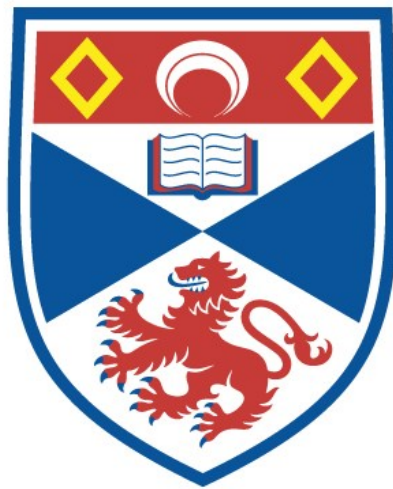


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CHRISTOLOGY AND ETHICS
IN THE PAULINE EPISTLES.



Being a thesis presented by
the Reverend Alan Quigley, M.A., B.D. to the
University of St. Andrews in application
for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy.



I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by me, that the thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

The research was carried out in St. Mary's College of the University of St. Andrews.

I certify that Alan Quigley has spent five terms of research work in St. Mary's College of the University of St. Andrews on the subject 'Christology and Ethics in the Pauline Epistles', that he has fulfilled the conditions of ordinance No.277 (St. Andrews) and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy.

(Signed)

Professor and Supervisor.

ACADEMIC CAREER.

In 1950 I matriculated in Victoria University College of the University of New Zealand; in 1954 I graduated Bachelor of Arts, and in 1956 Master of Arts with second-class honours in Philosophy. In 1955 I matriculated in the University of Otago of the University of New Zealand, completing my studies for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1957, and graduating in 1958. In 1958 I matriculated in the University of St. Andrews, and completed five terms of research work resulting in the accompanying thesis.

PREFATORY NOTE.

In the preparation of this thesis help was received from many people. I wish particularly to thank Professor J. Jeremias of Gottingen and Professor G. Johnston of Montreal, both of whom made available to me material otherwise inaccessible. I have also to state that I have had access to an unpublished thesis of New College, Edinburgh, by Carl Andrew Wood, 'St. Paul's Conception of the Humanity of Jesus Christ'. This work supplied me with references for some of the material in Chapter II, but I have not quoted from it nor paraphrased it in any way.

To Mrs. G.B. Beath of Dunedin I wish to express my gratitude for typing the whole of this thesis with both speed and accuracy.

My greatest debt of gratitude is to the Rev. Principal M. Black, D.Litt., D.D., F.B.A., of St. Mary's College, who taught me much, and without whose friendship, patience and encouragement this work would not have been completed.

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Bauer	Arndt and Gingrich (translators), <u>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.</u>
<u>BDB</u>	Brown, Driver and Briggs, <u>Hebrew-English Lexicon of the Old Testament.</u>
<u>B.J.R.L.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.</u>
E.T.	English Translation
<u>Exp.T.</u>	<u>Expository Times.</u>
<u>H.D.A.C.</u>	J. Hastings, <u>Dictionary of the Apostolic Church.</u>
<u>H.D.B.</u>	J. Hastings, <u>Dictionary of the Bible.</u>
<u>H.D.C.G.</u>	J. Hastings, <u>Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.</u>
<u>I.C.C.</u>	<u>International Critical Commentary.</u>
<u>J.B.L.</u>	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.</u>
<u>J.E.</u>	<u>Jewish Encyclopedia.</u>
<u>J.T.S.</u>	<u>Journal of Theological Studies.</u>
<u>M.N.T.C.</u>	<u>Moffatt New Testament Commentary.</u>
<u>N.T.S.</u>	<u>New Testament Studies.</u>
<u>P.R.J.</u>	W.D. Davies, <u>Paul and Rabbinic Judaism.</u>
<u>S.J.T.</u>	<u>Scottish Journal of Theology.</u>
Str. - B.	<u>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash</u> H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck. München 1928.
<u>T.U.</u>	<u>Texte und Untersuchungen.</u>
<u>T.W.N.T.</u>	<u>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.</u>
<u>Z.N.W.</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.</u>

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CHAPTER 1: THE APPROACH TO PAUL'S ETHICS.

The ethical teaching of Paul cannot be regarded as existing in a historical vacuum. As with every aspect of the Apostle's thought, his ethics stands within and may be considered from the standpoint of two different traditions, the Greek and the Hebraic. He was a citizen of what we today would call a 'University town' of some importance in the Hellenistic world, his ministry as an Apostle was largely spent in centres of Hellenistic culture, and his letters form a part of the great body of Greek literature. On the other hand, he was a Jew, deeply attached to his people, and educated within the Jewish tradition.

It is plain that neither tradition may be ignored in considering his ethical teaching. Consequently we shall begin our study by examining the Apostle's relation to the two traditions. In regard to his relation to the Greek tradition we shall consider the question of 'Paul and Stoicism', as by the time of the Apostle Stoicism had become a very widespread and comprehensive movement of thought, and this question in effect embraces at least a very large part of the question of Paul's relation to the Greek tradition; and as far as the Jewish tradition is concerned we shall consider the main thesis of Davies's Paul and Rabbinic Judaism.

SECTION A. PAUL AND STOICISM.

To assert that Paul either was a Stoic or was in his most basic theological positions influenced by Stoicism would be absurd. His view of man as held in bondage to sin, lying under the wrath of God, redeemed

by the action of God in Jesus Christ, and justified through faith — all this is totally ungreeks and may be understood only from the standpoint of the Hebrew tradition.

But on the other hand Paul was a citizen of Tarsus. Of this town Strabo the Geographer (c. 64 B.C. - 19 A.D.) writes:

τοσαύτη τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώποις σπουδὴ πρὸς τε φιλοσοφίαν
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν ἐγκύκλιον ἅπασαν γεγενεσθαι, ὥσθ'
ὑπερβέβληνται καὶ Ἀθῆνας καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείαν καὶ εἰ
τινα ἄλλον τόπον δύναιον εἰπεῖν, ἐν ᾧ ~~ἔχοντι~~ σχολαὶ καὶ
διατριβαὶ φιλοσόφων γεγόνασιν... καὶ εἰσι σχολαὶ
παρ' αὐτοῖς παντοδαπαὶ τῶν περὶ λόγους τεχνῶν...

Ἄνδρες δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγόνασιν τῶν μὲν στωικῶν
Ἀντίπατρος τε καὶ Ἀρχέδημος καὶ Νέστωρ ἐτι δ'
Ἀθηνόδωροι δύο...

τῶν δ' ἄλλων φιλοσόφων... Πλουτιάδης τε ἐγένετο
καὶ Διογένης τῶν περιπολιζόντων καὶ σχολᾶς
διατιθεμένων εὐφυῶς.¹

It is unlikely in the extreme that an educated person such as Paul, to whom Greek was his accustomed language, would be uninfluenced by such an intellectual tradition in his home town. Certainly there is no such

1. XIV. 5. 13-15. "Such eagerness has there been among the men here (Tarsus) for philosophy and for the whole round of education in general, that they have surpassed even Athens and Alexandria, and any place that can be named where there have been schools and lectures of philosophers Further, there are among them schools of rhetoric of every kind....

"The following men came from there: of Stoics, Antipater and Archedemus, and also the two Athenodoruses....

"Of other philosophers.... there were Plutarch and Diogenes who were among those who went about from city to city and skilfully conducted schools."

influence to be found in the kernel of his theology, but it may well lie in the background of his thought and be found in more peripheral concepts.

The question of Greek — and especially Stoic — influence on Paul's thought is of considerable importance in regard to his ethics. This question arