernatural powers be understood,¹⁰³ the meaning being dictated by Col 1:16 'the invisible orders of thrones, sovereignties, authorities and powers' (NEB).¹⁰⁴ The cosmic and supernatural sense is frequently found in the Jewish-Christian apocalyptic writings¹⁰⁵ but it is not found in the pagan Gnostic writers.¹⁰⁶

The problem concerning the interpretation of θριαμβέω is not quite so easy. Liddell and Scott¹⁰⁷ give three possible meanings for this verb: triumph, lead in triumph, divulge or noise abroad. Each of these meanings is supported by references to Greek literature and of these references, 21 in all, no less than 14 are instances cited under the first possible meaning, where the verb is used absolutely or is followed by a prepositional phrase, so that the cumulative effect of reading them one after another is overwhelming: the image behind the verb is that of a tumultuous procession celebrating a military victory. But an examination of these fourteen texts reveal that with few possible exceptions¹⁰⁸ the sense intended is not that of winning a victory but rather the celebration of a victory. We must therefore conclude that θριαμβέω when used absolutely or with a prepositional phrase is in fact best translated 'to celebrate a victory.' Now θριαμβέω occurs in

the NT only in 2 Cor 2:14 and Col 2:15 and in both instances it is followed by a direct, personal object. This means that the meaning intended in these two passages need not be in agreement with the use intended when the verb is used either absolutely or with a prepositional phrase. Apart from Col 2:15 Liddell and Scott cites only three texts where the verb is followed by a direct, personal object and in each of these instances the meaning is quite clearly 'to lead conquered enemies in triumph'. The lexicographers also offer a modified meaning at this point, namely, 'to lead in triumph as a general does his army'. But as the only evidence offered for this modification is 2 Cor 2:14 it seems extremely unlikely that this modified meaning can in any sense be primary, or indeed if this sense of the verb can be justified. It is much more likely that the verb in Col 2:15 is to be interpreted, as in the other instances when the verb is followed by a personal object, 'to lead as a conquered enemy in a victory parade'.¹⁰⁹

With regard to the problem of the interpretation of ἀπεχθούμενος there can be no doubt that God remains formally the subject, but the real question is whether by v.15 the author is thinking more in terms of Christ as the agent? If God is the subject then the meaning must be 'stripping' or

'disarming'. If Christ is the subject then the meaning must be 'stripping off from himself', or 'divesting himself (of)'. If God is the subject then ἀπεκδόμαι must be in the middle voice, a situation that is not without its own peculiar problem.¹¹⁰

If Christ is the subject then the question becomes 'divesting himself of what?' The only two possibilities are his flesh or the powers and authorities.¹¹¹

The first of these possibilities seems to us to lay itself open to a dualistic interpretation of the death of Christ that is as theologically unacceptable to us as surely it would have been to Paul himself. The second possibility seems to us equally unacceptable theologically; nowhere else in scripture do we find evidence to suggest that it was ever believed that the 'powers and authorities' were attached to Christ in such a way that he should be able to disrobe himself of them. We therefore, in spite of the lack of any exact parallels, consider ἀπεκδόμαι to be a verb in the middle voice, and thus we understand the subject of the verb to be God. This also means that we interpret ἐν αὐτῷ (2:15) as 'in him', meaning Christ.¹¹²

We therefore translate the verse in question as follows 'He (God) disarmed the principalities and powers and made a public example of them, leading them in a triumphant procession in him (Christ)'.

This translation brings out the significance of Col 2:15 for an understanding of the citation of Ps 67:19 in Eph 4:8 and at the same time serves as an indication to the significance of the ascension theme in the Ephesian epistle. The major emphasis in Col 2:15 is on ἀπεκδυσάμενος and θριαμβεύω; and in both instances God is the subject and Christ is the agent. Precisely the same theological point is being made in Eph 4:8 with the phrase ἠχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν : it is the ἀρχαί and ἐξουσίαι that are the objects of both ἀπεκδυσάμενος ... θριαμβεύσας and ἠχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν . It is not merely coincidental that in Eph 1:21f ἀρχαί and ἐξουσίαι are included in the things which are ὑπέταξαν ὑπὸ τοῦς πόδας αὐτοῦ . That this is so, when viewed in light of the fact that the same entities are the objects of theologically similar phrases in both Col 2:15 and Eph 4:8, indicates quite strongly that the ascension theologies of Eph 1:21 and 4:8 are at least basically of the same type and are not dissimilar to that expressed by Col 2:15. The significance of Col 2:15 is that it establishes that the ascension themes in Eph 1:20ff and 4:8ff are not at variance; in both instances the author expresses the same concept, though using very different language and traditions.

3. PS 67:19 AND ITS INTERPRETATIVE COMMENT (4:9-10)

Having discussed in some detail the actual psalm citation in Eph 4:8 we must now turn to the author's own comment on the citation in the two verses which immediately follow. In this section three things will be our primary concern; the use of the terms ἀναβαλναι and καταβαλναι and, arising directly from these linguistic considerations, a consideration of the possibility of the interpretative comment having as its base the doctrine of the so called Gnostic Redeemer Myth. But before examining either of these two concerns, there is a prior consideration: the use of Deut 30:12-14 in Rom 10:6-8. It is necessary to consider this because of the similarities that exist between the treatment afforded to the OT citations of Deut 30:12-14 and Ps 67:19 by the respective authors of Romans and Ephesians.¹¹³ These similarities are as follows: both texts cited differ from the accepted Biblical text and at the same time are similar to Targumic versions of these same texts; both OT texts are interpreted in the light of salvation history; both OT citations follow Introductory Formulae based on λέγειν ;¹¹⁴ and finally, and this is of major importance, both texts refer to the κατάβασις - ἀναβάσις theme and offer at the same time an interpretative comment on this motif.

3.1 The 'Comment' as a Rabbinic Formula:
Rom 10:6-8

Our main concern at this point is with the last mentioned similarity, namely the καταβάσις - ἀναβάσις theme and the interpretative comment. In our discussion on this point we shall also find it necessary to refer to the first similarity, namely the fact that Rom 10:6-8 has affinities to certain Targumic treatments of the OT text concerned, Deut 30:12-14.

A unique feature of Rom 10:6-8 is that on three occasions within these few verses the apostle cites a text (from Deut 30:12-14)¹¹⁵ and immediately follows the citation with its application to the contemporary NT situation. This he does by means of the phrase τοῦτ' ἔστιν:

τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν
τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγεῖν
ἔγγυς σου τὸ ῥῆμά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ στόματι σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου.

This method is found in the rabbinic writings¹¹⁶ and "recalls the peshar commentaries of Qumran where a biblical text is cited and is immediately applied to a later situation with the words 'Interpreted this concerns ...' ($\text{לְפָרֶשׁתָּהּ } \text{וְיִפְשְׁרָהּ}$)".¹¹⁷ An example of this is the Qumran peshar of 1 QpHab 2:1-10:¹¹⁸

"Behold the nations and see, marvel and be astonished; for I accomplish a deed and in your days but you will not believe it when told (Hab 1:5)

Interpreted this concerns those who were unfaithful together with the Liar, in that they did not listen to the words received by the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God. And it concerns the unfaithful of the New Covenant in that they have not believed in the Covenant of God and have profaned his Holy Name. And likewise this saying is to be interpreted as concerning those who will be unfaithful at the end of days. They, the men of violence and the breakers of the Covenant, will not believe when they hear all that is to happen to the final generation from the Priest in whose heart God set understanding that he might interpret all the words of His servants the Prophets, through whom He foretold all that would happen to His people and His land."¹¹⁹

At this point we must note the similarity between the use of Deut 30:12-14 in Rom 10:6-8 and in the Palestinian Targum (PT). Both Romans and the PT render the MT on the ascent to heaven quite literally and both paraphrase the MT 'going beyond the sea' as 'descending into the abyss'¹²⁰ (literally: 'into the depths of the Great Sea'). The PT to Deut 30:12-14 is as follows:

"The Law is not in heaven that one may say would that we had one like the prophet Moses who would ascend to heaven and fetch it for us and make us hear the commandment that we might do them" Neither is the Law beyond the Great Sea that one might say "Would that we had one like the prophet Jonah who would descend

into the depths of the Great Sea and bring it up for us and make us hear the Commandments that we might do them"¹²¹

These similarities do not necessarily point to Rom 10:6-8 being dependent upon an actual text of the PT, although this possibility cannot be completely discounted,¹²² but they do at least imply that both Rom 10:6-8 and the PT to Deut 30:12-14 reflect a common tradition and a common methodology. The significant difference between the epistle and the Targum is in application: Rom 10:6-8 applies what the PT says of types ("one like the prophet Moses", "one like the prophet Jonah") to the unique NT prototype, Christ himself.¹²³

In the application of the Deuteronomic citation in Rom 10:6-8 two things are of significance. The passage is applied to Jesus by Paul, whereas in its initial context it was intended to persuade the Israelites to obey the Law because the Law had now been made known to all. The first notable thing about this new application is in the use made of ἀναβαίνω and καταβαίνω. The words are not applied to Jesus directly but their use presumes that their application to Jesus is understood; it is Jesus who has ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν and similarly has καταβὰς εἰς τὴν ἔβυσσον. The author's comment on

the first of these phrases restricts itself to an understanding of incarnation and that on the second to resurrection. Thus the first significant point concerning the use of Deut 30:12-14 in Rom 10:6-8 is that the schema envisaged is descent-ascent and, equally important, this ascent, although understood as being to heaven, is expressed in terms of resurrection from the dead. The second significant point is again concerned with the application of the passage to Jesus. The justification for this application, according to Paul, is as follows: God has given the Torah (represented by statements from Deuteronomy) and this Torah reaches its τέλος in Christ; the Torah is God's gift and therefore Christ is equally God's gift. Thus, at least in secondary fashion, the inferred context of the descent-ascent schema is dependent upon an understanding of the concept of χρίστος.

We are thus able to make the following conclusions. Firstly, the ascent-descent motif was well known in Rabbinic Judaism,¹²⁴ though we note that both parts of the motif are not necessarily applied to the same person. But nonetheless we must reckon with this as an obvious possibility once the doctrine or motif had become established. Secondly, the exegetical method whereby a text was cited and then, by way of rhetorical interpretative comment,

applied to a completely different contemporary situation was also well known both in Rabbinic Judaism and in Qumran. We have thus established that the features present not only in Rom 10:6-8, but also in both the citation of Ps 67:19 in Eph 4:8 and the interpretative comment which follows, Eph 4:9-10 are both part of the tradition of Rabbinic Judaism.¹²⁵

3.2 Linguistic Considerations

Notwithstanding the conclusions we have reached above, there is a strong body of opinion that would argue that both ἀναβαλεῖν and καταβαλεῖν are technical words for the motifs of Ascent and Descent that have their source not in Jewish thought at all, but rather in the thought forms more frequently associated with Hellenism, and, more particularly with that type of first - or second - century thought more generally defined as 'Gnosticism'.¹²⁶ It is to these linguistic considerations that we now turn. Our procedure will be as follows: in each case we shall examine the word as it occurs in the NT, paying particular attention to John and Paul, with a special emphasis being given to instances where both ἀναβαλεῖν and καταβαλεῖν appear together and are obviously to be considered as part of the ἀναβαλεῖν - καταβαλεῖν motif.

3.2.1. ἀναβαλεῖν

In both LXX and in secular literature ἀναβαλεῖν has as its primary meaning the movement from a lower to a higher level.¹²⁷ For us the most interesting use is that of Angels of God ascending to heaven after completing their tasks on earth, as recorded in Gen 28:12; Judges 13:20 and Tobit 12:20.¹²⁸ It is notable that in the LXX there are only two occasions where the ascent-descent motif is to be found, and in these instances, Prov 3:30 and Baruch 3:29 the motif is more implicit than it is directly expressed. In both instances the idea being put forward is that no man has yet ascended to heaven and obtained wisdom which he has then delivered to the earth.¹²⁹ These texts, as isolated and as different as they are, serve to strengthen our argument that the ascent-descent motif was well known throughout Judaism in both the pre-Christian and early Christian eras.

Acts 2:34 is a text that makes the same point as these OT and Apocrypha examples. This text is all the more interesting because it is set in a conflict situation. Again we must surmise that ἀναβαλεῖν here expresses a theological idea that was easily understood by the Jewish audience.¹³⁰ There is no descent motif as such in Acts.¹³¹

In the Gospel of John, the situation is far more complex, made so by the identification of the one who descended and ascended with $\delta \upsilon\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$.¹³² Leaving aside this problem¹³³ we can make the following comments which are relevant to our argument. In John's Gospel $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ is a technical term for the ascension and is understood as such.¹³⁴ This ascension necessitates a previous descent.¹³⁵

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ is used infrequently in the Pauline Corpus, occurring only at Rom 10:6; 1 Cor 2:9; Gal 2:1,2; and Eph 4:8-10. In Romans and Ephesians the word obviously refers to the ascension and these occurrences of the term can therefore be classified as 'theological'.¹³⁶ Of the remaining texts 1 Cor 2:9 cannot be used as an example of a Pauline theological use of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ with any certainty because here the term stands in what is obviously intended to be a quotation which sounds as if it came from the OT¹³⁷ although it must be admitted that 1 Cor 2:9 does not parallel any known OT text.¹³⁸ In Gal 2:1f the word is used in the obvious non-theological sense, as in the Synoptics and Acts. The fact that $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ appears so infrequently in the non-theological sense in the Pauline Corpus could suggest that Paul was aware that the term was a well attested terminus

technicus for the ascension, particularly in view of its use in conjunction with *καταβαλεῖν* in Rom 10:6-8 and Eph 4:8-10. But there are difficulties with this suggestion. Firstly, apart from the texts noted, Paul never writes elsewhere of anyone 'going up' or 'ascending' and so does not provide us with any alternative expression with which to compare his use of *ἀναβαλεῖν*.¹³⁹ Again, on every other occasion when the ascension is referred to in the Pauline Corpus, with the obvious exception of Rom 10:6-8 and Eph 4:8-10, the emphasis is not on the fact that Christ "went up", but that Christ is "in heaven".¹⁴⁰ This in itself could indicate that the *κατάβασις* - *ἀνάβασις* motif is in fact foreign to Pauline theology. If this was the case then the problem would be one of first identifying the source of this theological motif before commenting on its Pauline application. We have already shown that in both Rom 10:6 and Eph 4:8-10 the motif seems to owe its beginnings to Rabbinic Judaism. This fact is not contradicted by texts which cite *ἀναβαλεῖν* in the theological sense, but yet not as a part of the *κατάβασις* - *ἀνάβασις* motif. These two facts indicate quite strongly that *ἀναβαλεῖν* and the *κατάβασις* - *ἀνάβασις* motif are part of the Jewish milieu of thought and in this way not foreign to Pauline theology, although perhaps a secondary feature of it.

3.2.2 καταβαίνειν

Καταβαίνειν is the complete opposite of ἀναβαίνειν geographically, spatially and cultically. In the LXX the term appears most frequently with either a geographic¹⁴¹ or spatial¹⁴² significance. A more useful occurrence, in that it provides us with a more plausible parallelism to the Pauline use of the term, is Gen 11:5 with its reference to God (LXX κύριος , MT יהוה) descending to see the city and tower which had been built on the earth. This example, as unique as it is in OT literature, does provide a possible source for the use of καταβαίνειν to describe the descent of God to earth.

In the NT, particularly in the Synoptics and Acts, καταβαίνειν occurs in the same sense as in the LXX, that is, with either a geographic or spatial significance. In the Gospel of John however, the word has specific theological significance. Here the κατάβασις is equivalent to the Incarnation of Jesus;¹⁴³ the direct contrast between the ascent and the descent is seen by John as proof of the Incarnation.

In the Pauline Corpus καταβαίνειν occurs only on three occasions: Rom 10:6-8; Eph 4:8-10 and 1 Thess 4:16. It has been argued that the κατάβασις theme as distinct from the actual occurrence of the

word *καταβαλεῖν* is also present elsewhere in the NT.¹⁴⁴ It is certainly true that the *κατάβασις* - *ἀνάβασις* theme is present in the pre-Pauline hymn in Phil 2:6-8, although here the theme as presented stands in a different theological tradition: the motif is no longer the descent-ascent of the redeemer figure per se, but is concerned to express the consequences of such in terms of humiliation-exaltation.¹⁴⁵ Thus it would not be expected that either the *καταβαλεῖν* or *ἀναβαλεῖν* terms would be present in this pericope. The fact that *καταβαλεῖν* does occur so infrequently in the Pauline Corpus may indicate the author's apparent refusal to use the term except in its theological sense, but this suggestion can be only speculative since Paul nowhere else uses any other terminology to express the idea of 'descent' either spatially or geographically. Admittedly, though, the term does appear in 1 Thess 4:16. This text is unique in as much as it is the only example in the Pauline Corpus of *καταβαλεῖν* being used in an Apocalyptic setting,¹⁴⁶ the 'descent' obviously referring to the parousia. The fact that in this Apocalyptic setting in 1 Thessalonians (as well as in Revelation) the term is used to designate the movement of Christ (1 Thessalonians) or his representative or even embodiment (Revelation) from heaven to earth does support, though not prove, the speculative suggestion

made above, although since the reference to the descent in Eph 4:8-10 is not in anyway futuristic it is extremely unlikely that 1 Thess 4:16 can be of any further assistance in the interpretation of our text in Ephesians.

Our discussion of καταβαίνειν has shown that this term was used to signify the descent of God, or in some cases the descent of a divine personality, and furthermore, that Jewish traditions underlie the use of the motif in the Pauline Corpus.¹⁴⁷

Our argument that the separate καταβαίνειν and ἀναβαίνειν terms as well as the more complex κατάβασις - ἀνάβασις motif, particularly as they occur in the Pauline Corpus, have their sources in Judaism does not prove that there is no Gnostic influence in Eph 4:8-10, or for that matter in Rom 10:6-8. It does however demonstrate that the terminology used in the author's discussion of the ascension in the epistle in question was well known in spheres far removed from Gnostic influence.

Before leaving the descensus theme we shall comment briefly on the motif as it is found in the Ascension of Isaiah.¹⁴⁸ There are two references in this document to the descent of a Saviour/Redeemer

figure; 10:7-31 and 11:24-26.¹⁴⁹ Both texts are in the so called 'Vision of Isaiah' section of the Ascension document; that is, that part of the document which comes from Christian, or at least semi-Gnostic Christian circles. The Ascension of Isaiah is too late to have influenced Ephesians,¹⁵⁰ but it does point to the fact that the *καταβαίνω* motif was known also in Gnostic circles,¹⁵¹ as well as in Rabbinic Judaism. It is to these Gnostic circles that we now turn our attention. The function of this next section of the essay will be to assess the possibility of Gnostic influence on Eph 4:8-10. We shall do this by examining Gnostic traditions concerning the Redeemer figure that have been adjudged by various scholars as being contemporary or near contemporary with Ephesians,¹⁵² and, secondly, by an examination of the Gnostic theories that have been proposed for our text, Eph 4:8-10, in particular.

3.3 Some Gnostic Theories of a Redeemer Myth

3.3.1 Pre-Christian "Gnosticism":¹⁵³ The Scholars

Prior to the twentieth century the traditional view of Gnosticism has been that presented by the writings of the Church Fathers who viewed Gnosticism as a Christian heresy. This view has been affirmed by such scholars as A. Harnack,

F.C. Burkitt, T.W. Manson and A.D. Nock.¹⁵⁴

This long standing theory was rejected by members of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule who, writing at the turn of the century, were the first to argue for a pre-Christian origin of Gnosticism. The leading spokesmen on this theme were W. Bousset and R. Reitzenstein and, writing a decade or so later, R. Bultmann. It is to the arguments of these three scholars that we now turn.

W. Bousset

Bousset well summarises his own view when he writes: "Gnosticism is first of all a pre-Christian movement which has roots in itself and is to be understood in the first place in its own terms and not as an offshoot or a by-product of the Christian religion".¹⁵⁵ In an earlier work¹⁵⁶ he had argued that the Gnostic teachings reported by the Church Fathers were in fact much older than the Fathers and had actually come about by the transformation of older oriental myths by Hellenistic philosophy. Bousset referred primarily to the Mandaean materials which, he argued, proved the pagan and pre-Christian character of the Gnostic Redeemer.¹⁵⁷ Further evidence for the pre-Christian nature of Gnosticism can, according to Bousset, be gathered from Philo, the Chaldean oracles and, especially, the

Hermetic literature.¹⁵⁸ This last point is of some importance because, as we shall see, Reitzenstein also places the weight of his argument on the Hermetic literature, paying particular attention to Poimandres.

R. Reitzenstein

In any consideration of pre-Christian Gnosticism the works of R. Reitzenstein are of prime importance. We shall only concern ourselves with one - the first - of his major works in which this theme is discussed - Poimandres - Studien zur griechisch ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur.¹⁵⁹ In this work Reitzenstein attempts to prove the pre-Christian origin of the Gnostic myth of the Primal man by using the Naassene Sermon in Hippolytus, Refutatio V,¹⁶⁰ Book Omega of the alchemist Zosimos,¹⁶¹ book 8 of the Neo-platonist Jamblichus and, and here the weight of the argument lies, the Hermetic tract Poimandres.

According to Reitzenstein the Hermetica contained teachings which were the culmination of a long development in pre-Christian Egypt. He believed that the doctrine of ἄνθρωπος or Primal Man found in Poimandres was pre-Christian.¹⁶² In this tract the Primal Man sinks into nature from heaven but receives a saving revelation and re-ascends to his

celestial sphere. This teaching was, according to Reitzenstein, borrowed from the Persian Avestan teaching of the Gayomart.¹⁶³ In summary fashion we can say that Reitzenstein believed that Poimandres was evidence of a Gnostic Redeemer myth in which the Primal Man - a concept with roots in the Iranian Gayomart - functioned as a redeemer. It is important also that we note that both Reitzenstein¹⁶⁴ and Bousset¹⁶⁵ believe Poimandres to be a first century document.

A severe criticism of the theory advanced by Reitzenstein and followed by Bousset has been made by C. Colpe¹⁶⁶ who shows that Poimandres does not in fact present the Primal Man as a Redeemer figure.¹⁶⁷ Neither is there a descent as such of a Primal Man.

The early date for the Poimandres has also now been shown to be in serious doubt, most scholars agreeing that the material, at least in its present form, must be dated sometime between the second and the fourth centuries.¹⁶⁸ This probable later dating for the document does not necessarily render it valueless for the discussion since it is conceivable that the material it contains - or even the traditions which underlie the material as it is presented in the document - is of an earlier period

which itself could well be contemporary with the NT era.

R. Bultmann

If Bousset and Reitzenstein provided the potential, then it was Bultmann who, building on their foundations, provided the 'working model' of the Gnostic Redeemer. For him the antiquity of the Redeemer Myth was a 'fait accompli' since Reitzenstein; he "therefore never appears to doubt that the 'redeemer myth' in all its essential parts existed long before the Hellenistic Age"¹⁶⁹ and even in comparatively recent times has remained convinced of the pre-Christian nature of Gnosticism.¹⁷⁰ Having once accepted the antiquity of the myth Bultmann finds it comparatively easy to find parallels to prove that the myth underlies the Gospel of John. The fact that these parallel texts, found in Mandaean and Manichaean literature, the Odes of Solomon and the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, are themselves much later than both John's Gospel and early Christianity is for Bultmann quite irrelevant, since the myth to which they attest is, in his conviction, much older.¹⁷¹

In an early but none the less important article Bultmann¹⁷² lists some 28 characteristics which together, so he suggests, form the outline of the Gnostic Redeemer Myth. Basic to this outline is the conviction that the origin of the Mandaeans lay ultimately with a group of the adherents of John the Baptist. He therefore can conclude that the Mandaean texts have preserved one of the purest forms of the early oriental Gnostic Redeemer Myth. But this basic conviction is by no means as evident as Bultmann and his followers¹⁷³ would claim. R.E. Brown argues very forcibly that behind the Johannine theology lies the OT speculation about personified wisdom, as well as the vocabulary and thought patterns of sectarian Judaism as found in the Qumran Scrolls. With these background materials in mind he comments "... one cannot claim that the dependence of John on a postulated early Oriental Gnosticism has been disproved, but ... Since these proposed sources of influence OT Wisdom speculation and Sectarian Judaism are known to have existed, and the existence of Bultmann's proto-Mandaean Gnostic source remains dubious, we have every reason to give them preference".¹⁷⁴

Despite the criticisms pointed to above, many scholars have followed Bultmann in the assumption of a pre-Christian Gnosticism.¹⁷⁵ But even amongst these scholars there is little agreement; as is obvious from the following statement of Schmithals:¹⁷⁶

"We must also note that the later the period, the more securely is the figure of a heavenly redeemer-emissary appearing in historical form established in Gnosticism, while early Gnosticism, especially pre-Christian Gnosticism, was not yet acquainted with this figure".

3.3.2 Pre-Christian "Gnosticism":

Some New Testament Texts

Since the establishment of the theory of pre-Christian Gnosticism several NT texts have been cited by various exegetes as evidence of this phenomenon. The texts fall largely into two classes, those which were originally intended to contradict a Gnosticism which had been espoused by the recipient of an epistle and secondly, those texts which are evidence of the borrowing, or in some cases, adoption, of Gnostic elements. At this point it is sufficient that we examine in summary fashion the major examples of both classes. This examination will serve as a background against which we shall examine in much more detail the theories concerning the Gnostic Redeemer Myth in Eph 4:8-10 that have been suggested by various exegetes.

Recent studies by C. Talbert have sought to show that the purpose of both Luke and Acts is anti-Gnostic.¹⁷⁷ But even W. Schmithals who, as we shall see below, is able to identify Gnostic or anti-Gnostic elements in texts in disagreement with most other exegetes, is unable to support this theory.¹⁷⁸ Schmithals himself claims that Gnosticism is combatted in both Thessalonian Epistles, Galatians and Corinthians; Paul's admonition against fornication, 1 Thess 4:3-6, is directed against Gnostic licentiousness, and his reassurances regarding the future resurrection of the faithful is a corrective for those gnosticized believers who deny a future resurrection.¹⁷⁹ In Galatians Schmithals makes reference to five texts, all of which, he argues, prove that the 'opponents' were Jewish Gnostics.¹⁸⁰ The same author is but the latest of a long line of scholars who have suggested that Paul's opponents in Corinth were Gnostics. These opponents are, so he believes, 'fully fledged' Gnostics who are characterised by their pride in their knowledge and in their libertine behaviour. The most extreme example of Schmithals' Gnostic exegesis is his treatment of 1 Cor 10:16ff in his view, a Jewish Gnostic rite rather than the Christian Communion. Both the methodology and exegesis of Schmithals have been severely attacked by many exegetes, including those who with him believe Gnosticism to be a pre-

Christian phenomenon.¹⁸¹ Finally we must note that the Colossian heresy is widely identified as Gnosticism.¹⁸² Colossians is sometimes identified as an instance where Gnostic motifs are not only combatted, as in Col 2:8, but also where these motifs are absorbed, as in 1:19 κλήρωμα and 1:18,24 τὸ σῶμα Χριστοῦ.¹⁸³

Several texts have been suggested by various exegetes as indicative of a borrowing or adoption of Gnostic motifs. In the Synoptics both Bultmann¹⁸⁴ and Haenchen¹⁸⁵ draw attention to Matt 11:27 (= Luke 10:22) but conversely W.D. Davies has argued that this passage has a Jewish, particularly Qumranian, background.¹⁸⁶ It has been argued that the 'wisdom' section in 1 Cor 1-2 reflects a pre-Christian Gnostic Sophia myth.¹⁸⁷ There is no denying that the figure of Sophia does play an important part in later Gnostic systems, and there are grounds for believing that such wisdom speculation has its beginnings in the Jewish wisdom literature of the inter-testamental period. But this is not to say that Paul necessarily had this myth consciously in mind when he wrote the epistle in question. It has also been argued that the Pauline teaching about the fall of creation (Rom 8:19-22), Adam (Rom 5:12-17), the contrast between ψυχικὸς and πνευματικὸς (1 Cor 2:14f, 15:21, 44-49)

and between φῦς and σάραξ (Rom 13:11-13, 1 Thess 5:4-6), as well as the references to 'demonic rulers of this age' (1 Cor 2:6-8, 2 Cor 4:4) and to the dangers of marriage (1 Cor 7:32-34,38) are at least akin to Gnosticism.¹⁸⁸

Far more important for our consideration are those texts which, it is argued, indicate that Paul had knowledge of the Gnostic Redeemer Myth or at least was aware of some of the features commonly associated with this myth. It is held that in 1 Cor 2:8 Jesus is presented as the unknown redeemer who descends from God.¹⁸⁹ This may be so, but it is equally true as Knox asserts,¹⁹⁰ that "the ignorance of the rulers is naturally explicable from the given facts of the situation in which Paul is writing". There has been considerable support for the view that Phil 2:5-11 is based on a Gnostic prototype.¹⁹¹ But other scholars have argued that it is impossible to decide what category - whether pagan, Hellenistic-Jewish, Iranian, or Gnostic - has provided the actual background myth upon which the hymn is based.¹⁹² The myth, so it is asserted, is also briefly alluded to in 2 Cor 8:9,¹⁹³ a text which maintains that Christ was pre-existent with God with all the wealth of heaven's splendour, but for our sakes he became poor. The theme of the text is thus

the self-abasement of the Incarnation.

This brief survey of the evidence supplied by both scholar and NT text alike enables us to draw the following conclusions. There is no agreement amongst exegetes as to a working definition of Gnosticism and far less agreement over what texts are in fact proof of a pre-Christian Gnosticism. In most cases, though admittedly not in all, the so-called 'Gnostic' features are quite capable of a completely different interpretation. And it is at the same time extremely doubtful if any of the texts cited thus far demand a Gnostic interpretation as being the only one admissible exegetically. We must then conclude that the textual evidence for a first century Gnosticism, at least in any developed form, finding its way into the New Testament is at least of dubious quality.

With this summary type conclusion in mind we can now turn our attention to Eph 4:8-10 and the possibility of the presence in this text of the Gnostic Redeemer Myth.¹⁹⁴ Of all the texts that we have previously cited, the most remarkable resemblance to the Myth appears in this text. The Myth, if present, is found in vv. 9f where the author has attempted to explain what he believes the *ἀναβαλεῖν*

reference in the psalm citation in the previous verse actually means. As we have already noted vv. 9f is of the nature of an excursus in the text and is not in fact necessary to the argument. Thus if these verses do in fact portray the Gnostic myth we must conclude that their author placed great importance upon this christological interpretation. The expression κατέβη εἰς τὰ κατώτερα τῆς γῆς according to Bultmann "does not mean the descent into Hell, but corresponds to 'he ascended' and means the pre-existent Son's journey to earth. And the idea that he conquered the inimical Spirit-powers by his journey to heaven the author finds expressed in the words of the Psalter".¹⁹⁵ We must ask about this: Why should the exegesis that interprets Eph 4:9f in terms of the Gnostic Redeemer Myth be free from the criticism that we have shown to apply to all other possible instances of the Myth in the New Testament? The answer is of course that it cannot; exactly the same general criticisms apply to this treatment of Eph 4:9 as applies to all the other NT texts which have been assumed by various exegetes to supply evidence of a pre-Christian Gnosticism. There is little or no agreement amongst the scholars; Bultmann is followed by Schlier,¹⁹⁶ Haenchen¹⁹⁷ and Gaugler;¹⁹⁸ his thesis is rejected by Mussner,¹⁹⁹ Colpe²⁰⁰ and most British exegetes.²⁰¹ There are other theories,

as for example that put forward by P. Pokorny²⁰² who, building upon the work of H.M. Schenke,²⁰³ develops the theory of an Anthropos-Myth based on Gen 1:26ff. Both these authors argue that there was no Redeemer Myth in the full sense before Manichaeism and that this myth represents the climax of a long process of development and was not its original starting point.²⁰⁴

The weight of the arguments we have cited obviously indicate that Eph 4:9f is not to be interpreted in a way that would allow a Gnostic understanding of the Redeemer figure to be arrived at. But our arguments have been based very much on secondary material, although of course attention has been drawn to some primary material. This being the case we believe that we are correct in allowing the fourth hypothesis, which we mentioned earlier to stand temporarily, that is, 'The ascension in Eph 4:8-10 is to be interpreted in light of the descent and re-ascent of the Gnostic Redeemer Figure'.

Thus far we have examined Eph 4:8-10 and have concluded that there are four possible theories regarding the interpretation of the ascension theme in this text. We shall now examine each interpretation or hypothesis separately, paying

attention not only to the external arguments that support the hypothesis but also - and here the main weight of the discussion will be - paying particular attention both to primary sources and to the exegesis of the text.

4. THE ASCENSION: FOUR THEORIES

4.1 A New Moses

The theory that Eph 4:8-10 is intended to portray Christ as the new Moses rests largely on the possibility of the Rabbinic interpretation of the citation of Ps 68:18 being present in this text.²⁰⁵ As we have shown²⁰⁶ there can be no doubt that Ps 68:18,19 was in Rabbinic tradition associated very definitely with Moses and his ascent of Mt. Sinai. At first sight it would appear very probable that this interpretation has been carried over into Eph 4:8-10 with the psalm citation being so closely linked with the Targumic interpretation of Ps 68:18. It would seem almost necessary to argue that the whole point of the change from ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ to ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις is that the author wishes to cite this phrase according to its Rabbinic understanding, with the underlying inference being obvious: the Rabbinic authors attach this text to

their understanding of the ascent of Moses to obtain the Law; we attach the same text to our understanding of Christ's ascent, not to Mt. Sinai, but to heaven from where he will give not the Torah, but the New Torah, which is in fact the totality of gifts that are present in the Church! But the great weakness of this theory is that in the verses which the author inserts to clarify the meaning of the psalm citation there is no suggestion of the Moses theme.²⁰⁷ The Targum, if it has any influence at all, influences only the actual text of the citation; it has no bearing at all on the theological statement being made. Exactly the same thing applies to Rom 10:6-8 where, as we have seen, the text is influenced by the same traditions that are present in PT to Deut 30:12-14 but, by means of a methodology almost identical to that used in Eph 4:8-10, a quite different theological concept is introduced. The fact that both Rom 10:6-8 and Eph 4:8-10 contain OT citations which, at least textually, may owe their origin to Rabbinic traditions which are concerned with Moses, but which at the same time introduce interpretative comments which are not concerned with the Moses motif is good reason for suggesting that this motif was, although known by Christians, not in current vogue - either in the church at Rome or amongst the recipients of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

Whereas then the Moses motif may well be present in the actual tradition which lies behind the citation of Ps 67:19 in Eph 4:8 the author's own interpretative comment on the citation in vv. 9f forbids us from accepting that the motif was in any way in the author's mind in a positive fashion.

4.2 The Ascension and Pentecost

The second hypothesis that we have noted is that Eph 4:8-10 is to be interpreted with the emphasis not on the ascension but on the 'descent' which is in fact the descent of the Christ at Pentecost to bestow spiritual gifts on the Church. This theory is associated with G.B. Caird, B. Lindars and J.C. Kirby. Caird, as we noted, divided the evidence for this hypothesis into three divisions: textual, grammatical and liturgical. In our approach to the text we shall use these same divisions since they provide an apt point of departure not only for an examination of the views of these exegetes but also because they provide a very suitable starting point for our own exegesis of the text.

Essential to this hypothesis is the theory that the 'descent' post-dated the 'ascent'. Caird's argument for this is based upon an understanding that $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$ found in B,K,P and in the majority of Latin

MSS and inserted into λ' and C by correctors, is a gloss which erroneously interprets the text and secondly that $\tau\eta\varsigma \gamma\eta\varsigma$ is a genitive of apposition. There can be no doubt that $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$ is a gloss, but the fact that this gloss is found in B and is added to λ' and C would suggest that this gloss witnesses to an understanding of Eph 4:8-10 that was quite widespread in the Early Church. Certainly the author of John's Gospel knows only of a descent at the Incarnation which was followed after the resurrection by an ascent.²⁰⁸

In this Gospel the coming of the Spirit to the Church is never associated with $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$. Luke never discusses an incarnation or descent of Jesus, though of course he does describe in detail the ascension event and the coming of the Spirit to the Church. This latter event is never described by $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ nor is it ever associated with Ps 67.²⁰⁹ In view of this it is difficult to see how $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$ could have been an 'erroneous' gloss; all the indications are that it was an interpretative gloss. Indeed, to argue that it was an 'erroneous' gloss is to assume that the scribes who produced the MSS which contain the gloss were all aware of the tradition which presumed that the ascent preceded the descent - a tradition for which evidence is totally lacking in the NT. There is little or no agreement amongst grammarians about the identity of the genitive construction

τὰ κατώτερα τῆς γῆς . Winer²¹⁰ identified the construction as a genitive of apposition. According to Blass-Debrunner²¹¹ the genitive is neither partitive nor appositive, but is to be interpreted as meaning 'the regions under the earth', i.e. a comparative genitive. Moulton²¹² is undecided, admitting that it may be partitive, appositive or comparative. Now it is true that Ephesians does contain examples of the genitive construction which must be classed as appositives,²¹³ but this in itself does not prove that τὰ κατώτερα τῆς γῆς must be similarly interpreted, though this is in fact likely for the following reasons. Firstly, as Caird has himself pointed out,²¹⁴ since the powers that are conquered by Christ are ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις a descent into either Hades or some other undefined underworld is otiose. Secondly, in the epistle there is no threefold division of the cosmos;²¹⁵ if there is any division envisaged then it is a two-fold one as in 1:10: ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς .

A less certain piece of evidence is provided by the text itself. Most Greek texts read τὸ δὲ ἀνέβη τί ἐστὶν εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς . The UBS text (2nd edition) brackets μέρη and so notes it to have dubious textual validity, although no evidence is provided

to support such a judgment. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ has the authority of λ' A B C D^C K L P but is omitted by P⁴⁶ D* G: the versions and the Fathers are almost equally divided. The fact that $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ is omitted by P⁴⁶ D* and G is in itself sufficient to justify the UBS judgment. If $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ is omitted it would seem likely that $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\gamma\eta\varsigma$ was intended to be understood as a genitive of apposition. Thus at this point Caird's grammatical judgement seems to be correct, though this alone is not sufficient evidence to substantiate his claim that the descent refers to the Pentecost event.

Before we turn to the liturgical evidence we must comment on the ascension theme as argued for in Ephesians by Caird and its apparent similarity with the ascension theme in Acts. If Caird is correct then Ephesians and Acts stand theologically very close together at this point, being the only two NT documents to distinguish the ascension of Christ and the gift of the Spirit from the events of Easter. Caird argues that there is no common chronological tradition behind these works but that Acts, chaps 1,2 and Ephesians 4:7-11 are a Christian development of rabbinical teaching; as the Law was given on Sinai fifty days after the Exodus so was the Spirit given fifty days after the 'Exodus' which Jesus accomplished in Jerusalem, just as, according to the Rabbis, at

Sinai the Jews heard the words split into seventy tongues.²¹⁶ But Caird's argument neglects two important points. Firstly, in the Early Church we have no evidence of Ps 67 being part of the tradition concerning the gift of the Spirit; the theory put forward by Lindars that Ps 67:19 in its undeveloped form lies behind Acts 2:33 and 5:31 we have already shown to be untenable. Secondly, and even of more importance, is the fact that the ascension theme in Acts 1-2 is not a unified theme. As we have seen in Chapter 1 there is a tradition in the speech in Acts 2:14-36 which is very different from the tradition in Acts 1:9. This latter tradition may well owe its present form to Jewish Apocalypticism but the former tradition, as we have attempted to show, owes nothing to Rabbinical Judaism, and, furthermore, as we have already pointed out, the tradition of the ascension in Acts 2:14-36 (which is a non-Lucan tradition) knows nothing of an ascension or outpouring of the Spirit as events separate from the resurrection.²¹⁷ The fact that the tradition in Eph 1:20-23 is related to the tradition in Acts 2:14-36 speaks decisively against the argument advanced by Caird.

The liturgical argument accepted by Caird is referred to in more detail by J.C. Kirby. He shows that in the Jewish Liturgy the Psalms for

Pentecost were 29, 68 and the lessons from the Torah were Genesis 14, Exodus 19-20 and Numbers 18. Kirby argues that since in Ephesians 'direct' references to some of these passages are to be found it is likely that there is some close relationship between Ephesians and Pentecost. The argument that Ephesians contains a 'direct' reference to Ps 29 is far from convincing. The argument centres on the appearance of the title ἡγαπησένος in Eph 1:6. Our attention is drawn to the difference between the MT and LXX versions of Ps 29:6.²¹⁸ The difference may well be, so we are told, because the LXX translators may have had Jeshurun in their Hebrew text at this point for "they always translate this rare word with the Greek participle ἡγαπησένος".²¹⁹ A much more likely source for this title is surely Col 1:13, particularly in light of the similarity between Col 1:14 and Eph 1:7.

We are further told that in Eph 4:25-31 "we are given a Christian explanation of some of the ten commandments"²²⁰ which, presumably, like Eph 6:2 are quoted from Exod 19-20. But it should be noted that Eph 4:25 is an almost exact citation of Zech 8:16 and is not unlike Col 3:8f; and 4:26 is a citation from Ps 4:4. We do not deny that a moral code, possibly based on the Ten Commandments, was in the author's mind in Eph 4:25-31, but the fact that other

Scripture is cited in this passage, coupled with the fact that the Commandments are not quoted directly, would indicate very strongly that the pericope in question is to be described as the author's free composition, rather than to be understood as evidencing a liturgical background.

There are no references to Gen 14 or Numbers 18 in Ephesians, and the references to Ps 29 and Exod 19-20, far from being 'direct' are extremely doubtful. We are thus left with the citation of Ps 67:19 and the one definite citation of the Decalogue in Eph 6:2, and these are by no means sufficient evidence to substantiate the liturgical connection between Ephesians and Pentecost.

A closer examination of the evidence provided by Caird in support of his view has shown that it in fact will not substantiate the conclusion that he has drawn. Consideration of two of the three areas with which Caird is concerned, namely the textual and liturgical, indicate results which cannot support the thesis that the descent is subsequent to the ascent. Indeed, the fact that $\pi\rho\theta\tau\omicron\nu$ has every indication of being a correct interpretative gloss and that $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ appears to be a genitive of apposition when coupled with the fact that the liturgical connection

between Ephesians cannot be substantiated is sufficient to convince us that the descent was prior to the ascent and that thus the 'events' referred to in Ephesians are incarnation and exaltation.

4.3 The Gnostic Redeemer Myth

A third hypothesis that we have encountered argues that the ascension in Eph 4:8-10 is expressed in terms of the descent and ascent of the Gnostic Redeemer. This theory requires that it be established that there was a pre-Christian Gnosticism, or at least that the Gnostic Redeemer Myth was sufficiently developed by the last quarter of the first century to have been taken over by the author of Ephesians. If this requirement is met it then follows that ἀναβαλεῖν and καταβαλεῖν are technical terms for the ascent and descent of the Redeemer. If the basic requirement cannot be met satisfactorily but at the same time it can be shown that ἀναβαλεῖν and καταβαλεῖν are used in Ephesians in their technical (Gnostic) sense then we shall have to conclude that what we have in Eph 4:8-10 is an incipient, undeveloped, Gnosticism which was presumably to play its part in generating the fully fledged heretical system of the second and ensuing centuries.

We have already noted how Reitzenstein, Bousset and Bultmann all argued for the existence of a developed form of Gnosticism in the first century of the Christian era. This Gnosticism was, according to these scholars present in the Poimandres, which, they argued, was a first century document. We have already seen how both these assertions have been disputed by later scholars. Our concern here is not with the dating of Poimandres but with its content, at least as much of it as is concerned with, or speaks of, an Ascent motif.

In Poimandres 24-26 there is an account of the ascent of Man which describes his journey through the heavens until he arrives at the eighth sphere from where he completes the ascent by entering in to God. The essential features of the account are as follows:²²¹

- (24) "You have taught me everything I wished, nous; but tell me also how the ascent (τῆς ἀνόδου) takes place. To this Poimandres replied. First, at the dissolution of the material body you surrender the body to change, and the form you have disappears (Πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναλύσει τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ὀλικοῦ παραδίδως ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος εἰς ἄλλοίωσιν, καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὃ εἶχες ἄραυδς γίνεται) and you surrender your character to the demon as ineffectual. And the bodily senses return to their sources; they become separate parts and are compounded again for effectiveness. And passion and desire go into the irrational nature. (25) And so he then goes upwards (καὶ οὕτως ὄρουσ' λοιπὸν ἄνω) through the Harmony, and to the first

circle he gives the capacity to grow or to diminish, to the second ... (26) And then, freed (stripped) of all the activities of the Harmony, he reaches the nature of the Ogdoad with his own power, and with those who are there he praises the Father. Those who are present rejoice together that this one has come, and becoming like those with him he hears also certain powers above the nature of the Ogdoad praising God with a sweet sound. And then in order they go up to the Father, change themselves into powers, and having become powers they come to be in God. (καὶ τότε τάξει ἀνέρχονται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς δυνάμεις εἰς αὐτοῦ παραδιδόσιν, καὶ δυνάμεις γενόμενα ἐν θεῷ γίνονται) This is the good end of those who have obtained knowledge, (τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τέλος τοῖς γινώσκουσιν ἐσχηκόσι) to become God (θεωθῆναι). What then are you waiting for? Will you not, as one who has received everything, become a guide to the worthy (τοῖς ἀξίοις) so that the human race may by means of you be saved by God? (διὰ σοῦ ὑπὸ θεοῦ σωθῆναι).²²²

As Colpe has noted,²²³ this is not the ascent of a Redeemer figure who is himself redeemed, but the ascent of Primal Man through various stages of being until, at the eighth sphere, he reaches perfection. It is only in this 'perfected' state that the Primal Man can enter into God and so find redemption.²²⁴ This is of course very near to the Gnostic doctrine that redemption is accomplished when the souls of men are collected and borne upward by the Redeemer who has become Man, but it cannot be described as Gnosticism proper because the Primal Man is not the Redeemer figure. In the final two chapters of Poimandres, although they form the

climax of the work with the divine call and commissioning of the prophet, the 'Gnostic' theme goes out of focus. The prophet says of himself " ἐγὼ δὲ εὐχαριστήσας καὶ εὐλογήσας τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ἀνείθευ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δυναμωθεὶς καὶ διδαχθεὶς τοῦ παντός τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν μεγίστην θέαν, καὶ ἔργμαί κηρύσσειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τῆς εἰσεβέειας καὶ γνώσεως κάλλος " to which Dodd

comments "Here we clearly have a first-hand document of the prophetic consciousness, which may fitly be compared with the accounts given by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and other Hebrew prophets of their call".²²⁵

We may say then that the message of Poimandres, that the knowledge of God is the way to immortality and, conversely, that the love of the body and its pleasures lead to ignorance and death, is 'Gnostic'; but in that it does not contain the idea of a Redeemed Redeemer, which is the central feature of the Gnostic Redeemer Myth, it is not 'Gnosticism'. Thus the case for the existence of pre-Christian Gnosticism, within the terms of our original definition, cannot be established using the Hermetic tract Poimandres. More particularly, even if we allow that either Poimandres or the traditions which it contains are earlier than Ephesians, the ascension as described in this document is not such that it could have provided a parallel which could have influenced the author of the epistle; in the epistle the ascension motif centres on the joint themes of triumph and the special proximity of

the ascended Redeemer to God²²⁶ whereas in Poimandres the emphasis is on the journey of Man through the seven heavens and on his consequent 'entry' into God by which redemption is achieved. Poimandres is not the only document that contains an account of an ascension or heavenly journey; similar accounts can be found, for example, in Enoch (Slavic and Ethiopic); the Ascension of Isaiah; Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Chagiga 14:10ff; Testament of Levi and the Ascension of Moses.²²⁷

We have already discussed the ἀναβαλεῖν and καταβαλεῖν terminology at some length and have concluded that, since both terminology and motifs were known in Judaism, the source of the terms as far as they are both termini technici lies in Judaism rather than Gnosticism. We noted Gen 28:12, Judges 13:20 and Tobit 12:20, all of which use ἀναβαλεῖν to describe the ascent to the heavenly places of a messenger of God at the completion of his work on earth. We accept that in the LXX ἀναβαλεῖν has as its primary meaning the movement from a lower to a higher level but our contention is that in the texts cited above what is implied is not a physical movement simpliciter but an 'ascent' which takes place in the post-physical, or exalted state. We have already drawn attention to the similarity between Tobit 12:20-22 and Luke 24:50-53 and if it could be con-

clusively shown that the latter text was in any way dependent on, or shows evidence of the former text, then our contention is considerably strengthened. We acknowledge that this particular use of ἀναβαλεῖν in these LXX texts does not prove our argument that this term, or the corresponding καταβαλεῖν, has its source as a terminus technicus in Jewish tradition, but we believe, is the first stage towards such a proof. For us the decisive stage of the argument is the fact that in the Pauline Corpus the only places where the complete ἀναβαλεῖν - καταβαλεῖν motif is found are the two texts Rom 10:6-8 and Eph 4:8-10, both of which are not only based on OT citations, but at the same time offer typical Jewish exegeses of these citations. This we believe is sufficient to show that ἀναβαλεῖν - καταβαλεῖν as a terminus technicus was not only well known by, but also had its source in, Jewish tradition, at least as the motif is found in Eph 4:8-10. No such proof can be adduced to show that the motif has its source in a 'Gnostic' tradition.

The ability to prove that the motif has a Jewish background and the inability to show any Gnostic background exists for the motif, coupled with the overwhelming weight of evidence against a pre-Christian Gnosticism must make us conclude that the third of our theories or hypotheses concerning the ascension theme

in Eph 4:8-10, that of an interpretation in light of the Gnostic Redeemer Myth, is not proven.

4.4 The Victorious King

This theory, the last of the four that we have put forward as possible keys to the interpretation of the ascension theme in Eph 4:8-10, is, at first sight, supported by very little evidence. We have drawn attention to three strands of evidence which we believe indicate that this interpretation is the correct one for the ascension theme in this pericope, and it is these strands of evidence that we shall now examine in more detail.

The first strand of evidence is concerned with Ps 67. We have already outlined our contention that the author of Ephesians has the psalm in mind when writing the epistle.²²⁸ This fact alone does not of course support any particular theory of the ascension but when it is coupled with an interpretation of Ps 67 which sees the psalm as essentially a hymn which describes God as the conqueror who has redeemed Israel from captivity and at the same time shared with them the gains of this victory,²²⁹ it assumes a position of some importance in the final interpretation of the pericope. It means, in fact that Eph 4:8-10 must now be interpreted in the light of not merely the actual psalm

citation in 4:8, but in the light of a total understanding of the psalm which must of necessity include the Sitz-im-Leben of the psalm. This in turn means that Eph 4:8-10 must be read not only presupposing a prior combat and victory, but also some celebration of this victory. In the actual pericope 4:8-10 there is nothing that enables us to identify either combat, victory or celebration of victory except this reference to Christ as the one who ἀναβῆκε εἰς ὕψος . The explicit subject of the pericope is 'Christ'; the implicit subject is the 'king'; therefore the identification is being made between Christ and king. This being the case the reader is reminded of Eph 1:20-23 where we have a theological description of the 'events' with which the psalmist, and now the author of Ephesians, is concerned. It is as king that Christ ἀναβῆκε εἰς ὕψος and equally it is as king that Christ καθίσταται ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς and, moreover, it is only as king that Christ ἠγαλλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν and consequently has πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοῖς πόδας αὐτοῦ . In other words it is the interpretation of Eph 4:9 in light of Ps 67 as a whole that enables us to show that the same theology is being expressed in both Eph 1:20-23 and 4:8-10.

The second piece of evidence is concerned with the interpretation of Col 2:15. That this text expresses the same theological sentiment as Eph 4:8-10 has already been argued for by Bultmann²³⁰ who recognises that in both these texts the point being made is that Christ's ascent to heaven is simultaneously the act of subjugating the demonic world-rulers. We have already argued against Bultmann's interpretation of Eph 4:8-10 in terms of the Gnostic Redeemer Myth, but at this point we believe that Bultmann is correct in arguing that Eph 4:8-10 and Col 2:15 say essentially the same thing. We believe that our translation of Col 2:15 substantiates this line of reasoning. We have argued that to interpret Eph 4:8-10 one must 'supply' the things which the psalm citation presupposes - conflict, victory and celebration. These three things are explicitly supplied in Col 2:15 as we have interpreted it. We need not suppose here that the recipients of Ephesians knew Colossians; their ability to recognise that Ps 67 was in the mind of the author, or to put it another way, was part - and an important part at that - of the theological tradition upon which the author of the epistle draws, was sufficient for them to interpret or understand Eph 4:8-10 as intended by the author. Our argument is that because Col 2:15 reflects the same theological standpoint as Eph 4:8-10 and moreover, because Col 2:15 also in both language and theology reflects the same theological

tradition as found in Eph 1:20-23, we have good reason for saying that both Eph 1:20-23 and 4:8-10 make the same theological point: both texts express the ascension in terms of victorious Kingship. This Kingship in 1:20-23 is that of the Davidic Messiah, and, although we cannot demonstrate the same to be true of 4:8-10, we have no reason to believe it to be otherwise.

The final strand of evidence concerns both the content and context of the psalm citation of 4:8. One of the difficulties in interpreting the psalm citation is that there appears to be no good reason for the first part of the citation (ἀναβῆς εἰς ὕψος ἡμιθέτων δόξαυτίαν) to be quoted. The emphasis, and indeed the point of the scriptural citation, is intended to substantiate the claim that Christ has given gifts to his Church, and consequently the second half of the citation (ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀγγέλοις) would have been sufficient to give scriptural authority to this claim. One must therefore ask why the author chose deliberately to include the whole citation, particularly in light of the fact that it is this seemingly unnecessary first part of the citation which forces the author to include a comment which is designed to clarify its interpretation. The answer is that implicit in the author's mind are two ideas, firstly, that Christ is enthroned at God's right hand, and therefore must

be exercising authority in the entire cosmos as king, and secondly, that it is a king's prerogative to give gifts. The author sees these two ideas made explicit in the citation of Ps 67:19 and as both ideas are, as far as Christ's Kingship was concerned, quite interdependent, the author is faced with the necessity of citing the entire verse from the psalm. This he does very easily, because the first phrase of the citation expresses a theology that he has previously himself expressed in other terms, and making use of other traditions, in Eph 1:20-23.

¹J. Cambier, "La Signification Christologique D'Ephesiens IV 7-10", NTS 9 (1962-63); p.263.

²Ibid.

³Pp. 115-22.

⁴MT = עָלִיתָ לְמָרוֹם | שְׁבִיתָ שָׁבִי לְקַחַת מִתְּנוּחַ בְּאָדָם

⁵The variants to Ps 67:19 in the critical editions of the LXX do not affect the important words ἐλαβες δοματα ἐν ἀνθρώπω. The readings of Bo, Sa 4a R(s), noted only by Septuaginta Soc. Scient. Göttingensis, auctoritate edidit A. Rahlfs, X. Psalmi cum odis, Göttingen: 1931 are almost certainly influenced by Eph 4:8.

⁶The text of the London Polyglot, quoted by M. McNamara, The NT and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, Rome: 1966; p.70. The same interpretation ('gave' instead of 'received') is also found in the Peshitta.

⁷The final redaction of the Targum is probably to be dated in the 4th or 5th century A.D. But this late date does affect of course the age of the traditions that it might contain. For the argument that the Targum to the Psalms is, at least in part, very ancient and contains references that are probably pre-Christian, cf McNamara, op. cit. p.81; B.J. Roberts, The Old Testament Text and Versions, Cardiff: 1951; p.209.

⁸For a more detailed discussion of the use made of Ps 67:19 in the first 200 years or so of the Christian era see below pp. 354f and 363-66 with particular reference to Tertullian.

⁹Dial 39; 87. For a further discussion of these texts see below pp.

¹⁰Cf J. Smit Sibinga, The OT Text of Justin Martyr, Leiden: 1963; especially pp.13-16, 149; P. Prigent, Justin et L'Ancien Testament, Paris: 1964; especially pp.10-18.

¹¹Lindars, op. cit. p.52, commenting on the relationship between Eph 4:8 and the Targum to the Psalm text believes that "it is much more likely that we have here a real case of coincidence rather than actual dependence".

¹²H.J. Thackeray, The Relation of Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought, London: 1900; p.182, suggests that שרפבן may have existed in the basic underlying MT text instead of שרפב . But it is not likely, even if this variant existed, that it would yield ἔδωκεν in the Greek text and 'שרפבן' in the Targums.

¹³E.E. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, London: 1957; p.144, argues that it is "more probable" that ἔδωκεν represents an interpretation of שרפב than the existence of a variant Hebrew tradition such as שרפב

¹⁴This would not be so of course if the author of Ephesians knew the psalm text as part of a collection of proof texts. The argument for the existence of such a collection of texts has gained new impetus since the discovery of relatively brief collections of Testimonia at Qumran (4Q Test; cf 4Q Flor). Even if the existence of such a collection is admitted, we believe that it was not used by the author of the epistle. Our argument for this is as follows:
(1) The non-use of Introductory Formulae in the epistle. Presumably the author would want his readers to know that his use of OT citations was in line with the rest of the early Church, and his procedure for establishing such a point would surely be his use of OT formulae complete with Introductory Formulae and so suggesting a previously established authentication for his choice of OT text. But as the author seldom makes use of Introductory Formulae this would not appear to be the case. (On the use and non-use of Introductory Formulae in the epistle see below pp.111-15.
(2) Ps 67:19. The fact that this citation is used with an Introductory Formula may suggest, in light of the above, that it did in fact come from a Testimonia collection, but the fact that this is the only definite occurrence of this particular citation in the NT and, furthermore, when it is used the author finds it necessary to add his own interpretive comment, count against any such suggestion that the author was using a collection of proof-texts.

A brief survey of the material both prior and subsequent to J.R. Harris, Testimonies, (2 vols.), Cambridge: 1916, can be found in D. Moody Smith,

"The Use of the Old Testament in the New" in The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays, (Studies in Honor of W.F. Stinespring), ed. J.M. Efrid, Durham, N.C.: 1972; pp. 25-30.

¹⁵J. Bonsirven, L'Exégèse rabbinique et L'Exégèse paulinienne, Paris: 1939; p.308.

¹⁶Op. cit. p.309.

¹⁷This is noted by Ellis, Use of the OT, p.16, n.3, who further comments: "The fact that Paul's interpretation is found in the Syriac and the Targum shows that it is not merely arbitrary; it may point rather to his close acquaintance with the Aramaic and/or Hebrew".

¹⁸According to B. Lindars, op. cit., p.52, the citation in Eph 4:8 is "most probably a case of Midrash pesher". The use of this term has been severely criticised by M. Black, "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament", NTS 18 (1971-72), pp. 1-14, who comments (p.1) with particular reference to Qumran, "midrash-pesher is a modern invention probably best forgotten".

¹⁹Op. cit., pp. 51-56; cf also J. Dupont, "Ascension du Christ et don de l'Esprit d'après Actes 2:33" in Christ and Spirit in the New Testament (Festschrift for C.F.D. Moule), ed. B. Lindars and S.S. Smalley, Cambridge: 1973; pp. 219-27; G. Kretschmar, "Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten", ZKG 66 (1954-55), pp. 209-53; H.J. Cadbury, "The Speeches in Acts" in The Beginnings of Christianity, I, ed. F.F. Jackson and K. Lake, London: 1933; pp. 402-27, especially pp. 408f.

²⁰Op. cit. pp. 53f.

²¹The tradition could originate with Luke himself, although the use of the hapax legomenon $\delta\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\psi\delta\omega$ in Phil 2:9 where $\tau\tilde{\eta}\ \delta\epsilon\lambda\iota\zeta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\theta\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ is surely at least implied, does, in our view, count against this. Even if Luke is the author we can still ask whether or not an OT text lies behind the formulation.

²²Op. cit. p.44.

²³Lindars does not elaborate on how this phrase does in fact confirm his theory.

²⁴Cf, for example, Mk 12:36 and pars.; Heb 1:13. For a listing of the NT citations of Ps 109:1 and the varied traditions associated with this text cf chpt.1, n.26.

²⁵It is possible that Acts 2:29ff is a polemic against a son of David messianology. This fits well with E. Schweizer's categorisation of Acts 2:33b, 36; as being the 'reply to the problem posed by the misunderstanding' (that the Messiah must be a son of David). Cf Schweizer, "Speeches", p.208.

²⁶The Epistles to the Ephesians, Westminster: 1929; p.11.

²⁷This possibility assumes a greater importance if we accept with Dodd, Scriptures, pp. 28ff that the early Christian interpretation of scripture is not atomistic but instead the citing of certain texts functioned as a pointer to the whole context. A differing view of Christian interpretation of scripture is put forward by Doeve, op.cit., pp. 91ff who argues that in the first century the understanding of the context of any scriptural citation is the whole body of scripture. It would seem to us that Doeve is possibly correct when the scriptural citation is being used as a testimonium, that is, scripture being used as a witness to the validity of an event, but we accept Dodd's argument when, on the other hand, the scripture is being used as a midrash, that is, the event in question being used to provide the key to understanding the scriptural citation. For this distinction between Testimonia texts and midrash texts cf E.E. Ellis, "Midrashic Features in the Speeches in Acts" in Mélanges Bédé Rigaux, ed. A. Descamps and R.P.A. de Halleux, Gembloux: 1970.

²⁸In the Synoptics and Acts κατοικέω signifies 'living in (a place)', e.g. Mk 4:13; Lk 13:4; Acts 1:19,29. In the Pauline corpus the word does not signify the material concept of house, home or city but is used to describe the way in which God 'lives' in Christ (Col 1:19, 2:9) and Christ in the believer (Eph 3:17; cf 2:22). This use is certainly much nearer - and so could possibly derive from - the use of the verb in Ps 67:17, although it must be admitted that since the language of the psalm is anthropomorphic the verb may be used in this instance in a way that does not differ radically from that of the Synoptics and Acts. For our discussion of the use of κατοικέω in Eph 3:16 see below pp. 209f.

29 J.C. Kirby, Ephesians: Baptism and Pentecost, Montreal: 1972; p.146, notes the same affinity between Eph 2:22 and Ps 67:17. He further notes a possible similarity between τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας (Eph 2:2) and the continuation of the verse of the psalm which is actually cited in the epistle: γὰρ ἀπειθοῦντες τοῦ κατασκηνώσαι.

30 The same idea is also expressed in 1 QS 8: "It shall be that tried wall, that precious corner stone, whose foundations shall neither rock nor sway in their place. It shall be a Most Holy Dwelling for Aaron ... (Translation taken from Vermes, Scrolls, p.85).

31 This is particularly so with respect to Eph 6:10 and the psalm texts. Eph 3:16 is set in the context of the prayer that the inner life might be strengthened; 6:10 and the psalm texts are set in the context not of prayer but of the response of man set in the midst of his enemies, both physical and spiritual.

32 The description of God's people as God's inheritance is in fact much more explicit in 1:11 : ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐκληρώθημεν.

33 But cf Deut 9:29 : καὶ οὗτοι λαός σου καὶ κληρὸς σου.

34 Eph 5:19 is reproduced in (or from) Col 3:16f. Cf C.L. Mitton, op. cit., p.253.

35 This formula is surely traditional, being part of the larger formula εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ - as found in 1 Peter 1:3; 2 Cor 1:3.

36 We reject the similarity supposed by Lock to exist between Eph 1:18 and Ps 67:10.

37 If the Targum does present us with the source of the version of the psalm as cited in the epistle then it is at least possible that we should understand the ascension in terms of the ascent of Christ the 'new' Moses, the argument being that the use of the Targumic version of the psalm implies that the Targumic application of the psalm to Moses ought to be accepted and understood as being in the mind of the author of the epistle. If Ps 67:19 does provide the source of both Acts 2:33 and 5:31 then a second theory, based on the association of the psalm-verse with the Pentecost tradition, can be

adduced, namely that in Eph 4:8 the ascension is the immediate and necessary precursor to the giving of the Spirit. A third theory for the interpretation of the ascension can be derived from the arguments of Lock that we have already cited. This interpretation is based on the understanding that the author of the epistle had the entire psalm in mind when writing the epistle and would thus see the ascension in terms of the victorious kingship of Christ. The fourth and last theory depends upon the existence of a pre-Christian 'gnostic' redeemer myth which, so it can be argued, must underlie the author's use of the psalm text and his interpretative comment in vv. 9f.

³⁸W.O.E. Oesterley, The Psalms, London: 1939; p.320. The same author further notes that "it is obviously impossible to date a compilation like this. Parts may be very ancient; the 'Song of Deborah' is one of the sources. On the other hand, there are indications (mainly philological) of a very late period, and the psalm, in its present form, must be assigned to the latest age permitted by the general history of the Psalter". (p.321). For a very brief summary of the various attempts to date the psalm, cf P. Drijvers, The Psalms: Their Structure and Meaning, London: 1965; pp. 224f. A comprehensive survey of the problems associated with this psalm is provided by W.F. Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm LXVIII)", HUCA 23 (1950-51), pp. 1-39. A shorter survey is that of S. Iwry, "Notes on Psalm 68", JBL 71 (1952), pp. 161-5.

³⁹A similar solution is offered by G.W. Anderson, "Psalms", in Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. M. Black and H.H. Rowley, London: 1962; p.426, when he writes: "many features point to the autumn festival and the celebration of Yahweh's kingship as the appropriate setting". Similarly A.R. Johnson, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel, Cardiff: 1967; pp. 63-76, 121f, who argues that Ps 68 (along with Pss 24, 47, 110) had their Sitz im Leben in the Enthronement Festival.

⁴⁰The 'victory' motif is particularly explicit in vv. 1-3, 6-8, 11-13, 17-21, 28-31, 32-35. The 'sharing' motif is particularly evident in vv. 6, 9f, 28-31. On the grounds that the later motif is found in fewer verses and is less explicit (cf vv. 28-31) we judge this motif to be secondary and consequently the 'victory' motif to be primary.

⁴¹This probably refers to Mount Sinai rather than Mount Zion. The mention in v.17 of Sinai and the mention of וְיִצְחָק, a probable reference to Pharaoh and the Egyptians who attempted to stop Moses and the Israelites leaving Egypt (Exod 13:15), suggests that the events described here are intended to be interpreted as pre-Exodus. On this cf M. Dahood, Psalms, II, New York: 1965; pp. 137, 143.

⁴²Cf Ps 47:6-8.

⁴³Str-B III, p.596, summarises the evidence of rabbinic literature on Ps 68:19 (= MT) as follows: "Die altrabbinische Literatur hat Ps 68:19 durchgängig auf Moses gedeutet, wie er zu Höhe emporstieg, um die Tora in Empfang zu nehmen. Unter den betreffenden Stellen findet sich eine, die die Worte: 'du hast Gaben empfangen' genau so wie der Apostel deutet = 'du hast Gaben gegeben', zwei andre Stellen erklären die Worte: 'du hast Gaben unter den Menschen empfangen', nämlich um sie den Menschen zu geben, sie kommen also dem Sinne nach ebenfalls auf die Umdeutung beim Apostel hinaus".

⁴⁴Translations taken from the Soncino edition of Midrash Rabba, III, London: 1938; pp. 331f. The phrases underlined (= Scripture citations) correspond to those italicised in the Soncino edition.

⁴⁵The Jews understood that the Torah was given to them for the sake of Abraham. Ex Rabba 28:1 adds "It is only for the sake of Abraham that the Torah is given to you, as it says, 'Thou hast received gifts among men' (be-adam). The word 'adam' in this verse refers to Abraham". On this cf Ex Rabba 28:1 n.5, where the editor offers the explanation "This verse being rendered: thou hast received gifts for the sake of adam-Abraham".

⁴⁶Cited by S.L. Edgar, "New Testament and Rabbinic Messianic Interpretations", NTS 5 (1958-59), p.50 n.1.

⁴⁷J. Bonsirven, op. cit., pp. 307f.

⁴⁸Cf n.37 above.

⁴⁹For an examination of the theory of Christ as the New Moses, cf T.F. Glasson, Moses in the Fourth Gospel, London: 1963.

⁵⁰"The Descent of Christ in Ephesians 4:7-11", TU 87 (1964), pp. 535-45. Caird acknowledges his debt to T.K. Abbott, op. cit., pp. 114f.

⁵¹Op. cit., p.537.

⁵²On the Gnostic Redeemer Myth see below pp.140-155.

⁵³Found in B and the majority of Latin MSS, including the Vulgate; it was inserted into χ' by a corrector. It is absent from p⁴⁶, A,C, (although supplied by a later corrector), D,G and from quotations in Irenaeus, Tertullian and Origen.

⁵⁴Caird neither proves nor even argues that $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu$ is an erroneous gloss; he simply seems to accept it as such. Cf op. cit., p.538.

⁵⁵Op. cit., p.539.

⁵⁶Op. cit., p.541.

⁵⁷Op. cit., pp. 55f. For our treatment of Lindars' argument, see above pp. 96-99.

⁵⁸"R. Jonathan said 'What is meant by this verse (Ps 68:11) 'The Lord gives the word; they that publish the glad tidings are a great host?' Every single word that went forth from the Omnipotent was split up into seventy tongues' " " (b. Shab 88b). Caird comments: "It is not to be understood that behind these two writings [Acts and Ephesians] there is a common, reliable tradition of chronology. The first two chapters of Acts are no less a development of Rabbinic teaching than Ephesians 4:7-11", op. cit., p.543.

⁵⁹Caird is followed by R.P. Martin, "Ephesians", in The New Bible Commentary Revised, London: 1970; pp. 1115f and J.L. Houlden, Paul's Letters from Prison, Harmondsworth: 1970; pp. 309-12.

⁶⁰See below pp. 134-40, 155-62.

⁶¹There is also another possibility, namely that of L. Cerfaux, Christ in the Theology of St. Paul, London: 1959; p.408. He writes: "A text from Ps 67:19 also gives rise to a christological development. ... The words of the Psalm are taken up in a great christological context. Paul sees in them, it seems, a parallel to the song of the servant and also an outline for the life of Christ". We do not believe that this theory merits a detailed consideration for the following reasons: (i) The citation of the psalm text is not set in the context of suffering, as one would expect if the psalm was to be interpreted in this fashion; cf 1 Peter 2:21-25. (ii) The content of Ps 67 in no way parallels or approaches the content of any of the four 'Servant Songs' of Deutero-Isaiah. (iii) Cerfaux's theory is given without sufficient evidence to allow us to make a detailed examination of his theory; no indication is given to which of the 'Servant Songs' the psalm citation is supposed to be parallel.

⁶²The thesis that Ephesians is related to the christian observance of Pentecost is put forward and supported in some detail by J.C. Kirby, op. cit.

⁶³Heb 3:7-11 = Ps 94:7-11; Heb 10:5-7 = Ps 39:7-9
James 4:6 = Prov 3:34; Eph 4:8 = Ps 67:19.

⁶⁴Eph 5:14 is presumably a citation from an early Christian hymn. On this text and this probability of the commentaries already cited and especially C.F.D. Moule, The Birth of the New Testament, London: 1962; pp.24f; A. Wlosok, Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis, Heidelberg : 1960; pp.159-64. An interesting suggestion is made by McNamara, op.cit., p.81 n.28 when he writes that "it is quite possible that 4:8 is also a portion of an early hymn, rather than a direct citation from, or a reference to, Ps 68:19. Both 4:8 and 5:14 may have formed part of the same hymn". For our treatment of 5:14, including an examination and rejection of McNamara's suggestion see below pp. 114f.

⁶⁵In Heb 3:7 and 10:5 subjects are supplied. No subject is supplied in James 4:6, but the ἡ γραφή (λέγει) of the preceding verse obviously intends that ἡ γραφή is to be understood in 4:6. λέγει without a subject is also found in Introductory Formulae at Rom 9:5, 10:21, 15:10; Gal 3:16.

⁶⁶Cf 1:20,22, 2:17, 4:8,25, 5:3, 6:2f,14f,17.

⁶⁷As, for example, in 1 Cor 6:16 (=Gen 2:24) Ἔσονται γάρ, φησὶν, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

⁶⁸Eg. Rom 9:15,17, 10:19f. In addition λέγει is surely intended as parallel to γέγραπται in Rom 15:9f; cf also Rom 11:2 ἐν ἁλίᾳ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή.

⁶⁹So Thackeray, op.cit., p.248.

⁷⁰Cf A. Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, II, London: 1889; pp.710ff; B.M. Metzger, "The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the New Testament and the Mishnah", JBL 70 (1951), pp.297-307.

⁷¹The same however cannot be said for the citation in 5:14 introduced by the same formula: "On a cherché en vain d'ou elle pouvait provenir. Nous pouvons supposer, comme le faisait déjà Theoderet, que nous avons affaire a un petit fragment de quelque cantique chrétien. La formule d'introduction aura, paraît convenir à un texte connu dans l'Eglise"; so S.C. Masson, L'Épître De Saint Paul Aux Ephésiens, Paris: 1953: pp.208f.

⁷²The obvious exception being 6:2 where the author uses the 5th Commandment as the basis for a catechetical homily.

⁷³Ἐγείρε, ὁ καθυδων (5:14) is to be interpreted as 'Awake o sleeper from the sleep of death'. On this cf B. Noack, "Das Zitat in Ephes 5:14", StudTheol 5 (1952), pp.63f. Kuhn, op.cit., pp.120f is probably correct in asserting that Eph 5:14 is part of a baptismal hymn. It has been argued that 5:14 is a Christian baptismal hymn based upon an Eleusinian Song, as, for example, by J. Leipoldt, "Darstellungen von Mysterientaufen", Angelos 1 (1925), pp.46f, but that this is not so cf G. Wagner, Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries, Edinburgh: 1967; pp.74f.

⁷⁴Ellis, Use of the OT, pp.34-7, cites such texts as 1 Cor 2:9, 15:45b; Eph 4:8, 5:14; 1 Tim 5:18b as possible evidence that sayings of Jesus or of Christian prophets were cited with Introductory Formulae because these traditions were regarded as having the same ultimate authority as scripture; cf 2 Peter 3:16 which seems to equate Pauline writings with scripture. We have already argued that the citation in Eph 4:8 was seen by the author of the epistle as a legitimate use of scripture and, without wishing to either agree or

disagree with Ellis' treatment of other texts cited, we would see this argument as being in a large measure complementary to our own.

⁷⁵Cf n.64 above.

⁷⁶So F.F. Bruce, The Epistle to the Ephesians, London: 1961; p.108.

⁷⁷Cf the similarities in language between Lk 22-24 and Eph 5:14.

⁷⁸Cf Is 26:19, 51:17, 52:1, 60:1; Mal 4:2.

⁷⁹This is a greater frequency of occurrence than in any other 'Pauline' epistle. The verb occurs more often only in 1 and 2 Corinthians (15 and 13 times respectively). The other occurrences are Romans 9 times; Galatians 6; 1 Thessalonians 2; 2 Thessalonians 4; 1 Timothy 3; 2 Timothy 6; Titus 1. The verb does not occur at all in either Colossians or Philippians. In Ephesians the verb occurs at 1:17,22, 3:2,7,8,16, 4:7,8,11,27,29, 6:19.

⁸⁰3:2,7,8, 4:7,29.

⁸¹2:8.

⁸²3:7, 4:7.

⁸³4:8. δόματα is also intended to be understood in 4:11; here the author in using ἔδωκεν in preference to any other verb is intending quite clearly a reference back to ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις of 4:8. That this is so is also shown by 1 Cor 12:28 where the same idea, the giving of gifts to the Church, is expressed by ἔθετο. Both verses either cite a common tradition or, possibly, give evidence for the dependence of Ephesians on 1 Corinthians at this point. In either case we can state with a fair degree of certainty that in 4:11 ἔδωκεν is used in preference to ἔθετο because of the influence of the same word in both 4:8 and 1:22.

⁸⁴Mt 2:11, 5:23,24 (twice), 8:4, 15:5, 23:18,19.

⁸⁵Heb 5:1, 8:4, 9:9, 11:4.

⁸⁶Here ἄρρον is almost certainly editorial; cf Schweizer, Mark, loc.cit.

⁸⁷Rev 11:10. It also has this meaning in Mt 2:11 though it is likely that the author meant much more than merely gift, inasmuch as the gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh were offered in the context of the wise men worshipping Jesus.

⁸⁸Lk 21:1,4.

⁸⁹Mt 5:23f, 8:4, 15:5, 23:8f; Mk 7:11(=Mt 15:5); Heb 5:1, 8:4, 9:9, 11:10.

⁹⁰Abbott, op.cit., p.51.

⁹¹Cf Cher 8:4; Leg Alleg III,196.

⁹²Acts 2:38, 8:20, 10:45, 11:17.

⁹³Rom 5:15,17; 2 Cor 9:15; Eph 3:7, 4:7.

⁹⁴J.D.G.Dunn, "A Note on δωρεά", ET 81(1969-70), pp.349-51, argues that ἡ δωρεά τοῦ θεοῦ was well-known in the early Church as a standard expression for the gift of the Holy Spirit which constituted a man a Christian. He shows that this is how the word is used in both Acts and John but he can then only conclude that Paul and the author of Hebrews demonstrate their "familiarity with this technical sense" (p.351). While agreeing in respect of Acts and Hebrews we shall show that the evidence in the Pauline epistles is not as strong as Dunn assumes and, furthermore, that in Ephesians a completely different significance is attached to the word.

⁹⁵F. Büchsel, " δίδωμι κ.τ.λ. ", TDNT 2, p.166.

⁹⁶In Gal 2:9, which is indisputably Pauline, the author defines or describes his apostleship as τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν. The use of both δίδωμι and δωρεά in Eph 3:7 may indicate a different author. It could of course be nothing more than an emphatic statement made by the same author.

⁹⁷Cf Rom 1:11, 5:15f, 6:23, 11:29, 12:6; 1 Cor 1:7, 7:7, 12:4,9,28,31; 2 Cor 1:11; 1 Tim 4:14; 2 Tim 1:6.

⁹⁸Mt 7:11 and par. Lk 11:13; Phil 4:17.

⁹⁹The third difference, that of order, composition and priority of the actual 'gifts' is not our concern at this point. For a discussion on this cf Houlden, op.cit., pp.312f.

¹⁰⁰Cf Rom 3:24 where the salvation which has been made possible by God's action in Christ is quite explicitly interpreted by Paul with the word $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$. Cf D. Doughty, "The Priority of $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$ ", NTS 19(1972-73), pp.163-80, especially p.171 where the author comments: "It is through the word $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$ that Paul expresses his own understanding of God's salvation in Jesus Christ".

¹⁰¹So Bruce, op.cit., p.82; E.K. Simpson, "Ephesians", in A Commentary on the Epistles to Ephesians and Colossians, Michigan: 1957; p.92; B.F. Westcott, Epistle to the Ephesians, London: 1906; p.60; Houlden, op.cit., p.309

¹⁰²As in Lk 12:11; Rom 13:1; Titus 3:1.

¹⁰³Cf Rom 8:38; 1 Cor 15:24; Eph 1:21, 3:10, 6:12.

¹⁰⁴Col 2:10 is somewhat ambiguous, but in light of 1:16 and 2:15 it is probably to be interpreted in a cosmic sense. O. Cullmann, Christ and Time, London: 1950; pp.191ff argues that cosmic or supernatural powers must be recognised alongside human powers, the idea being that these cosmic powers act by way of human powers who are themselves merely agencies for the greater cosmic powers.

¹⁰⁵Test Levi 3:8; Test Sol 20:15.

¹⁰⁶So W. Foerster, " $\xi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ ", TDNT 2, p.568.

¹⁰⁷Pp.806ff.

¹⁰⁸Here following L. Williamson jnr, "Led in Triumph: Paul's Use of $\theta\rho\iota\alpha\mu\beta\epsilon\upsilon\omicron$ ", Int 22(1968), pp.317-22, especially pp.318f. The possible exceptions noted by the author are a fragment from Posidonius which refers primarily to a celebration banquet, and two references in Plutarch where the idea of celebration fits with the context equally well as the idea of winning a victory.

¹⁰⁹Arndt-Gingrich, pp.364ff offers no evidence which does other than support the general conclusions of Liddel and Scott. The new references they cite serve only to reinforce these conclusions. It is interesting to note, though, that they interpret Col 2:15 in the sense of

'to lead someone captive in a triumphal procession', but this, they argue, gives rise to the modified meaning 'generally triumph over'. We accept that this is possible but at the same time insist that this modified meaning must, on all considerations of lexical evidence, be very secondary to the original meanings. We note Williamson's comment (p.320) at this point "... if Paul used thriambeuo in the general sense of 'triumph over' (i.e. 'win a victory over') it represents, so far as all the lexical evidence reveals, a personal idiosyncrasy". Williamson, however, goes on to consider this possibility only ultimately to reject it, quoting with approval G. Delling, "θριαμβεω", TDNT 3, p.159, who points out that " in the NT it is used with the acc. in sense b ('to lead in a triumphal procession')... He [Jesus] leads the ἀρχαί as a Roman emperor leads his prisoners, Col 2:15".

110 J.B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, London: 1876, loc.cit., accepts that the verb is in the middle voice and argues that it therefore cannot mean 'disarm'; this meaning being contrary to the use of the middle voice of the same verb elsewhere, e.g. Col 2:11. More recent authorities can find no exact parallel with respect to voice and meaning of this verb, cf B-D par.316,1.

111 The former is favoured by J.A.T. Robinson, The Body, London: 1952; p.41: "It is through the σάρξ that death and its forces have control over human nature. The dying Jesus, like a king, divests Himself of that flesh, the tool and medium of their power, and thereby exposes them to ridicule for their Pyrrhic Victory". Lightfoot, Colossians, p.256, accepts the latter when he writes: "The powers of evil, which had clung like a Nessus robe around his humanity, were torn off and cast aside for ever".

112 Whether this is the case or if in fact ἐν αὐτῷ should be translated 'in it', i.e. 'in the cross', is really of little consequence. Whichever is correct grammatically, we are surely right in assuming that in either instance the author would intend the same thing theologically: ἐν αὐτῷ signifies the whole death-resurrection-exaltation motif.

113 This statement is not intended to make any judgement on the authorship of Ephesians. The line followed in this essay is that Pauline authorship of the epistle cannot be considered as an established certainty. If in fact we could assume Pauline authorship then any similarity between Romans and Ephesians would provide a much stronger base for theological conclusions.

For our purposes we believe it wiser to accept the view that the epistle can be correctly described as 'Pauline' without necessarily inferring that it was in fact written by Paul himself.

114 The Introductory Formulae in Rom 10:6-8 is rather complex and is in two parts. The first part in v.6 is in the form of a statement: ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη οὕτως λέγει ; the second part is rhetorical: ἀλλὰ τί λέγει. Both parts are dependent on Rom 10:5: Μωσῆς γὰρ γράφει for their meaning, although in Rom 10:6-8 it is a personified justification-through-faith that is speaking and not Moses. Rom 10:5 acts as the guarantee that vv.6-8 are also to be considered as scriptural and thereby authoritative.

115 Paul has only taken certain parts of the OT text; He omits anything that refers to the works of the Law, such phrases as 'to hear it and to do it' and the LXX addition to the MT 'and in your hands'. These omissions are to be expected since the words of Deuteronomy are placed on the lips of a personified justification-through-faith which he is contrasting with the justification that is based on the Law, i.e. justification through works.

116 Cf Bonsirven, op.cit., pp.42f, 307. The Jewish parallels to Rom 10:6-8 are listed in Str-B III, pp.278-81.

117 McNamara, op.cit., p.72.

118 Similar examples are frequently found in the prophets; eg. 1 Qp Hab 1:1-5, 3:1-6; in the sections from the commentaries on Hosea and Nahum as cited by Vermes, Scrolls, pp.226ff.

119 English translations as in Vermes, ibid. p.236.

120 _{PT}= די ימות לעמקוי דימה רבה חסק יתה לן

McNamara, op.cit., p.75 n.17 notes that "'The Great Sea' in the Bible ordinarily meant the Mediterranean (Num 30:5f; Jos 1:4 etc) into which Jonah was thrown (Jon 1:5). 'The Depths of the Great Sea' of PT to Deut 30:13 is to be understood in the sense of 'abyss' nonetheless". The same author suggests that the paraphrase of the MT in the PT may be due to Jon 2:3 where the prophet says that 'the abyss' was round about him. A totally different view is taken by J.G. Davies, He Ascended into Heaven, London:1958; he seems quite unaware of the similarities

between the PT and Rom 10:6-8. He comments (p.28): "By substituting ἄβυσσος with its direct reference to Sheol, for the LXX θάλασσα, St. Paul focuses attention upon the two reciprocal features of Christ's redemptive work - viz. the descensus ad infernos and the Ascension". The same author argues that the same themes are brought together in Phil 2:6-11, but here, although showing that ὑπερυψώω may well refer to the ascension, he fails to show any reference to the descensus ad infernos in his treatment of this text.

121 Cited by McNamara, op.cit., pp.74f.

122 A. Diez-Macho, "The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum: its Antiquity...", Supplements to VT 7, 1960, argues that the PT is of pre-Christian origin. In a more recent study, "Some Early Rabbinic Citations and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch", RevStud Orient 41 (1966), pp.1-15, McNamara surveys the same evidence as Diez-Macho but refuses to be quite as positive in his conclusions, although he too favours an early date for the compilation of the PT.

123 A different understanding of Rom 10:6-8 is offered by H. Windisch, Die Weisheit und die Paulinische Christologie, Stuttgart:nd.; pp.223f. He claims, on the basis of Baruch 3:29ff, that in this passage in the epistle Paul has in mind the figure of Wisdom. But against this we should note that the words of Baruch refer to the fact that Wisdom cannot be discovered and is inaccessible. The exact opposite is the case in the epistle, where the citation describes the essential accessibility of Christ. A further criticism of Windisch's theory is that in 1 Cor 1:24,30, where Christ is identified as the Wisdom of God, true wisdom is described in terms of righteousness, sanctification and redemption. Again the accessibility of these things and hence of Wisdom is emphasised.

124 Cf Longenecker, op.cit., pp.58-62; where it is argued that the κατάβασις - ἀνάβασις theme was a distinctive feature of early Palestinian Jewish Christianity.

125 For an examination and acceptance of the theory that that the exegesis used by Paul in Rom 10:6-8 is typical of Jewish exegesis of the OT, cf S. Lyonnet, "Saint Paul et L'Exégèse Juive de son Temps", in Mélanges Bibliques (rédigés en honneur de A. Robert), Paris: 1957; pp.494-506; and A. Feuillet, Le Christ, Paris: 1966; pp.321-26.

126 H. Schlier, Christus und Kirche im Epheserbrief, Tübingen: 1930; p.3; argues that καταβαλεν and ἀναβαλεν are technical terms for the coming down of the Redeemer to earth and his going up from earth to heaven. A similar view is expressed by H. Traub, "ὄβρανός", TDNT 5, p.525. He says of Eph 4:8-10 that "the whole picture gives evidence of Gnostic influence". Cf on this P. Pokorný, Die Epheserbrief und die Gnosis, Berlin: 1965.

127 Cf Gen 41:2; Jos 2:8; 2 Kings 1:4; 2 Chron 10:8; Neh 12:37.

128 J.G. Davies, op.cit., p.185, has drawn attention to the parallelism between the events described in Lk 24: 50-53 and Tobit 12:20-22.

129 A similar idea is expressed in Wis 9:16-18, although here without the ascent - descent motif.

130 We accept here the theory of Audience Criticism as argued by Schweizer, "Speeches", p.214. The speeches are Lucan compositions that reflect his understanding not of the difference in the preaching content of Peter and Paul, but of the different theologies likely to be understood by Jewish and Gentile audiences. In general the speeches to a Jewish audience reflect a 'christology' and those to a Gentile audience a 'theology'.

131 Acts 14:11 may indicate though that the author was aware of the doctrine of a descending God; cf F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, London: 1951; pp.281f.

132 3:13, 6:62.

133 We have already argued in chpt.1 that Ephesians knows nothing of the ascension of the Son of Man. This ascension tradition is not in any way present in Eph 4:8-10 and therefore at this juncture we believe that the difficult problem that does arise in John can be safely ignored.

134 According to M. McNamara, "The Ascension and the Exaltation of Christ in the Fourth Gospel", Scripture 19 (1967), pp.65-73, especially pp.72f, behind ἀναβαλεν of Jn 3:13, 6:62 and 20:17 stands the Aramaic ܩܕܝܫܐ; this is also the basic root form of ܩܕܝܫܐ which stands behind ἁγιασθη of Jn 12:32-34. This means that, at least for John, there is no basic difference between the death-resurrection sequence and the resurrection.

The significance of this is intensified by the fact that $\rho\beta\upsilon$ is the term used in the oriental Aramaic of the Peshitta to render the $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ of Jn 3:13, 6:62 20:17; Rom 10:6; Eph 4:8. In Christian Palestinian Aramaic it is the word used in Rom 10:6. In Jewish Aramaic it is the term used to describe the ascent of Moses to heaven in the PT to Ps 68:18 and the PT to Deut 30:12-14. For a definition and discussion of the ascension in John's Gospel see below pp. 333f.

135 3:13, 6:62 and by implication 20:17. In 3:13 the use of the perfect tense ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$) draws attention to the fact that the evangelist is speaking post eventum and also to the fact that the ascension was an event that was unique to Jesus: Jesus has ascended to heaven and is still there. Cf R.E. Brown, The Gospel according to John, I, New York: 1970; pp.144-49; E.M. Sidebottom, "The Ascent and Descent of the Son of Man in the Gospel of St. John", ATR 3 (1957), pp.115-22.

136 Rom 10:6-8 obviously indicates knowledge by the author of a $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ - $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ scheme, but it is significant that Paul does not emphasise it but instead places stress on the 'word of faith' which was directly accessible to the believer.

137 $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\alpha\iota$ is the most frequent Introductory Formula in the Pauline corpus, occurring over 20 times, and on every occasion there is obvious reference to a recognisable OT text.

138 For the possible source of the citation cf Ellis, Use of the OT, p.35.

139 On the three occasions when Paul talks of 'going' in the sense of going on a journey he uses $\kappa\omicron\pi\epsilon\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$; cf Rom 15:25; 1 Cor 10:27, 16:4.

140 Eph 1:20-22; Col 3:1; 1 Thess 1:10; 2 Thess 1:7. These texts more correctly describe Christ's present position, i.e. 'glorified'. It is in this wider, theological sense that they can be described as ascension texts.

141 Eg. Gen 26:2, 44:26, 46:3; 1 Sam 10:9, 23:4; Is 30:2; Amos 6:2.

142 Eg. Gen 18:21; Exod 19:21; Judges 7:10; 1 Sam 14:36; 2 Kings 1:15.

¹⁴³Cf C. Colpe, "The NT and Gnostic Christology", SHR 14 (1968), especially p.237: "... when the Fourth Gospel says that the logos became flesh, this means exactly the same as the statement that this Anthropos descended, or was sent".

¹⁴⁴A.C. King, Prolegomena to the Epistle to the Ephesians, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1950; pp.167f, suggests that the katabasis theme is also present in Acts 2:14-36; Phil 2:10; Rev 1:18, 5:13. But in two of these texts, Phil 2:10 and Rev 5:13, the reference is only to a 'three-storied' universe. Rev 1:18 is a picturesque way of saying that Christ rose from the dead, although we agree that the context presupposes a 'potential' descent. The same can be said of Acts 2:14-36.

The only other text where the katabasis theme may be present is 1 Peter 3:18-22. In this text it is notable that the terminus technicus καταβαίνειν is not used. Whatever the author intended by ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν κορευθεῖς ἐκήρυξεν it appears that he did not associate this descent with that descent which was accepted as part of the καταβαίνειν - αναβαίνειν scheme. As we have already noted in chpt.1 the author of 1 Peter describes the ascension (3:22) in the same terms as those employed in Eph 1:20-23. A completely different view is put forward by J.G. Davies, op.cit., p.34; he argues that "here again [Eph 4:8-10] the Pauline reciprocals descensus and the Ascension, are brought together as they are also in 1 Peter 3:18-22". Our argument is that in 1 Peter 3:18-22 the descensus and the ascension are not reciprocals.

¹⁴⁵See below pp. 335-38.

¹⁴⁶καταβαίνειν also occurs in an Apocalyptic setting with reference to the parousia in Rev 10:1, 13:13, 18:1, 20:1,9, 21:2,10.

¹⁴⁷This even applies to 1 Thess 4:16. This text is made up mostly of OT allusions and images derived from descriptions of the descent to earth by Yahweh in judgement; cf, for example, Micah 1:3; Joel 2:1; Exod 19:16ff; Zech 14:5; cf also such phrases as "The dead will rise again", Dan 12:2; Is 26:19; and "The living will be gathered up", Is 27:13f.

¹⁴⁸Cf A.K. Hembold, "Gnostic Elements in the Ascension of Isaiah", NTS 18 (1972), pp.222-27, especially p.226. For our own examination of the actual 'ascension' references in this document see below pp. 346-48.

149 A similar descent is described in Epistula Apostolorum 13; and, with less detail, in the Naassene Hymn as preserved by Hippolytus, Elench V,10; cf J. Daniélou, The Theology of Jewish Christianity, London: 1964; pp.206-14.

150 The dating of the Ascension is no easy matter. R.H. Charles, The Ascension of Isaiah, London: 1900; pp.xlivf dates the sections dealing with the Martyrdom (I:1,2a,6b-13a; II:1-III:12) as first century; the Testament of Hezekiah (III:13b-IV:18) between 88-100AD and the Vision of Isaiah (VI-IX:40) as second or even third century; cf E. Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, II, London: 1965; pp.642ff, M. Rist, "The Ascension of Isaiah" IDB II, pp.744-46. Hembold, op.cit., p.222, suggests that the prevalence of the motifs in the Ascension which are also found in the documents of the Nag Hammadi library would seem to verify a second century date for the 'Vision' at least. This of course does not preclude the possibility that the Ascension may contain Gnostic traditions of a much earlier date which themselves may have influenced Eph 4:8-10.

151 Cf CH 10:25, 11:21.

152 Since Ephesians seems to be acquainted with the majority of Pauline epistles no early dating is probable. If the epistle is not by Paul himself then its likely date is 80-100AD, or, if by Paul, then 63-64AD; cf W. G. Kümmel Introduction to the New Testament, New York: 1965; p.258.

153 The definitions of Gnosticism are legion, varying from those which insist that 'Gnosticism' is a name that can only be given to a fully developed religious system, to those who understand the term to describe a movement of thought which need not necessarily be systematized. For enumeration and discussion of the varying definitions cf E. Yamauchi, Pre-Christian Gnosticism?, London: 1973; pp.13-21. We accept that a distinction must be made between 'Gnosticism' and 'Gnosis'; by the former we refer to a system of thought centering in a belief in a Redeemed Redeemer and by the latter we refer to a more broadly based movement (as opposed to a distinct system) of thought.

154 In their respective works as follows: A History of Dogma, London: 1897; Church and Gnosis, Cambridge: 1932; The Teaching of Jesus, Cambridge: 1931; "Gnosticism", HTR 57 (1964); the following statement by Nock (p.276)

may be taken as representative of the views expressed by these scholars: "The relation of these [the Nag Hammadi] texts and other texts to the New Testament seems to me to indicate completely the traditional view of Gnosticism as Christian heresy with roots in speculative thought".

155 Kyrios Christos, New York: 1971 (= 1922); p.245.

156 Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, Göttingen: 1907; esp. pp. 263f.

157 Ibid, pp. 114-9.

158 Kyrios, pp. 16f, where of the Hermetic literature Bousset writes: "... with the foundations of the Hermetic literature we find ourselves in the early age of Gnosticism".

159 Published at Darmstadt: 1966 (= 1904). The other major works of this author are listed by Yamauchi, op. cit., p.22.

160 According to Reitzenstein the Naassene Gnostics, probably following a pagan source, had identified Attis with the Heavenly Man who descends to chaos, creates the world and gives life to the as yet lifeless ancestor of mankind. A similar idea is found in the 5th Oration of Julian ('On the Mother of the Gods') 169b: "... the ordinance bids us who are by nature heavenly, but have been carried down to earth, to reap from our earthly citizenship virtue and piety, and so to hasten to the generation of life-giving goodness", and "... what can be more joyful than a soul which has escaped from the tempest of impiety and becoming and has been imported upwards to the very gods?" (Translations from Loeb Classical Library).

161 For an account of the ideas of Zosimus cf A. Berthelot, Les Alchimistes grecs, Paris: 1875.

162 Cf CH 1:24-26.

¹⁶³But cf J.M. Creed, "The Heavenly Man", JTS 26 (1925), p.113: "... there is nothing in the allusions of the existing Avesta which implies a myth of a primal heavenly Man".

¹⁶⁴Op. cit., p.248.

¹⁶⁵Kyrios Christos , op. cit. p.191, n.100.

¹⁶⁶Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule, Göttingen: 1961, pp. 161ff; cf also his "Gnostic Christology", p.240.

¹⁶⁷Reitzenstein had foreseen this possible criticism of his argument and had attempted to explain this lack on the grounds that the Egyptian author preferred to 'destroy the myth' and, so he further argued, since Christian Gnosticism connected Jesus with this Primal Man figure, the latter of necessity must have been a redeemer.

¹⁶⁸Cf W. Scott and A.S. Ferguson, Hermetica I-IV, Oxford: 1924-36; A.D. Nock and A.J. Festugière, Hermes Trismégiste I-IV, Paris: 1945-54; J. Munck, "The New Testament and Gnosticism", in Current Issues in Interpretation, (ed. W. Klassen and G.F. Snyder), New York: 1962; p.226. C.H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, London: 1935; does allow for an earlier date however; he writes (p.209) "... there is no evidence which would conflict with a date early in the second century or even late in the first century for the composition of Poimandres".

¹⁶⁹W. Meeks, The Prophet King, Leiden: 1968; p.8.

¹⁷⁰Cf R. Bultmann, Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting, London: 1956; p.162: "Further research has, however, made it abundantly clear that it [Gnosticism] was really a religious movement of pre-Christian origin, invading the West from the Orient as a competitor to Christianity".

¹⁷¹A severe criticism of Bultmann's methodology is provided by F.V. Filson, A New Testament History, London: 1965; pp. 351f. He concludes that Bultmann's theory is really "an inference based largely on later evidence, some of it as late as the ninth century. It is argued that a series of writings from the second to the ninth century reflect Gnostic features whose origin must have been at least as early as the first half of the first century A.D.".

172 "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums", ZNW 24 (1925), pp. 100-46.

173 Cf, for example, W. Schmithals in R. Bultmann, The Gospel of John, Oxford: 1971; p.8: "The source of the discourses, which John takes over or to which he adheres, is Gnostic in outlook. It has the closest parallels in the Mandaeen writings, the oldest strata of whose traditions go back to the time of primitive Christianity and to the region of Syrian Palestine. In these Mandaean revelatory addresses are also to be found parabolic sayings that characterise the Revealer as the good Shepherd, the real Vine, etc."

174 Op. cit. I, p.lvi.

175 Cf, for example, W. Schmithals, Gnosticism in Corinth, New York: 1971; E. Haenchen, "Gnosis", RGG³, II, col. 1654; G. Bornkamm, Paul, London: 1971; esp. pp. 71f.

176 Gnosticism , p.43.

177 Luke and the Gnostics, New York: 1966; and "An Anti-Gnostic Tendency in Lucan Christology", NTS 14 (1967-68), pp. 259-71. Talbert argues that the two focal points in the Lucan narrative are ascension and baptism. In each case Luke is, according to Talbert, attempting to prevent any separation of spirit and flesh or any denial of the saviour's humanity. Talbert reasons that Luke must have been faced with a belief which tried to effect this separation of flesh and spirit. It is then but a short step for the author to identify this belief as Gnosticism, particularly that of Cerinthus.

178 Cf The Office of the Apostle in the Early Church, New York: 1969; p.271, where he writes: "Other than Mark and Matthew no New Testament writer shows so little connection with Gnosticism as does Luke".

179 Paul and the Gnostics, New York: 1971; p.120.

180 Ibid p.19. Schmithals cites Gal 1:12, (a 'genuine Gnostic argument'), 5:2, (the stress on circumcision refers to the symbolic release from the flesh), 5:3, (the reference to the obligation to keep the Mosaic law demonstrates that the opponents were not Judaizers), 4:10, (the reference to days and months is to be understood in light of 'Gnostic-like' Essene practice), 5:13, (the liberalism condemned by Paul was characteristic of the Gnostics). Schmithals' view is criticised by R. McL. Wilson, "Gnostics - in Galatia?", TU 87 (1968), pp. 358-67; Kümmel, op. cit. pp. 194f; H. Koester, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity", in Trajectories Through Early Christianity, ed. J.M. Robinson and H. Koester, Philadelphia: 1971; pp.114-58.

181 Cf J.M. Robinson, "Basic Shifts in German Theology", Int 16 (1962), pp. 76-97.

182 Cf Kümmel, op.cit. p.67 and the literature cited there.

183 E. Käsermann, Essays on New Testament Themes, London: 1964; p.164, somewhat amusingly comments of this situation: "We thus arrive at the peculiar fact that heresy in Colossians is combatted by a confession of faith, the formulation of which has itself been strongly conditioned by heterodox views".

184 " γνῶσις ", TDNT 5, pp. 609-719.

185 "Gnosis", col. 1653.

186 "Knowledge in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25-30", HTR 46, (1953), pp. 113-39.

187 U. Wilckens, " σοφία ", TDNT 7, pp.514-528.

188 Haenchen, "Gnosis", cols. 1653f; R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, pp. 164-83.

- 189 The motif of a redeemer who passes through the various levels of the planetary spheres unrecognised is very common in both Mandaeen and Gnostic literature but, except on the assumption of the priority of these Mandaeen writings, pre-Christian parallels have not yet been found. Bousset, Hauptprobleme, p.242, asserts a pre-Christian source but provides as evidence only post-Christian or Mandaeen sources.
- 190 St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, Cambridge: 1939; p.221.
- 191 E. Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus, loc.cit.; G. Bornkamm, "Zum Verständnis des Christus-Hymnus, Phil 2:6-11", in Studien zu Antike und Urchristentum: Gesammelte Aufsätze II, Munich: 1959; pp. 117-87; E. Käsemann, "Kritische Analyse zur Phil 2:5-11", ZTK 47 (1950), pp. 313-60.
- 192 Cf R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, esp. p.297.
- 193 So R. Bultmann, Theology, I, p.175.
- 194 Gnostic influence is not of course restricted to the Redeemer Myth; it might also be present in the phrase ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα (v.10) and in the τέλειος ἀνὴρ concept (v.13). For our considerations of the possible Gnostic influence associated with these concepts see below chapter 3.
- 195 Theology, I, p.175. The same conclusion is also reached by H. Schlier, Epheser, pp. 192f.
- 196 Christus, pp. 1-8, Epheser, pp. 190-95.
- 197 "Gnosis", col. 1653.
- 198 Der Epheserbrief, Zurich: 1966; pp. 172ff.
- 199 Christus, die Welt und die Kirche, Trier: 1955.
- 200 Die Religionsgeschichtliche-schule, loc. cit.

²⁰¹Cf for example the commentaries cited in n.101 above. The present situation is well summed up by J. Ernst, Pleroma und Pleroma Christi, Regensburg: 1970; p.143, when he says of the Gnostic Redeemer Myth: "kritisch ist zu sagen, dass die einzelnen Elemente im Neuen Testament so vereinzelt und zusammenhanglos auftauchen, dass aus ihnen allein kein geschlossenes Gesamtbild geformt werden kann".

²⁰²Op. cit., p.40. Pokorný believes that it is not possible to prove the existence of a pre-Gnostic Urmensch-Redeemer myth and that, furthermore, the use of Gnostic texts for the exegesis of Ephesians (also Colossians), particularly (but not only) in regard to the Body concept has become problematical. Cf also E. Best, One Body in Christ, London: 1955, p.148. Pokorný is quoted with approval by R. McL. Wilson, Gnosis and the New Testament, Oxford: 1968; p.57.

²⁰³Der Gott 'Mensch' in der Gnosis, Göttingen: 1962; p.48.

²⁰⁴The conclusions of these exegetes, along with similar conclusions reached by G. Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition", EJ 22 (1953), pp. 195-234 and C. Colpe, "Gnostic Christology", pp. 227-243, have forced Schmithals who, as we have seen, was a leading exponent of pre-Christian Gnosticism to radically alter his opinion. He believes that the Gnostic Redeemer is dependent upon Christianity rather than the reverse being the case. He writes (The Office of Apostle, p.134 n.153): "The judgement of Bultmann, The Gospel of John, p.10, 'However, the idea of the incarnation of the redeemer did not penetrate Gnosticism from Christianity, but is originally Gnostic' appears to me accordingly to need correcting. The redeemer myth is undoubtedly Gnostic, but the special form of the myth which speaks of the incarnation of the redeemer in a concrete historical person is not proved in the pre-Christian era, not even in the documentation cited by Bultmann".

205 C.F.D. Moule, "Acts 1:9", p.206, comments: "The chief OT background to the Gift of the Spirit is Ps 68:18 whether in its Rabbinical interpretation as quoted in Eph 4:8, which speaks of giving gifts, or in its Biblical form, alluded to, perhaps, in Acts 2:33, which has receiving instead of giving. In either case, the Psalm was applied by Jewish interpreters to Moses, who ascended the Mount to receive the Torah from God and give it to men ... and Christians saw in Christ the new Moses".

206 See above pp. 91-93, 105-108.

207 The 'New Moses' motif is not present in any developed form in the Pauline Corpus. It is true that Paul insists on the spiritual nature of the New Law but he never compares Jesus to Moses even by implication. Eph 4:8-10 is not discussed from the point of view of Moses typology by either A. Descamps or P. Demann in their contributions to H. Cazelles et al, Moise, l'homme de l'alliance, Tournai: 1955; or by H.M. Teeple, The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet, Philadelphia: 1957.

208 Cf 3:13; 6:33, 41f, 50f, 58.

209 See above pp. 91f, 105-08.

210 A Grammar of the New Testament, Edinburgh: 1882, para 59.8, followed by M. Zerwick, Graecitas biblica, Rome: 19492; para 33.

211 Para 167 (p.92), followed by O. Böhmer, "κατώτερος", TDNT 3, pp. 641f.

212 J.H. Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek, I, Edinburgh: 1908³; p.215. Moulton is equally uncertain about the construction εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περικοιήσεως in 1:14.

213

τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ	(2:14),
τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν	(2:15),
τὸν θάρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης	(6:14),
τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως	(6:16),
τὴν περικελαφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου	(6:17),
τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος	(6:17).

214 Op. cit. p.539.

215 It is doubtful whether there are any 'Pauline' references to the descent to Hades. Apart from Eph 4:9 the only possible occurrences of this theme are Phil 2:10 and Rom 14:9. The first of these texts is pre-Pauline and in any case does not refer to the realm of the dead but is part of the poetical description of the entire universe over which Christ is enthroned. Cf R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, pp. 257-67; F.W. Beare, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians, London: 1959; p.86. Rom 14:9 also refers to the complete Lordship of Christ; cf below pp. 378 f. F.F. Bruce, Ephesians, p.83 and B. Metzger, Textual Commentary, p.605, both claim that κρᾶτον was an insertion which made explicit that which was already implicit.

216 On Ps 68:11 R. Jonathan said: "What is meant by this verse, 'The Lord gives the word; they that publish the glad tidings are a great host?' Every single word that went forth from the Omnipotent was split up into seventy tongues" (b Shab 88b), as cited by Caird, op. cit., pp. 543f.

217 See above pp. 11-15.

218 MT = He makes Lebanon to skip like a calf and Sirion like a young wild ox. LXX = He pulverises Lebanon like a calf and the beloved shall be as the Son of a unicorn. (Kirby's translation, op. cit. p.147).

219 Op. cit. p.147.

220 Ibid.

221 English translation from W. Foerster, Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts, I, Oxford: 1972; pp. 333f; Greek extracts from the text of Nock and Festugière, op. cit. pp. 15f.

222 This account is correlative with the account of the Fall of Man in Poimandres 12-19. The same account of the Fall of the Heavenly Man, which is at the same time an account of the origin of the earthly Man, is based on the account of the Fall in Gen 1:26-30, 2:7 - 5:2. The account of the ascent of Man in

Poimandres, conversely, has no Biblical source. For an account of both the origin and the Fall of Man in Poimandres cf Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, pp. 145-69.

²²³Cf n.166 above.

²²⁴This ascent through various stages of being has parallels in Jewish Apocalypticism, cf Acts of Thomas 80: δόξα καὶ εὐφροσύνη τῆ ἀνοδοῦ σου τῆ ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δι' αὐτῆς γὰρ ὑμεῖν ὑπέδειξας τὴν δόδον τοῦ ἕψους . The difference between this ascent and that of Poimandres is that in the latter the ἀνοδος of the Primal Man is the ascent of everyman; cf Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, p.176.

²²⁵Dodd, ibid.

²²⁶Cf Eph 2:6 where the ascension of the believer is described; this description is parallel to that of the Redeemer in 1:20ff with the essential difference that it is only the Redeemer who is described as being ἐν δεξιῇ [τοῦ θεοῦ] ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

²²⁷Cf C. Colpe, "Die Himmelfahrt der Seele ausserhalb und innerhalb der Gnosis", SHR 12 (1966); Lohfink, op. cit. pp. 32-79.

²²⁸This theory, as we have pointed out, owes its beginning to W. Lock, op. cit. pp. 11f. The theory is supported in some degree by J.C. Kirby, op. cit. p.146, when he writes: "There may be another reference to this Psalm in Chapter 2. Those outside the Church are called the 'sons of disobedience' (v.2) while those within are said to be a 'dwelling place of God in the Spirit' (v.22). The continuation of v.18 of the Psalm in the Septuagint is 'even among the disobedient that the Lord God may dwell among them' ".

²²⁹Cf Ellis, Use of the OT, p.138: "The Psalm may be a survey of the whole history of Israel".

²³⁰Cf Theology, I, p.175.

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the *πλήρωμα* concept in the epistle so that we may determine the relation between it and the ascension motif. As is obvious from 1:23 and to a lesser extent, 4:10¹, the actual term occurs in Ephesians in the context of the author's discussion or use of the ascension motif, though these are not the only occasions on which the concept is found in the Epistle. This fact that the *πλήρωμα* concept does occur in the specific context of 'ascension' will form the basis of our discussion in this part of the essay. The questions that directly lead from it can be expressed as 'Is there any specific reason for and significance of the author's use of *πλήρωμα* in relation to the ascension motif?', and secondly, 'What, if any, is the relationship between *πλήρωμα* as it is used in these specific texts and its use elsewhere in the epistle, or for that matter, elsewhere in the NT?' It is these questions that we set out to answer in the discussion which follows.

We shall proceed on two fronts, concerning ourselves in the first instance with an investigation into the linguistic problems that are associated with

the term, and secondly, with the theological issues that are, as we shall see, very closely connected with the linguistic problems. Any conclusion that we reach must then be such that both the theological and linguistic difficulties are overcome as well as allowing us to satisfactorily relate the κλήρωμα texts to the ascension motif that we have already discussed.

Before proceeding with our investigation we should note that our concern is initially with the substantive κλήρωμα and not with the verb κληροῦν as such. The verb occurs in Eph 1:23, 3:19, 4:10 and 5:18, and the substantive in 1:10, 1:23, 3:19 and 4:13; the fact that on three occasions 1:23, 3:19 and 4:10-16² the substantive is used in conjunction with the verb is both a source of difficulty and important.³ The fact that the verb and not the substantive appears in 5:18 means that this text will not form any further part of our discussion.

2. ΚΛΗΡΩΜΑ - A STUDY IN LANGUAGE

2.1 Κλήρωμα in Secular Literature

Κλήρωμα was a word much used in the ancient world. It signified that which 'fills out' something,

such as the contents of a basket,⁴ cup⁵ or even the human body;⁶ in the transferred sense the term is frequently used to denote the crew, cargo or even fighting complement of a ship.⁷ Perhaps the most common use of the term in secular literature is to express the ideas of 'complete' or 'completeness', 'full-total', 'perfected life' or to describe something as being full of some abstract quality such as goodness or mercy.⁸ It is significant for the discussion of the meaning of the term both in Gnosticism and in the NT that in the secular world the word also in some instances carried with it the idea of an incipient unity, as, for example, when it is used to denote the number of citizens, traders, etc. who make up and are necessary for the successful continuation of a township.⁹ The word is also used occasionally to denote the completion or even completeness of a building.¹⁰ The term can also indicate the complement of an object, though this significance is only found in one author.¹¹ The occurrences of πλήρωμα in secular literature can be adequately summarised as denoting (i) the content of an object, (ii) the fulness, completeness, unity, inclusiveness or perfection of something, (iii) the complement of an object. It should be emphasised though that these meanings or significances are in no way clearly delineated. Any difference in meaning that may have once been intended in the non-technical

use of the term is now no longer clearly discernible.

2.2 Πλήρωμα in the NT Apart from Ephesians and Colossians

The word πλήρωμα occurs 17 times in the NT. As we shall see from the discussion which follows the term carries no specific theological significance in 12 of these occurrences; the remaining uses of the term, all of which are in Colossians and Ephesians, are decidedly theological.

Mk 2:21:¹² οὐδεὶς ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπιράπτει ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ αἴρει τὸ πλήρωμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ καινὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ, καὶ χειρὸν σχίσμα γίνεται.

Here the general sense is obvious; the new and the old are irreconcilable - the new cannot be used to repair old forms. The more specific sense of πλήρωμα is less obvious but in all probability is to be taken to refer to the act of restoring the torn garment and therefore, by implication, to the patch.¹³

Mk 6:43: καὶ ἤραν κλάσματα δώδεκα κοφίνων πληρώματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων

Here πλήρωμα is used for the adjective

πλήρης ; as in the parallel account in
Mt 14:20; the sense is obviously 'full'.

Mk 8:20: Ὅτε τοὺς ἑπτὰ εἰς τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους
πῶων σφυρίδων πληρώματα κλασμάτων ἤρατε;

The sense here is as in the previous
pericope; πλήρωμα is to be understood
as the contents of the baskets.

Jn 1:16: ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς
πάντες ἐλάβομεν, καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος.

Here πλήρωμα takes up the πλήρης of
v.14 and hence refers to the fulness of
the divine Logos which Christ imparts
to believers. This fulness is further
amplified by the following expression
καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος .¹⁴

1 Cor 10:26: τοῦ κυρίου γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ
τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς.

This citation is a direct quotation of
Ps 23:1¹⁵ and is an example of many
similar occurrences of πλήρωμα in the
OT.¹⁶ The obvious sense of the
πλήρωμα term in this text is 'totality'
though it is possible that in the Greek-

speaking world the term in the OT citation was understood as 'super-abundance' or 'excess'.¹⁷

Rom 11:12: εἰ δὲ τὸ παράπτωμα αὐτῶν πλοῦτος κόσμον καὶ τὸ ἥτιμα αὐτῶν πλοῦτος ἔθνων, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ κλήρωμα αὐτῶν.

The translation of the κλήρωμα clause of this verse is disputed. We can either take κλήρωμα to mean 'full strength', 'entire complement',¹⁸ or, in view of Rom 13:10, 'complete fulfillment',¹⁹ and so translate 'when they (the Gentiles) completely fulfill the will of God'. We accept the former possibility on the grounds of its close proximation to Rom 11:25 where the term obviously requires the sense of 'full strength'. In either instance the word has no obvious theological significance.

Rom 11:25b: ὅτι πάρωσις ἀπὸ μέρους τῆς Ἰσραὴλ γέγονεν ἄχρις οὗ τὸ κλήρωμα τῶν ἔθνων εἰσέλθῃ,

As we suggested above, κλήρωμα here has the sense of 'totality', 'full

number', and is thus equivalent to the
πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν of Rom 1:5.

Rom 13:10b πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἢ ἀγάπη
The sense here, in line with other
Pauline statements which express the
same idea without resort to the
πλήρωμα concept,²⁰ is 'fulfillment',
summation'.²¹

Rom 15:29: οἶδα δὲ ὅτι ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς
ἐν πληρώματι εὐλογίας Χριστοῦ ἐλεύσομαι ,

The language is vague but the sense
is surely that Paul expects that both
he and his hosts will share in the
superabundant blessings of Christ.
The same thought is expressed in somewhat
stronger fashion in 1 Thess 1:5; "we
brought you the Gospel ... in the
power of the Holy Spirit and with
strong conviction ..."

Gal 4:4: ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα
τοῦ χρόνου , and similarly, Eph 1:10 εἰς οἰκονομίαν
τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν.

Both passages use πλήρωμα in exactly
the same way, though it is likely

that a theological distinction is intended with the change from χρόνος to καιρός . Irrespective of this the sense in both texts is such that πλήρωμα must indicate 'completeness of time'.²²

The above examination of the specific πλήρωμα texts in the NT apart from those in Colossians and Ephesians has demonstrated that the term is usually intended to be understood as active in voice, in the sense of 'that which fills', 'complement', 'fulfillment', as opposed to the passive 'the thing filled'. This conclusion will be of some importance in a later stage of the essay.²³ A second and equally important conclusion that the above discussion yields is correctly noted by Ernst when he writes:²⁴

"... dass der Begriff im neutestamentlichen Schrifttum ausserhalb des Kolosser - und Epheserbriefs durchaus keine einheitliche Bedeutung hat, so dass man hier noch keinesweg von einer technischen Verwendung sprechen kann"

When we turn our attention to the πλήρωμα term in Ephesians and Colossians we find that the situation is much more difficult to resolve. As we have seen the active meaning of πλήρωμα covers most if not all of its uses in the NT - as indeed it does in

the OT - and this is in line with the very widespread use of the term in secular literature; but it is precisely in Colossians and Ephesians that this active sense is doubtful; the difficulty is increased by the juxtaposition of verb and substantive. A second difficulty relates to the fact that it is precisely in Colossians and Ephesians that the word has theological significance - and little or no agreement exists as to what this theological significance is. A third difficulty concerns the relationship of the two epistles in question and, more particularly, the relationship of the *πλήρωμα* concepts in these epistles. These questions are obviously inter-related; the answer that we give to any one will certainly affect the other two and this is nowhere more certain than in the case of the last question. If the use of *πλήρωμα* in Ephesians is dependent on that of Colossians then the solutions to the problems of voice and theological significance will be quite different from what may be the case if *πλήρωμα* in Ephesians is to be interpreted without reference to the Colossian epistle. It is to this question that we now turn.

2.3 *Πλήρωμα* in Colossians

Πλήρωμα occurs in Colossians only at 1:19 and 2:9 and it is quite obvious, whatever the exact significance of the term may be, that the author of

the epistle intends that the same meaning be given to the word in both instances. We shall now examine both texts in order that we may determine the precise significance of the term.

2.3.1 Col 1:19

It is surely correct, as E. Best²⁵ suggests, that "the occurrence of the phrase 'all the pleroma' in Col 1:19 without qualifying epithet - and to be understood properly it requires such - suggests that pleroma is a common word to Paul and his readers ...", but the problems that the modern reader is confronted with in attempting to provide an acceptable interpretation for this 'common word' are none the less difficult. The difficulty is itself increased by the associated grammatical problem - what precisely is the subject of εβδόκησεν ? It is to this question that we turn first. There are three obvious possibilities: Christ, God and πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα . Although it is quite acceptable theologically to assert that Christ is the subject and therefore the one who reconciles (as in Eph 2:6) the presence of ἐν αὐτῷ makes this grammatically unlikely. If it were true then ἐν αὐτῷ would be required to carry a reflexive sense, as would the δι' αὐτοῦ and εἰς αὐτόν of the following verse. Though this is not impossible, it is unlikely because the genitive form

αὐτοῦ is rarely if ever used reflexively in Hellenistic Greek.²⁶ If δι' αὐτοῦ is not reflexive then it follows that neither εἰς αὐτόν nor ἐν αὐτῷ are reflexive and consequently Christ is not the subject of εὐδόκησεν.²⁷ Of the other two solutions πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα possibly has the better claim for the following reasons:

- (a) 'God is found last as the subject of a verb in v.13 (ἔρρῶσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) and therefore it is likely that if God were intended as subject in v.19 this would be made explicit.
- (b) In Col 2:9 πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος is certainly the subject of κατοικεῖ and, assuming that the author intended the two verses to convey the same idea, it is thus likely that πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα again stands as subject in 1:19.
- (c) εἰς αὐτόν and εἰρηνοποιήσας are masculine; this construction is explained most easily if we assume that πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα is the subject and stands as a periphrasis for 'God in all his fulness'. The pronoun

and participle are then masculine
in agreement with that which κλήρωμα
represents.

Concluding that πᾶν τὸ κλήρωμα is the
subject of εὐδόκησεν it is most natural to interpret
κλήρωμα in the light of Col 2:9. Since here the
qualifying epithet θεότης is obviously intended to
signify 'Godhead', the phrase must mean 'the sum total
of the divine attributes', and hence, in light of what
has been said above, Col 1:19 must be given the same
meaning. This is supported by Col 2:3 ἐν ᾧ εἰσιν
πάντες οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοί .
But there is a second possibility. We have already
noted that Paul's absolute use of κλήρωμα suggests that
the word was well known both to him and his readers.
Quite certainly κλήρωμα was a well known term in some
Gnostic circles in the 2nd century²⁸ and, as is argued
by some, this Christian heresy had its beginnings in a
time at least contemporary with the beginnings of
Christianity. At this point it is sufficient to say
that, in view of both the complete lack of positive
evidence for the existence of a Gnosticism which used
κλήρωμα as a terminus technicus as early as the latter
half of the first century and, more particularly, our
ability to show that Gnosticism does not provide the
source of the κλήρωμα tradition, we reject the Gnostic

interpretation.²⁹ We accept though that the possibility exists that the author in Colossians was, with *πλήρωμα*, using a slogan that had first been used by the false teachers at Colossae with whom he was in debate. If this is the case, and it is by no means certain,³⁰ then it must be agreed that the author has in Colossians given it an entirely new nuance so that the word "emphasises the fact that the divine fulness of love and power acts and rules in all its perfection through Christ".³¹

2.3.2 Col 2:9

In contrast to 1:19 our discussion at this point does not need to centre around the actual word *πλήρωμα*; its significance is clearly the same as in the first reference. But the verse as a whole has an associated problem, the interpretation of *σωματικῶς*. The possible solutions are well documented by C.F.D. Moule³² and can be summarised as follows:

- (a) 'as an organised body', i.e. the fulness of the Godhead is gathered into one 'organism' in Christ.

- (b) 'expressing itself through
the Body (i.e. the Church)'
- (c) 'actuality', in concrete reality
as opposed to merely appearing
to exist
- (d) 'in essence'
- (e) 'assuming a bodily form', i.e.
'becoming incarnate'.

All these possibilities have been argued for by commentators both ancient and modern. Following Moule we accept the last as most probable, particularly if it is assumed that this also encompasses the notion of 'actuality' as in (c), though this interpretation itself is not without its problems. Our reasons for accepting this exegesis of *σωματικῶς* are twofold. Firstly, this verse and the following verse which explains the consequence of the fact that the Godhead dwells in Christ *σωματικῶς*, relate to the reconciliation which Christ has achieved. In 1:20 this same idea is reckoned as having taken place *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ*, an expression which of necessity presupposes that Christ possessed a (real) bodily form. Secondly, it is possible, though incapable of being verified, that one of the facets of the Colossian heresy was that the incarnation was

more apparent than it was real.³³ If this were so then it is easy to understand σωματικῶς in the fashion for which we have argued with reference to 1:20. If our interpretation is correct then the term σωματικῶς serves both to reinforce and to emphasise the thought which was first expressed in 1:19 and at the same time serves as an introduction to the application of the same thought to the believers in the following verse: the believer in this present body, at this present time, is being filled with the same divine attributes which, in their totality, are still possessed by Christ. This paraphrase goes some way towards providing a solution to the difficulty that κατοικεῖν appears in the present tense and not, as we would expect, as an aorist. Since the action for the believer is continuing, the author, in view of his belief in the resurrection, (2:12) can, indeed must, presuppose that this past condition of fulness of the divine attributes continues in the present.³⁴ Admittedly, though, this thought would have been better expressed by the perfect tense.

Our examination of the πλήρωμα texts in Colossians has shown that the term is used in this epistle to assert that Jesus embodies the totality of God³⁵ in his human person, a use not dis-similar to that which underlies Jn 1:16. The word then in

Colossians is applied to Christ in order to clarify and to describe his unique relationship with God.

2.4 Πλήρωμα in Ephesians

The πλήρωμα occurrences in Eph 1:23, 3:19 and 4:13, both singularly and corporately, present the exegete with a variety of problems. One of the first concerns the relationship between the use of πλήρωμα in Ephesians and Colossians. According to M. Bogdasavich³⁶ there is "... in the passages referred to [Col 1:19, 2:9; Eph 1:23, 3:19, 4:13]... a continuity and development of thought". Completely the opposite view is put forward by G. Delling³⁷ when he says "It should be noted that the use of πλήρωμα in Eph and Col is consistent neither formally nor in content. The use in Col follows a single line materially but this differs from the three lines which are unquestionably to be found in Eph both formally and in part materially". In view of such contrasting theories we shall in each instance examine the possibility of πλήρωμα being given the same connotation as in Colossians, paying attention not only to exegesis but also to the views of various exegetes. But this is not the only problem or difficulty which with we are confronted. Eph 1:23 presents a set of grammatical problems to which there is no easy solution. The theological intention of the verse, particularly the last phrase,

is notoriously difficult to ascertain. The problems that confront us in the remaining two instances are essentially theological - though this is not to say that the grammar of either or both verses is undisputed. In our investigation we shall proceed as follows. We shall examine each of the three verses individually, in each instance paying attention initially to the possibility that κλήρωμα has the same content in that reference as in the Colossian epistle. After having arrived at a decision on this point we shall proceed to the more individual problems of the text.

2.4.1 Eph 1:23

It is certainly possible to offer a translation here so that the interpretation of κλήρωμα coincides exactly with the interpretation of the same word in Col 1:19, 2:9. This is the interpretation offered by J.A.T. Robinson³⁸ who, following the pattern of W.L. Knox³⁹ and L.S. Thorton,⁴⁰ interprets Eph 1:23 by first expounding the significance of κλήρωμα in Colossians and then carries over the same meaning for the term into Ephesians; Robinson translates 'He the Father put all things in subjection under his [Christ's] feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fullness of him who all in all is being filled'. As we shall see,⁴¹ this translation presupposes a particular

set of solutions to the problems offered by the Greek of the verse, solutions which are themselves open to question. But Robinson's interpretation can be also criticised from a completely different standpoint. His understanding of this verse owes much to the earlier works of J.B. Lightfoot, and, to a lesser degree, B.F. Westcott, who stress the idea that the Church is the receptacle of the divine gifts and graces, constantly receiving from Christ the complete fulness which Christ himself receives from the Father. In taking up and developing this line of thought Robinson seems to accept the Platonic presuppositions which underlie the thought of these early commentators, presuppositions which themselves would seem to be in conflict with his own general thesis which emphasises that behind Paul's use of the *κλήρωμα* concept there lies a development and continuation of a thought that is essentially Hebraic. But an even more striking criticism can be levelled against Robinson's view. The qualification that is explicit in Robinson's translation, the idea that Christ is always being filled by God, is implicit in neither the grammar of the verse nor the context, but is introduced directly as a result of the author's interpretation of Col 1:19 and 2:9. This argument presupposes not only a unity of authorship between the two epistles,⁴² but also that the recipients of Ephesians knew Colossians -

or at least were familiar with the doctrine expressed in that epistles with regard to the κλήρωμα concept. These presuppositions are, to say the least, highly conjectural and would seem to form a very weak basis on which to rest an argument.

We are not yet ready to discuss the grammatical problems associated with Eph 1:23 but we should note Robinson's solutions to these problems. Although it is not explicitly stated it is obvious that Robinson takes κλήρωμα as a passive noun, πληρουμένου as passive and, again though not explicitly stated, τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν as adverbial. As we shall see below, at least one of these solutions is untenable.

This view expressed seeks to interpret Eph 1:23 in the light of Col 1:19, 2:9 and, furthermore, then to present κλήρωμα as a concept which can only be understood in light of the combination of the references in both epistles; a view, as we have already stated, that seems highly conjectural.

It is not without significance that a completely different understanding from that of Robinson can be presented which, at the same time, argues for a harmonisation of the meaning of κλήρωμα in both epistles. This is the interpretation advocated

by C.F.D. Moule⁴³ who translates Eph 1:23: 'He [God] gave him [Christ] to be head over the Church and at the same time to be the fullness - the all inclusive representative - of God - the all-filler'. This interpretation requires that the following solutions be accepted for the grammatical problems: κλήρωμα is an active noun in apposition not to σῶμα, but to ἀβτὸν of v.22; κληρουμένου is active in sense, though middle in voice; τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν is adverbial. Again we must note that this interpretation is not without its difficulties,⁴⁴ particularly in respect of the fact that κλήρωμα is seen as being in apposition to ἀβτὸν. The understanding of κληρουμένου as active in sense is also problematical.

The above discussion has shown that there are serious methodological and grammatical difficulties involved in any attempt to interpret κλήρωμα in Eph 1:23 in light of an established interpretation for the same word as it occurs in Col 1:19, 2:9.

Our discussion has also made reference to the grammatical problems associated with the phrase τὸ κλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν κληρουμένου. As the first stage in our quest for a new approach to the κλήρωμα concept in Ephesians we must now examine these problems separately but yet in such a manner that their

corporate solution offers us some definite indication as to the intended significance of the term in this verse.

There are two classical explanations of πλήρωμα ; that of J.B. Lightfoot who argues that the term is in every instance a passive noun,⁴⁵ and the later discussion by J.A. Robinson who argues very strongly for the opposite.⁴⁶ Lightfoot's argument centres on the so called 'lexical rule' that "substantives in -μα , formed from the perfect passive, appear always to have a passive sense. They may denote an abstract notion or a concrete thing; they may signify the action itself regarded as complete, or the product of action, but in any case they give the result of the agency involved in the corresponding verb".⁴⁷ In an effort to adhere to this rule Lightfoot has to offer a somewhat strained interpretation of what exactly is meant by 'passive', as is well pointed out by J.A. Robinson.⁴⁸

Our own examination of the πλήρωμα texts as they occur in the NT apart from Colossians and Ephesians has also shown that a passive significance cannot be maintained in the majority of cases.⁴⁹ We must then conclude, against Lightfoot, that the case that pleroma means 'that which is

filled' has not been proven. This suggests then the possibility at least of the term being given an active significance in the NT in general and this text in particular.⁵⁰ Before we can comment further on the correctness of this suggestion we must turn our attention to the remaining problems.

The problem concerning πληρουμένου is less difficult to resolve. The form can either be passive or middle or middle with an active significance. Although there are those scholars who argue the case for the last possibility⁵¹ it is not to be accepted on the grounds that the middle voice of this verb nowhere else occurs with an active sense and, furthermore, when the author wishes to convey an active sense he uses the active voice, as in 4:10. It is possible that the verb is to be understood as middle,⁵² though this is to be counted as unlikely because the middle use of this verb is rare in Koine Greek and not known in the NT.⁵³ Furthermore we may add that if the verb is middle then presumably the sense is reflexive: 'fills for himself', an interpretation which, despite Abbott's efforts,⁵⁴ is extremely difficult to fit into the context of Eph 1:23.⁵⁵ This leaves us with the possibility of the verb being understood as passive. This is perfectly acceptable grammatically. It is

sufficient to say at this point that we accept this conclusion.

The third problem of Eph 1:23 with which we have to deal concerns the phrase τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν . This can be interpreted either adjectivally or adverbially. Certainly the majority of scholars accept the latter,⁵⁶ and the phrase is then understood as equivalent to the classical παντάπασιν . But it is also conceivable that τὰ πάντα and ἐν πᾶσιν are intended as separate entities and then the translation would be 'everything in all things'. In 1 Cor 9:22 and 1 Cor 10:33 τὰ πάντα and πᾶσιν certainly have different references but we should note that there the words do not stand in the formalised τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν phrase which occurs, apart from Eph 1:23, only in 1 Cor 12:6 and 15:28. In 1 Cor 12:6 it is probable that the terms are to be translated separately: God produces all these effects in all these persons. But it is possible that the whole phrase is to be treated as relating one idea, particularly if Paul has in mind the thought that the gift and the recipient are so closely identified that they become inseparable. 1 Cor 15:28 is a more important parallel because, as we have seen in Chapter 1, the traditions relating to Ps 8:6 and Ps 109:1 that are incorporated in 1 Cor 15:24-28 are precisely

those that the author of Ephesians has taken up in 1:20-22. J. Héring⁵⁷ argues that here the phrase is not used adverbially and insists that the terms must be treated separately. He takes ἐν πᾶσιν as neuter, referring to the 'whole universe' and πάντα as adverbial so translating the whole sentence 'that God may be in every respect (completely) in the universe'. But this interpretation makes ἐν πᾶσιν little more than a useless addition. This treatment highlights the difficulty in treating τὰ πάντα and ἐν πᾶσιν as separate units; we can account for τὰ πάντα but without some such ingenuity as Héring provides we cannot provide an acceptable interpretation for ἐν πᾶσιν. The very fact that the complete phrase stands in both epistles in a context where reference is made with Ps 8:6 to the total subjection of the universe and the consequential Lordship of Christ suggests that the phrase is equivalent to the classical παντάπασιν. These arguments are sufficiently strong to convince us that in Eph 1:23 (and 1 Cor 15:28) τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν is to be interpreted adverbially, being equivalent to the classical παντάπασιν.

There is one final problem that demands solution. To what does κλήρωμα relate? It is frequently argued that it stands in apposition to

ἀβτόν (v.22) and thus is intended to expound the significance of Christ. We have already argued that the πλήρωμα texts in Ephesians cannot be interpreted only with reference to Colossians, though we should note that if πλήρωμα is intended to be understood as being in apposition to ἀβτόν, then we should have at least this one instance where πλήρωμα has the same significance as Colossians: Christ is the fulness of God. But is it not more logical to take πλήρωμα as in apposition to σῶμα, the nearest word in the same case? Grammatically both are equally possible but the former understanding (in apposition to ἀβτόν) would require that certain grammatical conditions apply, namely that πλήρωμα is active in sense, πληρουμένου is middle with active significance and τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν is adverbial. We have ourselves already argued that πληρουμένου is in fact passive and, although we accept that the other conditions do apply, this fact in itself is sufficient to convince us that πλήρωμα is intended by the author to be understood as in apposition to σῶμα. ⁵⁸

Our solution to the grammatical problems of Eph 1:23 is: πλήρωμα is active and in apposition to σῶμα; πληρουμένου is passive and τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν is adverbial. ⁵⁹ We then provisionally translate vv. 22f as 'And God put all things in subjection

under Christ's feet and gave him who is head over all things to the Church, which is his body, which fills Christ who is himself completely being fulfilled'.⁶⁰ This provisional translation may seem to give rise to a concept which is theologically difficult - the idea that the Christ is being completed by the Church, but as we shall see below,⁶¹ this concept, in light of other theological concepts found in the Epistle, is fully explicable and is in line with both the christology and ecclesiology of the letter.

Before passing on to discuss the problems that are associated with the remaining πλήρωμα citations in Ephesians it is necessary that we discuss a possible interpretation of the term in 1:23 that is of importance both as a clarification of the provisional translation offered above and for our later discussion of the relationship of the πλήρωμα citations to the ascension concept. We have attempted to argue for the active significance of the term in the verse in question but, in as much as the noun is associated with the passive participle κληρουμένου, is it not at least possible that the substantive also has passive implications? This possibility is suggested by J. Ernst.⁶² The only text which is cited as proof of this possibility is Plato, Republic 2, 371E πλήρωμα δὴ πόλεως εἶσιν, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ μισθωτοί

where, at least so Ernst argues correctly⁶³ the sense is "Völlständigkeit". If this view is carried over into Eph 1:23 the verse yields the sense: 'Christ fills all his members but at the same time he will be completed by the totality of the community, namely the Church'. We can now offer then a paraphrase which both expands our provisional translation and at the same time brings out the total theological significance of the verse: 'And God gave him who is head over all things to the Church which is his body; it is this body which at one and the same time completes Christ and yet is also filled by him'. The great advantage of this interpretation is that it would show a very close relationship between the concepts of Eph 1:10 and 1:23. The view advocated is certainly attractive but seems to be more the result of the judgment that 1:10 is basic to the interpretation of 1:23 than it is of a demonstrable grammatical probability. The point at issue is, however, to what extent this theological judgment can be verified by a consideration of the remaining πλήρωμα citations. If these citations do verify this judgment then our conclusion must be that the author had this presupposition in mind when writing Eph 1:23, although not making it explicit in the text. To this point we shall return later.

The grammatical solutions that we have offered to the problems inherent in this text are in themselves perfectly acceptable, but when these various solutions are viewed together they themselves constitute an interpretation which is not perhaps so easily acceptable theologically. Any exegesis which is in line with both our solution and our paraphrase gives rise to the theological supposition that Christ is being completed - or filled - by the Church. This problem was recognised by J.A. Robinson who was the first to offer a solution to the grammatical problems of 1:23 along the lines we have indicated. Robinson's own theological solution to the problem raised by his grammatical solution was by way of analogy: the Church completes Christ in the same way that the body completes the head; a 'head' requires a body to be effective and so equally Christ requires the Church. But this use of metaphorical analogy is more akin to twentieth century thought than to first. Further, we may argue, Robinson has in fact misunderstood the use that the author of the epistle is making of the metaphor: Christ is κεφαλή not because the Church is his σῶμα but because God has subjected all things under his feet. But to reject the basis of Robinson's explanation of the theology is not to say that his original supposition which was arrived at by grammatical rather than theological reasoning is itself erroneous. It simply

means that we have to provide an explanation to these grammatical facts which does not alter the basic pre-supposition that the Church completes Christ - because this is the only interpretation that the grammatical solution will allow - and which at the same time offers a theological explanation that does not depend upon Robinson's misuse of the analogy.

Basic to any such explanation is the context of v.23; it is not set in any extended discussion on the nature of the Church but immediately follows the author's description of the exalted Christ, a description which centres both in the epistle and the earlier tradition on Ps 8:6. As we have seen, again in both epistle and tradition, the function of this psalm citation was to enable the early Christians to express the concept of the exalted Lord as the 'inclusive representative' of redeemed humanity. It is this conception of Christ as the inclusive representative⁶⁴ that offers the possibility of providing the explanation that we seek, and which we now outline.

Eph 1:23 is a climactic statement that serves to bring together the two themes that are present in vv. 20-23. The major theme is the Power of God which has been operative in resurrection and exaltation, the consequence of which is both the subjection of all

powers to Christ and the giving of Christ, the head of all things, to the Church. The counter-theme is concerned with the Divine Plan of Salvation which has been achieved in Christ and is now operative by means of the Church. In this respect vv. 20-23 function as a natural continuation and elaboration of v.10 in that in them the author asserts that it is now the function of the Church to bring about this previously determined unity. In this way it is seen that both these themes are brought together in the interpretation of v.23 that we have suggested: that of inclusive personality, such that for the author of the epistle "the whole process of redemption and reconciliation is seen as incorporation into the Body of Christ, a reversal of the principle familiar to the Old Testament that the remnant or One may represent the Many. The Many now represent the One (Christ) through the Church".⁶⁵ And so it is that what God has done in Christ becomes a reality in the Church, the theme of which dominates the author to such an extent that no longer is the Church seen as part of the continuing contrast merely to the existing world at any one time in history but the Church has now become an independent theme vis-à-vis cosmology in that in the Church, and only in the Church, have the cosmic powers been defeated and total reconciliation achieved. Integral to this is the author's conception of the ascension of Christ as one that can be shared

by the believer (2:6f). In this exaltation, which is precisely how the author pictures the resurrection-ascension process, Christ represented the Many in his work of salvation. The same process of resurrection-ascension has been achieved in potentia by the believer in that, in faith, he is incorporated into Christ and thus the corporate body of believers now represent Christ through the Church by means of which the salvific work of Christ is made effective.

From the above discussion two things are evident. First, the interpretation of πλήρωμα does not appear to be dependent upon any external source but is controlled by the use and significance of πληροῦν . Secondly, our explanation of 1:23, in that it relies on the doctrine of inclusive personality, strongly suggests that the author and recipients of the epistle were aware of the idea of unity - in this case the unity between Christ and his Church - which πλήρωμα conveyed in the traditions that are at the source of the verse.

2.4.2. Eph 3:19

If there is any unity of meaning between this text and the πλήρωμα texts of Colossians then the phrase πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ refers to the condition to which Christians are destined to be brought. If

this is the case then the phrase in question might be translated as "in order that you [the Christians] may be filled up to the full maturity intended by God"⁶⁶ or again, "so that you may be filled up to the measure of the fulness of God".⁶⁷ Although it is obviously true that the second of these translations has a more direct relationship with the understanding of πλήρωμα in Colossians than the former, it is nevertheless equally true that, to a greater or lesser degree, both translations owe much more to Eph 4:13 than to either of the Colossian texts. J.A.T. Robinson himself recognises that his translation is in need of some qualification when he notes:⁶⁸

The hope of Christians is nothing less than that the complete fullness of God which already resides in Christ should in Him become theirs. This can never be true of isolated Christians, but in the 'fullgrown man', in the new corporeity which is His body, 'the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ' is theirs to attain (Eph 4:13) - for the Father's decree is that the Divine fullness should dwell in Him, not simply as an individual but *σωματικῶς*

Indeed, that such a relationship between this text and 4:13 exists, as seems to be presupposed by both these translations, is in fact indicated by the text of 3:19b itself. Here εἰς has progressive force⁶⁹ such that here, as in 4:13, the author is referring to a state or condition that will be obtained (albeit, in

potentia) by one who has fulfilled the conditions that have been previously set out.⁷⁰ This statement of Robinson's also indicates that where the interpretation does approach that of Colossians it makes use of an interpretation of σωματικῶς that we have already argued is untenable.

It may well be that the idea that the fulness of God does reside in Christ is implied in Eph 3:19, but this can hardly be the primary intent of the statement. In any discussion on the significance of the πλήρωμα term much consideration must be given to the whole pericope vv. 14-19. Here there is set out by means of three ἵνα clauses a prayer of the author for his readers. The statement with which we are concerned is essentially the conclusion of the 'process' that is outlined by means of the first two ἵνα clauses. The end of the process to which v.19b refers is, however, not yet complete in reality, but in that it is expressed by a ἵνα + πληροῦν form (which has the same purpose as the well-known and frequently occurring infinitive of result) it is envisaged as being beyond doubt.⁷¹ The concern then is not essentially with the sum-total of either divine gifts or deity, but much more with an expression of divine purpose and, consequently, there is implicit emphasis on the instrument through which this divine

purpose is effected, namely the Church. This interpretation of course necessitates that *πλήρωμα* is understood as an active noun. Since here, in contrast to Eph 1:23, we have no associated grammatical problems the solutions of which would give some definite support to our interpretation of *πλήρωμα* as active and not passive we must accept that the problem of active or passive significance can only be solved with reference to a theological (which in this instance is entirely contextual) rather than philological point of departure. Ernst wisely warns against this latter approach with respect to this verse when he writes⁷² "Diese Betrachtungsweise enthält jedoch soviel Faktoren der Unsicherheit, dass man besser darauf verzichtet und statt dessen das unmittelbar Gemeinde in Auge fasst".

Thus far we have done little more than indicate the direction of our argument. We have done nothing to demonstrate conclusively that *πλήρωμα* refers either to God or to the Church. Certainly the failure of the exegetes to demonstrate with any degree of certainty that there is an intrinsic relationship between *πλήρωμα* in Colossians and in Eph 3:19b and the probability that v.19b says much the same as 4:13 if not disproving that *πλήρωμα* refers to God, quite obviously does nothing to support this contention. If *πλήρωμα* does refer to God then what is being spoken

of is either the 'fulness of divine being', that is, the sum-total of what God is, or the 'fulness of divine attributes'; it would of course be wrong to over-emphasise any real difference between these two things because ultimately the 'fulness of divine being' is only recognisable and able to be communicated by means of the attributes which the divine being possesses. If, on the other hand, the term refers to the Church, then what is being said is that the Church is the complement or even the alter ego of God; in either case κλήρωμα would include the ideas of both 'completion' and 'consummation'. Now admittedly, there is nothing intrinsic to the phrase in question that would make us relate κλήρωμα to the Church and not to God, but, as we have already indicated and will go on to demonstrate, contextually there is in vv. 16-19 every indication that the term, whatever its exact content, is an expression of divine purpose and as such it is associated with the instrument and means through which this purpose is brought to completion. This instrument is the Church which is then the agent of God's act of filling such that "its function is to extend throughout Christ's redeemed universe the acknowledgement of His victory".⁷³

Now in order that we may determine the validity of our argument thus far we will proceed with a fairly detailed discussion of the *ἵνα* clauses in vv. 16-19. Basic to our discussion is the contention that the final phrase *ἵνα πληρωθῆτε εἰς πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ* is climactic and that its content is governed not by any prima facie meaning of the words employed but, at least in the first instance, by the content of the prayer in which it stands. In this regard it should be noted that the form of the prayer itself naturally leads to this conclusion: the first *ἵνα* clause contains three intercessory statements, the second two statements and the final clause contains only the *πλήρωμα* statement. If our contention is in any way correct then the content of *πλήρωμα* can only be determined by an examination of the two previous *ἵνα* clauses.

The first stage of the author's prayer is concerned with the strengthening of the inner man, a strengthening that occurs as a result of God's spirit (*εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἕσω ἄνθρωπον*). The phrase *ἕσω ἄνθρωπον* has been the source of much discussion. H. Schlier⁷⁴ has drawn attention to several Mandaean texts where the concept of 'inner man' appears without uniform significance, representing variously 'soul' (r.G. 327f), 'Adam' (l.G. 571:10f)

'mana which lives in us' (r.G. 287:8; 316:29; 1.G. 442:25f), 'hidden mana' (r.G. 242:30ff) and 'hidden Adam' (1.G. 486:17; 571:14). But it is improbable that any of these texts can be related directly to the κλήρωμα reference of Eph 3:16. The concept of 'inner-man' also occurs in the Corpus Hermeticum,⁷⁵ but again no direct relationship can possibly be established. The source of these statements is not our concern, though there would seem no reason to doubt that they owe their origin, directly or indirectly, to the anthropological dualism of Plato. What does concern us, though, is the implications of the ἔσω ἄνθρωπον of Eph 3:16. The only other direct occurrence of the phrase is Rom 7:22, though it is obviously intended in 2 Cor 4:16. In both these passages it refers to the internal Christian life such that "it is synonymous, or almost synonymous with the 'I' that would do good and hates evil".⁷⁶ The occurrence of the phrase in Ephesians has the same significance with the one essential difference that in this epistle the phrase has lost the eschatological emphasis that was present in both Romans and 2 Corinthians. No longer does the ἔσω ἄνθρωπον belong to the Age to Come, as is the case in the major Paulines, but is a state that has already been established. This concept is explicated in the following phrase κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν .

This phrase does not have the same significance as ἐν ἑμοῖ Χριστῶς (Rom 8:10; Gal 2:20) in that it has no reference to Baptism, but rather refers to the condition by means of which faith is being constantly given to the believer. Continued faith is possible because the believer is constantly being strengthened in his new state. The final phrase of the first clause, ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἑρριζωμένοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι, when correctly interpreted does not differ in essence from the previous phrases. Basic to our interpretation is the fact that ἀγάπη and πίστις in the previous phrase are so closely related as to be understood as interchangeable terms. ἑρριζωμένοι and τεθεμελιωμένοι describe the fusion of the believer with Christ, an event which, in that it is ἐν ἀγάπῃ, has consequence not only for the single believer, but also for the community.

The first phrase of the second clause is more difficult to understand, most of the recent discussion centering on the question of the religious-historical background. Ernst⁷⁷ has examined in some detail the arguments for the various sources and concludes that none of the arguments are in themselves conclusive. He further suggests that what we have in this phrase is something more than a metaphorical expression designed to signify the cosmic extent of the love of which he the

author writes. This view would seem to be correct; it is substantiated in that the central concern of the chapter is the mystery of Christ (v.4) which has now been revealed in the Church (v.5) which, in terms of the revelation of this mystery, has cosmic responsibility (v.10). Those who understand the mystery understand that which is the *καταλάβεσθαι τί τὸ κλίτος καὶ μήκος καὶ ὕψος καὶ βάθος* . The same thought is present in the second phrase (v.19a): the mystery of God which now manifests itself in the community is characterised in its most profound sense as the *ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ* which exceeds *γνώσις*.

With this discussion in mind we can now turn our attention to the final clause *ἵνα πληρωθῆτε εἰς πᾶν τὸ κλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ* . We have already suggested that this is an ecclesiological statement that does not differ in interpretation from the statements contained in 4:10-13 and we have further shown that the statement itself can only be interpreted in light of the two preceding *ἵνα* clauses. Now it might be argued that both of these statements cannot be maintained because there is nothing that has obvious ecclesiological reference in vv. 16-19b. But any argument along these lines would almost of necessity have to assume that the three *ἵνα* statements are to be considered separately and without reference to their

overall relationship and, furthermore, it would neglect the ecclesiological significance of $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$, a phrase which is directional for the understanding of the concept of $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ both in this pericope and in the epistle in general as our following discussion will show. The three $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ clauses cannot be considered separately; the final statement is both a summation and consequence of the two previous clauses and when this is acknowledged then it becomes obvious that the theme of the pericope is 'growth' or 'increase', which is precisely the theme of 4:10-13. At the end of this latter pericope stands the phrase $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\nu$ $\eta\lambda\iota\kappa\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, a phrase which as we will demonstrate, must refer to the Church, in so far as the Church is that which has attained or is attaining the condition of completion. But to return to the original pericope vv. 16-19. We found here an emphasis that did not confine the Church to the temporal order but which indicated that the Church was of cosmic proportions. But that does not mean that $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ is to be equated with $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\alpha$: it means that $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ is not seen as an end in itself, it is ordered $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. This interpretation explains the significance of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$: it emphasises the fact that there is a 'journey' and an 'objective'; the requirement for the former is $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ and the latter is $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$.

2.4.3. Eph 4:10-13

We have argued in the above paragraph for an interpretation of *πλήρωμα* in this passage that is related to the interpretation of the term in 3:19 and not to either or both of the Colossian texts. But we must admit that it is perhaps possible to provide an interpretation of this verse such that it does indeed harmonise with the understanding of the *πλήρωμα* concept in Colossians. Moule attempts such a harmonisation and translates "the christians are to attain to the full growth of manhood, the standard (*μέτρον*) consisting in the full stature (*ἡλικίας*) of the full maturity belonging to Christ".⁷⁸ The same view is further expounded by Best:⁷⁹

"When we pass to 4:13 we find that what in 1:23 was a statement of fact is now a standard of attainment: the Church is to attain to the measure of the maturity of the *pleroma* of Christ; it is to attain to the measure of the maturity of the attributes and powers of Christ, that maturity which comes when the attributes and powers of Christ completely fill it and it is in actual fact the *pleroma* of Christ".

But these interpretations although claiming harmony with the significance of *πλήρωμα* in Colossians have themselves acknowledged that a radical difference does in fact exist between the two epistles. In Colossians the author is concerned to emphasise that it is in Christ that *τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος* dwells; *πλήρωμα*

describes not only the powers and abilities that Christ has, but also who Christ is: he is the one - and the only one - who possesses τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος . In Eph 4:13 the situation is very different. Ernst⁸⁰ has correctly pointed out that "die Wendungen καταντήσωμεν ... εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (4:13) ἀβξήσωμεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα (4:15) seien nur verschiedene Umschreibungen für ein und denselben Sachverhalt: die Bildung einer reifen Glaubensüberzeugung, die sich durch keinen Trug der Menschen Erfüllung lasst". This means that the emphasis in 4:13 is on the condition to which the believer must attain; it says nothing about any ability that the Christian has by right. Hence we must assume that, at least in 4:13, πλήρωμα is concerned with the initial necessity of belief and with the believer's continuing growth in faith and thus it ultimately has to do with the relationship of the believer to the Church; a situation decidedly different from that which is the concern of Col 1:19 and 2:9.

The difficulties in this pericope revolve around three phrases: ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα (v.10), εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον (v.13b) and εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (v.13c). The problem

that confronts us in the first phrase is twofold - what is the significance of κληροῦν and secondly, what is intended by τὰ πάντα . One possible solution is offered by F. Mussner⁸¹ when he writes:

"was meint Eph damit? Man muss Gewiess⁸² zustimmen, wenn er sagt dass es sich sowohl in dem Psalmwortes wie auch bei dem Satz von der 'Erfüllung des Alls' um eine Unterwerfung und die Einbeziehung in die Herrschergewalt (handelt) und in beiden Fällen steht die Tat mit dem Aufstieg zur Höhe im Zusammenhang" ...

Mussner, then, equates τὰ πάντα with the powers of evil and argues that κληροῦν has the significance of 'to master', 'to control completely'. The more detailed argument of Gewiess is as follows: Christ, by means of his ascension over all the heavens, has acquired total authority over all powers and authorities and these are now subject to him. This universality of dominion is further emphasised by the contrast of the descent εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς with the ascent ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν . The fact that κληροῦν stands in the general context of the distribution of gifts is not determinative for its significance, since the exhortation stands in an exegetical excursus which exhibits no direct relationship to the ecclesiological thought which is basic to the entire paragraph. Finally Gewiess notes the significance of ἡχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν for the

phrase in question: ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα. In both places it is a question of subjection and inclusion of the powers into the sphere of the Lordship of Christ.⁸³

But against this it must be noted that elsewhere πληροῦν is never used with the significance 'to master', an interpretation which for these authors is essential to their argument. The verbal form occurs very frequently in the LXX as well as in the Stoic and later Jewish writings and in every case relates to the terminological comprehension of the relationships between God and the world and, as Ernst⁸⁴ concludes, "Aus den genannten Gründen wird man die Bedeutung von 'erfüllen mit göttlichen Kräften' nicht ausschliessen können". The argument is also open to criticism on two other counts. Eph 4:8-10, is as we have already shown,⁸⁵ an exegetical excursus, but an excursus that has direct bearing on - and relationship to - the problem of the shaping of the community which is the immediate concern of the author of the epistle. It is only in a very secondary sense that this interpretation of πληροῦν, even if it could be justified, could have anything to do with the author's concern. Admittedly the citation of Ps 67:19 does introduce the thought of the submission of conflicting powers but this thought is not primary; the important

words in the citation are ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις and it is to these words and to the explication of them that κληροῦν relates. The argument put forward by Mussner, Gewiess and Haupt also does not pay sufficient attention to the fact that here, as in 1:20ff, there is a direct relationship between the ascension and ecclesiology. To insist that the only content for κληροῦν is that of mastery is to neglect this relationship. Whatever is the content of κληροῦν and its associated substantive κληροῦμα it must be such that it can be related both christologically and ecclesiologically. This relationship will be our concern in Chapter 4 of this essay.

There are two completely different sets of problems related to the concept of the τέλειος ἀνὴρ. Our interest initially is contextual; we are concerned as to why the author of the epistle uses this unusual idiom if all he wishes to do is express the thought of the spiritual-religious development of the individual. Many exegetes find nothing very unusual in the phrase and see it merely as a figurative description of the spiritual process of maturing, standing over against the condition of immaturity, as described with νήπιοι, as in 1 Cor 13:11; 14:20; and Heb 5:14. In this instance the term is assumed to have an individual application. As representative of this

view we may cite E. Percy⁸⁶ " τέλειος ist der, welcher sich im Herzen und in der Lebensführung den Inhalt des christlichen Glaubensrecht angeeignet hat". But this individual significance of the term does not agree with the theme of the pericope; du Plessis well notes that "the individuality disturbs the sequence of thought, and is contradictory to the somatic image".⁸⁷ The ecclesiological basis of the letter and, more particularly, the setting of the phrase in 4:1-16, makes a corporate understanding of the phrase necessary. This interpretation fits well with the ecclesiological significance that we have already suggested belongs to τὰ πάντα ; the Church in so far as it is both the instrument and medium of the πλήρωμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ is the sphere which serves both to cause the completion (πλήρωμα) of the universe and the increase (τέλειος) of the corporate body.

The problems associated with the content of τέλειος ἄνθρωπος and the phrase εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ are well summarised by R. McL. Wilson⁸⁸ when he says of the references in Ephesians and Colossians that "the strongest case for a Gnostic sense is probably Eph 4:13 where the context includes a reference to a 'perfect man' and also a contrast with νήπιοι , both typical features of a later Gnosticism". It is certain that all these terms were

used by the Gnostics and each denotes something quite different from the possible interpretations that we have already examined. Representative of those who argue for a Gnostic interpretation of $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\alpha$ is H. Schlier⁸⁹ who writes:

"Von der Sache und speziell von der Verbindung des Begriffes Pleroma mit der Leib-Christi- und also Erlöser - Urmenschenvorstellung her ist kein Zweifel, dass der Begriff Pleroma ein neues Zeugnis für den "gnostischen" Sprachgebrauch des Epheser - (und Kolosser) - Briefes ist. Auch in der Gnosis ist Pleroma die Fülle Gottes, die göttlichen erfüllte, himmlische Welt ... Auch dort wird der Gläubige mit dem Pleroma erfüllt".

Now with one important exception the word does not occur in the Gnostic literature with any great frequency. We should note however that the amount of extant Gnostic material is comparatively small and it is possible that if writings of the earliest Gnostics had been preserved that we might have found that the term occupied a more important place than at present appears.⁹⁰ The term does not appear to have been used by Basilides, there being no reference to it in the discussion of his system by either Irenaeus or Hippolytus. It is possible, though by no means certain, that the term was used by Cerinthus and/or the Nicolaitans. In his discussion of both Irenaeus, Adv. Haer III, 11.1, makes reference to 'pleroma', though in his earlier reference to the doctrine of

Cerinthus, Adv. Haer I, 26.1, the term is not mentioned. Since Hippolytus does not mention the term in his discussion of either the Nicolaitans, Refutatio VII, 36.3, or Cerinthus, VII, 33.1 it is likely that the term played no significant part in the system of either and that the occurrence of the term in Adv. Haer III, 11.1 owes its origin to Irenaeus, presumably influenced by his earlier discussion of Valentinianism. The term does appear, though not with any great frequency, in the Naassene hymn as preserved in Refutatio V, 6.3 - 11.1. It is doubtful though if the term can be classified as 'technical' in this instance.⁹¹ The word was used by the Docetists however, with the full 'technical' (Gnostic) significance.⁹²

The one exception to which we have already alluded is Valentinus and his school⁹³ for whom the doctrine of the Pleroma was an essential part of their system. Before attempting to explain the content of πλήρωμα in Valentinian terms two necessary notes of caution must be made. Firstly, the great majority of our references to the doctrine of this school are in fact to be found in the works of the anti-heretic Irenaeus and therefore we must expect these references to some degree to be biased and polemical. But, even so, the information supplied by Irenaeus and the other Apologists is confirmed in large measure by the picture

of the Pleroma that we can build up from information supplied by the Nag Hammadi texts. We also have 'genuine' Valentinian sources preserved in the Valentinian Fragments and in the Excerpts of Theodotus; the latter supporting, though to a lesser extent than the Nag Hammadi documents, the idea of the concept that we obtain from the Apologists. Secondly, we must note that within the Valentinian school there was not total agreement, a point well noted by Jonas when he writes:⁹⁴ "how great is the wealth of doctrinal differentiations can be seen from the fact of the development of the Pleroma; we have in Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Epiphanius and the Excerpts of Theodotus no fewer than seven versions (not counting that of Markus) which in part diverge considerably and reveal great independence of thought". The essence of Valentinianism is well summarised by the same author when he writes⁹⁵ "Valentinus and his school represent the culmination of the Syrian-Egyptian type of Gnostic speculation. The distinguishing principle of this type of speculation is the attempt to place the origin of darkness, and thereby the dualistic rift of being, within the Godhead itself and thus to develop the divine tragedy, the necessity of salvation arising from it, the dynamics of this salvation itself, as wholly a sequence of inner divine events". With this succinct and accurate assessment of the religion of the school in general

in our minds we can now begin to examine their concept of Pleroma. To do this we need to outline briefly from the sources that are available to us the system of emanations that was essential to the Pleroma.

In the beginning was the Forefather (also known as the Pre-beginning and the Primal Cause)⁹⁶ who, perhaps together with his consort Ennoia (Grace, Silence),⁹⁷ generated the first pair of aeons Nous, described by the Valentinians as the 'Only Begotten', and his consort Truth.⁹⁸ From this first pair of emanations originated Word and Life who in turn were responsible for the aeons described or named as Man and Church.⁹⁹ These first eight emanations, if indeed Forefather and Ennoia can be called emanations,¹⁰⁰ were known as the Ogdoad. From Word and Life were generated ten additional aeons and from Man and Church twelve aeons and so there came into being the total of 30 aeons which together comprised the Pleroma.¹⁰¹ Within this Pleroma there existed both unity and division; unity in that the relationship within each pair of aeons is itself described as a 'pleroma',¹⁰² and division or estrangement in that only Nous could know the Forefather; to all other aeons he remained both invisible and incomprehensible.¹⁰³ We can now render the technical or Gnostic (Valentinian) definition of pleroma as follows: 'It is the standard term for

the fully explicated manifestation of divine characteristics whose standard number is thirty and which together form an hierarchy and constitute the divine realm, and, at the same time, its serves to describe the relationship inherent within that divine realm'. The fact that only Nous could know the Forefather, as well as being a cause of division, ultimately led to a crisis within the Pleroma, a crisis that was essentially the disturbance of the natural order inherent in the Pleroma. This crisis led directly to the 'fall' of the last aeon Sophia, the consequence of which was the birth of ignorance.¹⁰⁴ The ultimate, and for our considerations most important, event in Valentinianism was the restoration of the unity within the Pleroma. This was achieved by the emergence of two new aeons, Christ and Holy Spirit,¹⁰⁵ who together consolidated and strengthened the Pleroma and served as a means whereby the aeons were brought back to their original order.¹⁰⁶ Each element of the Pleroma, with the consent of Christ and Holy Spirit and the approval of the Forefather, then contributed his greatest asset to produce "the most perfect beauty and star of the Pleroma, its perfect fruit, Jesus, whom they also call Saviour and Christ and Logos, after his Father, and All because he is derived from all".¹⁰⁷

Our exposition of the Pleroma concept as it related to second century Gnosticism shows that it is much nearer to the content of the term as it appears in Colossians than to any of the Ephesian citations. We admit that the term is used both in Ephesians and Gnosticism in the context of ultimate reconciliation, but this doctrine as expressed in the epistle has no connection with that of the heresy. In the epistle the believers are already ἐν Χριστῷ and furthermore, the redemption - which is deliverance from sin and not from ignorance or materialism - is already realised; conditions which are completely opposed to the conditions of redemption and requirements of salvation as they appear in second century Gnosticism. Whatever the source of the πλήρωμα concept in Eph 4:13 and more generally in 1:23 and 3:19 it cannot lie in the same traditions as does the source of the concept as it developed in Valentinianism.

Turning again to the actual verses in question it is obvious that we have to deal with the two separate and distinct phrases ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα (v.10) and εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (v.13) individually as well as in relation to each other.

We have already rejected the argument that *ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα* refers only to the Lordship of Christ over powers and authorities and, at the same time, have suggested that the phrase must be interpreted with reference to both christology and ecclesiology. This suggestion can be entirely substantiated by an examination of the phrase itself. The point at issue is the purpose of the phrase. Our examination of the ascension motif in vv. 8-10a showed that for the author two ideas are basic: enthronement as king and the prerogative of the king to distribute gifts. It is these two ideas that are again present in v. 10b, the purpose of which can only be to serve as explication of *ὁ ἀναβάς ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν*, a phrase which itself can only be explained in terms of the complete citation of Ps 67:19. This means that the content and purpose of *ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα* is no different from that which is in the author's mind when he cites the psalm citation. But equally the phrase in question must also relate to the building up of the body of Christ as it is described in v.12, because it is for this reason that the gifts which are referred to in the citation and enumerated in v.11 are given. *ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα* does refer to the Lordship or kingship of Christ and the consequent subjection of all things under his feet (1:22), but equally it refers to the work of the Church in the

world. Schlier¹⁰⁸ is certainly correct when he draws attention to the intimate relationship between the 'completion of the universe' and the 'increase of the body': as the Church increases so is the universe brought to completion. It is this concept which the author expresses in the words κλήρωση τὰ πάντα. We should note however that the text says nothing about how this 'filling' of the cosmos (τὰ πάντα) is brought about by the Church, though it is probable, as Schweizer¹⁰⁹ suggests, that here the author has in mind the universal mission of the Church.

In our earlier discussion of the problems associated with the phrase εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ κλήρωματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ we demonstrated that κλήρωμα in this citation has nothing to do with Gnosticism and that whatever its content, it is to be related to the Church. It is this content that we now have to determine. Again we must note that the phrase can only be interpreted correctly when due consideration is given to the context. The one motif that is present in vv. 13-16 is that of 'increase' or 'growth'. This motif can be broken down so as to show the stages of this increase. The first stage in the process is defined in v.13a: μέχρι κατανήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ . This first stage is achieved by

the fulfillment of diakonia and by means of the varying ministries which are themselves the 'gifts' of God. That this is so is emphasised by *καταντῶ* with its sense of 'to reach a given objective'.¹¹⁰ The process is further described by means of the phrase *εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον*. We have already discussed the author's corporate use of this phrase but have yet to discuss its content. This is now our concern. The possibilities of interpretation for the phrase are numerous. It can be interpreted such that *τέλειος* means perfect, in the sense of 'spiritually full-grown'. This is the interpretation put forward by S.D.F. Salmond.¹¹¹ His reasons for this are twofold. Firstly he suggests, quite correctly, that the idea of 'spiritually full-grown' is to be inferred from the following *νήπιος*. His second reason though is much more doubtful; he claims that *εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας* is to be understood as appositional to *εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον* and thus further defines *τέλειον*, giving a fuller and more precise description of the goal that is to be reached. Basic to his argument at this point is the assumption that *ἡλικία* refers to 'stature', as opposed to 'age'. But *εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας* does not in fact refer back to the previous phrase but is itself a further stage in the process of growth and thus the discussion on the significance of *ἡλικία* is quite meaningless at this point.

A totally different view is put forward by B. Rigaux¹¹² who argues that in the Pauline writings, Hebrews and the Community Rule of Qumran the theme of 'perfection' is closely connected with the concept of the knowledge of the divine mystery. Recognising the progressive thought of the author of the epistle, Rigaux claims that in the image of the 'perfect man' the required constituents are found, namely, knowledge of the Son of God as the objective, the fact that it is by the plenitude of Christ that the faithful attain the stature of perfection, and also there is the corresponding image of the child. Rigaux is certainly correct in arguing that both faith and knowledge are means by which the objective is reached,¹¹³ but he is surely in error when he argues that this state of perfection applies not corporately, but individually. A similar argument is put forward by Mussner¹¹⁴ who talks of the growing conviction of faith in the individual. These authors in describing τέλειος as a religious rather than a moral quality are surely correct, but against them we should note that it is the religious quality of the community that is at issue. The τέλειος ἀνὴρ is the community unified in faith and yet involved in the process of the increase of the Church in the world. It is precisely this last point that is picked up by the author of the epistle in the phrase εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ

πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ as Ernst correctly
 summarises:¹¹⁵ "... bezeichnet der Begriffsgruppe
 πλήρωμα - πληροῦν sowohl das zum Abschluss
 gekommene Wachsen (μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πλήρωματος
 (v.13)), als auch die vom Haupte ausgehende
 lebenspendende und herrscherlich leitende 'Erfüllung'
 von Kirche und Kosmos (ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα (v.10))".

Two further points may be made to show
 that there is a theological unity not only between
 the two ascension passages, but also in the relationship
 between the ascension and πλήρωμα . In both 1:20-22
 and 4:8-10a the ascension is conceived of in terms of
 Messianic Kingship. Now it might appear that in
 4:10b-16 the author moves away from this concept as he
 discusses the nature of the Church; but here it is
 important to note that the discussion centres on the
 increase motif which is expressed by means of ἀξάνω
 (v.15), ἀξήσις (v.16) and οἰκοδομή (vv. 12,16).
 The first point to be noted is that there is a dif-
 ference between ἀξάνω and ἀξήσις . The former
 has a qualitative reference in the Pauline writings,¹¹⁶
 but the latter, which occurs only here and in Col 2:19,
 has a quantitative reference, though admittedly not to
 the total neglect of the idea of quality. If this is
 indeed the case then there is in the final phrase of

v.16 an idea of mission that is not very different from that envisaged in v.10b. This line of argument is well supported by the author's use of οἰκοδομή which has messianic significance as well as ecclesiastical content.¹¹⁷ This means that the ascension motif serves not only as the author's point of departure for his ecclesiology but also for his theology of mission.

3. ΠΑΡΩΜΑ IN EPHESIANS: A SURVEY OF SOURCES

As there is little or no agreement among exegetes on the interpretation of the πλήρωμα concept so too is there no agreement as to the source or sources of the same concept, the disagreement being such that there is even no consensus of opinion as to whether the term owes its being to either Jewish, Hellenistic or Gnostic sources.

We can however divide the possible sources into three major groupings: sources that are basically Jewish in nature, particularly the OT Wisdom literature, Philo and the Rabbis; sources that are Gnostic (at least in outlook, if not exactly belonging to Gnosticism proper), particularly the Odes of Solomon and the Corpus Hermeticum; and lastly sources derived from ancient philosophical systems, particularly Stoicism.

3.1 Jewish Sources

3.1.1 The Wisdom Literature

The most detailed argument for the derivation of κλήρωμα from the Wisdom literature is that put forward by A. Feuillet.¹¹⁸ Basic to Feuillet's argument are two presuppositions that are themselves problematical. Firstly, he assumes that if κλήρωμα in Col 1:15-20 can be shown to depend on Wisdom traditions then it is axiomatic that the same source must underlie the use of the term in Ephesians. As we have already seen it is in fact not necessary to interpret any of the Ephesian texts by way of Colossians. The other presupposition is equally critical. Feuillet admits that the actual word κλήρωμα does not occur in the Wisdom texts which he cites and so is forced to concede that it is likely that Paul owes something to the current Hellenistic philosophy for the word itself, though, so he argues, the source of thought is the Wisdom literature.

We can divide Feuillet's argument into three sections. Firstly, with reference to Col 1:15-20 he notes that this hymnic passage can be divided into two sections in exactly the same fashion as many passages in the Wisdom literature, for example, Prov 8:22-30; Sir 24; Wisdom 7:21-30, 9:1-4, 9-12.

The essential feature of these passages, according to Feuillet, is that in them both a contrast and a parallelism is made between personified wisdom and her activity in time and space. The Sapiential character of Col 1:15-20, furthermore, is borne out by the fact that parallels exist between the thought, and in some cases the language, of Wisdom and this hymnic passage.¹¹⁹ Secondly, turning to Col 2:2f Feuillet notes that these two verses contain ideas that are well-known in Wisdom literature, namely *μυστήριον*, *σοφία*, *γνώσις*, *σύνεσις*, *θησαυρός* and *ἀπόκρυφος*. The third part of the argument is concerned with Eph 3:18 and the four 'dimensions'. Feuillet admits that this use of the concepts is often seen as a Greek philosophical idea which Paul has borrowed, but, against this, suggests that Job 9:8f and Sir 1:3 provide a source which is equally acceptable and, since Wisdom, though active among men, is transcendent, a description which is exactly paralleled by Christ, these writings are the only ones acceptable as a possible source.

A similar suggestion is made by Schweizer¹²⁰ when he argues that Pleroma was originally understood in terms of the world-soul of Hellenistic thought and so for the Christian community it came to be applied to the God who pervades the whole universe. The same

author goes on to suggest that since the Wisdom terminology is present in the Colossian hymn it may also form the background to the Pleroma concept, since it is the Sophia of God which pervades and penetrates all things.

But attractive as these suggestions are they can remain only conjectural. The author(s) of both Colossians and Ephesians could not have been unaware of the fact that in the LXX *πλήρωμα* only occurs with a spatial reference,¹²¹ never in the personalised sense that is demanded if the argument of Feuillet and Schweizer is to be substantiated. Furthermore the fact that the actual *πλήρωμα* term is completely lacking in Jewish wisdom speculation is decisive in view of the fact that the term was used in other contemporary sources,¹²² and, even more importantly, was obviously well-known to the recipients of both Colossians and Ephesians.

3.1.2 Philo

While it is true that *πλήρωμα* is not a word that Philo uses either frequently or with any specific theological significance, there are a few citations that are of some consequence to our investigation. The texts that concern and interest us here are those instances where *πληροσιν* is

associated with the τὰ πάντα formula and thus there is in these instances both a cosmic and theological mode of thought and expression. Of these instances we can cite three examples. We read in Leg alleg III 2,4 : πάντα γὰρ κεπήρωκεν ὁ θεὸς διὸ πάντων διελήλυθεν καὶ κενὸν οὐδὲν οὐδέ· ἔρημον ἀπολέλοιπεν ἑαυτοῦ . The same thought is expressed in De post Caini 30 : (θεός) ὁς τὸ πᾶν ἑμαυτοῦ κεπήρωμα . The concepts that are expressed in these ideas are present in a much more developed way in the longer citation De post Caini 14:¹²³

For the Cause of all is not in the thick darkness, nor locally in any place at all, but high above both place and time. For He has placed all creation under His control, and is contained by nothing but transcends all. But though transcending and being beyond what He has made, none the less has He filled the universe with himself (ἐπιβεβηώς δὲ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ δημιουργηθέντος ὧν οὐδὲν ἦν τὸν κεπήρωκε τὸν κόσμον ἑαυτοῦ) for He has caused His powers to extend themselves throughout the universe to its utmost bounds, and in accordance with the laws of harmony has knit each part to each

Two things are of significance here. Firstly it is notable that the thought expressed in this passage is very similar to that of both Eph 1:20-23 and 4:8-10 in that all three pericopes centre around the scheme ascension-subjugation-filling. Secondly, the language

and content of the Philonic citation seems to depend upon two sources: the language of the Wisdom literature¹²⁴ and the philosophy of the Stoics.¹²⁵ Now it has generally been argued that the author of Ephesians borrowed the *πλήρωμα* term from one or other of several sources. But need this be so? Philo arrived at the same theological conception or motif of ascension-subjugation-filling by means of reliance on the two sources mentioned but for the actual terminology of 'filling' uses not *πλήρωμα* but *πληροῦν*, exactly as does the author of Ephesians in 4:10. Can it be then that the content of *πλήρωμα* in Ephesians is governed not by a theological or philosophical concept that had been related to the word, but rather by the verbal form with its associated traditions?

Our suggestion, which at this stage is no more than a hypothesis, does, however, find support from a number of different directions. Firstly, the actual use made of *πλήρωμα* by Philo himself. The term occurs in Philo somewhat infrequently, but significantly enough on the few occasions when it does occur it does not differ from the use made of the same term in secular literature. Philo uses the word to express the contents - material or spiritual - with which an object can be filled;¹²⁶ he also uses the

term to signify totality.¹²⁷ For Philo the word is neither a terminus technicus nor does it derive from or relate to any specific source or tradition. If our hypothesis is to stand then it must follow that the author of Ephesians used the actual term in a way not basically different from the normal secular usage of the word, though at the same time giving it content by means of the long established philosophical and theological traditions of Stoicism and Wisdom speculations that were associated with κληροσυν. A second line of support for our hypothesis is also available to us in that Philo himself was influenced by Stoic philosophy, particularly in such references as De Gig 27, De Confus ling 136. In the former text, speaking of the spirit which is upon Moses (Num 11:17) Philo writes: νσν δε το επ' αυτω πνεσμα εστι το σοφον το θεον, το ατμητον, το αδιαφρετον, το αστερον το παντη δι' όλων εκπεληρωμενον and, as Dupont¹²⁸ notes, these adjectives (with the obvious exception of ολος) are specifically part of the vocabulary of Stoic philosophy. In the latter text the language and more specifically the thought-form owes much to the same source. A third fact which lends some support to our hypothesis is the parallelism between Eph 4:13f and Philo, De Sobr 9 ον γαρ εχει λογον κομιδη νηπιον παιδιον προς ανδρα τελειον τοστων.¹²⁹ This parallelism is sig-

nificant because, as we have already suggested, the πληροῦν - πλήρωμα in 4:10ff cannot be correctly interpreted without reference to the τέλειος ἄνθρωπος concept of 4:13. The hypothesis can be supported without reference to Philo, As well as occurring in secular literature and Philo the πλήρωμα term is also quite commonly used by later Christian writers, for example, Eusebius, Justin and Basil. In the majority of these instances it refers quite simply to a large number of people, particularly people who share a common description. In these examples the word is used in a way that does not relate to any technical or theological significance being read into the content of the term. And this, we must note, in spite of the fact that during the period when these Fathers were writing πλήρωμα was without doubt a well established terminus technicus in Gnosticism.

Our examination of these Philonic texts has been rewarding. We have not found any evidence that points to a dependence of the author of Ephesians upon the works of Philo but we have seen that it is at least possible that there is a relationship between the two authors in that both use the ascension-subjugation-filling motif, a motif that in Philo at least seems to be result of a conflation

of Wisdom speculation and Stoic philosophy.

Our examination of the *πλήρωμα* concept in Stoic thought, coupled with the results of our examination of the same concept in Ephesians, particular attention having been paid to content and context, will determine whether or not our hypothesis can be substantiated. But before turning to the use made of the term in Stoicism we must conclude our examination of possible Jewish sources with a discussion of at least one suggested source derived from Rabbinical speculation.

3.1.3 Rabbinic Literature

Our specific concern at this point is with the possibility that the Rabbinic concept of the $\overline{\pi} \overline{\eta} \overline{\rho} \overline{\omega} \overline{\mu} \overline{\alpha}$ is a possible source for the concept. S. Aalen¹³⁰ argues that the author of Ephesians (for him Paul) used the *πλήρωμα* term in such a way that it was meant to include all that the Jews intended with the concept of $\overline{\pi} \overline{\eta} \overline{\rho} \overline{\omega} \overline{\mu} \overline{\alpha}$. Aalen does not mean to imply that the terms can be equated, but rather that they are formally and materially parallel, particularly as they relate to Col 1:19, 2:9. The argument centres on *κατοικῆσαι* (Col 1:19, 2:9; Eph 3:17) and its relationship to the *πλήρωμα* concept and supposedly therefore, to the $\overline{\pi} \overline{\eta} \overline{\rho} \overline{\omega} \overline{\mu} \overline{\alpha}$ concept. Central to Aalen's

in a developed form, are representative of the wider field of Gnosis in order that we may discover if they provide us with any indication of the possible source of the concept as it appears in the epistle. In the second place our interest will be with the arguments of H. Schlier who specifically connects the κλήρωμα concept in Ephesians with Gnosticism. The third and final paragraph will consider what use was made in the extant Gnostic writings of the actual κλήρωμα texts of Ephesians and Colossians.

3.2.1. Odes of Solomon

The fact that the κλήρωμα term as it appears in a fully developed Gnostic system such as Valentinianism cannot be related in respect of content to the occurrence of the same term in Ephesians does not of course mean that the term in Ephesians is unrelated to the term as it appears in more primitive 'Gnostic'¹³² sources. It has been suggested that "although [κλήρωμα] became a technical word for the Valentinian divine world, in these letters Colossians and Ephesians it probably derives from the tradition which is also deposited in the Odes of Solomon, e.g. 26:7, 17:7, 19:5, 36:6, 7:11, 41:13, 7:3 and not from the fully 'gnostic' tradition".¹³³ As well as these texts we should also perhaps pay some attention to other references in the Odes cited elsewhere in the

same connection, namely 6:10, 7:13, 11:2, 12:1, 36:6.¹³⁴
 Some of these texts we can eliminate immediately: 7:3
 is an erroneous reference; 6:10, 11:2 and 12:1 are
 references to the act of filling; in the first
 reference it is the stream of living water which fills
 everything¹³⁵ and in the other two references the
 speaker is filled with the love of the Most High (11:2)
 and with the words of truth (12:1). In these
 instances the Syriac of the Odes (wml') is
 equivalent to the Hebrew verbal form שָׂמַל . The
 remaining references are as follows, using the transla-
 tion provided by J.H. Charlesworth:¹³⁶

- 7:11 For He it is who is incorrupt;
 The perfection (šwml'y) of the
 worlds and their Fāther
- 7:13 For towards knowledge He has set His way,
 He has widened it and lengthened it and
 brought it to complete perfection
 (šwml'y)
- 17:7 And He who knew and exalted me
 Is the most High in all His perfection
 (šwml'yh)
- 19:5 Then She (Holy Spirit) gave the mixture
 to the generation without their knowing
 And those who received (it) are in the
 perfection (bšwml'yh) of the right hand
- 26:7 Even from the crest of the summits and
 unto their extremity
 Is His perfection (šwml'yh)
- 35:6 And I was enriched by His favour
 And rested in His perfection (bšwml'yh)
- 36:6 And He annointed me with His perfection
 (mšmlywth);
 And I became one of those who are near Him

41:13 The Son of the Most High appeared
In the perfection (bšwmlly') of
His Father

From these citations a number of observations can be made. This 'perfection' is a quality that is possessed by the Divine but at the same time is communicable to those who are his followers. These citations suggest a strong Christian influence. This is particularly so with 41:13.¹³⁷ The fact that the Syriac of 36:6 differs slightly from the other references cited - which are themselves uniform - is of no significance in this essay. What is of some significance though is that in the Syriac NT the word used to translate κλήρωμα at Eph 1:23, 4:13 is (šwmlly') (the equivalent of ܫܘܡܠܝܘܬܐ); Eph 3:19 is rendered by mwly' (the equivalent of ܡܘܠܝܘܬܐ). Since the idea expressed by the root form is the same in both instances it is unlikely that the authors of the Syriac NT recognised any qualitative difference between Eph 3:19 and the other κλήρωμα texts.

When we return to consider the possibility that the κλήρωμα concept in Ephesians derives from the tradition deposited in the Odes we find ourselves faced with an insurmountable difficulty: in which language were the Odes originally written? There are three suggested possibilities: Syriac, in which the Odes are preserved, Greek or Aramaic. All three

possibilities find scholarly support.¹³⁸ If the original language was other than Greek then the suggestion that the Odes are of significance becomes no more than a remote possibility, particularly in light of the variation in meaning attached to the Syriac šwmlly'. But on the other hand if the Odes were originally written in Greek¹³⁹ the question of the possibility of there being a relationship in the κλήρωμα traditions has more meaning. We should note at this point, in the light of such citations as 35:6, 36:6, that this possibility may well be enhanced by the existence of the τέλειος ἄνηρ phrase in Eph 4:13 as a description for one who has received the κλήρωμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, assuming of course that Charlesworth's translation of the Syriac by 'perfection' does indicate correctly the nuance of meaning.¹⁴⁰ The similarity between 7:13 and Eph 3:18f may also be indicative of the existence of such a relationship. But we must proceed with caution. Though it is true that the Odes are still enigmatic, the majority of scholarly opinion is consistent in dating the Odes no earlier than late first century and at the same time is one in affirming that the Odes have been influenced by earlier Christian writings. Since this is the case we must assume that Ephesians pre-dates, or is at best contemporary with, the Odes and thus we must conclude exactly as in our discussion of the redeemer myth in relation to Eph 4:8-10:

it is not possible to use a later document to establish the source of a term in an earlier document except, of course, in as much as both may depend on an earlier work. The πλήρωμα tradition as present in Ephesians may be preserved in the Odes of Solomon but because of the questions that still persist with regard to the latter document it cannot be shown that the πλήρωμα tradition in Ephesians 'derives' from that preserved in the Odes.

3.2.2 Corpus Hermeticum¹⁴¹

The writings of the Hermetica can be separated into three main groups: the so-called Corpus Hermeticum which is preserved in Greek, the Latin tractate Asclepius and the so-called Kore Kosmou, a collection of theological writings preserved by Stobaeus. Our concern will almost entirely be limited to the Corpus Hermeticum because it is in this document that the πλήρωμα has a distinct role to play.

The most important tractates for a consideration of the term in the Corpus are 12 and 16.

In tractate 12 πλήρωμα stands in close relationship to both ζωή and κόσμος. The worldly-immanent god, the δεύτερος θεός, is described as ὁ δεῦτερος θεός οὗτος, ὁ μέγας θεός καὶ τοῦ μείζονος

εἰκῶν ... πλήρωμά ἐστιν τῆς ζωῆς .

In the world death has ceased to be and, simultaneously, the Father has willed that not only all things in the cosmos, but also the cosmos itself, should be a living being.¹⁴² In this instance πλήρωμα must signify the entire world, in as far as it is a living entity (ζῶον) animated and unified by means of the divine principle. Further examination of this tractate reveals that the formulae τὸ ἓν, τὸ πᾶν, τὰ πάντα, κόσμος, πλήρωμα and θεός (all of which are interchangeable for the author of the tractate) do not change from this meaning; it is only in the reciprocal association that the sense of 'totality' or 'fulness' arises.¹⁴³

In tractate 16, entitled περὶ οἰκονομίας τοῦ πληρώματος , the monistic pantheism that was evident in book 12 is further developed, particularly with respect to the πλήρωμα concept, with emphasis on the antithesis between the 'One' and 'all things'.¹⁴⁴ The theme of the author is the unity between these two entities: every part is One and all parts are in the One and the One is in all parts. As is obvious from the text, the universe, which is both 'One' and 'all' is not πλῆθος but πλήρωμα , as is well summarised by Ernst:¹⁴⁵ "Folglich darf man τὰ πάντα nicht als πλῆθος verstehen, als Vielheit, sondern als geschlossene

Einheit der vielen Dinge, wie es mit dem Wort
πλήρωμα richtig ausgesagt wird".

These are not the only occurrences of the term in the Corpus, but they are the most important and the most informative. The concept appears to be a development of the monistic pantheism of the Stoics but one cannot ignore that at the same time a dualistic tendency is also present which itself may point towards the beginning of the Gnostic understanding of the term. One other observation must be made here: inherent in the understanding of the concept in the Corpus Hermeticum is the idea of unity. Again it is not possible to conclude that the Corpus does provide the source for the πλήρωμα concept in Ephesians,¹⁴⁶ though there is a distinct possibility that both the epistle and the Hermetica, in at least one instance, reflect common ideas.¹⁴⁷

3.2.3 Later Gnosticism

H. Schlier is convinced that the πλήρωμα terminology of both Ephesians and Colossians can only be explained by reference to Gnosticism. He writes:¹⁴⁸

Er hat in diesen Briefen schon fast einen technischen Sinn. Und als Terminus technicus ist er durchaus als bekannt vorausgesetzt und wird

nicht erklärt. Vor allem wird er Kol 2:9 polemisch verwendet und hat also in der Kolossischen Häresie schon eine Rolle gespielt. Methodisch richtig ist es daher, diesen spezifischen Begriff einmal aus den Zusammenhängen unserer beiden Briefe und das aus der Sprache, in der sie sonst sprechen, zu verstehen.

This citation and the one previously cited both draw attention to the methodological presuppositions as well as to the actual methodology of the author. We have already criticised these presuppositions: one cannot assume that there was a pre-Christian Urmensch-redeemer myth and neither can one claim that κληρωμα in Ephesians has a definite 'Gnostic' content on the grounds that the same term has this connotation in Colossians - and we should note that this interpretation with respect to Colossians is by no means beyond dispute. It is surely significant that whereas Schlier talks of 'die Gnosis' he in fact gives this concept the content of a developed Gnostic system ('... in der Gnosis ist Pleroma die Fülle Gottes'.) Whereas it may be possible to argue that Gnosis as a movement of thought does in fact pre-date - or is at least contemporary with - Christianity, it is certainly not possible to argue with any certainty, much less to prove, that Gnosticism proper (der Gnostizismus) is any earlier than the third or fourth decade of the second century.

Schlier's methodology is also open to criticism on two counts. Firstly, his use of the Odes of Solomon. As we have seen already it is not possible to prove that πλήρωμα in Ephesians derives from the tradition deposited in the Odes. Schlier appears to recognise this when he writes¹⁴⁹ "Vor allem sind die Oden Salomos für die Verbreitung des Begriffes relativ gute Zeugen", but yet he can still appeal to the fact that the term is found in the Odes and in Valentinianism as 'proof' that the term carries the same connotation in Ephesians. The fact that these sources are post-Ephesians must count decisively against their being used in this manner. The second criticism involves Schlier's interpretation of Eph 1:23. He writes¹⁵⁰ "So ist Christus im Epheser - (und Kolosser -) Brief κεφαλή und σώμα und beides zusammen = πάντα ". This of course follows directly from his assumption that πλήρωμα has the same content here (the fullness which God is) as in developed Gnosticism, an assumption which we believe to be untenable. Irrespective of whether or not this is so his equation is very difficult to maintain. He assumes that τὰ πάντα and ἐν πᾶσιν in 1:23 are separate entities, though he in fact never quite explains what the significance of this latter term is; we, on the other hand, have argued that τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν is an adverbial phrase equivalent to the classical παντάπασιν. Again, it

is highly unlikely that Christ can in fact be identified with τὰ πάντα , there being no other text in the NT which supports such an identification. Equally nowhere does κεφαλή plus σῶμα equate with τὰ πάντα . This last term is itself a source of difficulty for Schlier. Basic to his argument is the fact "dass der Terminus τὰ πάντα im Eph stets nur die Welt der Wesen bezeichnet, d.h. der Menschen und "Äonen",¹⁵¹ which is itself not in obvious agreement with his original equation. Even more decisive is the fact that Schlier cannot justify his line of approach without resorting to a somewhat forced interpretation of the ἐξουσίαι and δυνάμεις of 1:21f.¹⁵²

Schlier's argument for a Gnostic interpretation of πλήρωμα in Ephesians must then be rejected, primarily on account of his failure to cite evidence for the existence of the Gnostic interpretation of the term earlier than Ephesians. His exegetical method is itself pre-determined by his insistence that Gnosticism is the key whereby the epistle is to be understood and, as we have seen, his exegesis is itself open to serious criticism. If indeed Schlier were correct in his assumptions then it would seem likely that the Gnostic content of πλήρωμα as it occurred in the epistle would have been recognised by the Gnostics themselves and therefore likely to have been

used as proof texts in their own documents. But this is in fact not the case as an examination of the occurrence in Gnostic literature of the NT texts will show.

3.2.4 The Use of the NT Πλήρωμα Texts in Gnostic Writings

The only NT πλήρωμα text that is certainly found in the extant Gnostic literature is Col 2:9, though, as we have already noted,¹⁵³ it is possible, but less certain, that they also used Col 1:19. These citations occur as follows:¹⁵⁴

Adv Haer I, 3.4

That the Saviour who is from All is himself everything they would find indicated in the expression "Every male that opens the womb": he was everything and opened the womb of the desire that belonged to an aeon who fell into passion and which was banished from the Pleroma. They also call this the second Ogdoad ... And for this reason, they affirm, Paul says plainly "He is the All" and again "All things are unto him and from him are all things" and again "In him dwells the entire fullness of the Godhead" (ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος) and "All is summed up by God in Christ. Thus do they interpret [these passages] and others in the same way.

Adv Haer I, 12.3

There is great contention among them about the Saviour as well. Some say that he came into being out of all, and for that reason is called the Well-pleasing, since it pleased the entire Pleroma to praise the Father through him (διδὸ καὶ 'Ευδοκητὸν καλεῖσθαι, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα ἠυδόκησεν δι' αὐτοῦ δοξάζει τὸν Πατέρα).

Refutatio V, 12.f. (with reference to the Peratae)

And they say there came down from on high, from the unoriginate being, the first division of the world, when the time was otherwise complete, in the time of Herod ... a three natured man called Christ, having three bodies and three powers, possessing in himself the complexities and powers proceeding from the three parts of the world. And this, he says, is the meaning of the saying "The whole fullness determined to dwell in him in bodily form" and in him is all the godhead of the trinity divided as aforesaid. (πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα εὐδόκησεν κατοικῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ σωματικῶς καὶ πᾶσα ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ θεότης ...)

Refutatio VIII, 13.1 (with reference to Monoimus)

Now unity, the single stroke, he says, is also the number ten; for this power of the single stroke, the latter Iota, is also the number two and three and four and five and six and seven and eight and nine and so up to ten, for these, he says, are the numbers, so many ways divided, that reside in the simple, incomposite, single stroke of the letter Iota. This the meaning of the saying "For the whole fullness was pleased to reside in the Son of Man in bodily form" (ὅτι πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα ἠυδόκησε κατοικῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σωματικῶς) For, he says, these compositions of numbers[deriving] from the simple incomplete stroke of Iota have become bodily substance.

Ex Theod 31:1

But if he who came down was the good pleasure of the Whole (εὐδοκία τοῦ ὅλου ἦν) for "in him was the entire Pleroma in bodily form (ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα ἦν σωματικῶς) - and himself suffered ...".

The use made by the Gnostics of the Colossian texts is itself worthy of comment. In Adv Haer I, 3.4 it is notable that σωματικῶς is omitted from the citation of Col 2:9. This is because this text is, so Irenaeus reports, used by the Valentinians to prove that the Saviour is derived from aeons and is himself everything. The text is not used explicitly to prove that the totality of the Pleroma was present in the aeon called Christ. This use is without doubt dependent on the Colossian passage, though the change of emphasis is significant. Adv Haer I, 12.3 conflates both Colossian texts, but again there is a weakening of the πλήρωμα concept; no longer does the πλήρωμα dwell in Jesus but instead it praises the Father through the aeon (the Saviour) who is called Well-pleasing. Ex Theod 31:1 also seems to depend on a conflation of the same two texts, but even so there is here again a weakening of the πλήρωμα concept in that the text omits any reference to κατοικέω . The citations from Hippolytus also seem to depend upon a conflation of the Colossian texts. Here the

evidence is stronger in that both the Peratae and Monoimus seem to combine key words which are found in the distinct, though related, sayings in Colossians, as well as having a very similar word order. This could perhaps be explained as a result of a tradition that grew up in dependence on Colossians¹⁵⁵ or perhaps in dependence on a tradition which lies behind Colossians.¹⁵⁶ The fact that in Refutatio X, 10.4, where the views of the Peratae are summarised, the Colossian text appears as ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς indicates not only that Hyppolytus knew Col 2:9 but also that in the earlier citation V. 12.4 it is a conflated version of both 1:19 and 2:9 that is used by the Peratae.

In the earliest extant Gnostic literature there are also references to Rom 11:25 at Ex Theod 56:3 and to Eph 4:8 at both Ex Theod 7:3ff and 43:1ff, but it is significant that in these instances the actual πλήρωμα phrase is not in fact cited.

If we accept that those sayings in Peratae and Monoimus are dependent on Colossians it will mean that of the seventeen πλήρωμα texts in the NT only four are to be found in the extant Gnostic writings and of these it is only in references which cite either (or both) the Colossian texts that the

actual κλήρωμα term is used. The neglect of the Ephesian κλήρωμα texts is all the more significant in view of the number of times that other references to the epistle do occur in the Gnostic literature. The Valentinians certainly cited Eph 1:10 as a proof text for their thesis, as is demonstrated by Adv Haer I, 3.4 ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ . According to Refutatio VI, 34:7 the Gnostics also made use of 3:14-16. Three other citations from the epistle, as well as 4:9 as already noted, are also found in the Excerpta of Theodotus: 19:3 = Eph 4:24; 43:5 = 4:9; 48:2 = 4:24; 6:12. The almost total neglect of the Ephesian κλήρωμα texts in extant Gnostic literature can only serve to demonstrate the fact that the Gnostic authors themselves failed where many a NT exegete has succeeded: it was not in any way obvious to them that the κλήρωμα texts in Ephesians could be satisfactorily adduced as proof-texts for their theory. This does not prove conclusively that κλήρωμα in our epistle has nothing to do with Gnostic sources, but in view of the total lack of conclusive evidence to the contrary this fact must be reckoned as highly likely.

There is also a totally different line of investigation, the outcome of which will support the above statement. In our discussion of Valentinianism we outlined the 'crisis' that occurred in the Pleroma. Now it is not without significance that statements that refer to the same kind of developing crisis are to be found in the Gospel of Truth, a document that is generally accepted as being a Valentinian Meditation on the Gospel. The sayings that particularly seem relevant here are 17:4-6 and 22:27. The second point of interest is that in this Coptic document the Greek loan-word $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\alpha$ occurs eleven times.¹⁵⁷ Now in view of the significance of the statements at 17:4-6 and 22:27 it would be natural to expect that the term was to be given the same content as in Valentinianism proper. But this is not the case. In all the occurrences, with the possible exception of 16:35, 41:14 and 43:16, the word means no more than the heavenly dwelling place of God. Even if in the three instances mentioned the word is to be understood in its technical sense - and this is by no means certain¹⁵⁸ - it does not stop us from concluding that even in developed Gnosticism $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\alpha$ did not always carry the full technical interpretation. This fact further cautions us against reading Gnosticism into any and every $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\alpha$ reference either within or without the NT.

3.3 Stoic Philosophy

Many of the thoughts and conceptions that occur in the literature with which we have dealt in the previous paragraphs owe their beginnings to Stoic philosophy. Basic to the religious sentiment of the Stoics was the idea that the whole world was a homogenised cosmos in which every smallest particle is totally penetrated by the deity. The one thought that pervades their writings is frequently expressed by the formula *κεκληρωσθαι πάντα καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι κενόν*.¹⁵⁹ We have already seen that in Philo and, to a lesser extent, in the Wisdom literature, *κληροῦν* suggested not only the thought of 'filling' or 'completion', but also carried with it the idea of unity. The same is also true in general for Stoic philosophy: the idea of filled space is generally expressed by either *κληροῦν* or *κλήρες* - both of which are seen as the negation of *τὸ κενόν* and in frequent association with *ἡνώσθαι*.¹⁶⁰

The most thorough-going investigation into the relationship between *πλήρωμα* and Stoic philosophy has been carried out by Dupont¹⁶¹ who concludes

Les théories cosmologiques du stoïcisme vulgarisé sont les seules à fournir un thème littéraire qui use du terme pleroma et qui corresponde au contexte littéraire de ce terme dans les épîtres de la captivité.

Certainly such ideas as expressed in the κλήρωμα references in Ephesians, particularly 4:10, are not unrelated to the basic conception of Stoic philosophy. But whether this relationship is such to substantiate the claim made by Dupont is another question. The basic problem, which Dupont hardly acknowledges, is that the actual term κλήρωμα, although not unknown in Stoic philosophical writings, is never used to denote the 'filled space'; the idea is without exception signified by either κληροῦν or κληρεῖς. This fact must count decisively against concluding that Stoic philosophy provides the source for the actual κλήρωμα term as it appears in Ephesians. What Dupont has done though is to show quite conclusively that a connection does exist between the world of the Stoics and that of the cosmic theologoumenon of Ephesians.

4. SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

Our investigation of the suggested sources for the κλήρωμα concept as it occurs in the epistle has shown, negatively, that there is not sufficient evidence to conclude that any one of these sources in its own right can rightly be described as the source which underlies the κλήρωμα concept. But on the positive side we have seen that the same association

of ideas, though admittedly not always with identical terminology, is present in Philo and that in these instances this author is relying quite evidently on two sources: Wisdom literature and Stoic literature. Furthermore, it is precisely in these two sources that we find an emphasis upon the idea of 'filling', which is expressed by the πληροσν terminology. The last point that is of significance is that it is in these sources that the πληροσν concept - and in some instances also the πληρωμα concept - carries with it the idea of unity.

Now with this in mind we should remind ourselves of the comment made by E. Best:¹⁶² "We note the close connection ... between the verbal forms of πληροσν and the noun πληρωμα formed from it ... suggesting that πληρωμα was to be conceived of in terms of the meaning of the verb". Our investigation has shown that this is precisely how the whole question of πληρωμα is to be approached. It cannot be interpreted of itself; it can only be interpreted by the verbal form which itself owes its meaning and significance to both Stoic philosophy and the Wisdom literature. A more precise source or tradition for the πληρωμα term cannot be established.

5. ΠΑΡΟΧΜΑ : ITS THEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Our discussion of the κλήρωμα concept in Ephesians has demonstrated that the actual term is not one that submits itself easily to definition. It most assuredly cannot be interpreted adequately in terms of any one of the sources or traditions which various scholars have suggested to be the key to its significance. Our examination of these sources has demonstrated the limitations of this approach. But this is not to say either that the term does not have an important role to play in the theology of the epistle or that it is inexplicable.

In 1:23 the term has both christological and ecclesiological significance. Ecclesiologically it refers to the function of the Church as the unifier of the cosmos; the Church is the sphere in which the ἀνακεφαλαιώσις is to occur. But equally the term denotes ecclesiological unity; the 'many' which is the Church is the alter ego of Christ in that it expresses and represents that unity which is inherent in Christ. Thus the term also demonstrates its christological significance: in using the term in relation to the ascension which is itself messianic the author is implicitly proclaiming the unity of Christ with God, a unity expressed not in terms of nature but of function.

In 4:8-16 the author expands the same theme, though here he does separate the christological and ecclesiological statements. Πληρώση τὰ πάντα is christological, though not exclusively so. Christ, by virtue of his ascension, is now enthroned and consequently is empowered to bring about total reconciliation. But the universe (τὰ πάντα) includes the Church, though it is not identified with it. This then is the ecclesiological significance of the phrase: Christ will bring the universe to completion by means of the Church. This ecclesiology is further explained by the phrase εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ . In faith the Church is one (τέλειος ἀνὴρ) and as such it is involved in the process of reconciliation such that all things become one; that is, all things attain to that condition which the Church already possesses. The Church then in its essence is perfect, but in that its task is the reconciliation of all things it is yet in the process of being made perfect.

The statement ἵνα πληρωθῆτε εἰς πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα of 3:19 is not set in the context of the ascension motif and consequently the christological significance is not as explicit as in the other statements, but is, nevertheless, present. The main thrust of the πλήρωμα term as it occurs in the state-

ment is ecclesiological and is not very different from that of the statement in 4:13.

Having expounded the theological significance of the term we can now return to an issue which formed part of our initial discussion. We argued that πλήρωμα specifically in 1:23 and, by implication and interpretation, also in 3:19 and 4:13 was to be considered as an active noun. Now our theological discussion has shown that basic to the significance and interpretation of the term in question is Eph 1:10. It is precisely the implication of this relationship that suggests that, although still insisting that the active significance of the πλήρωμα term is primary, we must admit that in Eph 1:23, 3:19 and 4:13 there is also a secondary passive significance intended in the author's use of the concept. This does not affect anything that we have said; it is a theological judgement that has been confirmed by our own estimation of the theological significance of the concept.

¹Cf our comments on the relationship between πληροῦν and πλήρωμα below, especially pp. 189-195, pp.197-203, pp. 218f.

²4:10 cannot be treated in isolation from 4:13; both stand as part of the author's discussion and comment that arises directly out of his use of the OT citation of Ps 67:19 as a description of the ascension of Christ.

³Cf Best, op.cit., p.141: "We note the close connection between verbal forms of πληροῦν and the noun πλήρωμα formed from it ... suggesting that πλήρωμα was conceived in terms of the meaning of the verb". This is a suggestion to which we will return below; cf p. 258.

⁴Cf, for example, Euripides, Cyclops 208.

⁵Cf, for example, Euripides, Ion 1051.

⁶Cf, for example, Hippocrates, Aer 7.

⁷So Herodotus 8:45; Plato, Critias 119B.

⁸Cf, for example, Aristophanes, Vespae 660; Appian, Mithridates 47:185; Herodotus, 3:22.

⁹Aristotle, Politica 3:13; Plato Republic 2,371.

¹⁰Cf Greek Inscriptions, II, ed. N. Koehler, vol.2, p.224.

¹¹So G. Delling, " πλήρωμα ", TDNT 6, p.298. The term is, according to Delling, used only in Plutarch (8 times) with this significance.

¹²Cf the parallels in Mt 9:16 and Lk 5:36. Mt follows Mk with no significant alteration but Lk omits πλήρωμα. This leads F.C. Synge. "Mark II:21 = Matthew IX:16 = Luke V:36 : The Parable of the Patch", ET 56 (1944-45), pp.26f argues that the term in Mk 2:21 should in fact be translated 'wholeness' as, Synge argues, it was understood in Lk 5:36. But in view of the fact that in both Mk 6:43, 8:20 the term refers to nothing more than that the baskets are 'full' and not, as Synge argues, to the fact that the purpose of the basket - i.e. that it is to be filled, is accomplished, it would seem likely that the same significance of simply 'fulness' is intended in Mk 2:21.

¹³Cf E. Lohmeyer, Markusevangelium, Göttingen: 1967; pp.61f. The same conclusion is reached by S.E. Johnson, A Commentary on the Gospel according to Mark, London: 1960; p.65, who comments that πλήρωμα in this instance is "probably an Aramaism". M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, Oxford: 1967; p.133, admits the possibility of there being an Aramaism behind τὸ πλήρωμα of 2:21, but is less definite than Johnson.

¹⁴A different view is put forward by Bultmann, John, pp. 65f, who argues that the term should be interpreted in light of the pantheistic cosmology and belief in divine aeons of the Gnostic systems. But in view of the frequent OT references to 'fulness' (though usually expressed in the LXX by κλήρης and not πλήρωμα) in such statements as 'the fulness of grace, mercy' etc., this view seems unlikely.

¹⁵Cf also Pss 49:12, 88:11, 95:11 and Jer 8:16 where similar phrases occur,

¹⁶The term occurs 13 times in the LXX: 1 Chron 16:32; Pss 23:1, 49:12; 88:11, 95:11, 97:7; Ecc 4:6; Cant 5:12; Jer 8:16, 29:2; Ez 12:19, 19:7, 30:12 and translates מֵלֵא and מֵלֵא .

¹⁷Cf Ernst, op.cit., p.68.

¹⁸So Delling, " πλήρωμα ", p.304; C.K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, London: 1957; p.215.

¹⁹For a discussion (and rejection) of this translation see Barrett, ibid.

²⁰Cf Gal 5:14; Rom 13:8; in both instances the same idea, the fulfilling of the Law, is expressed by means of πληροῦν, thus suggesting that Paul does not differentiate between the two concepts.

²¹Cf also the following foot-note.

²²This parallelism is noted by Delling, " πλήρωμα", p.303; and by C.F.D. Moule, "'Fullness' and 'Fill' in the New Testament", SJT 4 (1951), pp.78-86, especially p.82. In both Eph 1:10 and Rom 13:9f ἀνακεφαλαιωσις and πλήρωμα are brought together. This means that for these two texts at least it is unlikely that πλήρωμα

can be understood in the active sense, because if this were the case the latter would then mean exactly the same as the former. Presumably therefore in both texts κλήρωμα means 'complete fulfillment' and not 'sum'. Delling, ibid comments (with respect to Rom 13:10): "κλήρωμα does not mean 'sum', but 'complete fulfillment' of the Law in deed and in this sense it is the opposite of the formal ἀνακεφαλαιοῦντα".

²³Cf below pp. 259-261.

²⁴Op. cit., p.71.

²⁵Op. cit., p.140.

²⁶Cf B-D para. 64.

²⁷For an extended form of this argument cf C.F.D. Moule, The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon, Cambridge: 1967; pp. 169f.

²⁸Cf below pp. 219-223. From the extant literature it appears that the only NT κλήρωμα text certainly used by the Gnostics was Col 2:9, though it is possible, but much less likely, that they also used Col 1:19; cf Adv Haer I, 3:4, 12:3; Excerpta 31:1; Refutatio V, 12:4f, VIII, 13:1f. These last two references refer to the doctrines of the Perates and of Monoimus respectively and depend upon a conflation of both Colossian texts. In that in both instances there is a definite combining of key words as well as a very similar word order it is at least possible that the sayings recorded by Hippolytus owe their source not to the Colossian epistle but to an earlier tradition upon which the author of Colossians was dependent; cf F. Borsch, The Christian and Gnostic Son of Man, London: 1972; pp. 66ff. For our own comments on this see below pp. 280-255.

²⁹See below pp. 219-223, 239-255 for the detailed statement of our argument.

³⁰Percy, op. cit., p.71 argues that this is very unlikely in view of the importance of that which is signified by the term. R.P. Martin, Colossians, Exeter: 1972; p.48, comments that κλήρωμα "more likely is the author's term, used to assert the very truth the heretics were doubting or denying".

³¹Delling, "κλήρωμα", p.303.

³²Colossians, pp.92-4.

³³It must be noted though that the *σῶμα* - *σῶμα* antithesis of 2:17 is unusual in Pauline thought; thus it may be a construction used by the author in deliberate opposition to the doctrine of his opponents.

³⁴Cf Mussner, Christus, p.58: "Es zeigt auch ein innere Zusammenhang zwischen der Auferweckung des Christus und der Verleihung des göttlichen 'Fülle' an ihm: der Erstgeborene von der Toten kommt in der Auferweckung durch Gott in der Besitz der vollen göttlichen Lebensmacht, um dadurch nach göttlichen Absicht werden zu können". (his emphasis).

³⁵Not merely the totality of the qualities of God (*θειότης*) as in Rom 1:20.

³⁶"The Idea of Pleroma in the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians", Downside Review 83 (1959), p.120. Bogdasavich sets out to do little but restate the view of Feuillet, "L'Eglise"; C.F.D. Moule, Colossians, p.168, also appears to argue for a unity of meaning for the term in both epistles.

³⁷"*κλήρωμα* ", p.304. The same view is put forward by Mitton, op.cit., pp.95-7.

³⁸Op.cit., pp.64-72.

³⁹Op.cit., pp.163ff.

⁴⁰The Common Life in the Body of Christ, Westminster: 1941; pp.288-321.

⁴¹Cf below pp.189-195. It is notable that Robinson's discussion does not include any account of the phrase *τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ* and its relation to the rest of the verse, although his translation does presume a particular solution to the problems that the phrase raises.

⁴²Robinson accepts Pauline authorship of both epistles, his argument being that the treatment of *σῶμα* in Ephesians is continuous with that of Colossians and the rest of the Pauline epistles. It is interesting to note that Robinson rejects Pauline authorship of the Pastorals primarily on the grounds that they,

although talking of the Church, do not make use of the σῶμα concept. But if the same test of authorship is applied to Galatians and 1 Thessalonians where the term only occurs once each 6:17 and 5:23 respectively (though in neither case with reference to the Church) and to 2 Thessalonians where the term does not appear, then these epistles also presumably must be regarded as of doubtful authenticity, whereas all scholars are convinced of the genuineness of at least the first two of these three epistles. This observation must throw some doubt on the validity of Robinson's argument.

⁴³Cf "A Note on Ephesians 1:22,23", ET 60 (1948-49), p.53; "'Fullness' and 'Fill'", pp.79-86; Colossians, pp.169ff. In the last mentioned work Moule is less certain of his interpretation of Eph 1:23 than in the earlier articles.

⁴⁴Best, op.cit., p.144 n.1, describes this interpretation 'grammatically difficult'. A lengthy criticism of the point of view adopted by Moule is set out by Abbott, op.cit., p.138. The criticism is answered, though not to our total satisfaction, by Moule in Colossians, pp.169ff; cf also n.58 below.

⁴⁵Lightfoot, Colossians, pp.323-29.

⁴⁶J.A. Robinson, St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, London: 1903; pp.141-46, 152 and 255-59. The same author offers a more comprehensive presentation of his argument in "The Church as the Fulfillment of Christ", Expositor 7 (5th Series, 1898), pp.244-48.

⁴⁷Colossians, p.323.

⁴⁸Ephesians, p.256. Robinson points out that following Lightfoot's 'rule' κῶλυμα is, in the first place, the result of hindering, i.e. hindrance. But when this is thought of not merely as an abstract idea, but as a concrete reality, it has come to signify 'that which hinders', that is to say it has acquired what we would normally describe as an active sense, though the 'rule' in question demands that κῶλυμα shall be strictly passive.

⁴⁹Mk 2:21, 8:20; Mt 9:16; Rom 11:25, 13:1; 1 Cor 10:26.

⁵⁰It is this sense which covers the use of the term in the LXX and in most instances in secular literature; cf Moule, Colossians, p.164; Ernst, op.cit., pp.1-21.

⁵¹A.R. McGlashan, "Ephesians 1:23", ET 76 (1964-65), pp.152f; Moule in the literature cited in n.43 and most EV since Tyndale.

⁵²So Abbott, op.cit., pp.34-38; S. Hanson, The Unity of the Church in the New Testament, Uppsala:1946; pp.128ff.

⁵³Cf P. Benoit, "Corps, Tête et Plerôme dans l'épître de la captivité", RB 63 (1956), p.42 n.4.

⁵⁴Op.cit., pp.219f.

⁵⁵This last objection will be nullified if we accept the judgement of C.F.D. Moule, An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek, Cambridge: 1971; p.24, that in the NT period the middle voice was so modified that it was rarely if ever used reflexively. In the majority of instances it implied that the whole subject was concerned in the action.

⁵⁶So C.F.D. Moule, J.A. Robinson and W.L. Knox in the works cited and most modern commentators. For a different view see G. Howard, "The Head/Body Metaphor in Ephesians", NTS 20 (1974), pp.350-56, especially pp.351f, who claims that it is doubtful if τὰ πάντα is ever used as an adverbial construction in Paul.

⁵⁷The First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, London: 1973.

⁵⁸Moule, "Ephesians 1:23", arguing the case for πλήρωμα being understood as in apposition to αὐτόν, attempts to refute the case against this possibility as put forward by Abbott, op. cit. p.38. Abbott's objections are that if πλήρωμα is in apposition to αὐτόν then the clause ἥτις ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα would be a useless insertion and, secondly, that if πλήρωμα is in apposition to αὐτόν then it should immediately follow it whereas "as they stand they could only depend on αὐτόν ἔδωκεν, gave him to be πλήρωμα which does not yield a possible sense". Abbott's first objection is easily answered by Moule - the phrase is a perfectly natural supplement to the phrase 'appointed (sic) Him as supreme Head to the Church'. In attempting to answer the second objection Moule admits that his construction 'is impossible Greek' but goes on to argue that this 'impossible Greek' yields a 'possible sense if (and we may add, only if) we do interpret the phrase to mean that 'God appointed Christ as Head of the Church and as the fulness ...'.

⁵⁹This is the solution put forward by R. Yates, Ephesians 1:23 : A Re-consideration, an unpublished M.Litt. dissertation, Cambridge: 1969. The same arguments are set out in abbreviated form by Yates in an article of the same title in ET 83 (1971-72), pp. 147-151. Our own presentation owes much to these works. Yates bases his grammatical considerations on the arguments put forward by J.A. Robinson, in the works cited in n.46.

⁶⁰The same general conclusion is reached by F.J. Steinmetz, Protologische Heilszuversicht, Frankfurt: 1969; pp. 114-21. He comments (p. 114): "Zunächst wird die Kirche als das πλήρωμα Christi bezeichnet. Eine gewisse Erläuterung erfährt der anscheinend als bekannt vorausgesetzte Begriff durch des Genitivattribut τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ πληρουμένου. Das Wort Pleroma selbst wird jedoch nicht definiert. So wird man der allgemeinen Bedeutung des Wortes ausgehen dürfen. Demnach würde die Kirche die Fülle des Christus und Christus der das All Erfüllende genannt". We should note however that Steinmetz accepts a passive significance for πλήρωμα, but even this does not make his conclusion differ in general terms from our own. For our justification of the translation offered here of v.23 see below pp.197-203

⁶¹For our discussion of this 'problem' see below pp. 197-203.

⁶²Op. cit. pp. 114ff.

⁶³Op. cit. p.3.

⁶⁴This was first suggested by C.H. Dodd, "Ephesians", in Abingdon Bible Commentary, Nashville: 1929; pp. 1225ff. Dodd sees the doctrine of Inclusive Personality as 'latent' in the Pauline conception of the Church. The same idea is also taken up by F. Beare, "Ephesians", in IB, 10, pp. 636f and S. Hanson, loc. cit.

⁶⁵Yates, op. cit., p.150.

⁶⁶So Moule Colossians, p.169.

⁶⁷J.A.T. Robinson, op. cit. p.69.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Cf 2 Cor 8:2. On this cf Percy, op. cit. pp. 301, 385 n.34.

⁷⁰Cf Bruce, Ephesians, p.69.

⁷¹Cf B-D para 391.5.

⁷²Op. cit., p.121.

⁷³J.A.T. Robinson, op. cit., p.68.

⁷⁴Christus, op. cit. pp. 27,50. For the full citations cf M. Lidzbarski, Ginza: Der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer, Göttingen: 1925.

⁷⁵CH 1:15 : inner-man is essential being (ὁ οὐσιώδης ἄνθρωπος); CH 13:7 : inner-man is the divine source (ὁ ἐνδιάθετος ἄνθρωπος); CH 18:21 : the divine νοῦς is the 'proper self' of man (ὁ ἔννοος ἄνθρωπος). The same references are also noted by Ernst, op. cit. p. 126.

⁷⁶Barrett, Romans, p.150.

⁷⁷Op. cit., pp. 131-35.

⁷⁸Colossians, p.169.

⁷⁹Op. cit., pp. 141f.

⁸⁰Op. cit., p.280.

⁸¹Op. cit., p.58.

⁸²J. Gewiess, "Die Begriffe πληροῦν und κλήρωμα im Kolosser - Epheser-brief", in Vom Wort des Lebens (Feschrift für M. Meinertz), Munster: 1950; pp. 128-41.

⁸³The same line of argument is followed by E. Haupt, Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe, Göttingen: 1902; pp. 133f.

⁸⁴Op. cit., p.139.

⁸⁵See above pp. 91f, 167-72.

⁸⁶Op. cit. p.323.

⁸⁷P. du Plessis, Teleios: The Idea of Perfection in the New Testament, Kampen: 1959; pp. 191f.

⁸⁸"Gnosis, Gnosticism and the New Testament", SHR 12 (1966), p.513.

⁸⁹H. Schlier, "Die Kirche nach dem Brief an die Epheser", in Die Kirche im Epheserbrief, H. Schlier and V. Warnach, Munster: 1949; p.110.

⁹⁰The phrase 'the earliest Gnostics' is admittedly very ambiguous. As yet there is no real consensus of opinion regarding the beginnings of Gnosticism proper, as opposed to the more general Gnosis. It may well be that the serious fault in Schlier's argument is that he fails to distinguish between Gnosticism as a religion and Gnosis as a movement of thought; cf chpt. 2 n.153.

⁹¹The use of the term shows every indication of being related to, if not based on, the use of the same term in Jn 1:16; cf for example, Refutatio V 8:30 (referring to the saying of Moses in Deut 31:21)

τοῦτο ... ἐστὶ τὸ μέλι καὶ τὸ γάλα οὗ γευσθέντος τοῦς τελείους ἀβασιλεύτους γενέσθαι καὶ μετασχεῖν τοῦ κληρώματος. τοῦτο ... ἐστὶ τὸ κληῶμα, δι' οὗ πάντα [τὰ] γινόμενα γεννητὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ γεγονέντε καὶ πεπληρωται.

⁹²Cf Refutatio VIII, 10.3.

⁹³For a detailed description of Valentinianism cf F.M. Sagnard, La Gnose Valentinienne, Paris: 1947.

⁹⁴H. Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, Boston: 1958, p.178.

⁹⁵Op. cit., p.174.

⁹⁶Refutatio VI, 29.5; Eug 73:1ff, 74:20

⁹⁷Adv Haer I,1.1; Panarion XXXI,5:2; Excerpta 22:32f.

⁹⁸Adv Haer I,1.1; Panarion XXXI,5.5; Excerpta 6:1

⁹⁹Refutatio VI, 29.7; Eug 86f.

¹⁰⁰According to Refutatio VI, 29f. the original pair are not included in the total 30; the number being made up by the addition of two extra aeons, Christ and Holy Spirit.

¹⁰¹The number 30 is accounted for in at least two different ways by the Valentinians: either the number of the 'hidden' years of Jesus between his birth and the beginning of his public preaching, or, by the sum total of the hours of the workers in the vineyards (1+3+6+9+11). In both instances the figure is associated with that which was not generally known; cf Adv Haer I,1.3.

¹⁰²Excerpta 32:1 : 'Εν πληρώματι οὖν ἐνδοτικὸς οὐσης ἕκαστος τῶν αἰώνων ἴδιον ἔχει πλήρωμα, τὴν συζυγίαν. ὅσα οὖν συζυγίας φασί, προδέρχεται, πληρωματά ἐστίν, ὅσα δὲ ἀπὸ ἐνός, εἰκόνας. Cf Heracleon, Fragment 18 on John 4:16-18 in Origen, in Joh XIII,11.

¹⁰³Adv Haer I,2.1

¹⁰⁴Adv Haer I,2.2; Refutatio VI,31.1.

¹⁰⁵But see n.99 above.

¹⁰⁶Adv Haer I,2.5f. According to Refutatio VI, 31.5 another aeon, the Cross, was produced in order that the deficiency that had taken place in the Pleroma might not be imparted to the remaining aeons. The Cross also served to separate that which was outside the Pleroma from the Pleroma and was believed to contain in itself the thirty aeons at one and the same time.

¹⁰⁷Adv Haer I,2.6. Translation from Foerster, op. cit., I, p.130. Cf also Refutatio VI, 32.3.

¹⁰⁸Die Kirche, p.89.

¹⁰⁹"Antilegomena", p.254.

¹¹⁰Cf O. Michel, "καταντῶ", TDNT 3, pp. 625-28.

- 111 "Ephesians" in The Expositor's Greek Bible, London: 1903, pp. 332f.
- 112 "Révélation des Mysteries et Perfection à Qumran et dans le Nouveau Testament", NTS 4 (1957-58), pp. 237-62.
- 113 So also Cerfaux, Christ, pp. 320-22
- 114 Christus, p.61.
- 115 Op. cit., p.174.
- 116 E.g. 1 Cor 3:6f; 2 Cor 9:10, 10:15.
- 117 Cf O. Michel, " οἰκοδομεῖν " TDNT 5, pp. 139ff.
- 118 "L'Église", pp. 462-72, 593-610.
- 119 Feuillet instances the similarity between Col 1:15 and Wis 7:26; Col 1:17 and Prov 8:23-25; Col 1:16 (as it relates to the function of Christ in creation) and Prov 8:30; Wis 7:21, 8:6; Col 1:16b and Prov 3:19.
- 120 "Antilegomena", p.294 n.3.
- 121 Cf Delling, " κληρωμα ", pp. 299f.
- 122 See above esp. pp.175f.
- 123 Translation from Loeb Classical Library edition.
- 124 Cf Wis 8:1.
- 125 Cf below pp.256f.
- 126 E.g., the contents of the Ark, De Vita Moses II:62, Mussner, Christus, p.49, understands this reference to mean 'completely full', but in view of De praem et poen 65 where the word occurs in the statement 'the fulness of virtue' this is unlikely.
- 127 De praem et poen 109.

128 J. Dupont, Gnosis, Louvain: 1949; p.465 n.3.

129 As noted by Mussner, Christus, p.61.

130 Begrepet Plaeroma i Kolosser-og Efeserbrevet", TTK 23 (1952) pp. 49-67; Aalen is followed to a large extent by G. Munderlein, "Die Erwählung durch das Pleroma", NTS 8 (1961-62), pp. 264-76.

131 Delling, " κλήρωμα ", p.303.

132 These sources, representing an undeveloped, unsystematised form of Gnosticism, are more properly classified as belonging to the more general movement of thought typified as 'Gnosis'. For our distinction between 'Gnosis' and 'Gnosticism' see chpt. 2 n.153.

133 A. Hamerton-Kelly, Pre-existence, Wisdom and the Son of Man, London: 1973; p.183.

134 Cited by Mussner, Christus, p.51.

135 According to J. Rendall Harris and A. Mingana, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, II, Manchester: 1920; p.235, the author at this point has Hab 2:14 in mind.

136 The Odes of Solomon, Oxford: 1973.

137 The two following verses of the ode appear to be very Johannine:

v.14 And light dawned from the word
That was before him in time

v.15 The Messiah in truth is one
And he was known before the foundations
of the world
That he might give life to persons
for ever by the truth of His name.

138 The present stage of the argument is well set out by A. Adam, "Die ursprüngliche Sprache der Salomo-Oden", ZNW 53 (1961), pp. 141-56. J.A. Emerton, "Some Problems in the Text and Language in the Odes of Solomon", JTS 18 (1967), pp.372-406.

139 For a detailed statement of this position cf Harris-Mingana, op. cit. II, pp. 138-75.

140 Harris-Mingania translates ἁπλῶς by 'perfection' in 7:11, 17:7, 26:7, 35:7, 36:6, 41:13; and by 'fulness' in 7:13, 19:5.

141 The relationship between the Hermetica and writings which can certainly be described as representative of Gnosticism is unclear, but the fact that a Coptic version of Asclepius was found in the Nag Hammadi Library - as well as three further treatises apparently related to the Hermetica - demonstrates that there is at least an affinity between the literature of Gnosticism and that of the Hermetica. Cf R.A. Markus, "Pleroma and Fulfillment", VC 8 (1953-54), pp. 199f.

142 The same close association of Pleroma, cosmos and life is found in Asclepius 29,30.

143 The same conclusion is reached by Ernst, op. cit., p.15; Markus, op. cit., p.201; Dupont, Gnosis, p.468.

144 Cf 16:3.

145 Op. cit., p.14.

146 See above chpt. 2 n.168.

147 Cf particularly Eph 3:19 with CH 9:4, 10:4. In all three references the concepts of γνώσις and plenitude are connected with that of 'filling' (πληροῦν). Dupont, Gnosis, p.460, is probably correct when he says of these references "il suffit de les expliquer par le langage commun".

148 Epheser, p.97; cf also the citation from Die Kirche, p.110, on p. 219.

149 Epheser, p.98.

150 Christus, p.46.

151 Ibid.

152 Cf Epheser, pp.100 and above pp. 62ff.

153 Cf n.28 above

154 English translations from Foerster, op. cit., I, p.132. The Greek text is that W.W. Harvey, Sancti Irenaei (2 vols), Cambridge: 1857.

155 So Borsch, Christian and Gnostic Son of Man, p.66.

156 Cf Michel, " οἰχοδομεῖν ", p.154, who says of Col 1:19 and 2:9 : "this obviously belongs to the fixed liturgical and kerygmatical stock of the community."

157 16:35, 34:30,36, 35:5,29,36, 36:10, 40:33, 41:14,16, 43:16.

158 The difficulties that surround 41:14 are well set out and discussed by K. Grobel, The Gospel of Truth, London: 1960; p.135 . If his translation and paraphrase are correct then πλήρωμα in this instance does not have a Gnostic interpretation. But in 16:35, 43:16 the term does appear to carry this technical understanding.

159 Refutatio I, 21.5. Cf also Aetii Placita I, 18.5, 20.1. These references and many other formulae are linked by Dupont, Gnosis, p.462 n.2. The concept is developed by Philo, Leg alleg III,4 and is also found in CH 16:3.

160 Diog Laer VII, 140; Galenus, De differentia pulsuum 3:6. Cf Dupont, Gnosis , pp. 462-64, Ernst, op. cit., p.11.

161 Op. cit., pp. 453-76. For citation see p.471.

162 Cf n.3 above

CHAPTER 4

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to examine the part that the κεφαλή - σῶμα relationship has to play in the ascension theology of Ephesians. That there is some close association between motif and theology is obvious; in both ascension pericopes there is not only reference to, but deliberate emphasis on the motif. This relationship is one which exegetes have in the main ignored, concentrating instead on questions relating to the source and significance of the σῶμα concept. In this chapter the question of the ultimate source, either of the σῶμα christology or the κεφαλή - σῶμα motif, is one that we will not attempt to solve. Indeed, as Roels correctly remarks,¹ "the significance of the phrase [σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ] as a designation of the Church ... does not depend exclusively upon its background, but also and more particularly upon the specific content which is given the phrase within the framework of the Pauline theology of the Church". We shall therefore, only comment directly upon possible sources inasmuch as they immediately affect the significance of the κεφαλή - σῶμα motif in its relationship with the ascension theology.

Our procedure will be as follows.

Firstly we shall concern ourselves with philology in order that we may determine the relationship between language and theology with respect to the κεφαλή - σῶμα motif. Having established this we will be in a position to pursue the theological intent of the author. This examination will necessitate, quite obviously, separate consideration of the implications of both the κεφαλή and σῶμα terms as they occur generally in the Pauline corpus and, more specifically, in Ephesians. However, before we can commence with this line of investigation we shall have to examine the implications of the author's use of διδάμι particularly as it relates to 1:22. The conclusions that we draw from both lines of approach will enable us to comment not only on the relationship implied by the κεφαλή - σῶμα motif but more specifically on the significance of this relationship for the ascension theology.

2. THE ΚΕΦΑΛΗ, ΣΩΜΑ AND ΚΕΦΑΛΗ - ΣΩΜΑ MOTIFS

The term κεφαλή occurs 18 times in the Pauline corpus. In eight of these occasions it refers to the bodily organ² and is not part of a theological motif as such. Of the remaining instances, five stand in texts where the obvious reference is to subordination³ and the other five either directly or

by implication, are directly associated with *σῶμα* or *ἐκκλησία*.⁴ Our interest is primarily with these latter five references and, in a secondary fashion, with the five references where the theme is that of authority/subordination. Now in the LXX *κεφαλή* is used, though not exclusively, to translate *רִאשׁוֹן*⁵ and certainly in a few of these instances the implication is "that which is superior," or even "determinative."⁶ In these instances the term is certainly used metaphorically. Particularly interesting in this respect is Judges 11:11 *καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἰεφθαε μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Γαλαάδ, καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτῶν ὁ λαὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς κεφαλὴν καὶ εἰς ἀρχηγόν*⁷ with its obvious distinction between *κεφαλή* and *ἀρχηγός*. Since the LXX distinguishes between a metaphoric and organic use of *κεφαλή* we can now legitimately ask whether this distinction is maintained in the Pauline corpus. The texts in which this is most likely to be the case are those in which the theme is authority and consequent subordination, since where *κεφαλή* is in relation to *σῶμα* (or *ἐκκλησία* by virtue of the *σῶμα - ἐκκλησία* identification), the organic relationship is obviously to be afforded a high degree of probability. We cannot however at this stage rule out the possibility that even in these instances the metaphorical intention of the author is to be given priority. The authority/

subordination texts at issue are 1 Cor 11:3; Eph 5:23a and Col 2:10. The problem is quite complex. In 1 Cor 11:3 the metaphorical use of κεφαλή is, at least at first sight, incontrovertible. But in vv. 4ff κεφαλή is used organically. Is then the same sense implied in v.3? The complexity of the problem is heightened by the presence in v.2 of παραδόσεις and παρέδωκα which suggest that the following verse or verses is part of the traditional material of the early Church. This possibility is given further credence by the similarity between 1 Cor 11:3 and Eph 5:23a. In this latter text the statements [ὁ] ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν κεφαλή τῆς γυναικὸς and ὁ Χριστὸς κεφαλή τῆς ἐκκλησίας are intended as parallel statements, both of which incorporate some of, though not all, the traditional material of 1 Cor 11:3. Now in Eph 5:23 σῶμα does not appear, but quite obviously, in view of what has previously been said in the epistle about Christ as κεφαλή in relation to both σῶμα and ἐκκλησία v.23b cannot be interpreted without reference to σῶμα.⁸ Since the parallelism does exist σῶμα must also be inferred in v.23a. This does not of course prove that σῶμα is also to be inferred in 1 Cor 11:3 but it does at least point to this being a strong probability. In Col 2:10 a similar set of circumstances prevail. There is no direct reference to the κεφαλή - σῶμα relationship,

but the statement that in Christ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς cannot be treated without reference to the statement that ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι (1:19) which is itself directly consequent upon the καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, τῆς ἐκκλησίας⁹ of the previous verse. This means that the reference to Christ as ἡ κεφαλὴ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας in 2:10 must be considered as referring to Christ in a κεφαλὴ - σῶμα context in a secondary, if not primary fashion. To have included σῶμα here would have meant that the author was taking up a theology which he had consciously emended in 1:18.

Our examination of the above texts has shown that κεφαλὴ is never used in the Pauline corpus without σῶμα being understood as standing in the background to the text (with the possible exception of 1 Cor 11:3 where it is, so we believe, at least inferred). But the very fact that σῶμα is only inferred and is never explicit does point to the fact that κεφαλὴ is used metaphorically, although, in the texts examined above, it also has a significance that is much wider than that which would be the case if the relationship never extended beyond that of the organic 'head-body' relationship.

Exactly the same question can now be asked with respect to $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ - in what way is the word used in the Pauline corpus? $\Sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ occurs some 87 times in the Pauline corpus, the great majority of which refer to the physical body and are of course then no part of our study. Our concern is specifically with these texts where the term has a collective significance. Here little assistance can be gained from either the LXX or contemporary Jewish literature because in neither does the concept of $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ refer either to the cosmos or to society in any collective fashion.¹⁰ Neither is $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ found in any instance where it corresponds to $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}$, as in the Pauline corpus. The exegetes are more prepared to discuss the linguistic significance of $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ than is the case with $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}$ although with little or no agreement.¹¹ The texts at issue here are Rom 12:5, 1 Cor 10:17, 11:29, 12:12-27; Eph 1:23, 2:16, 4:4,12,16, 5:23c,30; Col 1:18,24, 2:19, 3:15. We can divide these texts into those that deal with $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ without reference to $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}$ viz. Rom 12:5; 1 Cor 10:17, 11:29, 12:12-27, Eph 2:16, 4:4,12, 5:23c,30; Col 1:24, 2:11, 3:15; and those which refer quite specifically to the $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}$ - $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ relationship, viz. Eph 1:22, 4:16, Col 1:18, 2:19. Of the first group the pericope where the metaphorical use of $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ is most obvious is 1 Cor 12:12-27 where Paul works out the metaphor in some

detail and specifically refers to the ἐκκλησία
 as τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (12:28).¹² The question
 now to be asked is this - Has σῶμα the same meta-
 phorical significance when it stands as part of the
 κεφαλή - σῶμα motif as it has when it stands on its
 own? Indeed, we may well further ask in the instances
 where σῶμα stands without direct reference to
 κεφαλή whether or not κεφαλή is in fact to be
 understood as being implicit. Certainly in Rom 12:5
 the ἐν Χριστῷ phrase in Paul's statement that
 οὕτως οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν σῶμα ἔσμεν ἐν Χριστῷ gives pre-eminence
 to Christ, though no specific headship is mentioned.
 In 1 Cor 10:17 the situation is not quite so clear,
 although here also the idea of ἐν σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ
 is surely implicit. 1 Cor 11:29 is by all counts
 difficult. If here σῶμα does refer to the Church
 then it does so without any obvious reference, implicit
 or otherwise, to any headship. But of course σῶμα
 could refer to the crucified body of Christ, as in
 v.27. Indeed in light of vv. 30f this latter
 interpretation would seem correct; some have experienced
 'judgement' (frailty, sickness, death) because they
 have not given due thought to the fact that Christ
 was crucified for them.¹³ In 1 Cor 12:27 the
 motif ἐν σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ is again in evidence.
 But in v.21 although κεφαλή obviously refers
 initially to the physical head it is equally true that

in the metaphor which Paul is expounding it would find some equivalent, at least in the mind of the readers. This may equally be true of Rom 12:5. Now admittedly there was surely no attempt to give literal equivalents for each organ of the body, though Paul does note that there is an order, the first place of which is occupied by apostles. All this means that if there was any equivalence then in Paul's mind it was probably κεφαλή = ἀπόστολος and thus the κεφαλή (Christ) - σῶμα (Church) relationship is still not directly in view. In the remaining texts in Ephesians and Colossians the situation is somewhat different. In these epistles the κεφαλή - σῶμα relationship is paramount and therefore the instances where σῶμα appears on its own are to be interpreted in the light of this fact. This of course would not be true if σῶμα [τοῦ Χριστοῦ] and κεφαλή - σῶμα were two entirely separate traditions which were always understood, by both author and reader, as such. But this does not appear to be the case, because, as we have seen above, in those instances where σῶμα occurs without reference to κεφαλή there is already present the idea that Christ held a special place vis-a-vis this body, the Church, and the only logical position that he could fill was that of κεφαλή.

Thus it is becoming clear, whatever the

original source of the *σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ* motif as it appears in the major Paulines, that the *κεφαλή - σῶμα* motif of Ephesians and Colossians is a logical consequence of this motif. Ernst correctly comments¹⁴ "... der Leib Christi in den Gefangenschaftsbriefen ist legitime Weiterentwicklung des 'einen Leibes', bzw. des 'einen Leibes in Christus' in den paulinischen Hauptbriefen". But this is not to say that *κεφαλή - σῶμα* is to be thought of purely in organic fashion.¹⁵ Indeed, in the captivity epistles this organic unity, though not specifically rejected, is neither expounded nor assumed. Ernst further comments correctly:¹⁶

"Diese Kontinuität sollte jedoch nicht die vorhandene Diskontinuität verdecken. Der Gedanke der mit Christus und untereinander geeinten Gemeinde spielt im Kolosser - und Epheserbrief keinesweg mehr die bedeutende Rolle wie in den Frühbriefen. Das Soma ist jetzt etwas, das Christus gegenübersteht, das zu Christus, welcher das Haupt des Leibes ist, in einer ganz bestimmten Beziehung der Unterordnung, der Hingabe der Leibe und der lebendigen Entfaltung steht. Das 'In - Christus - Sein' ist jetzt ersetzt durch das 'Christus - Gegenüber - Sein'. Dieses neue Moment findet seinen sprachlichen Ausdruck in dem *κεφαλή* Begriff".

In Ephesians (and Colossians) the *κεφαλή - σῶμα* motif is basically a metaphor but with the important added significance that within this dimension *κεφαλή* has assumed a new role; it is now applied to Christ

as a title; indeed we can say more: it is applied as a title to the ascended Christ. It is the significance of this new application that we shall seek to explore in our further examination of the κεφαλῆ - σῶμα motif in Ephesians.

3. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ

In Eph 1:22b the author writes καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Concerning this phrase Gaugler comments¹⁷ "ἔδωκεν (er gab) ist hier nicht einfach = hebr.]ן] (geben), sondern = constituere, einsetzen, wie in Eph 4:11". But is this so? In 4:11 it does not seem to be the case. Here we read καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν τοῖς μὲν ἀποστόλους τοῖς δὲ προφήτας, τοῖς δὲ εὐαγγελιστάς, τοῖς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους. In 1 Cor 12:28 much the same is said: καὶ οὗς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους, ἔπειτα δυνάμεις, ἔπειτα χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, ἀντιλήψεις Now admittedly there are significant differences in the two lists but the common order of ἀποστόλους, προφήτας and διδασκάλους that exists in both texts, as well as the general context in both (the building up of the Church) suggests quite strongly that either Ephesians is dependent upon the earlier epistle at

this point or that both epistles are dependent upon a piece of earlier tradition. In either case, what is significant is that in Ephesians the author has chosen to use *δίδωμι* as opposed to *τίθημι*, a choice which is surely deliberate. In the Pauline corpus *δίδωμι* never means 'to appoint' but always is used with an indirect object, either explicitly stated or implicitly understood, and thus means 'to give' and so is equivalent to the more usual significance of $\left[\begin{array}{c} \square \\ \square \\ \square \end{array} \right]$. This is specifically the case in Ephesians¹⁸ where in 1:22 the indirect object is explicitly stated as *τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ*. The change from the traditional *τίθημι* in 1 Cor 12:28 to *δίδωμι* in Eph 4:11 was influenced by the author's choice of *δίδωμι* in 1:22.¹⁹ In 1:22 God has given Christ as head to the Church; in 4:11 Christ gives people as apostles, prophets, evangelists and teachers to the Church. In both instances the immediate context is the same - the *χάρις* of God; this is explicit in 4:7 (*ἔδωθη ἡ χάρις κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ*)²⁰ and is implicit in the entire content of 1:20-23.

The author's use of *δίδωμι* is determinative for all further examination of the *κεφαλή - σῶμα* motif. That Christ is given to the church as head implies that he is head not merely because he stands in an authoritative relationship to the Church but that

he is head by virtue of some other reason which does not necessarily have to relate directly to the Church. In 1:22 $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\mu\epsilon$ seems then to have a twofold significance. Firstly, it implies that Christ possessed a headship that was not confined to the limits of the Church. Secondly, it implies that Christ stands in a unique position with regard to the Church. It is therefore, with reference to this latter point, which is not insignificant, that the author of Ephesians chooses to express the action of God in giving Christ to the Church with the aorist $\xi\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$. Mussner is then not totally correct when he says²¹ "Haupt und Leib sind ein unzertrennliche Einheit; der Leib kann ohne das Haupt und seine Wachstumskräfte überhaupt nicht existieren". This is true within the sphere of the Church of course, but it is equally true that Christ exercises a headship which is separate to that which is over the Church. At least then in this qualified sense 'head' can exist without the 'body'.

The twofold significance of $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\mu\epsilon$ in 1:22 leads us quite naturally on to a discussion of the nature of the headship of Christ as it is presented in Ephesians.

4. THE NATURE OF CHRIST'S HEADSHIP

It is agreed by all exegetes that κεφαλή takes on a decisive theological significance when referred to Christ and the Church in both Ephesians and Colossians, although there is little agreement as to what this significance may be. The question resolves itself into two parts: 'over what precisely is Christ head?' or, put more simply, 'is there one headship (over all things) or two (head of the church; head of the cosmos)?' Secondly, 'how does this headship affect either (or both) Church and/or cosmos?'

The answer to the first question has already in part been given by our argument that εἶδωμεν (1:22) is determinative and as such implies that there are two headships involved; one in relation to the cosmos and the other to the Church. This statement raises two separate questions: 'is the nature of both headships the same?' and, 'what is the significance of ὑπὲρ πάντα in 1:22?' It is these questions that we now seek to answer.

4.1 1:22 Head of the World

The first thing that concerns us here is the significance of the accusative construction ὑπὲρ πάντα. According to C.F.D. Moule²² ὑπὲρ + accusative has, generally speaking, a more literal significance

than has the genitive construction. Now since ὑπέρ never has a local significance in the NT²³ we must interpret it here in terms of superiority. But in this text is ὑπέρ used in any way emphatically? According to Arndt-Gingrich²⁴ κεφαλῆ ὑπέρ πάντα is to be interpreted as 'supreme head'. This interpretation is followed by Mussner²⁵ and Best.²⁶ But if this interpretation is correct then the author is moving away from a discussion of the Lordship of Christ over the whole universe to a discussion of the headship of Christ over the Church vis-a-vis other possible heads. This argument is well set out by Best when he writes²⁷ "... Christ is Head above all things to the Church and πάντα refers back to the πάντα of v.22a and behind that to the πάσης and παντός of v.21 - it relates to the heavenly powers. Christ is Head above the heavenly powers to the Church". Now, there can be no doubt that πάντα does somehow refer back to the same word in v.22a and, less directly to πάσης and παντός of v.21. But what has not been acknowledged in the argument as presented by Best is the central position, indeed the climactic position, occupied by the citation from Ps 8:6 in v.22a. Here πάντα must assume a collective significance; since Christ is seated at God's right hand he is exalted not merely above the individual authorities and powers but also is exalted above them all col-

lectively. 'Υπερ then is not used emphatically in this sense; it implies that it is the exalted Christ who, in his position as ruler over the world is given to the Church. The author is not at this point either explaining or emphasising the fact that Christ is head over the Church; he is simply stating it. This does not mean however that there is nothing in the text that enables us to make some comment about this headship. To this point we will return later, but first we must examine the context of v.22b in order that we might make some comment about the nature of Christ's headship over the world.

The immediate context of v.22b is dominated by the citation from Ps 8 which immediately precedes it. Indeed it is this citation that characterises the nature of the headship of Christ over all things: all things are now subject to him in obedience.²⁸ Christ is head over the world by virtue of the fact that he is enthroned in the heavenly places. The use of the citations from Pss 8 and 109 does not presuppose any dependence of the world on the head; what is stressed is that Christ is sovereign over the world in that the powers and authorities which are representative of the world have been subjected. The statement in v.22a must itself be read in light of what has already been said in 1:10: ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι

τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ;²⁹ all things are now in subjection to Christ: the same 'all things' will ultimately be the subject of his redemption. The τὰ πάντα of 1:22b is ultimately to be identified with the τὰ πάντα of 1:10.

The immediate context of v.22b does not supply much information concerning the nature of Christ's headship over the Church, but what it does say is very significant and not least of all because it confirms that the 'head-body' teaching of Ephesians is a natural extension of the 'body' teaching of Romans and 1 Corinthians. The significant and important statement is that by which the author deliberately equates the Church with τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (v.23a). The connection between the κεφαλή which is Christ and the σῶμα which is the Church is being emphasised by the author. In light of what has already been said about the κεφαλή - κόσμος relationship it would be easy to infer that the same sort of relationship existed between κεφαλή and σῶμα and between Christ and the world. But this is not so. There is nothing in either the content or context of v.22b-23a that would suggest the direction of the body by the head. It is certainly true that as head ὑπὲρ τὰ πάντα Christ is overlord of both creation and Church, but this relationship is in no way to be emphasised with reference to

the latter. In identifying ἐκκλησία with σῶμα the author is stressing that a relationship exists between Christ and the Church which is not merely that of master and subject. The Church, as distinct from creation, is already the subject of the ἀνακεφαλαιώσις of Christ and as such is in some way united to him. In Eph 1:22b-23a this relationship is not further elaborated. To discover the significance of the κεφαλή - σῶμα (ἐκκλησία) relation we must turn to 4:15f.

4.2 4:15f Head over the Church

Eph 4:15f further emphasises that the relationship between κεφαλή and σῶμα (ἐκκλησία) is not organic, nor is it merely directive. In fact, both these possibilities are decisively rejected. Here the head is presented as both the source and object of growth; κεφαλή is characterised by the closely following ἐξ οὗ (v.16) as the principle of increase for the Church. Here too, the unity theme that was present, albeit in no expanded fashion, in 1:22bf is taken up and further explained: the relationship or unity is one that is influenced by ἀγάπη.

Almost every phrase or statement in vv. 11-16 emphasises and explains the all embracing totality of Christ's headship. The αὐτοῦς of v.11

is the κεφαλή of v.15: it is as head that Christ has given the various ministries and offices to the Church in order that it might be built up. In v.12 εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ refers not only to the unity that is present within the Church, but also, significantly, to that between Christ and his Church. The same idea is further made more explicit in v.15 with the analogy of growth: to grow up is to achieve maturity, to become an adult, to become εἰς ἄνδρα τελείον . This last phrase, as we have already seen,³⁰ has a collective or corporate significance; the believer grows in faith such that the Church increases. This increase is not quantitative but qualitative; the Church 'grows up' not merely to resemble Christ but as it grows it becomes more significantly part of Christ.

Κεφαλή as it is defined in 4:15f thus becomes a title with both soteriological and ecclesiological significance. In 1:22bf both these significances were present but were not stressed in the same fashion. There it was the cosmological implications of the headship that were emphasised. Thus the κεφαλή term in Ephesians has two distinct, though related, interpretations. As κεφαλή Christ is overlord of creation; as κεφαλή he is also the saviour and life-giving source for those who constitute the Church.

Before leaving the κεφαλή concept two other things must be examined briefly in order to see if they either expand, support or even contradict that which we have argued above. These are the relationship of πλήρωμα to κεφαλή and, secondly, the κεφαλή - σῶμα relationship in Colossians.

4.3 The Significance of Πλήρωμα

Even a cursory examination of the texts concerned is sufficient to convince one that πλήρωμα is of some significance for the κεφαλή - σῶμα relationship; in 1:23 τὸ πλήρωμα immediately follows the identification of the Church with the body of Christ, and 4:11-16 is immediately preceded by the phrase ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα . We have already argued at some length that πλήρωμα is dependent for its meaning upon κληροσὺν and has both active and passive significance, with most emphasis being placed upon the former. At this point we should note specifically that the equation σῶμα = πλήρωμα is explicit in 1:23 and therefore, by implication, in 4:11-16. This equation supports our argument above: the Church grows up or completes Christ (active), while at the same time it is dependent upon him and is being completed by both his love and the receipt of his gifts (passive). Πλήρωμα then describes the interaction between Christ and Church. But the same word,

or at least its verbal form, is used also to describe the relationship between Christ and creation (4:11). This means that in relating κλήρωμα to κεφαλή the author is not only emphasising the function of Christ as head but is also drawing attention to the fact that the situation that exists in the Church is one that will ultimately also appertain in the world.³¹

4.4 The Significance of the Colossian Κεφαλή Texts

The texts at issue here are 1:18, 2:10,19. We have already noted that ἐκκλησία and πρῶτοτοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ... πρωτεῶν in 1:18 are redactional and are not part of the original hymn. This is significant. It means that the author of Colossians is giving the cosmological train of thought that was present in the hymn a new emphasis by describing the Church as the place where Christ exercises his authority over the world. Gaugler well says³² "Die Kirche ist der Ort, wo die Schöpfung zu ihrem Ziel gekommen ist, wo sie Leib des ewigen und jetzt erhöhten Hauptes geworden ist". The same move from cosmology to ecclesiology is made in Eph 1:22f. It is significant that the redactional elements of 1:18 also emphasise the fact that Christ is the source of the life of both world and Church, precisely as is said, in a more developed manner, in Eph 4:15f. In 2:10 the author returns to the relationship between Christ and cosmos, but only after making the equivalent ecclesiological

statement in the preceding phrase of the same verse (καὶ ἑστᾶτε ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι). In 2:19 both the ecclesiological and cosmological dimensions of headship are again referred to.

4.5 Summary

In Ephesians there is a twofold headship of Christ. He is at one and the same time head of the world and head of the Church. The fact that Christ is head of the world means that all powers are subject ultimately to him; there is no reference to any further interaction between him and them. The enthronement of Christ at which he inherits the title κεφαλή must mean that all is now subject to him. On the other hand, the fact that Christ is head of the Church means something quite different. No longer is the relationship one of authority and submission; it is one of unity and love. As head of the Church Christ is by right its sovereign but he is more. Ernst rightly summarises³³ "Im Terminus κεφαλή treffen sich die beiden Gedankenkreise: das 'hoheitlich-herrscherliche' Haupt des Welt-Leibes wird zum 'hoheitlich-lebensspendenden' Haupt des Leibes der Kirche". The use of the πλήρωμα terminology in Ephesians emphasises this same fact. The κεφαλή statements in Colossians, though less developed,³⁴ expound the same theological concept using the same basic terminology.

5. THE NATURE OF THE BODY

Although Christ is described as head over both cosmos and Church it is only the latter that is specifically designated as *σῶμα*. The author of Ephesians adheres to this distinction in order to emphasise the differing natures of the two headships. This we have already seen. The exact nature of the *σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ* of Ephesians is set out very precisely in 5:23bc *ὁ Χριστὸς κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, αὐτὸς σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος; the σῶμα or ἐκκλησία* is that which collectively stands in a living relationship with Christ, a relationship that is characterised not by subjection but by dependence. In Ephesians, as in Colossians, *σῶμα* is essentially an ecclesiological /soteriological term. But this does not mean that *σῶμα* has no cosmic significance. Here two facts which we have already demonstrated are very significant; in Eph 1:23 *τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν* is best understood as being equivalent to the classical *παντάπασιν* and, secondly, *πλήρωμα* has primarily an active significance. What then is being said in 1:23 is that the Church brings Christ to completion. The Church then is an active body and the only place where this activity can take place is the cosmos. Schnackenburg well summarises this when he writes³⁵ "... sind Kosmos und Kirche nicht zwei Kreise, die nebeneinander bestehen und je in ihrer Weise Christus

unterstehen, vielmehr zwei konzentrische Kreise, von denen der innere die Kirche, die aussere den Kosmos darstellt, beide zusammen von Christus regiert, wenn auch in verschiedener Weise. Und die Grenze zwischen Kirche und Kosmos ist keine feste und starre, sondern, gleichsamer und dynamische ...". The Church then in Ephesians, although never identified with the cosmos, has cosmological significance in that it is the cosmos which is being brought by the Church into the $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ τοῦ Χριστοῦ . 36

6. THE ΚΕΦΑΛΗ - ΣΩΜΑ RELATIONSHIP & THE ASCENSION

The one significant difference between the κεφαλή references in Ephesians and Colossians is in context. It is only in Ephesians that the term appears in an ascension context, particularly in 1:22 and, to a lesser extent, 4:15. Moreover, it is only in Ephesians that the headship is explicitly set down as a headship over both Church and cosmos. In Ephesians the theological point of departure for both the author's discussion and definition of the headship of Christ is the ascension: he is κεφαλή ὑπὲρ πάντα because - and only because - he has ascended, and equally, he is κεφαλή τῆς ἐκκλησίας with all its implications of life giving source, because he has ascended. We have previously seen that in Ephesians the ascension is

intended to express both messianic kingship and the unity of Christ and the Church. It is precisely the same two theologoumena that are implied in the κεφαλή title, even to such a degree that where the ascension is expressed most precisely in terms of messianic kingship (1:20ff), it is the authoritative aspect of the headship that is stressed, and where the theme of unity is uppermost (4:11ff), then it is precisely the theme of the relationship between Christ and the Church that is emphasised.

¹God's Mission: The Epistle to the Ephesians in Missionary Perspective, Amsterdam: 1962; p.85. Cf also F.F. Bruce, "Colossians", in A Commentary on the Epistles to Ephesians and Colossians, E.K. Simpson and F.F. Bruce, Grand Rapids: 1957; p.203.

²Rom 12:20; 1 Cor 11:4 (twice), 5 (twice), 7:10, 12:21.

³1 Cor 11:3 (3 times); Eph 5:23a; Col 2:10.

⁴Eph 1:22 (σῶμα and ἐκκλησία), 4:15 (σῶμα), 5:23b (ἐκκλησία); Col 1:18 (σῶμα and ἐκκλησία), 2:19 (σῶμα). If in this last text σῶμα is equivalent to κόσμος and not to ἐκκλησία, then 2:10 is an obvious parallel.

⁵In one instance, Is 43:4, κεφαλή has been used to translate רֹאשׁ and quite obviously has the sense of 'life'.

⁶Cf Deut 28:13,44; Judges 11:11; 2 Kings 22:44; Is 7:8, 9:14. In the majority of cases where the MT has the sense 'ruler' the LXX translates it with ἄρχων, as in Jos 22:14; Judges 10:18, 11:8,9; 1 Chron 11:6; or with ἀρχή, as in Jer 22:6; Hos 1:11.

⁷MT = 

⁸J.P. Sampley, And the Two Shall Become One Flesh, Cambridge: 1971; p.241 n.1 notes "τὸ σῶμα is not used explicitly in 5:23a-b because its neuter gender would disrupt the parallelism of masculine-feminine, masculine-feminine".

⁹In the original hymn which forms the basis of Col 1:15-18 σῶμα had a cosmic reference. The author adds τῆς ἐκκλησίας and so changes the significance of σῶμα from cosmology to ecclesiology; cf Schweizer, "Antilegomena", pp.293ff and chpt.1 n.50.

¹⁰For a different view cf W.L. Knox, "Parallels to the New Testament Use of σῶμα", JTS 39 (1938), pp.243-46. He writes (p.246): "The fact that σῶμα is not commonly found in Greek of a 'body' of people in precisely the Pauline sense appears to be simply another way of saying that we have only a few fragments of Posidonius in Greek and we do not possess the doxographical manual of the Hellenistic synagogues, in which the Jewish nation as a body and the High Priest as its head may fairly be

assumed to have appeared". Best, op.cit., p.84, well comments of this "... if we do not possess these documents it is extremely hazardous to venture an opinion as to their contents".

¹¹E.L. Mascall, Christ, the Christian and the Church, London: 1946; p.112 writes that "the description of the Church as the Body of Christ is to be taken onto- logically and realistically", although a few lines further on he concedes that the phrase "contains a certain amount of metaphor". Best, op.cit., p.100, on the other hand, contends "... we feel justified in describing the Church as the Body of Christ in the metaphorical sense. Regarded from one point of view it is the Body of Christ; from another point of view it is not". Roels, op.cit., p.110 agrees with neither Mascall nor Best. He replaces the ontological and metaphorical terminology with the concept of the 'mystical body'. He writes: "... to consider ... the body of Christ image as simply one of the many metaphors used to describe the Church is decidedly inadequate. For the body of Christ image is based upon a relationship of representation between Christ and his Church which is essentially real whereas a metaphor is a figure of speech which simply stresses a likeness or analogy between two objects by using a word which ordinarily applies literally to one of them and applying it to the other", and again (p.11), "The designation of the Church as the mystical body of Christ ... emphasises that the relationship which constitutes the Church as the body of Christ is one beyond the natural and visible... The term does stress that one should not look for the essence of the body in the visible organisation of its members".

¹²On two earlier occasions in this same epistle (10:17, 11:29) Paul had described the Church as $\sigma\upsilon\chi\alpha$; but in neither of these instances is the metaphor one of body-member.

¹³For a clear statement of the view that $\sigma\upsilon\chi\alpha$ here does in fact refer to the Church cf A.J.B. Higgins, The Lord's Supper in the New Testament, London: 1952; p.73. For a discussion of other possibilities, including that suggested by ourselves, cf C.K. Barrett, 1 Corinthians, pp.274f.

¹⁴Op.cit., p.161. Cf also Best, op.cit., p.156: "We can therefore conclude that the use of the phrase in Ephesians (and Colossians) is not something new but a natural and legitimate development of the uses in the earlier epistles". Schlier, Christus, pp.40ff, gives five reasons for rejecting the possibility of of this development, but Best, ibid., gives good ground for reject- ing Schlier's argument.

¹⁵We have already rejected J.A. Robinson's misuse of the analogy of the organic unity between the (physical) head and body in his attempt to explain the significance of κλήρωμα in Eph 1:23.

¹⁶Op.cit., pp.161f.

¹⁷Op.cit., p.74.

¹⁸Cf 1:17,22, 3:2,7,8,16, 4:7,8,11,27,29, 6:19.

¹⁹It is of course possible that ἔδωκεν in 4:11 was part of the tradition inherited by the author of the epistle. If this is so then we must assume that the author sees in the use of the word at this point an explicit reference back to 1:22. It is of course attractive to suppose that the change from the LXX reading of Ps 67:19 to that of the Ephesian text in v.8b owes its source to the author and not to any tradition, but although this is possible it is unlikely for the reasons advanced on pp. 94f above. But even so, the use of δέδοται consistently in 1:22, 4:7,11 can hardly be other than deliberate; cf chpt.2 n.83.

²⁰The use of δέδοται in 4:11 is also presumably influenced by the use of the same verb in 4:7.

²¹Op.cit., p.144

²²Idiom Book, pp.63f.

²³Except perhaps in Heb 9:5 where D* may be read as giving a local significance.

²⁴Op.cit., p.847.

²⁵Op.cit., pp.30ff.

²⁶Op.cit., pp.146f.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸See above pp. 57f.

²⁹ἀνακεφαλαιῶμαι is not derived solely from κεφάλαιον; κεφαλή is significant also; cf H. Schlier, " κεφαλή κ.τ.λ. ", TDNT 3, pp.681f.

³⁰Cf above pp. 218f.

³¹Cf below pp. 284f.

³²Op.cit., pp.78f (with respect to Eph 1:22f).

³³Op.cit., p.172.

³⁴According to Merklein, op.cit., p.112, the *κεφαλή* terminology in Ephesians is taken over from Colossians. The same author (p.94) attributes the *σώμα* ecclesiology to the same immediate source. This may well be so; certainly the treatment of both themes in Ephesians is a development of that of Colossians.

³⁵"Gestalt und Wesen der Kirche nach dem Epheserbrief", Catholica 15 (1961), p.117.

³⁶Cf P.A. Harlé, "Le Saint Esprit et L'Église chez Saint Paul", Verbum Caro 19 (1965), p.23: "... L'Eglise est une totale. L'Église n'est plus considérée de point de vue terrestre mais de point de vue céleste; La perspective nouvelle selon laquelle est envisagé le mystère de l'Église est à la fois oecuménique et cosmique "; cf also N. Dahl, Das Volk Gottes, Darmstadt: 1963; p.257.

CHAPTER 5

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the relationship between the ascension theme and the remainder of the epistle. Some of the points that are relevant here have already been discussed, namely, the relationship between the ascension of Christ and that of the believer; the concept of 'gift' in the epistle; the underlying presence of Ps 67 in the whole epistle; and the theological significance of πλήρωμα and its contribution to the ascension theme. In the present discussion we shall need to return to the first of these points as we discuss in more detail the relationship between Christ and the believer in the whole epistle.

In the previous four chapters we uncovered what we might term the 'component traditions' of the ascension theme, namely, the enthronement of the Messiah over the whole cosmos, the emphasis on the position at God's right hand ('status') rather than the method of getting there ('event'), the similarity or even unity of function between Christ and the Church. In the following discussion we shall be attempting to do two things: to examine the epistle in order that we might discover how and

where these components were otherwise used by the author, and at the same time briefly to cast a glance over the whole field of the epistle in order that we might see how the ascension theme as such fits in with the other dominant themes of the epistle.

2. THE ASCENSION IN EPHESIANS: ITS COMPONENT PARTS

2.1 Messianism

A number of scholars have commented on the $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ title and the degree of affinity it has with the $\eta' \psi \lambda$ title.

W. Grundmann¹ writes

In Colossians and Ephesians the new Messianic understanding worked out in primitive Christianity by Paul is brought to completion. ... $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ is now a leading concept and the apocalyptic ideas of the parousia are pushed into the background.

and again,²

It might well be that the encounter of Gentile and Jewish Christians in Ephesus led to a strengthening of the Messianic element in the understanding of Christ for the sake of Jewish Christians.

O. Cullmann³ argues that

... in Paul's writings ... his occasional practice of putting 'Christ' before 'Jesus' shows that he was still clearly aware that the title is not a proper name.

H. Conzelmann⁴ writes in similar vein

'Christ' is meant as a proper name when the definite article precedes it.

N. Dahl⁵ summarises his view as follows

Dass Christus der Messias Israels ist und bleibt, wahrt das 'Gegenüber' von Christus und der Kirche und erinnert daran, dass die Kirche der Heiden nur aus der freien Gnade Gottes existiert.

But Kramer⁶ argues against these views, specifically those of Cullmann and Conzelmann, and concludes that the equivalence between the title and a Messianic understanding can never simply be found by applying general criteria based on formal, grammatical considerations but must be found, if present at all, by means of a very thorough examination of the context of each $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ reference. Now admittedly Kramer is not concerned specifically with Ephesians but his observation is surely valid for this epistle as much as it is for any of the major Paulines on the grounds of methodology if not necessarily of authorship. At this point it is well that we note an apt comment of Flusser that equally applies to our

discussion; he writes:⁷ "From a strictly theological point of view no man can be defined as a Messiah before he has accomplished the task of the anointed".

In Ephesians the Christological titles are distributed as follows:⁸ ὁ Χριστός 21 times; Χριστός Ἰησοῦς 10; Χριστός 7; κύριος 7; ὁ κύριος 4; ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός 4; κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός 2; Ἰησοῦς Χριστός 1; κύριος Ἰησοῦς 1; Ἰησοῦς 1. Now it is certainly not possible to argue that all or even the majority of the 45 references to Χριστός in the epistle are Messianic in content, because in the majority of instances there is nothing in the immediate context of the title that has any relationship to Messianism; in these instances the only possible reference to Messianism is the actual title itself and, as Kramer has shown, this is insufficient. Nevertheless there are some instances where the combination of context and title does suggest, though hardly prove beyond argument, a Messianic understanding. It is to these texts that we now turn.

2.1.1 The Χριστός Title in Ephesians

(a) 2:12-14a

Particularly significant here is the phrase ξένοι τῶν διαθηκῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας because in

Judaism it was precisely the Covenant that was characterised by the promise of the Messiah⁹ and in view of the preceding *χωρὶς Χριστοῦ* it is easy to see how the *Χριστός* would suggest Messianism to the readers, though it must be added that the absence of the definite article from before the title does seem to suggest that the Messianism is more implied than it is explicit. But the possibility of Messianic understanding is made more apparent by the following vv. 13, 14a which allude to Is 52:7 and 57:19,¹⁰ verses which speak quite explicitly of the Peace of the Messianic age.¹¹

(b) 4:20f

Here our particular interest is in the words *ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἐμάθετε τὸν Χριστόν*. This reference is not to the doctrina Christi, nor to the believer's knowledge of what Christ is, nor to what Christ desires, but is to the content of the proclaimed gospel.¹² Gnilka¹³ is surely correct when he takes *Χριστός* as the object of *μανθάνειν*; he summarises: "'Christuslernen' ist darum auserste Verdichtung des Inhaltes und Sinnes christlicher Glaubensunterweisung". The Messianic inference is continued in v.21 with the change from *Χριστόν* to *Ἰησοῦ*. This change is appropriate. Abbott well comments:¹⁴ "Their introduction to Christianity ...

instructed them in the hope centred in the Messiah as a Redeemer. But when obedience to the practical teaching of a historical person is referred to, the historical name is used".

(c) 5:2

The statement καθὼς καὶ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ παρέδωκεν ἑαυτόν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν is obviously part of the traditional material of the early Church.¹⁵ But it is surely significant that the tradition which was once connected with the Son of God title¹⁶ is now used in association with the Christ title. The reason for this would seem to lie basically in the author's undoubted preference for the Χριστὸς title. It is also significant that the same general formula 'He gave himself for us' appeared in other, perhaps less well-known or even less important traditions in association with titles other than Son of God, as is shown both by Rom 4:24f and the reading θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ of p⁴⁶ B D* G* it^d in Gal 2:20 and it may be that in using the Χριστὸς title the author wished to emphasise the 'new' (in his terms Messianic?) significance of these traditions. We should not overlook however, the similarity in both content and intent between 5:2 and 5:25b. It may well be that the latter statement which has no parallel in any of the other Haustafeln has been introduced into

the code at this point to emphasise that which has already been said in v.2. If this is so then we might well conjecture that the thought contained in v.2 was of some importance for the author and, then, it would be natural for him to associate the idea expressed in this verse with the *Χριστός* title which for him is obviously very significant. But even so, we must admit that in v.2 the Messianic inference is not at all strong, being very much dependent on the fact that the author of the epistle knew the well attested Son of God tradition but chose to use instead the same tradition in association with the *Χριστός* title.¹⁷

(d) 5:14

The phrase *ἐπιφάνσει σοι ὁ Χριστός* may contain some reference to an incipient Messianism in as much as one of the Messianic functions was to give light.¹⁸ This verse is not as significant as the others cited because the author was in all probability quoting from an old Christian hymn of which he was not the author,¹⁹ and hence its original intention may not necessarily have been retained - or even known - by him.

(e) 5:21

Here the phrase *ὁμοτασσομένοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φῶτι Χριστοῦ* stands as a heading for the Haustafel contained in 5:22 - 6:9.²⁰ In much

the same way as in 5:2 the author has here chosen to use the $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ title in preference to another²¹ and so again betrays his preference for the Christ title with all its implications.²² The use of $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ in v.21 may be due to the later intended use in vv. 23f or, conversely, itself may have caused the use in these verses. But equally we should not overlook the fact that the use of the title in 5:25 could well be due to 5:2 and so the use of the title in 5:21 could be due, on grounds of consistency alone, to the formation and title used by the author in 5:2.

2.1.2 The $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}$ Formulations

Apart from these references the formulation with the article is only found in the Pauline corpus at 1 Cor 15:22 and 2 Cor 2:14. It may well be that the presence of the definite article in the former of these two texts owes its position to the fact that it is required as a balance in the series $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}$ Αδ\alpha\mu ... $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}$... $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\iota$.²³ The presence of the definite article in the latter text is more difficult to explain, particularly in light of the fact that the same title stands without the article in the following verse. Grundmann²⁴ suggests that the article owes its being to the fact that the verse is hymnic in style; this of course is possible, but by no means either certain or necessary.

Kramer²⁵ offers a slightly more plausible explanation when he suggests that the article has been inserted in order to echo the exclamation τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις, τῷ But it is by no means obvious that the presence of the definite article in the phrase in question does either draw attention to, or balance the statement in v.14. According to Kramer this reference is not Messianic.²⁶ But the situation is by no means as clear as Kramer would have us believe. We have already seen that a close theological relationship exists between Col 2:15 and Eph 4:8,²⁷ more precisely between θριαμβεύσας αὐτοῦς ἐν αὐτῷ of Colossians and ἡχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν of the psalm citation in Ephesians. Both these citations refer to the victorious kingship of Christ and its consequence for opposing powers and, certainly in 4:8, the inference is that this king is the Messiah. In 2 Cor 2:14 admittedly the same point is not being made; here it is the believers who are captive in Christ's triumphal procession. But this hardly affects a possible Messianic interpretation since the Messiah of Jewish expectation would 'make captive' both believer and non-believer in that he would have total dominion.²⁸ T.W. Manson²⁹ argues quite positively for a Messianic interpretation of 2 Cor 2:14. His basic contention is that in this verse the major theme is that of shared responsibility; he writes:³⁰ "The Apostles are Χριστοῦ ἐθώλια

and Christ is ἡμεῖς τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ where αὐτοῦ should be taken as referring back to τῷ θεῷ earlier in the verse". He further understands the θριαμβεῖοντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ to refer to the Messianic triumph. By pursuing a parallel, though not exactly identical, line of argument to our own, Manson arrives at exactly the same conclusion. It is of course not vital for our considerations of the ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ formulation in Ephesians that the same formula in 2 Cor 2:14 be shown to have Messianic significance, though if in fact this is the case it quite obviously strengthens our argument for the same possibility of interpretation being applicable in Ephesians.

With this in mind we can now turn to the actual ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ references in Ephesians. In the first three references, 1:10,12,20, the evidence for reading the definite article is overwhelming. In 1:10 it is present in all major witnesses and only omitted, as noted by von Soden³¹ by 048 88 462 642 and John of Damascus. Much the same situation applies in 1:12 where the article is omitted by 010 012 048 and 1. There is no MSS evidence at all for the omission of the article in 1:20. In 3:11 the evidence for omission is much stronger than in either 1:10 or 1:12 but is by no means compelling, the article being omitted by B C* Ψ 025 6 404 436 459 467 1175 1739 Koine and Clement of

Alexandria. The above evidence is sufficient to convince us that the article is present without doubt in 1:10,12,20 and present, though with some slight degree of uncertainty, in 3:11. This having been established we can now examine the context of the four references in order that we might discover what part, if any, Messianism plays in these references.

(a) 1:10

Undoubtedly in this verse the major theme is that of the anakephalaiosis. There is no evidence that this or any other similar function was considered Messianic, at least Strack-Billerbeck cite no Rabbinic parallels and neither does Mowinckel mention this as a Messianic function. But Quispel³² does cite a very interesting Rabbinic text that does offer some slight degree of parallelism; he notes that in Yalkut Schimoni to Gen 34 (Midrash Abkir) the whole world is pictured as being brought together in Adam. This is all the more noteworthy in view of the Pauline doctrine of the Second Adam (1 Cor 15:45f). It is at least possible then that Eph 1:10 reflects knowledge of both an early form of this Rabbinic tradition and that which lies behind 1 Cor 15:45f. If Paul is the author of Ephesians then of course he would know not only the tradition behind the Corinthian text but also the text itself. The Rabbinic text (and Eph 1:10, if

Adamic speculation does lie behind it) represents a development from the normal Rabbinic understanding of Adam, an understanding that is well summarised by W.D. Davies³³ when he writes that in Judaism Adam stood "for the real unity of mankind in virtue of his creation". The development represented by the Rabbinic text (and perhaps by Eph 1:10) is the change from 'mankind' to the 'whole world'. This development of course may well only represent a difference in terminology and therefore should not be over-emphasised. We cannot of course base our whole argument on one isolated, very late Rabbinic text; if Messianism is to be inferred in this verse then we must seek more definite pointers from the actual context. Significant in this respect is the phrase τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν which is certainly an expression capable of being interpreted in terms of the coming of the Messianic Age, all the more so since Eph 1:10 is, as we have seen, parallel to Gal 4:4.³⁴ The change from χρόνος in Gal 4:4 to καιρός in our text may also be significant for a Messianic understanding. Abbott³⁵ well notes with reference to this that the phrase in Ephesians is equivalent in substance to that of Gal 4:4, "but includes the conception of a series of καιροί or seasons, the last of which is marked by the mission and work of the Messiah, so that the series is now closed".

(b) 1:12

The possibility of a Messianic interpretation being given to this verse is very closely tied up with the identification of both ἡμεῖς and προηλπικότας. In vv. 11-13 the author makes a definite distinction between ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς, ³⁶ between Jews and Gentiles, both of whom now share the Christian faith. ³⁷ As Schlier ³⁸ rightly says "Mit ihm sind ohne Zweifel 'wir Christen aus Juden' gemeint". If this is so, what precisely is meant by the fact that they are described as προηλπικότας? The NEB translates 'we, who were the first to set our hope on Christ, ...'; Abbott ³⁹ paraphrases 'we Jews had even in former times the promise of Christ which has now been fulfilled'. Which of these rather different interpretations is justified by the text? The question very obviously centres around the interpretation of προηλπικότας. We may ask the same question another way: if the author is referring to the fact that it was the privilege of the Jewish Christians to first believe in Christ, why did he use προελπίζω when greater clarity would have been achieved by using πιστεύειν, as in v.13? The answer is provided by 2:12: the Gentiles were outside the Covenant of God and its accompanying promise; their world was a world without hope, more precisely, without the hope of a Messiah. In other words, by using the hapax legomena προελπίζω the author refers to the

time when the Jewish Christians, of whom he is one, had hope inasmuch as historically they were the recipients of the promise of the Messiah. The fact that Jewish thought for the future was much bound up with Messianic hope⁴⁰ does much to substantiate our interpretation.

(c) 1:20

We have already argued at some length that the phrase *καὶ καθὼς ἐν δεξιῇ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔπουραντοῖς* in v.20b has Messianic inferences associated with the citation of Ps 109:1. If this is so then this very fact may well lie behind the appearance of the definite article with the *Χριστός* title in v.20a.

(d) 3:11

The possibility of Messianic inference being present here is made all the more difficult by the fact that the title occurs as part of the stereotyped formula *Χριστός Ἰησοῦς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν* which also occurs at Rom 6:23, 8:39; 1 Cor 15:31; Phil 3:8; Col 2:6. Our interest is specifically with the first three of these texts, all of which contain the *ἐν* formula but not the definite article. These three texts have a number of things in common: they all occur within passages of quite specific theological

argument; in all three cases the expression occurs at the end of a sentence, in the two texts from Romans the phrase actually occurs in the final position; the use of the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἡμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ in these instances is paralleled by the use of the phrase διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν elsewhere.⁴¹ Using this evidence Kramer⁴² concludes that it is purely stylistic reasons that prompted Paul to use the fuller titular form in these references instead of the shorter. When we compare the texts cited with Eph 3:11 we find similarity and dissimilarity: Eph 3:11 is certainly part of a theological argument, and it is equally true that reasons of style probably influenced the author in his choice of the longer titular form; but it is also to be noted that whereas the ἐν formula in Rom 6:23, 8:39 and 1 Cor 15:31 is used in the usual pre-Pauline sense of 'incorporation', 'union' with Christ, the sense in 3:11 is primarily - though not completely⁴³ - that of 'dynamic', i.e. 'by means of'; the Ephesian text also contains, or at least the probability is that it contains, the definite article. These differences are sufficient to suggest that Eph 3:11 may not be either part of, or an extension of, the same tradition that is common to the other texts but may be related to a totally different theological tradition. That this is so is at least suggested by the preceding κατὰ πρόθεσιν τῶν αἰώνων

ἦν ἐποίησεν . But what, we must ask, precisely is intended by ἐποίησεν ? Two possibilities are suggested by the context: either the purpose which God in Christ achieved, or the purpose which he resolved in Christ. The exegetes are generally in agreement. Abbott⁴⁴ argues for the latter interpretation when he writes "... He whom they know as Jesus their Lord is none other than the Christ in whom God had from eternity formed his purpose". Gnilka⁴⁵ takes a similar view. Schlier⁴⁶ attempts to combine both possibilities. The argument for the former interpretation rests upon the similarity between 3:11 and 2:3. But in this latter verse θέλημα is the object of ποιᾶν ; whereas this of course does refer to that which is willed, πρόθεσιν usually refers to the forming of a purpose, particularly a purpose formed in a previous age.⁴⁷ If our interpretation is correct then in 3:11 the author is referring to the plan which God has previously purposed, a plan that centres around ὁ Χριστός. This does not prove a Messianic content as such, but it is surely suggestive of it, all the more so in light of the content of the previous ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ formulations in Ephesians.

Our examination of the foregoing texts has not proved the presence of Messianism in Ephesians though it has disclosed a number of features which, if

Messianism is to be totally discounted, are all the more difficult to explain. Moreover, without recourse to the belief that the author was influenced by the identification of 'the Christ' with 'the Messiah', it is difficult to either explain or justify his preference for the $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ title and his use of this title in traditions which were originally associated with one of the other Christological titles.

2.2 Cosmology

We have already drawn attention to our general acceptance of R.T. Lincoln's treatment of the phrase $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$.⁴⁸ Our concern at this point is merely to present the essentials of his argument and our own understanding of the phrase as it relates to the ascension theme.

Although $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ occurs elsewhere in the Pauline corpus⁴⁹ the actual phrase $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$ is unique to Ephesians, occurring at 1:3,20, 2:6, 3:10 and 6:12. Basic to our understanding of the phrase is its occurrence in 1:20 because here we can be fairly certain that the phrase was believed by the ancient scribes - or more exactly those in the early Church familiar with Codex B - to be no different from the simpler $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$,⁵⁰ and thus to have 'local' significance, as Schlier aptly comments⁵¹

(with reference to 1:3): "Offenbar ist mit ἐν τοῖς οὐρανόις immer ein 'Ort' angegeben, gleichgültig, ob das Substantiv maskulinisch oder neutrisch zu verstehen ist"; indeed, as far as 1:20 is concerned, the context will not tolerate any non-local interpretation. While it is probable that behind the use of οὐράνιος in Ephesians there lies the OT understanding of 'heaven' with its cosmic⁵² and transcendent⁵³ points of reference, there can be little doubt that in Eph 1:20 a new dimension has been added: heaven is now understood as being caught up in God's redeeming activity precisely because this is the 'place' where the ascended Christ now is. It is this thought that is basic to the remaining references.

The deliberate parallelism between 1:20-23 and 2:5-8 has already been examined and noted.⁵⁴ Basic to this parallelism and indeed to the significance of the term in question are the compound verbs συνεγείρω and συγκαθίζω ; in having become in faith participants in the resurrection of Christ, God has, in anticipatory fashion, made the believers participants in the power of Christ. Lincoln⁵⁵ well summarises: "... the apostle is describing what has taken place for believers experientially. Christ has been raised and exalted, and nothing less is involved than that the believer by virtue of his

existential union with Christ is actually sharing in His life and reign in heaven where he is".

It is the interpretation of 1:20 and 2:6 that assists in the understanding of the reference to ἐπουράνιος in 1:3. The phrase here stands as one of the three adverbial phrases which modify ὁ εὐλογῆσας and should not be considered apart from the remaining modifying phrases ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ and ἐν Χριστῷ. The blessings are bestowed upon the believer precisely because he is considered, by virtue of Christ's ascension and by his union with this ascended, exalted Christ, to be with Christ. Now while it may be true that the ἐν Χριστῷ phrase retains some of the notion of 'incorporation',⁵⁶ we cannot in this instance allow that this is either the only interpretation or even the primary interpretation that applies for all three ἐν phrases. We must also interpret it instrumentally: the believer is blessed by virtue of the fact that in some sense he is already 'in heaven' with Christ,⁵⁷ a location in which he finds himself in posse by means of the resurrection-ascension which God has accomplished in Christ. Support for this thesis is found in the fact that the author uses the aorist tense (εὐλογῆσας) exactly as in 1:20 (ἐνήργησεν ... ἐγείρας ... καθίσας), the verse which contains the theologoumenon which ultimately

provides him with the justification for the language and thought of the verse in question.

In 3:10 the author clearly presupposes what he has already said in 1:20 - and at the same time with his reference to the instrumentality of the Church prepares for what he will say in 4:10-16 - as he refers to the reconciliatory purposes of God which are now being made known to the hostile powers who, in typical Jewish and apocalyptic thought, were believed to reside in heaven. The intent of 3:10 is well summed up by R.P. Martin⁵⁸ when he writes: "the hostile angelic powers are not only held in wonder, but their death-knell is sounded with the proclamation that God in Christ has decisively acted for cosmic salvation and so brought their malign regime over human life to an end".

In 6:10 the author is not ultimately concerned with a futuristic confrontation between God and the powers of evil because, in his mind, this decisive battle had already taken place and has been won by Christ, as he has indicated in 1:21 and 4:8f. Here, as in all the other references discussed, the predominant thought is the victory which Christ has won and which is now described in terms of the resurrection-ascension. By virtue of his identification and association with

Christ the believer shares in this same victory.

In all this the author's eschatology is evident. While it is certainly true that the terminology and structure involved in the two-age concept of both Jewish apocalypticism and Rabbinic literature⁵⁹ is found elsewhere in the Pauline corpus,⁶⁰ it is obvious that in Ephesians this view has been modified. No longer is it appropriate to talk of two successive antithetical ages because in the coming of the Messiah the 'age to come' had become a present reality. Nowhere is this more evident than in 1:21, the only passage in the Pauline corpus in which the two ages are directly contrasted. In Christ this future age had become a reality, as was testified by the new status of the believer (2:6f), thought it had not led at the same time to the consummation of history, but instead it provided a new focus: the 'age to come' had begun with the resurrection-ascension of Christ and was already a reality in the life of the believer.

2.3 Status and Function

In our discussion on the relationship between the ascension as it is related in Luke-Acts and that of Ephesians we discovered that the prime difference lies in the fact that Luke sees theological significance in the 'event', whereas for the author

of Ephesians what is significant is the status and function of the ascended one, the former being his chief concern in 1:20-23, and the latter in 4:8.

In this epistle this emphasis on status and function is constantly applied to the other major themes of the letter, as in the following passages:

- 1:5f : He destined us ... to be accepted as his sons through Jesus Christ / that the glory (of his sonship) may redound to his praise.
- 1:11f: In Christ we have received our share of the inheritance / that we ... should cause his glory to be praised.
- 2:10 : We are God's workmanship, / created ... to devote ourselves to the good deeds for which God has designed us.
- 2:22 : In Christ you are being built into a spiritual dwelling place / for God.
- 4:11 : You are apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, / for the building up of the body of Christ.
- 5:7 : You are, as Christians, light / where light is, there all goodness springs up, all justice and truth.
- 5:17f: Try to understand what the will of the Lord is / let the Holy Spirit fill you.
- 6:5-8: Slaves, obey your earthly master / as serving Christ; as slaves of Christ / do whole-heartedly the will of God.

While it is true that none of the above references either essentially depends upon, or is directly related to an ascension theme, one cannot help but be struck by the parallelism that exists

methodologically. We have already drawn attention to the four Christological statements that make up the ascension pericope 1:20-22. These can be reproduced essentially as follows:

Christ is raised (v.20a) - he serves as master over all creation (v.22a).

Christ is ascended (v.20b) - he serves as life-giving source to the Church (v.22b).

The same pattern is present, though less obviously so, in 4:9f:

He is ascended - He now brings the universe to completion.

As we have already seen, this latter functional phrase has to be interpreted both christologically and ecclesiologically: it refers back to 1:22 (the subjection of all things under Christ's feet), and equally it refers in the immediate context to the preceding vv. 8f and to the following vv. 11-16, all of which have their point of reference in the work of the Church in the world.

It seems then that what is true of Christ must equally be true of the believer: having new status (the ascended one), Christ has a new function (head of the Church and head of the world); having new status (ascended with Christ), the believer has a new function (devoting himself to mission such that

the Church and world may be co-terminous). It of course has to be pointed out that this 'new' function of the believer is not dependent on the ascension of Christ for its validity, but, inasmuch as it is the knowledge of this ascension that gives the believer a new insight into his own status as 'exalted', it is also this knowledge which gives him new assurance of ultimate victory and therefore new impetus to his vocation.

2.4 Christ and God

According to Percy:⁶² "Für den Epheserbrief eigentümlich ist est aber, wenn dort 1:23 ... und 4:10 ... auf Christus übertragen wird, was in AT von Gott selbst gilt (Jer 23:24)". Although we believe that this statement needs modification, particularly as it relates to 1:23, it is nevertheless true that in certain statements Ephesians does go beyond the major Paulines in its description of both the authority and position of Christ. Nowhere is this more evident than in 5:5 where we read that the man given to what we might in general terms describe as idolatry, οὐκ ἔχει κληρονομίαν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ . In 1 Cor 6:9 and Gal 5:21, both of which are parallel in intent if not exactly in the categorisation of the sins involved, only τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ is spoken of. The kingdom of Christ only appears in the NT in 2 Peter

1:11 and Rev 11:15 and it is the latter text that provides us with the nearest parallel. We can explain the choice of expression by the author of Ephesians basically by reference to his eschatology: no longer is there the eschatological reservation of 1 Cor 15:24-28 (When all things are subjected ...) but instead the eschatological victory is envisaged as already having been won in the resurrection-ascension of Christ; this being the case it is most natural that the author should describe the Kingdom as being that of both Christ and God. Behind the language and thought of 5:5 we should also see 2:6f: conduct such as that described denies to a person the possibility of his being enthroned with Christ and as such being a participant in the Kingdom.

Attention should also be drawn briefly to one other passage where Christ assumes a role that elsewhere belongs to God, that is Eph 4:11. Here Christ is the one who gives gifts whereas in the corresponding passage in 1 Cor 12:28 the same function is performed by God. It can hardly be coincidental that 4:11 follows immediately the specific description of the ascended Christ as king.

There are also within the epistle indications that the author was aware of the new status that, in his opinion, now belonged to Christ. In Ephesians more than anywhere else in the Pauline corpus there is an emphasis on God as Father of Jesus, the designation being found on no fewer than 8 occasions, including at 1:3 and 1:17 the actual statement $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\rho$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ $\text{'}\text{I}\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ which only occurs elsewhere at Rom 15:6; 2 Cor 1:3, 11:31 and Col 3:1. The remaining epistles describe God as Father on relatively fewer occasions, the statistics being Romans 4; 1 Corinthians 3; 2 Corinthians 4; Galatians 3; Philippians 3; Colossians 4; 1 Thessalonians 3 and Philemon 1; and these references in the main refer to God as 'my' or 'our' Father; the reference to God/Jesus in a Father/Son relationship although not unique to Ephesians is much more typical of it than it is of any other Pauline epistle, the relevant statistics being Romans 2 (including 6:4 where it is only implicit); 1 Corinthians 2; 2 Corinthians 2; Galatians 3 (including 1:1,3 where it is implied but not explicit); Philippians 1 (only 2:11 and here again by implication); Colossians 1; 1 Thessalonians 1. The author at one and the same time develops a 'Theology' - everything ultimately has its source in God the Father, as in such texts as 1:3-6, 9f, 16-23, 2:4-6, 3:8-13, 14-19, 20f, 4:6; but also provides us with an extremely

rich 'Christology': Christ is presented as Son of God (1:3, 4:13), the ἀγαπητός (1:6), pre-existent (1:4), Head of the Church - Head of the world (1:20-23, 4:9-16, 5:23), the giver of all gifts (4:7f, 11), the treasury of all knowledge and riches (3:8-10). The author succeeds in affording to Christ the place occupied by God in the OT but nevertheless does not lessen the emphasis on the Fatherhood of God; indeed the reverse is the case. The phenomenon is a natural consequence of his view of the resurrection-ascension of Christ as put forward in 1:20-23 and 4:8f in that by means of this Christ now is 'king' but, at the same time, his kingship depends ultimately upon God, as is expressed in 5:5.

2.5 Christ and the Believer

The relationship between Christ and the believer in Ephesians can be adequately set out by means of a brief examination of two grammatical or linguistical concepts made use of by the author, namely, the ἐν Χριστῷ formulation and the proliferation of verb and noun forms compounded with the preposition συν-. It will be seen that the use of both concepts is related to a greater or less degree, depending of course on the actual context of the occurrence, to the ascension theme.

The ἐν Χριστῷ formula occurs some 35 times in the epistle. We can eliminate some of these references because in these instances the formula is merely another expression for 'Christian'; these texts are 4:1,17,21, 5:8, 6:1,10,21. In one other passage, 1:15, the meaning is sufficiently close to that of these passages that it can be ignored as it has no special significance for the relationship under discussion. J.A. Allan,⁶³ after studying all the ἐν Χριστῷ formulations in the epistle, concludes that the formula is used "predominantly, if not exclusively, in the instrumental sense ... 'In Christ' is no longer for this writer the formula of incorporation into Christ, but has become the formula of God's activity through Christ". We have already rejected this thesis, particularly as it applies in 1:20-23 where the concept of 'incorporation' is the theological motif which connects v.23 to the preceding verses. While it is certainly true that there are instances where the formulation in Ephesians has 'instrumental' sense, particularly in those texts in which the formula is in the form ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ (with the exception of 1:20), and more generally where the Χριστός title appears to have some Messianic significance, it is also true that there are other passages where the idea of incorporation is not so insignificant as Allan would suggest. The most significant examples in

this respect are 1:3 and 2:6⁶⁴ as we hope to show in the examination which follows.

Basic to the interpretation of 1:3 is the threefold use of ἐν . We have already discussed the ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις phrase at some length and have concluded that it has 'local' significance. The fact that all three phrases serve the same purpose, that of modifying ὁ εὐλογίας , is at least suggestive that the preposition must be given the same force in each instance. Now if this hypothesis is in any way correct then the ἐν Χριστῷ reference must be intended to signify incorporation. But what of ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ , is it capable of an interpretation of the same order? The use of πάσῃ suggests that the author is not thinking of what are normally termed the gifts of the Spirit, as enumerated in Gal 5:22-23. Neither is the author thinking of the various ministries of the Church; these are designated as δόματα (4:8f). To explain the content of these 'spiritual blessings' we must examine the following context where in vv. 4-10 we find a succession of notions which are themselves the content of the spiritual blessing, namely 'being chosen', 'accepted as sons', 'receiving forgiveness of sins', 'receiving wisdom and insight', and finally, 'being participants in the mystery of Christ'. Common to

all these is the idea of the believer's participation and therefore, by implication, the notion of incorporation. Our theory that ἐν Χριστῷ is not merely instrumental does then receive the necessary support. Lincoln⁶⁵ aptly comments: "... (the) believers partake of the (spiritual) benefits because they are incorporated into the ascended Christ as their representative who is himself in the heavenlies".

Allan⁶⁶ writes of 2:5f: "in the Ephesian passage this idea of incorporation is certainly not clearly present. One would rather think that the writer regards Christ not as the inclusive representative, but as the mighty companion of the upward way, the one through whom God's uplifting power is brought to bear on us". But the relationship between 1:20-23 and this passage belies this interpretation as being the one intended. The believer is in 'the heavenly places' by virtue of God's act in Christ (the dynamic or instrumental ἐν), but this is still only in posse; in actu he is still involved in the conflicts of this world (6:10-20) and therefore his being in the 'heavenlies' is still very much dependent on his being part of Christ (the ἐν which implies incorporation), a notion that only has validity by virtue of the Hebraic concept of corporate personality.

It is not possible to deny that in both 1:3 and 2:5f the dynamic interpretation is present, but equally, as our investigation has shown, the well-known concept of incorporation is also present and is of major significance in the interpretation of the author. It is hardly coincidental that the relationship between Christ and the believer is most evident in passages that have as their focus the thought that Christ is ascended since it is precisely by virtue of this new, exalted position of Christ that the believer can understand that he also has been exalted and is victorious though he is still engaged in battle.

The unity between Christ and the believer which is inherent in the ἐν Χριστῷ relationship in the verses that we have mentioned is also expressed in the use of such compound forms as συνζωποιέω (2:5), συνεγείρω (2:6), συνακαθίζω (2:6), συγκοιλίτης (2:19), συναρμολογέω (2:21, 4:16), συνοικοδομέω (2:22), συκληρονόμος (3:6), and σόσσωμας (3:6), all of which are quite rare words in the NT.⁶⁷ In 2:5f it is the actual unity between believer and Christ that is the concern of the author; so complete is the unity that aspects of Christ's resurrection and ascension are transferred to the believer. In the remaining references the theme is more practical, the unity of Jew and Gentile in one

Church; but again here the author is still concerned to express this relationship in terms of the Christ-believer relationship, as in 2:20 with its reference to Christ as the ἀκρογωνιαίος ; in 3:6 with the reference to σῶσμάς and the underlying reference to the σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ; and, in 4:15 with the reference to Christ as κεφαλή , an idea which is basic to the thought expressed in the following verse. In the first set of references, (2:5f), the significance of the ascension is obvious; in the remainder it is less obvious, but none the less certain: it is the ascended Christ who is head of the Church and as such its source; therefore there must be unity.

¹"Χριστός", TDNT 9, p.557. By 'new' Grundmann means the understanding that Jesus as Χριστός is the bringer of salvation. It is to this that the Gospels and Paul testify. In Ephesians (and Colossians) the concept of salvation-bringer is enlarged and completed with the new understanding that Χριστός is the one who has as his function the leading of all creation back to God.

²Op.cit., p.558 n.417.

³Christology, p.134.

⁴"Was glaubte die frühe Christenheit", Schweizerische Theologische Umschau 25 (1955), p.65, as cited by Kramer, op.cit., p.206.

⁵N. Dahl, "Die Messianität Jesu bei Paulus", in Studia Paulina (Essays in Honour of J. de Zwaan, ed. J.N. Sevenster and W.C. van Unnik), Haarlem: 1953; p.95.

⁶Op.cit., pp.205-14.

⁷"Two Notes on the Midrash on 2 Sam VII", Israel Exploration Journal 9 (1959), p.107, as cited by Longenecker, op.cit., p.73. Flussner goes on interestingly to suggest that this common motif which is of basic importance in Jewish thought may lie behind the hesitancy of Jesus, The Teacher of Righteousness and Simeon ben Kosebah to assert more positively their claims to messiahship.

⁸Here following Schlier, Epheser, p.164.

⁹So Abbott, op.cit., p.58; Gniska, op.cit., p.135; cf Acts 13:32.

¹⁰Further evidence for the connection between Is 57 and Eph 4 may be the presence of the hapax legomenon κλυδωνιζόμενα in Eph 4:14 which could be based on the κλυδωνισθήσονται of Is 57:20.

¹¹For the Rabbinic references to the Messianic Peace cf Str-B III, p.587.

¹²Cf 1 Cor 1:23; 2 Cor 1:19; Gal 1:16; Phil 1:5.

¹³Op.cit., pp.226f.

¹⁴Op.cit., p.135; cf Rom 8:11; 1 Cor 12:3; 2 Cor 4:5,10f, 14, 11:4; Gal 6:17; 1 Thess 1:10, 4:10 for reference to the 'historical' Jesus. Schlier, Epheser, p.217, sees the reference to 'Jesus' as an anti-Gnostic formula, but since a Gnostic background to Ephesians cannot be proved it is hazardous to assert this.

¹⁵Cf Kramer, op.cit., p.118; W. Popkes, Christus Traditus, Zürich: 1967; p.198.

¹⁶Cf Rom 8:32; Gal 2:20; Mk 9:31 and pars. A similar and presumably related tradition is found in Jn 3:16 where however the verb occurs in the simple form διδόναι as opposed to the compound form παραδιδόναι which is found in all the other references including Eph 5:2,25.

¹⁷The same tradition obviously lies behind 5:25, but here it is even further removed from its origins, having become part of the author's ecclesiology.

¹⁸Cf Lk 1:78. On this verse cf J. Gnllka, "Der Hymnus des Zacharias", BZ 6 (1967), pp.227-32.

¹⁹See chpt.2 ns.73, 77.

²⁰So Sampley, op.cit., p.121.

²¹Cf Col 3:18 ὡς ἀνήκεν ἐν κυρίῳ ; 3:22 φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον ; 1 Peter 2:13 ὑποτάγητε ... διὰ τὸν κύριον . Of these statements, all of which stand in Social Codes that are similar in content and form to that of Eph 5:21ff, the latter may be the most significant because, like Eph 5:21, it stands as the general heading to the Code. The textual variations to Eph 5:21 noted by the witnesses possibly reflect the knowledge that Χριστός was an unusual title to be associated with a Social Code; K reads ἐν φόβῳ κυρίου ; θεοῦ is read by the Koine text and Clement among others. But all major witnesses such as Ν Α Β C L read Χριστοῦ . Internal evidence also favours Χριστοῦ since the title predominates in vv.22ff.

²²The same change from κύριος to Χριστός occurs in 6:5; cf Col 3:22. If Ephesians is later than Colossians then this change is all the more significant in view of τῷ κυρίῳ Χριστῷ δουλεύετε of Col 3:24 because this verse may then serve as the source for Eph 6:5 and so could well remind the author of Ephesians of the Rabbinic understanding of the universal dominion of the Messiah;

cf Ps Sol 17:32; Num R 13 (170b); Gen R 1 (196a);
also Str-B II, pp. 147f, IV, pp. 88, 896, 889;
Mowinkel, op. cit., pp. 315f.

²³So Grundmann, op. cit., p.559 n.429; Kramer, op. cit.,
pp. 208f.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Op. cit., p.209.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷See above pp. 122-25.

²⁸See n.22 above.

²⁹"2 Cor 2:14-17: Suggestions Towards an Exegesis",
in Studia Paulina, pp. 155-62.

³⁰Ibid. p.157.

³¹Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, Göttingen: 1913;
loc. cit. The textual evidence for the absence of
ἐν in 1:12 and 3:20 is also taken from the same
source.

³²Op. cit., p.225.

³³Op. cit., p.55. Davies cites as evidence for this
(pp. 53f) Sanh 4:5; cf Best, op. cit., pp. 34-53.

³⁴See above p.179; cf Str-B III, pp. 570, 580. The
same idea of messianic expectation also underlies
Mt 13:39, 24:4b. These verses are more significant
because they are Matthaean in origin and therefore
may well have a particular Jewish (messianic) point
of reference; cf J.C. Fenton, St. Matthew,
Harmondsworth: 1963; p.227; also see 2 Esdras 11:44;
Tobit 14:5.

³⁵Op. cit., p.18.

³⁶Cf R.A. Wilson, " 'We' and 'You' in the Epistle
to the Ephesians", TU 87 (1964), pp. 676-80. Wilson
argues that 'We' refers to all Christians and 'You'
to a much smaller group in some way distinct from
the other Christians, inasmuch as this latter group are

specifically those who are newly baptised. It is true that ἐσπαρτίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι (1:13) could refer to baptism, but this is by no means certain. Wilson seems to recognise the weakness of his own argument when he goes on to suggest that the descriptions of vv.12f are equivalent to cosmic terms by which the author describes the redemption of all Christians, and he then argues that "it is not stretching their meaning to suggest that they are all terms connected ... with Christian initiation" (pp.676f). Wilson has correctly recognised that there is a qualitative difference between the 'We' and the 'You', but his attachment to the theory that the epistle is addressed to the newly baptised does much to prevent him from seeing that there are other possibilities for the identity of the 'We' and 'You' of the epistle.

³⁷Cf Schlier, Epheser, p.56.

³⁸Ibid.; so also J.A. Robinson, Ephesians, p.34; Lock, op.cit., p.22.

³⁹Op.cit., p.21; cf Str-B III, p.580: "Die wir zuvor auf den Christus (Messias) gehofft haben"; Gnilka, op.cit., p.83; Bruce, Ephesians, p.34.

⁴⁰Cf Lk 2:25,38; Apoc Baruch 30:1; Targum to 2 Sam 23:4; Targum to Jer 31:6; Midr Qoh 3:9(17b); also Str-B ibid.

⁴¹Rom 5:21, 7:25.

⁴²Op.cit., pp.180f.

⁴³See chpt.1 n.24 and below pp. 310f.

⁴⁴Op.cit., p.90.

⁴⁵Op.cit., p.177.

⁴⁶Epheser, p.157.

⁴⁷Cf Rom 8:28f, 9:11.

⁴⁸Cf chpt.1 ns.13, 16.

⁴⁹1 Cor 15:40 (twice), 48f; Phil 2:10. The term also occurs in Mt 18:35; Jn 3:12; 2 Tim 4:18; Heb 3:1, 6:4, 8:5, 9:23, 11:16, 12:22. The more usual οὐρανοί is found in Eph 1:10, 3:15, 4:10, 6:9.

⁵⁰B reads ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς at 1:20; cf also the same phrase in 6:9.

⁵¹Epheser, p.45; cf Abbott, op.cit., p.5; Percy, op.cit., p.181; Gnilka, op.cit., pp.63-66.

⁵²Job 1:6; Dan 10:13,21; cf 2 Macc 5:2; 1 Enoch 61:10, 90:21,24.

⁵³Ps 2:2; cf also the substitution of 'heaven' for the divine name in later Judaism.

⁵⁴See above pp. 5-9.

⁵⁵Op.cit., p.474.

⁵⁶See below pp. 310-13.

⁵⁷So Allan, op.cit., pp.57f; Bruce, Ephesians, p.27; J. Cambier, "La Bénédiction d'Eph 1:3-14", ZNW 54 (1963), pp.58-104, especially pp.66f.

⁵⁸"Ephesians", p.474.

⁵⁹Cf Str-B IV, pp.799ff.

⁶⁰E.g. Rom 12:2; 2 Cor 4:4; Gal 1:4.

⁶¹This contrast differs only slightly from that of indicative/imperative; here the emphasis is not so much on a course of action to be followed, though this may be implied in certain of the texts, but rather on the state which has been achieved by the believer by virtue of the action of God in Christ and then it is because of this new status that the believer has equally a new function in the world. This particular emphasis is most easily seen in the first five examples listed below. Further explanation of the relevance of this contrast will be brought out more clearly in the discussion that follows.

⁶²Op.cit., pp.312f.

⁶³Op.cit., p.59.

⁶⁴2:11,13 also seem to reflect the idea of incorporation, though less definitely than in the verses cited. It is also possible that in 1:1 the phrase πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ

Ἰησοῦ , coming as it does after τοῖς ἀγίοις has this significance. Indeed, if it does not have this significance then it is difficult to see how this phrase expresses anything different from the following τοῖς ἀγίοις .

⁶⁵Op.cit., p.471.

⁶⁶Op.cit., p.58.

⁶⁷ συγκολλητής , συναρμολογέω , συνοικοδομέω and σύσσωμος are hapax legomena to Ephesians; συνζωποιεῖν and συνεγείρω only appear here and at Col 2:13 and 2:12, 3:1 respectively; συγκαθίζω is found only here and at Lk 22:55; συνκληρονόμος occurs here and at Rom 8:17; Heb 11:9; 1 Peter 3:7.

CHAPTER 6

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we shall be concerned with two problems: firstly, and generally, 'How was the ascension interpreted in the first 200 years or so¹ of the Christian era by both Christian and heretic alike?'; and secondly and more specifically, 'How were the traditions that are basic to the ascension theme as it is set down in Ephesians used by later writers?' To a large measure the two questions cannot be separated because in attempting to answer the first we must of necessity indicate the traditions that influenced particular authors, so at the same time we will be providing some sort of answer, albeit in some instances a negative one, to the second question. While this chapter is in no way an attempt to comment directly and particularly on the idea that the theory of a physical ascension of Christ appeared relatively late in primitive Christianity, resulting in a great degree from theological reflection on the fact of resurrection,² it is likely that our discussion will offer some guidelines as to the continuing value of the theory.

In some respects the manner in which the ascension is dealt with in the NT presents us with a cameo of the situation that confronts us in the copious writings of the period under discussion. We find in both the NT and in the later writings, situations in which we would expect to find the ascension described or at least mentioned when in fact it is not; instances in which it is mentioned in the context of theological debate with no corresponding indication that any 'history' of the event is envisaged; and finally those examples in which the ascension is spoken of as an historical event with, in some instances, an accompanying description of the event and an attempt to date it in relation to the resurrection. It should be noted however that even though these categories are quite adequate to describe the situation that exists in the NT, they are not totally sufficient to describe that of the early Christian Apologists, because, in at least one instance (in the writings of Justin Martyr), we have both an acceptance of the idea that the resurrection and ascension were in some way coincident and yet at the same time an acceptance of the conception set out in Luke-Acts, that of an ascension which took place in a visible manner after a definite (though undefined) period of time.

In the discussion that follows we shall refer from time to time to this scheme of categorisation as we discuss both Christian writings and those having their source outside the mainstream development of the Christian Church. We shall proceed chronologically, though of course in both classes of writings and particularly in the latter, this can only be approximate. It should be stressed though that we are in no way attempting to establish a chronological development of the doctrine of the ascension, nor of the traditions inherent in the doctrine; it may well be that a position related in a comparatively late document of this period is more primitive in terms of the tradition or source used than that reflected in an earlier writing. With this in mind we can now turn our attention to the earliest writings available to us, those of the NT itself.

2. THE NEW TESTAMENT WRITINGS: THEIR VIEW OF ASCENSION

Apart from Luke-Acts and the 'long' ending of Mark's Gospel, the NT knows nothing of an ascension that is either 'historical' or capable of being described in physical terms; all the texts where there is some form of ascension theology fall into the second of the categories that we listed above, that is

to say, that in every instance the emphasis is on the exalted position of Christ and there is no concern with, or any indication of any knowledge of, any heavenly journey. For our considerations the most important of these texts are those which relate to those traditions contained in Ephesians, that is, Acts 2:30-35; 1 Cor 15:27; Phil 2:5-11; Col 1:15-20 and 1 Peter 3:21d-22, all of which we have already commented upon in some detail. In addition to these there are a number of other NT texts which, if not specifically referring to ascension as such, do imply by their emphasis on the fact that Christ has been exalted or even elevated to the right hand of God the Father in heaven that some form of heavenly journey has taken place. The question that must be asked, however, is whether this exaltation is to be connected with the resurrection or with a separate ascension event. As far as Pauline studies go the view presented by scholars, though not unanimous, is very much one-sided. Almost two generations ago an exegete could write:³ "that Paul was unacquainted with the story of an ascension is hardly open to debate. That as a result of death Christ had been highly exalted and had taken his seat at the right hand of God is a fundamental point. The resurrection was the way". More recently another well-known Pauline scholar could claim that "Paul knows nothing of such an ascension as described in Acts 1:9f".⁴ Apart from

the texts already discussed, the significant exaltation texts that call for comment in view of these statements are 1 Cor 15:3-8; 1 Thess 1:10; Rom 1:3f; 8:34, 14:9; Col 3:11; 1 Tim 3:16; 1 Peter 1:21; Matt 28:18; John 20:17; Heb 1:3, 2:9, 12:2.

2.1 1 Cor 15:3-8

The omission of any explicit reference to the ascension in this piece of primitive Kerygma is notable. Here the apostle reproduces traditional statements concerning the resurrection and the appearances that followed it and in this context it would seem almost natural that the statement should conclude with a reference to the ascension, or at very least to an exaltation which presupposed some form of ascension. That this is not the case is of course not conclusive proof either that Paul did not know of such an event or that there was not originally a statement inferring an ascension or exaltation in the final clause of the tradition as it originally stood. It is of course possible that Paul deliberately omitted such a statement in order to move directly from the appearances to the disciples to the appearance of the risen Lord to himself, although it would seem more likely that the apostle would have retained such a statement if he had known it to be present in the tradition in order to emphasise this final appearance of the risen Lord on

the Damascus road. If Luke is correct when in Acts 9 he describes Paul's encounter with Christ more in terms of a 'vision' than an 'appearance',⁵ then this would be sufficient reason for the omission; but Paul himself in both Gal 1:15-17 and 1 Cor 1:9 describes this as an 'appearance' and thus suggests that the Lucan view of the event is not totally correct. The remainder of the chapter, however, offers no support for the existence of such a statement in the tradition, developing as it does the theme of the eschatological victory of Christ over the heavenly, hostile powers (vv. 24ff), with its obvious implication that Christ is in heaven. The same implication is made in the discussion of the heavenly nature of the second Adam. Indeed, the inference of vv. 35-44 is that the resurrection and ultimate victory of Christ are of a spiritual order which does not involve and may even preclude any reference to an ascension that could be conceived of in any physical dimension. It would seem then that Conzelmann⁶ is correct when he asserts that here "die Formel und Paulus stimmen darin überein, dass die Auferweckung (bzw. 'Auferstehung') und die Erhöhung identisch sind".

2.2 1 Thess 1:10

In all probability this verse (along with v.9b) is a piece of primitive tradition.⁷ Here, as elsewhere in the Thessalonian epistles,⁸ there is the clear assertion that Christ is in heaven, but at the same time there is no clear indication as to how this happened, except by way of resurrection; indeed one cannot avoid the implication that Christ has been with God (and thus 'in heaven') since the resurrection. Lohfink⁹ makes the same assertion in slightly stronger language when he writes "Aufgrund seiner Auferweckung darf man Jesus von Himmel erwarten". Here it is precisely the fact of Christ's resurrection from the dead that allows Paul and his source to conclude not only that he will come again, but, more significantly, that he will come again from heaven. The fact that Paul does not refer to any kind of heavenly journey does not of course prove that he was unaware of one; elsewhere¹⁰ he uses pieces of tradition that do not wholly reflect his own theological presuppositions. But equally we must acknowledge that Paul was very ready to edit traditional statements so that theological motifs and explanations that he considered to be of prime importance could be included in the presentation, as is the case in Phil 2:8 (θανάτου δε σταυροσ) and, if it is by Paul, Col 1:18 (της ἐκκλησίας). This must mean that if Paul knew of an explicit ascension

theology and thought it to be significant we would have expected it to be present here. That it is absent must mean that at least for Paul it was of no special significance.

2.3 Rom 1:3

In this text the apostle is emphasising the fact that the 'gospel', although totally new and separate from the 'law', "represents not a break with the past, but a consummation of it: The Son of God was in the first place Son of David".¹¹ To make his point the apostle makes use of a traditional formula.¹² Our interest is centred in the words τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει ... ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν . While it is possible that ἐν δυνάμει might mean no more than 'miraculously'¹³, it is in our view more probable that the phrase is to be given the significance of 'with power' and thus the reference is to the fact that by means of the resurrection Christ has been given power to inaugurate the new age of salvation¹⁴ and, simultaneously, authority over all hostile powers.¹⁵ What is clear here is that whatever new position Christ holds and whatever new title is now his, is directly the result of the resurrection. Lohfink¹⁶ comments correctly: "Gleichgültig, ob man ἐξ hier temporal oder kausal interpretiert, es bleibt kein Raum für einen Zwischenzustand, in dem Christus zwar auferweckt,

aber noch nicht in den Himmel erhöht wäre". Here, as previously, we must assume that Paul's failure to assert at this point any reference to an ascension must indicate at least for him that the point was relatively unimportant.

2.4 Rom 8:34

Using only this text it would be difficult to come to any other conclusion than that it is the resurrection alone that is the basis for the heavenly session of Christ. But J.G. Davies¹⁷ reacts strongly against this view. Basic to his argument is the fact that ἐγείρω is, in his opinion, never used to refer to any exaltation beyond the recall from death. A closer examination of Davies' argument, however, will demonstrate that at best it is an argumentum e silentio. Even if we do assume that Davies is correct in his view with regard to ἐγείρω, we cannot, however, agree with the methodology which he makes use of to arrive at his conclusion which he states as:¹⁸

"There is certainly no implication in these statements [which use ἐγείρω to describe resurrection] that Resurrection implies any ascension into heaven - quite the contrary ...". Certainly he is correct: ἐγείρω in this text, as well as in the remainder of the NT, does not imply ascension per se, but that is not to say that it does not carry with it the idea of exalta-

tion. But at this point Davies attempts to support his argument by reference to Phil 2:9. He argues that this is a definite reference to ascension and that it must follow that it is the same ascension that is implicit in Rom 8:34, and for that matter also present in all other similar texts. But it is not at all clear that ὑπερῦψω in Phil 2:9 does in fact refer to an ascension, that is to say, to a definite movement from a lower level to a higher one. Indeed, following Ps 97:9, the reference is to exaltation, that is to say, to a position of greater eminence,¹⁹ as in Acts 2:33.²⁰ Against Davies we must then conclude that the heavenly session, at least as it is described in Rom 8:34, does not necessarily involve a belief in an ascension. Here, as with reference to 1 Thess 1:9, the situation is well summarised by Lohfink²¹ when he writes:

Die Auferweckung steht an unserer Stelle nur dann zu Recht, wenn sie als Voraussetzung und Grund der himmlischen Fürsprache Christi genannt ist. Das bedeutet aber, dass die bedeutender Relativsätze mit ὅς nicht ein neues christologisches Geschehen anreihen - dann hinge das ἐγερθεῖς hier sachlich völlig in der Luft - sondern dass die Aussage von der Auferweckung zu dem Punkt hin entfallen, an dem Paulus interessiert ist. Wir müssen deshalb geradezu übersetzen '... mehr noch, der auferweckt wurde und somit zur Rechten Gottes ist und für uns eintritt'.

2.5 Rom 14:9

There can be little doubt that here $\kappa\upsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ presupposes the exalted status of Christ. If this is so then we might expect some additional reference to an ascension, but this is not the case. In fact the verse was understood by the scribes of later MSS to refer to the resurrection event, as is evidenced by their introduction of $\delta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\tau\eta\mu\iota$ into the text,²² and consequently we can assume, at least for these writers that exaltation depended upon the fact of resurrection. It was then Christ's death and resurrection alone that established for him the right to be Lord of both living and dead; we have no evidence at all that would lead us to infer that here Paul presupposes any event other than the resurrection which accounts for Christ's exalted position.

2.6 Col 3:1

This verse contains the first two parts of the three part scheme of resurrection-session-parousia, as it relates both to Christ and the believer, which is contained in vv. 1-4. Here the session follows - and appears to be a direct consequence of - the resurrection. This fact is noted by C.F.D. Moule²³ when he writes that "it is not clear that St. Paul distinguished them [resurrection and glorification] in the way in which they are distinguished pictorially

in Acts i.1-9". Although it is probable that the contrast between τὰ ἄνω and ἡ γῆ is intended to refer to that between 'spiritual' and 'unspiritual',²⁴ one cannot but assume, in light of the total content of vv. 1-4, that here Christ is envisaged as 'above'²⁵ the earth and, therefore, some reference to a heavenly journey would not be misplaced. The omission can only be attributed to the fact that the author did not know, or at least considered to be of little significance, any such concept.

2.7 1 Tim 3:16

Here our interest centres on the hymnic phrase ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ . The 'location' for this is heaven rather than earth as is obvious both from the fact that the hymn is set out as a threefold chiasmus,²⁶ dominated by the recurring pattern earth/heaven in the well-known form a-b, b-a, a-b.²⁷ Elsewhere in the NT ἀναλαμβάνω refers to a visible ascension.²⁸ According to Enslin²⁹ this phrase is "almost certainly dependent upon the Acts account". But, despite the presence of ἀναλαμβάνω in both texts, this is unlikely. The specific addition of ἐν δόξῃ suggests a setting for the event in the heavenly sphere, a suggestion which finds confirmation in that the two previous parallel clauses ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι and ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις have, possibly to a more obvious

degree, their location in the heavenly sphere. Secondly, if the reference is to the ascension per se then the antithesis, accepted as Lord in earth: empowered as Lord in heaven, that is in the last two phrases of the hymn would lose much of its value. For the two statements to be really antithetical in the same manner as the lines that precede³⁰ the final statement must infer some authority over heavenly (and previously hostile) powers. We should also note that if the reference here is to ascension then it is of course misplaced in sequence, its rightful place being obviously before both the two preceding clauses. We cannot however, place much emphasis on this fact because it could merely have been set out in this fashion in the interests of the hymnic pattern.

2.8 1 Peter 1:21

Here it is immediately obvious that the resurrection and exaltation are quite deliberately set out together. What is not so obvious, however, is precisely what, if anything, is meant by the exaltation phrase $\kappa\alpha\iota \delta\delta\epsilon\chi\alpha\nu \alpha\beta\tau\omega\delta \delta\delta\nu\tau\alpha$. Best³¹ suggests that in 1:11 "the plural 'glories' probably refers to a succession of events - resurrection, ascension, heavenly session, return in power". Although here in 1:21 the singular and not the plural is used, it is likely that the same idea is present, that is, $\delta\delta\epsilon\chi\alpha$

refers to the post-resurrection existence of the exalted Lord.³² The thought expressed here is of course very similar to that of Acts 3:13-15. Perhaps a more specific definition of what the author intended by the phrase in question can be obtained from a comparison of it with 3:22. Certainly both verses are credal in kind, perhaps even traditional credal statements;³³ central to both statements is the resurrection; in both citations there is an attempt to relate the exaltation of Christ to the believer.³⁴ If these parallelisms are sufficient to allow us to interpret 1:21 in light of 3:18-22 then we are correct in thinking that for the author of 1 Peter the resurrection and exaltation is but one single thought and the exaltation is expressed not in terms of an ascension as such, but more precisely as an affirmation of the heavenly triumph of Christ following directly on his resurrection.

2.9 Matt 28:18

While it is true that this text does not give us any information about the ascension per se, it does nevertheless seem reasonably certain that when 'Matthew' sets the words 'To me is given all authority in heaven and on the earth' in the mouth of Jesus, an exaltation of Jesus to heaven is presupposed. This is made even more obvious by the relationship between

v.18b and Dan 7:14³⁵ so that "the conception of the enthroning of the Son of Man ... is here transferred to Jesus. Hence it is not so much a matter here of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead as of his exaltation and establishment as the eschatological ruler of the world".³⁶ It is thus difficult to see that the theology contained here is any different from that set out by reference to Ps 109:1 and/or Ps 8:6. If Jesus now has authority in heaven then all things (that is, things in heaven as well as things on earth), are placed under him. The theology expressed here is then ultimately no different from that of Eph 1:20-22, except that in the epistle the reference is entirely 'heavenly', whereas in the Gospel the reference is to both 'earth and heaven'. The immediate relationship between resurrection and exaltation is confirmed by the aorist ἐδόθη . It is highly unlikely that this is gnomic, there being no comparison intended,³⁷ as is the case, for example, in Jn 15:6. The verb must surely refer to the action whereby Christ received this authority, that is, the resurrection.³⁸ The reference to Dan 7:14 forbids us from concluding that the authority mentioned here is that claimed by Jesus in his earthly life, as, for example, in 21:23.

2.10 Jn 20:17

Much of the difficulty of interpretation that has been associated with this verse has centred on the words of Jesus firstly to Mary Magdalene and then (v.27) to Thomas. If it is assumed that Mary is forbidden to do exactly what Thomas is encouraged to do,³⁹ then the obvious inference is that the ascension has taken place between these two events. The problem that then confronts us is that the ascension is presumed to have taken place but is not directly referred to; this would encourage us to conclude that for John the ascension was an event that warranted (or allowed) no discussion. But we cannot allow this conclusion to stand. The command to Mary is in no way to be related to or contrasted with that to Thomas; indeed, it is difficult to see what relationship there can be between *ἔπιτω* with its sense given by the present tense of 'to cling'⁴⁰ and the general sense given by the use of both *φέρω* and *βάλλω* in association with *δάκτυλος* and *χείρ* of 'touch'. Our exegesis of *οὐπω γὰρ ἀναβέβηκα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα* will confirm this. The first significant point is the perfect *ἀναβέβηκα* Jesus has not yet ascended, but is in the process of ascending.⁴¹ For John the 'ascension' is not one single event, but is that which signifies the 'hour' (13:1) when Jesus passes from this world to be with his Father. In this case the 'ascension' must include

at least the death (12:32f, cf 13:31f) and the resurrection (20:1-10).⁴² But this is not all; we have to account for such texts as 6:62f, 16:7, and above all, 7:39. The inference is obvious: the process includes (and terminates with) the giving of the Spirit. We can now explain 20:17: Jesus had begun the process (death and resurrection) but as yet it was not complete in that the Spirit had not been given (an event described in vv. 22ff). The statement of Jesus to Mary is a Johannine apologia for the fact that the process is not complete with the resurrection: according to Johannine theology it is not until the process of ascension, that is to say death/resurrection/giving and receiving of the Spirit, is complete that men (and Mary!) can be his disciples.⁴³

2.11 Hebrews

The three texts that concern us here, 1:3, 2:9 and 12:2 are sufficiently alike that we can treat them together rather than individually. In all three instances the movement is from the death on the cross to heavenly session without any reference to resurrection.⁴⁴ This is to be explained in terms of the author's overall theological viewpoint, as is well noted by H. Montefiore⁴⁵ when he writes: "The author ... gives an elaborate explanation of Jesus' death and ascension in terms of the most important of all sacrifices

described in the Old Testament, that of the Day of Atonement. The Son ... by virtue of his completed sacrifice ... has been exalted to the highest place in heaven". The emphasis here then is decidedly theological: the 'ascension' is a state of glorification or of enthronement rather than an event. Significant in this respect is the fact that all three texts make reference, admittedly not always directly, to a Psalm citation, namely Ps 109:1 in 1:3 and 12:2 and Ps 8:6 in 2:9.

Thus far we have examined all the NT ascension texts, that is to say, all the NT texts which relate to the exaltation of Jesus. With reference both to the three categories enumerated at the beginning of this chapter and to our previous discussion of the traditions involved in certain texts, we can now begin to make some concluding statements with regard to the exaltation motif in the NT.

2.12 Summary

1. The NT knows of an ascension which was capable of being witnessed and later described. The only texts relevant here are Lk 24:50-53, Acts 1:9 and 'Mk' 16:19. All three texts seem to depend to a very large extent on the same basic traditions and, moreover, in each the ascension serves the same purpose: it makes the final separation between the historical

Jesus and the Church and yet emphasises that the Church in its new role as the agent of mission is still in essential continuity with the same Jesus who is now the exalted Lord.

2. The NT also knows of an ascension which was understood to be consequent upon the resurrection and was interpreted in terms of Christ's total authority in both the earthly and heavenly spheres. Here the ascension is more correctly defined as being a 'state of exaltation'. In contrast to the mode of ascension described above, here there is no single tradition or set of traditions that is common to all texts, although it is true to say that all the different writers who employ these varying traditions are in agreement inasmuch as they all see the exaltation in terms of Christ's new status as Lord. The texts at issue here are Matt 28:18; Acts 2:32; Rom 1:3f, 14:9; 1 Cor 15:27; Eph 1:20-22, 4:8-10; Col 1:18, 3:1; 1 Thess 1:10; 1 Peter 1:21, 3:22.

3. Yet a third type of ascension is that which is found only in the Johannine Gospel. Here the ascension is not so much a status as a process having three distinct constituent parts: death - resurrection - the gift of the Spirit. In at least one way this is the most complete scheme found in the NT. The first kind

of ascension is 'unfinished' in that it serves as a precursor to an awaited parousia. In the second kind of ascension the emphasis is on the fact that Christ is with God and thus has power in both earth and heaven. The Johannine model includes all that the second model provides with the additional 'presence' (through the Spirit) on earth.

4. The fourth type of ascension and one which perhaps can claim to be most primitive is that which is seen in terms of humiliation - exaltation. Here Jesus is seen as exalted as a direct result of his death. The texts that witness to this scheme are Phil 2:8f; Heb 1:3, 2:9, 12:12. But even here two different theological traditions are involved, although both centre on the fact of Christ's willingness to accept death on a cross. This type of ascension differs from that described in (2) above only in as much as it stresses preceding humiliation, an emphasis absent from those texts as classified under (2).

5. Yet another type of ascension is the one related in 1 Tim 3:16. Here there is no obvious reference to any consequence upon earth of the exaltation of Jesus, though of course this may well have been in the mind of the readers. In that this ascension is envisaged as one having its locale in the heavenly

sphere we might describe it as being more 'personal' in its application to Jesus than other references which not only describe the new status that Jesus has, but also in some way the consequence of this new status for believers. In this respect 1 Tim 3:16 stands farther removed, in terms of tradition, from Ephesians than any of the other NT exaltation texts because in this epistle the consequence of the ascension which is almost entirely absent from 1 Tim 3:16 is most fully developed ('We are seated with him in heavenly places', 2:6). This lack of consequence applies to all the theological statements of 1 Tim 3:16, although we cannot say that consequence is totally lacking because the phrases ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ and ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν presumably refer to the whole of the Christ event, and exaltation was obviously part of this.

6. The final type of exaltation referred to in the NT is that found in 1 Cor 15:3-8. Here the exaltation is almost entirely limited to the resurrection and the appearances which follow to the disciples. The emphasis is then on the exaltation as an event which has its location on earth and not in heaven, as opposed to that described in both (2) and (4). Though this is true of the actual tradition (probably vv. 3-5, although vv. 6f cannot be totally discounted), it is not true of v.8. Paul surely

understands that the appearance of Jesus, whether visionary or actual, was an appearance from heaven (cf Gal 1:16), but this is in no way explicit in this text.

3. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS AND CONTEMPORARY WRITINGS

In our examination of the NT writings we have seen that in the majority of instances the exaltation of Jesus is coupled with a reference to his resurrection. Although it cannot be proved conclusively, this does suggest that certain of the NT authors either did not know of, or rejected, any idea of an ascension which was conceived as an event totally separate in time and significance from the resurrection. The same applies with respect to the Apostolic Fathers, in that "the silence of Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Hermas and the Didache regarding any ascension, while of course not conclusive, is tolerably strong evidence that they were unacquainted with, or rejected any tradition separating it from the resurrection".⁴⁶ As representative of the Apostolic Fathers we may note the following texts from Ignatius.⁴⁷ In Magn 11:1 he writes:

I wish to warn you ... not to fall into the snare of vain doctrine, but to be convinced of the birth and passion and resurrection (ἄλλα πεπληροφόρηθαι ἐν τῇ γεννήσει καὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ τὴν ἀναστάσει) which took place at the time of the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate.

The same point is made even more strongly in Phil 8:2

But to me the charters (ἀρχεῖα) are Jesus Christ, the inviolable charter is his cross, and death, and resurrection (ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις) and the faith which is through him.

and again in Phil 9:2

But the Gospel has somewhat of pre-eminence, the coming of the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, his passion and the resurrection (τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν).

There is however one text in the writings of Ignatius that would seem, at least at first sight, to contradict Enslin's generalisation. This is Magn 7:1f where we read:

Hasten all to come together as to one temple of God, as to one altar, to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from the one Father and is with one, and departed to one (ἐπὶ ἓνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν ἄφ' ἑνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα καὶ εἰς ἓνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα)

The problem here of course centres on what is meant by χωρήσαντα . According to V. Larranaga⁴⁸ the verb is to be given the sense 'ascended' and so, he argues, a heavenly journey similar to that of Acts 1 is implied. But in as much as ἀφ' ἑνδὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα and χωρήσαντα are obviously very closely related, Larranaga's interpretation is seriously called into question. This relationship, in that it suggests that the 'coming' and 'going' are at least of the same kind, would suggest that χωρέω must indicate something other than a visible departure from this world.⁴⁹ Certainly the whole citation is reminiscent of a number of Johannine texts; particularly 8:14, 10:30, 13:3 and 16:28. If indeed Magn 7:1f is influenced by these texts then χωρέω would conform with the verbs ὑπάγω , πορεύομαι and ἔρχομαι which all refer to the exaltation of Jesus, but an exaltation interpreted as a departure from this world and a returning to his Father to claim again the glory that was rightfully his. Since there is no positive evidence that Ignatius knew John's Gospel, we cannot assume a relationship between these Gospel texts as they now stand and Magn 7:1f; we are justified in suggesting that Ignatius was following the same scheme as that adopted by John with respect to the 'return' of Christ to his Father. Admittedly the evidence we have presented with respect to Magn 7:1f is circumstantial and perhaps even conjectural, but it

is difficult to see, in the light of the other Ignatian texts cited which all refer to a resurrection but fail to indicate any subsequent ascension, how this text alone, in a way that is not at all clear, could refer to this event.

The fact that Ignatius either did not know or rejected the concept of a separate ascension was noted by a later interpolator who attempted to correct this 'oversight'. The long recension of the epistle of Ignatius contains two references, Trall 9 and Smyrn 6, to an ascension. Both these texts are very obviously based on the account in Act 1. But these passages, like the remainder of the additional passages of the longer recension belong to the 4th century.⁵⁰

The earliest reference to the ascension as an event different from that of the resurrection is that of Barn 15:9 where we read⁵¹

Wherefore we also celebrate with gladness the eighth day in which Jesus also rose from the dead and was made manifest, and ascended into heaven (ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανός).

The text quite obviously knows nothing of a 40 day interval as in Acts 1. A number of scholars are of the opinion that here the text quite specifically states that the resurrection and ascension took place

on the same day and it is likely that the day on which the two events are understood to have happened was believed to have been Easter Sunday.⁵² But the text is not that specific; it may imply no more than that both events took place on a (and not necessarily the same) Sunday.⁵³ It has been argued that the view expressed in this text is Johannine.⁵⁴ But this cannot be; in John's Gospel Jesus is envisaged as being exalted not by virtue of resurrection (and thus on Easter Day) but by virtue of crucifixion (and thus on Good Friday). Also, 'ascension' is, as we have already seen,⁵⁵ not one event, but the process death-resurrection-giving of the Spirit. The view expressed by Barn 15:9 is similar to that which is at least implicit in Lk 24:50-53 where this much at least is obvious in the words *διέστη ἄπ' αὐτῶν* . Certainly Lk 24 contains an expansion of the scheme resurrection-Jesus shows himself-ascension⁵⁶ which is precisely the same scheme that is present in Barn 15:9. There is no evidence that the text is in any way dependent on Lk 24; it is much more likely that both authors reflect an earlier tradition which differentiated between resurrection and ascension, but yet understood them as having taken place on the same day (or at least, on a Sunday). If the narrative in Acts 1 is in fact the result of theological reflection on the resurrection and at the same time an attempt to explain the fact

that Christ could no longer be seen, then it is possible that the tradition reflected in Barn 15:9 (and, if we are correct, in Lk 24:50-53) may be an interim stage in this development.

A document which contains a view that is not at all dissimilar to that of the Epistle of Barnabas is the docetic Gospel of Peter. Here a number of texts concern us.⁵⁷ The first reference to an ascension is v.19:

And the Lord cried aloud, saying,
'My power, my power, thou hast left
me', and having said this he was
taken up (καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνελήμφθη).
At the same time the veil of the
temple was torn in twain.

The fact that the ascension is introduced before any account of the resurrection (vv. 39-42) is not important for our considerations. It is to be explained by the peculiarity of the Docetic doctrine which understood that at the moment of death Christ left the human Jesus and ascended to heaven from where he later descended and raised Jesus from the dead. The same point is made a little more explicitly in v.56 which, with vv. 55,57, is based on Mk 16:1-8. In the verse in question the young man at the grave says to Mary Magdalene and her woman companions:

Wherefore are ye come? Whom seek ye?
 Not him that was crucified? He is
 risen and gone (ἀνέστη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν).
 But if ye believe not, stoop this way
 and see the place where he lay, for he
 is not here. For he is risen and gone
 thither whence he was sent (ἀνέστη
 γὰρ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖ ὅθεν ἀπεστάλη).

Enslin⁵⁸ suggests that here the ἀπῆλθεν refers back to the event described in v.19. But this is unlikely because v.19 refers to the ascent of the divine Christ whereas v.56 refers to the ascent of the resurrected Jesus. The verb must in fact refer to the event described in vv. 39-42:

... they saw again three men come out of the sepulchre, and two of them sustaining the other and a cross following them, and the heads of the two reaching to heaven, but that of him who was led of them by the hand overpassing the heavens. And they heard a voice out of the heavens crying "Thou hast preached to them that sleep?" and from the cross there was heard the answer, "Yea".

This is not an account of an ascension as such, but of the resurrection. But the language employed in the description prevents us from simply saying that the resurrection picture has been embossed with apocryphal or apocalyptic imagery. Danielou⁵⁹ has shown that the whole scene has affinities with Jewish merkaba⁶⁰ and, more particularly, that the opening of the heavens, the enthronement of Christ on the angelic throne and the fact that the head of Christ reaches beyond the heavens,

all lend support to the contention that here we have a resurrection which is described in terms of an ascension. In v.56, as we have already seen, the resurrection is identified with Christ's entry into heaven and so confirms this contention. Quite clearly then, the description of the 'ascension' in the Gospel of Peter has nothing to do with that of Acts 1 but, like the Epistle of Barnabas, the description is concerned to establish that the resurrection and ascension are but two aspects of the same event.

A third work of this period in which the concept of ascension plays a very significant role is the Ascension of Isaiah.⁶¹ Here three passages are particularly significant. The first passage and perhaps the earliest in origin, is III, 16-18:

[It had been revealed that] the angel of the Holy Spirit and Michael, the chief of the holy angels, would open his grave on the third day, and that the Beloved, sitting on their shoulders, will come forth and send out his twelve disciples and they will teach to all the nations and every tongue the resurrection of the Beloved, and that those who believe on his cross will be saved, and in his ascension⁶² to the seventh heaven, whence he came.

A number of things here call for comment. The author speaks of the resurrection and ascension as successive events but at the same time distinguishes between them;

both are understood as being processes of exaltation. The first exaltation, that of resurrection, is set out in a form which is very similar to that of the Gospel of Peter 39-42 and, in all probability, it too reflects a merkaba tradition. The second exaltation, which is distinct from that of resurrection, is the ascent to the seventh heaven. The two scenes are separated by the sending out of the apostles, an event which seems to allude to Mt 28. While this text does not specifically refer to any time-gap between the two events, it may well be implicit. The same cannot be said, however, for the second text that requires some comment, IX, 16-18:

And when he has made spoil of the angel of death, he will arise on the third day and will remain in the world 545 days, and then many of the righteous will ascend with him, whose spirits do not receive their garments till the Lord Christ ascends and they ascend with him. Then indeed they will receive [their garments and] thrones and crowns when he shall have ascended into the seventh heaven.

According to Charles⁶³ the phrase 'and will remain in the world 545 days' is not a creation of the Ethiopic scribes but originates from a Greek text in which it was present as a Gnostic interpolation. This is possible, though it at best conjectural. Certainly the idea of a long period between the resurrection and ascension is not unknown in other early Gnostic

writings.⁶⁴ This passage shows quite clearly that the major emphasis of the author is on the exaltation by virtue of the ascension and not by virtue of the resurrection; it is only when the Lord Christ has completed his ascension (into the seventh heaven) that the righteous will receive their 'garments', presumably their new (spiritual) bodies.⁶⁵ The last passage that concerns us, XI, 20-32, reveals a similar concept of the ascension:

... I saw how he was crucified on the tree, and how he was raised after three days and remained [still many] days. And the angel who conducted me said to me 'Attend, Isaiah'. And I saw when he sent out his twelve apostles and ascended ... And I saw how he ascended into the seventh heaven, and all the righteous and all the angels praised him. And I saw how he sat down at the right hand of that great glory, whose glory, as I told you, I was not able to behold.

This is the most detailed of the ascension accounts in this document, with its very graphic description of the ascent through all six heavens until the final stage, the seventh heaven, is reached. At every stage the reaction of the angels is one of praise. It is notable that in this text the ascension is referred to without comment. It is possible that the reference to 'days' is intended to be understood as the 545 days of IX, 16,⁶⁶ at any rate the phraseology is very similar.⁶⁷

In the post-Apostolic texts discussed thus far there has been no positive sign of the re-emergence of any of the traditions that we have seen to be basic to the theme of ascension as it is related in Ephesians. But this is not to say that there are no affinities between the epistle and the later writings. Quite obviously there is no direct relationship in terms of tradition between the Gospel of Peter 39-42 or Ascension of Isaiah III, 16-18 on the one hand and Eph 1:20ff on the other, but yet in all three texts the resurrection is described in terms more applicable to an ascension and, moreover, in all three instances the immediate consequence of the resurrection is understood to be enthronement. A further similarity exists between Ascension of Isaiah IX, 16-18 and Eph 2:6 in that both texts refer to the fact that believers are also participants in the ascension. The differences between these two texts are of course many and we should not overlook the fact that in Eph 2:6 there is no mention of any heavenly journey as such whereas this is very definitely the case in the Ascension text. It is perhaps more accurate, strictly speaking, to say that the similarity exists only in that in both texts the believer participates in the consequence (rather than the act) of ascension. The single instance where there may be a dependence on a tradition known to the author of Ephesians is Ascension

XI, 32 which seems to reflect knowledge of Ps 109:1
In our considerations of the texts of the era following
that of the Apostolic Fathers we shall find that the
traditions basic to the ascension theme in Ephesians
are much more in evidence.

4. THE ASCENSION IN THE APOLOGISTS AND IN
CONTEMPORARY WRITINGS

A number of important ascension texts are
found in the writings of JUSTIN MARTYR. Justin
certainly believed that the ascension was an event
which could be differentiated from the resurrection,
as is obvious from the following credal-type state-
ment that is repeated, with slight variations, frequently
in his writings:⁶⁸

We also say that the Word, who is the
first birth of God, was produced without
sexual union and that He, Jesus Christ,
our Teacher, was crucified and rose
again and ascended into heaven.

Perhaps the most explicit statement of the fact that
resurrection and ascension are two quite separate and
distinct events in the mind of Justin is Apol I:50:

Accordingly, after he was crucified,
even all his acquaintances forsook
him, having denied him; and afterwards,
when he had risen from the dead and
appeared to them, and had taught them

to read the prophecies in which all these things were foretold as coming to pass, and when they had seen him ascending to heaven (καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀνερχόμενον ἰδόντες) and had believed, and had received power sent by him upon them, and went to every race of men, these taught these things and were called apostles.

A similar statement is found in De Res 9:

And when he had thus shown them that there is truly a resurrection of the flesh, wishing to show them also, that it is not impossible for the flesh to ascend into heaven (as he said that our dwelling place is in heaven), he was taken up into heaven while they beheld, as he was in the flesh (ὅτι οὐκ ἀδύνατον καὶ σαρκὶ οὐρανὸν ἀνελεθεῖν, ἀνελήθη βλεπόντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἕς ἣν τῆ σαρκί).

The first of these two references seems to be based very loosely on Lk 24 and perhaps Acts 1. If we accept that Justin knew a text of Lk 24:53 which contained the phrase καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν then of course there is no need to assume that Acts 1 is in any way behind the text. But these texts are significant in that neither gives any indication of any time-span between the resurrection and the ascension, but at the same time it is obvious in both texts that the ascension presupposes the resurrection. However, we must also note that there are instances in the writings of Justin in which the two events of resurrection and ascension are viewed as being, if not

synonymous, at least certainly two facets of the same event. The most explicit reference to this phenomenon is Dial 32:

I will mention too also other words spoken by the blessed David, from which you will perceive that the Lord is called the Christ by the Holy Spirit of prophecy, and the Lord, the father of all, has brought him again from the earth, setting him at His own right hand, until he makes his enemies his footstool; which indeed happens from the time that our Lord Jesus Christ ascended to heaven, after he rose again from the dead, the times now running to their consummation (... ἐξ ὧν κύριον τὸν Χριστὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου προφητικοῦ πνεύματος λεγόμενον νοήσετε, καὶ τὸν κύριον πάντων πατέρα ἀνάγοντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς κατὰ καθίζοντα αὐτὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν θῆ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ· ὅπερ γίνεται ἐξόδου εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνελημφοῦ μετὰ τὸ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι ὁ ἡμέτερος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τῶν χρόνων συμπληρουμένων).

This text is significant in a number of ways. Firstly, the ascension is seen as the time when all things are subjected to Christ, the subjection being expressed in terms of Ps 109:1 and not of Ps 8:6 as in Eph 1:22. Later in the same paragraph (32:6) Justin cites the whole of Ps 109 in order that he might demonstrate that Jesus is the Messiah; the reference in the text that we have quoted to the fact that 'the Lord is called the Christ' must then refer to the same Messianic interpretation. It is also notable that Justin refers

in the same text to a resurrection which he interprets by means of the psalm as an ascension, but we can quite definitely say that a heavenly journey followed after (μετά) the resurrection. In the previous use connected with the psalm text there is no indication of any heavenly journey. This would suggest that Justin was aware of both traditional interpretations of the ascension. The resurrection and ascension are also brought together in Apol 1:45:

... God the father of all would bring Christ to heaven after he had raised him from the dead (ὅτι δὲ ἀγαγεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν παντῶν θεός· μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆσαι ἐκ νεκρῶν αὐτὸν ἔμελλε) and would keep him there until he has subdued all his enemies the devils and until the number of those who are foreknown by him as good and virtuous is complete, on whose account he has still delayed the consummation - hear what is said by the prophet David. These are his words: The Lord said to my lord, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies Thy footstool.

This passage perhaps reflects knowledge of 1 Cor 15:24ff, or at least the tradition on which this text is based; it may be of course that it only reflects a common knowledge of an eschatological delay in the expected consummation. Certainly this passage seems to stand nearer to the Corinthian pericope than it does to Heb 10:12f. In a number of other passages there is not sufficient detail to enable us to decide whether or not resurrection and ascension are intended

to be seen as different events or as two aspects of the same event. What is certain is that none of these texts infer that there is any time-lag between resurrection and ascension. The texts at issue here are Dial 17, 36, 108; Apol I.46, 51. There is also one text in Justin where the connection is made directly between the crucifixion and the ascension. This is Dial 38 where we read:

You seek to persuade us that ...
 he became man, was crucified and
 ascended up to heaven (εἶτα ἄνθρωπον
 γενόμενον σταυρωθῆναι, καὶ ἀνεβηκέναι
 εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν)

On two occasions Justin also uses Ps 67:19 in basically the same form as it is found in Eph 4:8. In Dial 39 we read:

... it was prophesied that after the ascent of Christ to heaven, he would deliver [sic] us from error and give us gifts. The words are these: He ascended up on high; He led captivity captive, He gave gifts to men (ὅτι οὐ μέμνηται οὐδὲ παραφρονῶ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέλευσιν προεφητεύθη αἰχμαλωτεῦσαι αὐτὸν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης καὶ δοῦναι ἡμῖν δόματα. Εἰσὶ δὲ λόγοι οὗτοι: Ἄνεβη εἰς ὕψος, ἡχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἔδωκε δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις).

In Dial 87 Justin cites the same psalm when he explains that the 'gifts' referred to are the gifts of the Spirit which had been foretold by Joel. These gifts are, according to Justin, the direct consequence of ascension. The psalm text is cited here in a slightly different form: ἔδωκε δόματα τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων . It is interesting that in both Dial 39 and 87 Justin sets the citation of Ps 67:19 in the context of previously spoken prophecies. There is no indication in either passage that he is in any way dependent upon the epistle; indeed the context suggests the possibility that Justin is in fact citing the tradition which the author of Ephesians also uses. We cannot of course reject the possibility that Justin knew and was influenced by the version of the psalm as it appears in the epistle,⁶⁹ but even if this is the case, it would appear from the context of both Dial 39 and 87 that he is claiming that this version makes plain the prophetic element of the original psalm.

The references that we have cited from Justin clearly indicate that this author is no more consistent in his view of the ascension than is the NT. He can describe it as an event distinct from that of resurrection (Apol I.21); an event capable of being witnessed (Apol I.50; De Res 9); but elsewhere the resurrection and ascension are but two aspects of

the same event (Dial 32; Apol I.45); and he can even refer to an ascension that does not seem to necessitate a resurrection (Dial 38). Justin also seems to know two of the NT traditions associated with ascension/exaltation: Ps 109:1 and Ps 67:19. But there are also two significant omissions: he never associates Ps 109:1 with Ps 8:6 and neither does he ever refer to any definite time-lag between resurrection and ascension.⁷⁰ Justin notes the fact that the Jews interpret Ps 110 as if it refers to Hezekiah, but, he argues, this is a wrong understanding of the psalm; it must be understood in terms of the ascension of Christ and of his investiture with the high-priesthood of the order of Melchizedek.⁷¹

The ascension is also mentioned in the APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES 15 where we read:⁷²

... He tasted death on the cross, fulfilling an august dispensation. And after three days He came to life again and ascended into heaven (μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνεβίω καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸς ἀνῆλθεν). And if you would read, O King, you may judge the glory of His presence from the holy gospel writing, as it is called among yourselves. He had twelve disciples, who after his ascension to heaven went forth into the presence of the whole world and declared His greatness.

The author does not provide us with sufficient information to determine his precise view of the ascension. It does seem though that he may well have understood that the two events of resurrection and ascension took place on the same day.⁷³ The Apology contains no direct citation of scripture, though on one other occasion (Apol 16) the king (to whom the work is addressed) is directed to a Gospel. We have no means of knowing which specific Gospel (if indeed any specific Gospel is intended) is in the author's mind at this point. The Gospel that presents the strongest claim is Matthew, not only in view of the reference to the disciples going into all the world in the above citation, but also because τὸς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτειναν of Apol 14 may be a combination of Mt 13:17 (πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι) and 23:37 (ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφῆτας, καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν).⁷⁴ Even if this conjecture is correct nothing is added to our knowledge of Aristides' conception of the ascension because there is no definite reference to the event in this Gospel.

In the writings of IRENAEUS⁷⁵ a number of citations are noteworthy. In Adv Haer II, 32.3 we read:

It is certain, too, from the fact that the Lord rose from the dead on the third day, and manifested Himself to His disciples, and was in their sight received up into heaven ... (Et ex hoc quod Dominus surrexit a mortuis in tertia die [firmum est] et discipulis se manifestavit, et videntibus eis receptus est in coelum).

Here quite obviously Irenaeus distinguishes between the two events, and, in as much as he refers to the fact that the heavenly journey was seen by the disciples, he would seem to be basing his account on Acts 1. It is of course possible that Irenaeus understood that the manifestations referred to all took place on Easter Day. But this in our view is unlikely.⁷⁶ The same distinction between resurrection and ascension is made in Adv Haer I, 10.1. The issue is not so clearly defined in Adv Haer III, 4.2 where the Apologist writes:

... having suffered under Pontius Pilate and rising again and having been received up in splendour (et passus sub Pontio Pilato, et resurgens, et in claritate receptus) shall come in glory ...

But even here, although the ascension is not described in precisely the same way as a heavenly journey, the event is distinguished from the resurrection. There is of course nothing in this text that forces us to conclude that Irenaeus understood the ascension in a way any different from that of Luke in Acts 1.

But this view is called into question by Adv Haer
IV, 33.13 = Harvey, Adv Haer IV 55.4):

And again when one says ... 'All
flesh shall be humbled and the
Lord shall be exalted in the highest' -
it is thus indicated that, after His
passion and ascension, God shall cast
down under His feet all who were
opposed to Him and He shall be exalted
above all (significatur, quoniam post
passionem et assumptionem omnes qui
contra eum fuerunt sub pedibus ejus
subjiciet Deus et ipse super omnes
exaltabitur).

The author obviously has Ps 109 in mind here and in
using this psalm in this way is repeating the tradition
that is widespread throughout much of the NT. What
is interesting here is that there is no specific
mention of the resurrection; it could be that by
'passionem' Irenaeus is here referring to both the
suffering and death of Jesus and by 'assumptionem'
refers to both resurrection and heavenly journey.
If this is the case then it would seem that at this
point Irenaeus is not distinguishing between the two
events. The matter is further complicated if here it
is intended that exaltation is to be understood as an
event separate from, and later than, ascension. If
the exaltation is the subjection of the opposing forces
then this does seem to be what is intended. The
same view is implicit in Adv Haer III, 10.6 where,
referring to 'Mk' 16:18ff. Irenaeus sees the ascension

as the fulfillment of Ps 109. The last two citations from the works of Irenaeus that concern us both refer to Ps 67:19. The most explicit reference is Dem 83:⁷⁷

And that, being raised from the dead, He was to ascend into Heaven. David says thus: The chariot of God [is] ten-thousand-fold, thousands are the drivers; The Lord is among them in Sinai in his sanctuary. He ascended up on high, he led captivity captive; he received, he gave gifts to men. And by captivity he means the destruction of the rule of the apostate angels.

This citation is fraught with difficulties. It is part of a work preserved only in Armenian and therefore at best is only a translation of the original. The citation of Ps 67:19 seems to note the fact that it is rendered differently in Eph 4:8 (or in the tradition or source that lies behind this text which was perhaps known by the translator), although, as Robinson points out,⁷⁸ the fact that the Armenian Psalter reads 'He received booty, he distributed gifts, and gave to the sons of men' makes it equally possible that what we have at this point is a reminiscence of his own Psalter on the part of the translator. However, what is certain from the text is that the ascension was viewed as that which finally completed the process of recapitulation.⁷⁹ The second

reference to Ps 67:19 is Adv Haer II, 20.3:

For the Lord, through means of suffering, 'ascended into the lofty place, led captivity captive, gave gifts to men' (ascendens enim in altitudinem Dominus per passionem, captivam duxit captivitatem dedit dona hominibus) and conferred on those that believed in him the power 'to tread upon serpents and scorpions and on all the power of the enemy'

Here, as in Adv Haer IV, 33.13, the ascension seems to include the resurrection.

Irenaeus, like Justin Martyr before him, has no specific view of the ascension. It was an event that was seen to happen (Adv Haer II, 32.3), and was distinct from the resurrection (De Res 9); but equally, he seems to indicate that resurrection and ascension are two facets of the same event (Adv Haer III, 10.6) or even perhaps the same single event (Adv Haer II, 20.3; IV, 33.13). However it is expressed, the ascension for Irenaeus was the 'event' which signalled the completion of God's scheme of recapitulation (Dem 83).

The ascension is also referred to in MELITO's Homily on the Passion.⁸⁰ Here three references are noteworthy: sections 100, 103 and 104 of the version cited:⁸¹

sect. 100

... but he rose from the [dead
to the heights of the] heavens,
God who put on man and suffered
for the sufferer (δε ἀνέστη
ἐκ ν[εφρῶν εἰς τὰ ὕψη τῶν
οὐρανῶν, θεὸς ἐνδύ[σας τὸν
ἄν]θρωπον καὶ παθὼν ὁ[ιὰ τὸν
πάσχον]τα).

sect. 103

I am your light, I am your saviour,
I am the resurrection, I am your
king, I lead you up to the heights
of the heavens (ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἀνάγω
εἰς τ[ὰ ὕψη] τῶν οὐρανῶν), I will
show you the Father ...

sect. 104

This is he who first made heaven and
earth, who in the beginning [created]
man, who was proclaimed by the Law
and the Prophets, who was made flesh
in a Virgin, who was [hanged] upon
a tree, who was buried in the earth,
who [rose] from the dead and went up
to [the heights of heaven] (ὁ ἐκ
ν[εφρῶν ἀνεγερ]θεὶς καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς
[τὰ ὕψη τῶν οὐρανῶν]).

In Melito we have a treatment of the ascension that,
if not absent from other contemporary writers,⁸² did
not predominate. Here the ascension is viewed as
being "the inevitable corollary of the divine Word:
He descended, and then, having completed His mission,
He returned whither He had come and in so doing
'brought man safely home to the heights of heaven' ".⁸³

In the writings of TERTULLIAN⁸⁴ we find a situation not unlike that reflected in both Justin and Irenaeus. In Adv Gentes XXI we find a very definite reference to, and dependence on, the account in Acts 1:

He spent forty days with some of His disciples down in Galilee, a region of Judea, instructing them in the doctrines they were to teach to others. Thereafter having given them commission to preach the gospel through the world, He was encompassed with a cloud - and taken up to heaven -, a fact more certain than the assertions of your Proculi concerning Romulus (Cum discipulis autem ad quadraginta dies egit ... circumfusa nube in coelum est ereptus ...).

Though Tertullian here is quite obviously following Acts 1 and the tradition of the forty days, it should be noted that whereas Luke-Acts restricts the appearances of the risen Lord to Jerusalem, Tertullian rejects this and instead supposes Galilee to have been the place of the appearances.⁸⁵ Tertullian also follows the Acts account in De Bapt 19:

... wherein too the Resurrection of the Lord was repeatedly proved among the disciples, and the hope of the advent of the Lord indirectly pointed to, in that time [i.e. Pentecost], when He had been received back into heaven, the angels told the apostles that 'He would so come, as had withal ascended into the heavens (... quod tunc in caelos recuperato eo angeli ad apostolos dixerunt sic venturum quemadmodum et caelos conscendit, utique in pentecoste).

But there is also evidence the Tertullian understood that the ascension took place on Easter Day, as in Adv Jud XIII⁸⁶ where, with reference to Hosea 6:1-3, he writes:

Why, accordingly, after His resurrection from the dead, which was effected on the third day, did the heavens receive him back? It was in accordance with a prophecy of Hosea uttered on this wise (Cur ita? utique quia post resurrectionem eius a mortuis, quae de tertia effecta est, coeli eum receperunt secundum prophetiam Osee emissam huiusmodi ...) 'Before day-break shall they arise unto Me, saying, Let us go and return unto the Lord our God, because He Himself will draw us out and free us. After a space of two days, on the third day' - which is His glorious resurrection - He received back into the heavens Him (... post biduum die tertia quae est resurrectio eius gloriosa, de terra in caelos eum recipit ...).

On two occasions Tertullian refers to the ascension by way of Ps 67:19. The most significant of these references is Adv Marc V. viii,5:

Now hear how he declared that by Christ Himself, when returned to heaven, these spiritual gifts were to be sent: 'He ascended on high', that is, into heaven; 'He led captivity captive', meaning death or slavery of man; 'He gave gifts to the sons of men', that is, the gratuities we call charismata. He says specifically 'Sons of men' and not men promiscuously, thus exhibiting to us those who were the children of men truly so called, choice men, apostles (... quomodo et a Christo in caelum recepto charismata abventura pronuntiavit: ascendit in sublimitatem; id est in caelum; captivam duxit captivitatem id est mortem ...).

Of all the citations of Ps 67:19 in the post-Apostolic writings this offers the best evidence for the existence in the early Church of a tradition that although based on Ps 67:19 was at the same time not dependent on Eph 4:8. The psalm citation used by Tertullian is very similar to that of the PT, particularly in the special emphasis that Tertullian places on the phrase filiis hominum non passim hominibus, which, as we have already pointed out,⁸⁷ could easily reflect knowledge of the Targumic אנשי בני אדם. Tertullian does not here appeal to apostolic support for his argument - as well he might have done had he been dependent upon Ephesians at this point. It is quite possible that he is referring to the psalm itself, certainly the immediate context of the citation is OT prophecy, specifically Joel and Is 11:1-3; in this case the interpretation offered would be along the lines of the established tradition, a tradition also used by the author of Ephesians. But in spite of this evidence, we cannot conclude that this particular citation is totally independent of Eph 4:8 because in Adv Marc V. xviii,5 where the second citation of the psalm text occurs, Tertullian makes definite reference to the fact that the psalm has been cited by the apostle.

Of the Apologists so far discussed, Tertullian is the only one who makes specific use of the ascension as a weapon against those with whom he enters into controversy. But even allowing for this, it is obvious that Tertullian is more conversant with a doctrine of ascension that is similar to, if not always based on, that of Acts 1 (Adv Gentes XXI; De Bapt 19); even when he leads us to believe that the ascension took place on Easter Day, he still treats it as a separate event (Adv Jud XIII). When he does offer an interpretation of the ascension, it is described in terms of victory, but, significantly, with reference to Ps 67 and not to the more usual Ps 109 (Adv Marc V, viii.5).

The concept of ascension is also found in writings very different from those of the Apologists in the same period. Four particular references call for brief comment here. In the Testament of Benjamin IX.5 we read:⁸⁸

And he shall ascend from Hades and shall pass from earth to heaven. I know how lowly he shall be upon earth and how glorious in heaven
 (καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ᾄδου, ἔσται ἀναβαίτων 89 ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶός ἐσται ταπεινός ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ οἶός ἐνδοξός ἐν οὐρανοῖς).

Two points are of interest here. Firstly, we should note that the Testament was, in all probability,⁹⁰ if not written by, then certainly edited by an 'ordinary' Christian with little or no interest in specific dogmatic theology or Apologetics. This of itself suggests that some idea of ascension was by the end of the second century at least a definite element of the commonly accepted regula fidei. But when we ask 'What kind of ascension is being referred to?' the answer that we obtain does little more than suggest that the author was familiar with the theme of abasement - exaltation that is found in the so-called Captivity Epistles of Paul (including Ephesians). Not only is this contrast made, but it is the resurrection that is presented as being the means by which entry into heaven is accomplished. It may well be that the fact that some MSS read μεταβαίω is an indication not only of the existence of this interpretation, but also that of the attempt to make this interpretation more obvious from the text with the removal of the more technical ἀναβαίω. A view much more similar to that of Luke-Acts is preserved in the Testament of Levi 18:3 in the phrase

He shall be magnified in the world
until his ascension (ἀναλήψεως).

The account in Acts 1 also seems to be behind the description of the ascension in the anti-Gnostic Epistula Apostolorum 51:⁹¹

And after he had said this and had ended the discourse with us, he said again to us, "Look! after three days and three hours he who sent me will come that I may go with him". And as he spoke there was thunder and lightning and an earthquake, and the heavens divided and a bright cloud came and took him away and we heard the voice of many angels as they rejoiced and praised and said "Assemble us, O priest, in the light of glory". And when he had come near to the firmament of heaven we heard him say "Go in peace".

Although the words underlined are dependent on Acts 1:9, the citation does not seem to know of any period of 40 days between resurrection and ascension. Here the ascension, although different from the resurrection, takes place on Easter Day itself. In this description there is an obvious combination of theophany and the NT accounts of both resurrection and ascension. The last reference that demands our attention takes us back to the theology and thought-forms of Ephesians. Here we refer to the Coptic De Resurrectione (= Epistle to Rheginos) 45:24-28 where we read:⁹²

Then therefore, as the Apostle said, we suffered with him and we rose with him and went to heaven with him.

It is now generally agreed that this document, along with the majority of the remainder of the Nag Hammadi Corpus, was originally written in Greek and the 'original' of our citation has been reconstructed as follows:⁹³

τότε οὖν, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος συνέκδομεν
αὐτῷ καὶ συνηέρθημεν αὐτῷ καὶ συνανέρθημεν αὐτῷ
(Ὁρ καὶ συνανέρθημεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν)

For this there are three possible sources: Col 2:12b, 3:19 or Eph 2:6. Peel seems to argue convincingly when he says that:⁹⁴ "due to the absence of any mention of baptismal practice in the letter, Col 3:1 seems a less likely source; while only differences in person and number keep the Coptic text of Eph 2:6 from being virtually identical to 45:26-27. Once again, the author does not literally cite but rather summarises his understanding of the Pauline teaching concerning the believer's participation in the Saviour's redemptive acts. The Ephesian passage appears to be the major source for the thought expressed in Rheg 45:27-28". The citation from this epistle offers no guidelines as to whether the ascension was viewed as part of resurrection, or as a separate event; whether it was seen or unseen; whether it happened on Easter Day or after some space of time, measured in days or even months. But in some way these questions, although of interest to NT

scholarship and debate, are seen as being comparatively insignificant. The author of this epistle, though hardly one who stands in the main stream of second century Christianity, has correctly understood and has consequently made explicit what was frequently only implicit in the writing of both the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists: for him, the ascension is not an event that is outside experience; it is essentially practical. In His exaltation - be it by resurrection or by heavenly journey or by both - Christ has secured for the believer participation in the rule of God.

¹This time span is, to a large measure, quite arbitrary; it is simply intended that it be adequate to illustrate the viewpoints of the widely different writers, both Christian and heretical, of the early Church and, at the same time, not be a sufficient enough time span such that the traditions of the early Church have become either confused beyond recognition or superseded by Conciliar statements.

²As, for example, in the essay of P. Benoit, "The Ascension", in Jesus and the Gospel, I, London: 1973 (= "L'Ascension", RB LVI (1949), pp.161-203).

³M.S. Enslin, "The Ascension Story", JBL 28 (1927), p.66.

⁴Barrett, 1 Corinthians, p.343; cf also Benoit, "The Ascension", p.211; Lohfink, op.cit., p.85; Bultmann, Theology, I, p.45. The converse view is put forward by J.G. Davies, op.cit., p.30 (with special reference to Rom 8:33f; on this text see below).

⁵Cf Haenchen, Acts, pp.321-23, 326-28.

⁶Der erste Brief die Korinther, Göttingen: 1969; p.299.

⁷So E. Best, A Commentary on the First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians, London: 1972; pp.85-87; G. Friedrich, "Ein Tauflied hellenistischer Judenchristen: 1 Thess 1:9f", TZ 21 (1965), pp.502-16; G. Schneider, "Urchristliche Gottesverkündigung in hellenistischer Umwelt", BZ 13 (1969), pp.59-75.

⁸Cf 1 Thess 4:16; 2 Thess 1:7.

⁹Op.cit., p.82; cf Traub, op.cit., p.524.

¹⁰Rom 1:3f implies a designation of Jesus as Son of God by virtue of his resurrection; there is no reference to either the cross or his death for sin, both of which are very Pauline. Similarly in Phil 2:5-11 there is no specific reference to the resurrection which for Paul was of central significance.

¹¹F.J. Leenhardt, The Epistle to the Romans, London: 1961; p.36.

¹²So C.H. Dodd, The Epistle to the Romans, London: 1932; p.84; Leenhardt, loc.cit., E. Linnemann, "Tradition und Interpretation in Röm 1:3ff", EvTheol xxxi (1971), pp.264-75.

¹³So M. Black, Romans, London: 1973; p.37.

¹⁴Cf Rom 1:16; also Leenhardt, op.cit., pp.36f; C.E.B. Cranfield, Romans, I, Edinburgh: 1975; pp.62-64.

¹⁵Cf Rom 8:37-39.

¹⁶Op.cit., p.83.

¹⁷Op.cit., pp.30ff.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Cf G. Bertram, "ὁψώ", TDNT 8, pp.608ff.

²⁰Ibid.; cf Haenchen, Acts, pp.145f; H. Braun, "Zur Terminologie der Acta von Auferstehung Jesu", in Gesammelte Studien zur NT und seiner Umwelt, Tübingen: 1967²; pp.173-77; on the translation 'to the right hand of God' see above pp. 13f.

²¹Op.cit., p.85.

²²As, for example, ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη in G it^{dem f gig} vg^{CP} Origen Ambrosiaster Pelagius καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη in 629 it^{dx} vg^{WV} Fulgentius; καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἔζησεν in X^c D^b 0209^{vid} (PΨ 326 et al omit first καὶ). The UBS reading ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἔζησεν is read by X^{*} A B C 1739 2127 et al.

²³Colossians, p.112

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Lohse, op.cit., pp.132f argues that this terminology is non- (and therefore, presumably, post-) Pauline. It is true that the absolute τὰ ἄνω does not occur elsewhere in Paul, but this does not necessarily mean that it must be post- (or non-) Pauline, particularly in light of Gal 4:26, ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ and Phil 3:14 ἄνω κλησικς . The same terminology is also found in Jn 8:23.

²⁶Cf E. Schweizer, "Two New Testament Creeds Compared: 1 Corinthians 15:3-5 and 1 Timothy 3:16", in Neotestamentica, pp. 122-35, especially pp. 125-27.

²⁷Cf, for example, Prov 10:1-5, 11:16-20, 25-28.

²⁸'Mk' 16:19; Acts 1:2,11,22.

²⁹Op. cit., p.60.

³⁰The intended antithesis is well set out by J.N.D. Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, London: 1963; p.92, as: Christ incarnate (and thus in the form of a servant) is vindicated at the Resurrection; Christ receives the worship of angels and is preached to all nations (that is, is brought to the knowledge of all beings, celestial and terrestrial); he is accepted in the created universe and in the heavenly realm. Cf also Lohse, op. cit., pp. 61f. A very detailed study of the hymn has been made by R.H. Gundry, "The Form, Meaning and Background of the Hymn Quoted in 1 Timothy 3:16", in Apostolic History and the Gospel (Festschrift for F.F. Bruce, ed. W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin), Exeter: 1970; pp. 203-22.

³¹E. Best, 1 Peter, London: 1971; p.81.

³²The general use of $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ supports this contention; cf. for example, Rom 6:4; 1 Peter 1:11,21; Acts 7:55. Only in John's Gospel is the word applied with any consistency to the earthly life of Jesus, but even here the $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ of Jesus can only be seen from the standpoint of $\kappa\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$ (2:11, 11:4;40). Cf G. Kittel, " $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ ", TDNT 2, pp. 237, 248f.

³³K.H.Schelkle, Die Petrusbriefe, Der Judasbrief, Freiburg: 1964; pp. 49f. argues that 1:19-23 is based on such a traditional christological statement. For scholars who argue for 3:18-22 being either hymnic or credal cf Best, 1 Peter, London: 1971, pp. 135f. and the literature cited there.

³⁴This last point has even more significance if, as we suggested above pp. 19f. there is a direct link in the tradition employed (and now in the thought of the author), between 3:18 and 21d,22.

³⁵So E. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthäus (ed. W. Schmauch), Göttingen: 1956; p.34; cf G. Barth,

"Matthew's Understanding of the Law", in Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, G. Barth, H.J. Held and G. Bornkamm, London: 1963; pp.133-37; D. Hill, The Gospel of Matthew, London: 1972; p.361.

³⁶G. Barth, op.cit., p.133; cf Lohmeyer, Matthäus, p.28.

³⁷Cf B-D para.33.1.

³⁸So Moulton, op.cit., p.140.

³⁹As, for example, by E. Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, (ed. F.N. Davey), London: 1947²; p.543; cf Bultmann, John, p.533.

⁴⁰C.H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, Cambridge: 1953; pp;432 n.2, argues convincingly that while the aorist of the verb has the sense of 'to touch' the present tense has the slightly different significance of 'to hold, grasp, cling to'. This in line with the theory of B. Violet, "Ein Versuch zu Joh 20:17", ZNW 24 (1925), pp.78-80, who shows that ἀρτεσθαι is used in the LXX in 2 Chron 13:12 and Job 31:7 to translate אָרַץ ; cf Brown, John, II, p.992.

⁴¹ἀναβῆναι occurs in the perfect tense elsewhere in John only at 3:13 where the reference is also to ascension to heaven. If at 3:13 the words are specifically Johannine then we can assume that the evangelist here is reflecting on the ascension. But even this assumption does not fully explain the use of the perfect tense here; an adequate explanation, however, is provided if we assume that the words have a 'spiritual' rather than 'physical' frame of reference.

⁴²The resurrection is problematical for John: nowhere is it foretold, neither is it ever used to describe the ultimate victory of Jesus; instead in the last Discourse the victory is described in terms of Jesus going to the Father (14:12,28, 16:5,10,28). But at the same time the resurrection was too much a part of the established Christian tradition for John to dispense with it; instead he incorporates it into his theological scheme by making it obviously part of the ascension process. The point is well noted by Dodd, Interpretation, p.442: "It is not the resurrection as Christ's resumption of heavenly glory that needs to be emphasised, but the resurrection as the renewal of personal relations with the disciples".

⁴³The same theological point is made in Rom 8:29 and Heb 2:9f; cf W. Grundmann, "Zur Rede Jesu vom Vater in Johannesevangelium", ZNW 52 (1961), pp. 213-30.

⁴⁴Cf Chpt. 1 n.43.

⁴⁵Op. cit., p.37.

⁴⁶Enslin, op. cit., p.69.

⁴⁷Greek text and English translations taken from The Apostolic Fathers, I, Loeb Classical Library (translated by K. Lake), unless otherwise noted.

⁴⁸L'Ascension de Notre Seigneur dans le Nouveau Testament, Rome: 1938; pp.497f.

⁴⁹Support for this suggestion is given by the fact that προέρχεσθαι is only used elsewhere in Ignatius with reference to Christ at Magn 8:2 :
ὅτι εἰς θεός ἐστιν, ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
καὶ ἐκ σιγγῆς προελθὼν, and here it
hardly carries 'physical' overtones.

⁵⁰Cf A. Peuch, Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne, II, Paris: 1928; pp. 57-68, Benoit, "Ascension", p.213 n.l.

⁵¹The English translation is from A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (ed), Ante-Nicene Christian Library, I, The Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh: 1857. The Greek text is that established by R.A. Kraft, Épître de Barnabe (Sources Chrétiennes), Paris: 1971; p.188.

⁵²So Larranaga, op. cit., pp. 489-509; cf Benoit, "Ascension", p.218, Lohfink, op. cit., pp. 121-26, Daniélou, op. cit., p.250.

⁵³Cf Kraft, op. cit., p.188.

⁵⁴So Daniélou, op. cit., p.250; cf Benoit, "Ascension", p.218.

⁵⁵See above p.p. 189f.

⁵⁶If the words καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν are indeed absent from the original of v.51 as we suggested above (cf above Chpt. 1 n.70) then the ascension should more correctly be termed 'departure' within this scheme. That this scheme is present in Lk 24 is recognised by Irenaeus, Adv Haer II, 32.3.

⁵⁷English translations taken from Hennecke, op. cit., I, pp. 183ff and the Greek text is that established by M.G. Mara, Évangile de Pierre (Sources Chrétiennes), Paris: 1973.

⁵⁸Op. cit., p.69.

⁵⁹Op. cit., pp. 249f, 254f.

⁶⁰This theme is further developed by L. Bouyer, The Meaning of Sacred Scripture, London: 1960; pp. 153-57.

⁶¹Cf above Chpt. 2 n.150. Even if this document is in fact later than the period of the Apostolic Fathers it is convenient to deal with it at this point because of its similarities with the Gospel of Peter. The translation is that in Hennecke, op. cit., II, pp. 642f.

⁶²According to Charles, op. cit., p.21, the Ethiopic word means 'resurrection' and not 'ascension'. This, however, is not supported by the Greek fragment of II:4-IV:4 which reads at this point ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐ[τ]οῦ.

⁶³Op. cit., p.63.

⁶⁴Cf for example, Irenaeus, Adv Haer I, 3.2; 30.14 where it is recounted that both Valentinians and Ophites believed that the two events were separated by a space of 18 months (= 548 days); according to Pistis Sophia I:1 the period was as much as 11 years.

⁶⁵So Charles, op. cit., p.63.

⁶⁶Charles, op. cit., p.78, notes that Ethiopic MS c reads 'forty days'; MSS a and b read simply 'days'. It is thus possible that c was influenced by Acts 1.

⁶⁷ So Charles, ibid.

⁶⁸ Apol 1:21,31,42,46; Dial 63,85,126,132. The English translation of the Apologists is that of Robertson and Donaldson, op. cit., unless otherwise stated. The Greek text of Justin is that of J.C.T. Otto, S. IUSTINI, Mauke: 1847.

⁶⁹ So Prigent, op. cit., p.144: "... il n'est pas impossible que Justin se réfère en dernière analyse au passage de l'épître aux Ephésiens".

⁷⁰ But this may have been carried unspoken in his mind (as is the case with many preachers today), but as we have no way of confirming this we take the argumentum e silentio to be positive in this instance.

⁷¹ Dial 32f; cf J. Davies, op. cit., p.72; Prigent, op. cit., pp. 82ff.

⁷² English translation is that of I.M. Kay in The Ante-Nicene Fathers (ed. A. Menzies), New York: 1896; the Greek text is that of J.R. Harris, The Apology of Aristides (Cambridge Texts and Versions I), Cambridge: 1891.

⁷³ So Daniélou, op. cit., p.250.

⁷⁴ So Harris, Aristides, pp. 83f.

⁷⁵ English translation is that of A. Roberts and W.H. Rambaut in The Ante-Nicene Christian Library and the Latin text is that of Harvey, op. cit.

⁷⁶ The opposing view is put forward at least as a possibility by J. Davies, op. cit., p.76 n.3.

⁷⁷ Translation from J.A. Robinson, St. Irenaeus: The Apostolic Preaching, London: 1920; p.139.

⁷⁸ Ibid, n.2.

⁷⁹ Cf J. Davies, op. cit., pp. 76-8.

80 Text and translation from "The Homily on the Passion by Melito, Bishop of Sardis", (ed. C. Bonner), in Texts and Documents 12 (ed. K. Lake and S. Lake) London: 1940.

81 More recent Greek versions of the Homily read differently as follows, but in no instance is the difference sufficient to justify any interpretation other than the one that we offer.

Sect 100 as established by O. Perler, Meliton de Sardes Sur La Pâque (Sources Chrétiennes, vol. 123), Paris

1966 reads $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta$ $\epsilon\chi$ ν [$\epsilon\chi\rho\omega\nu$] [$\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\beta\eta$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\upsilon\psi\eta\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omega\nu$] $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omega\nu$. $\chi\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\upsilon$ [$\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\tau\delta\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$] $\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\nu$, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\theta\omega\nu$ δ [$\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\delta\nu$ $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu$] $\tau\alpha$
and the MS Papyrus Bodmer XIII reads $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ $\Delta\epsilon$ HNE/

$\Sigma\text{I}\text{H}$ EK $\text{NEKP}\omega\text{N}$ KAI ANEBH / EIS TA $\text{Y}\text{V}\text{HAA}$ $\text{T}\omega\text{N}$ $\text{OY}\text{PAN}\omega$ / $\text{K}\acute{\alpha}$ $\text{ENAY}\text{SAMEN}\omega\text{S}$ TON $\text{A}\theta\omega\text{N}$ / KAI $\text{PA}\theta\omega\text{N}$ ΔIA TON $\text{PA}\epsilon\text{XON}\text{TA}$.

Sect 103 reads respectively 'Εγὼ ὑμᾶς ἀνάγω εἰς τ [$\acute{\alpha}$ $\upsilon\psi\eta\lambda\acute{\alpha}$] $\tau\omega\nu$ $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omega\nu$ and $\epsilon\Gamma\omega$ $\upsilon\text{M}\acute{\alpha}\text{S}$ ANAGH EIS TA $\text{Y}\text{V}\text{HAA}$ / $\text{T}\omega\text{N}$ $\text{OY}\text{P}\omega\text{N}$

Sect 104 reads in the same versions δ $\epsilon\chi$ ν [$\epsilon\chi\rho\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha$] $\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\theta\omega\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ [$\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\upsilon\psi\eta\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omega\nu$ $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omega\nu$].

and O EK NE / $\text{KP}\omega\text{N}$ $\text{ANAG}\text{TI}\text{S}$ KAI $\text{ANE}\lambda\theta\omega$ / EIS TA $\text{Y}\text{V}\text{HAA}$ $\text{T}\omega\text{N}$ $\text{OY}\text{PAN}\omega$

82 Cf Irenaeus, Adv Haer III, 6.2: 19,3.

83 J. Davies, op. cit., p.74. The last phrase is cited by Davies from Bonner, op. cit., p.180 (= Melito, sect 102).

84 English translations is that of Ante-Nicene Fathers and the Latin text is that of the Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (1954).

85 Cf Enslin, op. cit., pp. 71f.

86 It should be noted however that the authority of this work is disputed. For a full discussion on authorship see H. Trankle, Tertulliani adversus Iudaeos, Wiesbaden: 1964.

87 See above p.92.

88 English translation following that of R.H. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT., Oxford: 1913 and the Greek text is that of M. de Jonge, Testamenta XII Patriarchorum, Leiden: 1964.

⁸⁹Danielou, op. cit., p.249, prefers the variant reading

⁹⁰Cf M. de Jonge, The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, Assen: 1953, pp. 37.

⁹¹This is preserved only in Ethiopic. The translation here is that in Hennecke, op. cit., p.227.

⁹²English translation following that in Foerster, Gnosis, II, p.73.

⁹³Here following M.L. Peel, The Epistle to Rheginos, London: 1969; pp.70-2.

⁹⁴Ibid.

CONCLUSION

In our study of the ascension theme in the epistle we have been concerned with a number of problems. Firstly our interest has been in identifying the traditions employed by the author and at the same time establishing a Traditionsgeschichte for these traditions. Secondly, we have investigated the relationship between the ascension theology of the author and the κεφαλή and κλήρωμα motifs which are present in both pericopes. This investigation has necessitated an examination of the Pauline σῶμα -theology and at the same time has involved us in an attempt to trace the source of the κλήρωμα term as it is used by the author. Our third interest has been more general; we have tried to see how the 'component parts' of the author's ascension theology are used elsewhere in his epistle. The fourth and last of our interests has been again with traditions, specifically the use made of the traditions inherent in the ascension pericopes in the epistle in the writings of both the Church Fathers and of authors outside the main stream of Christian thought. We can now present the results of our study.

In 1:20ff the ascension is expressed in terms of the exaltation of the Davidic Messiah. The theology results from a conflation of two well-known traditions, namely those based on Ps 109:1a and Ps 8:6. Ps 109:1a is a traditional formula that is used to show that Jesus is already established as Messiah in the messianic kingdom by means of the resurrection. The conflation of this tradition with that dependent on Ps 8:6 brings a cosmic dimension and a new eschatological perspective into view. The Traditionsgeschichte of the Ps 109:1a/Ps 8:6 tradition shows a development from that reflected in Heb 2:8 to that of 1 Cor 15:27 and finally to that of Eph 1:22. In the conflated tradition Ps 8:6 takes over the role that was perhaps filled at an earlier stage by Ps 109:1b; both citations express the notion of subjection but Ps 8:6 introduces the concept of obedience which Ps 109:1b was not capable of expressing.

In this first ascension pericope the emphasis has moved from the ascension as event to the status and function of the ascended one. In that the traditions associated with the 'historical' ascension (Lk 24; Acts 1) are completely absent from Ephesians and because the traditions used by the author of the epistle do not differentiate between ascension and resurrection, the account of the ascension as presented

in 1:20ff cannot be classed as 'historical'. Neither can the ascension in this pericope be described as anything but a final event, there is no clear reference to any future parousia in the text. The ascension is best described as 'theological' in that the emphasis and concern of the author is on the theological equivalent of ascension, namely exaltation. The theological language employed by the author is repeated and expanded in 2:1-10 and it is in this pericope that the realised eschatology of the author becomes evident. In that the same language is present in both 1:20ff and 2:1-10 it seems very evident that the realised eschatology that is explicit in the latter text is also implicit in the former. Although there is much emphasis in the pericope on Ps 8:6 there is no notion of any exalted Son of Man theology; instead the psalm is used to express the concept of the exalted Lord as the inclusive representative of redeemed humanity.

In 4:8 the ascension is again viewed in terms of an OT text, Ps 67:19. But here the author uses a version of the citation unknown except by the Palestinian Targum. He uses it deliberately to emphasise the 'giving' of gifts: in 1:22 Christ is 'given' to the Church; in 4:8 Christ 'gives' gifts to the Church (cf 4:11). It is not possible to establish a Traditionsgeschichte for the version of

Ps 67:19 that the author uses though it does seem very likely that the author had the whole psalm in mind while writing the epistle. The emphasis in 4:7ff is on status and function as opposed to event. In this pericope there is no direct reference to messianism per se but there is great emphasis on the fact that Christ is victorious king; as king he is enthroned at God's right hand and it is his prerogative to give gifts. It is precisely because this idea, a development of that contained in 1:20ff, is present in the author's mind that he cites the (otherwise pointless) words ἡμιμάλωτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν (4:8). The same theology is expressed in Col 2:15 and the same methodology is used as in Rom 10:6-8. Despite the attempts of exegetes to prove otherwise there is nothing in either the content or context of 4:8ff to connect these verses with either the concept of Christ as the new Moses or with any tradition or theology associated with the Pentecost motif or the Gnostic redeemer myth.

In both pericopes the κληρομα - κληροσν motif is important. In Ephesians κληρομα cannot be interpreted by way of the use of the same word in Colossians; neither does it have any Gnostic connotations. Instead it must be interpreted in light of the verbal form κληροσν . Similar uses of the verb

in Philo reveal a background of both Stoic philosophy and the theology associated with the Wisdom tradition. In the epistle itself the κλήρωμα - κληροῦν motif has both christological and ecclesiological importance. Ecclesiologically the motif refers to the Church as the unifier of the cosmos; but equally the motif denotes an ecclesiological unity, the 'Many' which is the Church is the alter ego of Christ in that it expresses and represents that unity which is inherent in Christ. Christologically the motif is used in the context of ascension to emphasise the unity that there is between Christ and God, a unity that is expressed not in terms of nature but in terms of function. Inherent in all this is the idea that the enthroned Christ will bring the universe to completion (expressed by means of the 'reconciliation' motif) by means of the Church. This explains the (basically) active significance of the κλήρωμα term (though the passive element is not totally absent) and the passive significance of κληρουμένου in 1:23. It is in this fashion that the author can declare that the Church completes Christ (1:23).

Both ascension pericopes in the epistle refer to the fact that Christ is κεφαλή ; this is hardly coincidental because our exegesis has demonstrated that the ascension is the author's theological point

of departure for his discussion of the nature of Christ's headship. Although it is true that there is some evidence for a metaphorical use of κεφαλή in the LXX this interpretation would not seem to be primary in Ephesians. It is also true that in the NT 'subordination' texts σῶμα is, with one possible exception, always present, at least by implication, but this does not mean that the use of κεφαλή is dependent on the description of the Church as σῶμα. Christ is for the author of the epistle κεφαλή primarily because all things are subject to him. A comparison of Ephesians (and Colossians) with Romans and 1 Corinthians demonstrates that the κεφαλή - σῶμα motif in the former epistles is a logical consequence of the same motif in the latter epistles. Determinative for the interpretation of κεφαλή in Ephesians is διδόμε (1:22, 4:8,11) which refers to the fact that God 'gave' Christ to the Church and not to the 'appointment' of Christ as head of the Church; this is clear from 1:22 where it is assumed that Christ is κεφαλή before he becomes κεφαλή τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ. But the headship of Christ over the Church is not the only headship that is the concern of the author; Christ is first of all head of the cosmos, a headship that is interpreted primarily in terms of subordination of all things under Christ. The relationship of Christ to the Church is not one of subordination; this

relationship is explained in some detail in 4:10b-16: as head of the Church Christ is its life-giving source. κεφαλή is not intended to be understood organically and neither is its prime significance that of metaphor; it is best interpreted as the author's christological title for the exalted Lord.

Our examination of the ascension theme in the epistle, the results of which we have just outlined and summarised, revealed a number of what we have termed 'component parts' of the ascension theme and further examination of the epistle showed that these also played an important role in the overall theological outlook of the author. Particularly significant in this respect is the author's understanding of Christ in terms of the Messiah.

Our final concern has been to attempt to place the Ephesian ascension theology in the wider context of the writings of the first two Christian centuries. Our examination demonstrated that the ascension theology of the epistle is not sui generis, the basic move from resurrection to exaltation is common to NT writings (Matt 28:18; Acts 2:32; Rom 1:3f, 14:9; 1 Cor 15:27; Col 1:18, 3:1; 1 Thess 1:10; 1 Peter 1:21, 3:22), to the works of the period of the Church Fathers (Ignatius, Barnabas, Gospel of Peter,

Ascension of Isaiah) and to the later writings (Justin Martyr, Apology of Aristides (?), Irenaeus (in part), Tertullian (in part), De Resurrectione). Our investigation of the writings of this period also showed that the traditions used by the author of Ephesians were employed, though not with any great frequency, by some of the authors already referred to, particularly Ascension of Isaiah XI, 32, Dial 32 (both making use of Ps 109 :1) and Dial 39, 87; Dem 83; Adv Haer II, 20.3; Adv Marc V.viii,5, xviii,5).

Although the ascension theology of the author of the epistle to the Ephesians stands in general agreement with both contemporary and later writings it is nevertheless true that the author of the epistle has made a unique contribution to the Church's understanding of the ascension theology; for him the exaltation of Christ is not an occurrence that is outside experience: it is essentially practical in that in his exaltation Christ has obtained for the believer participation in the eternal rule of God.

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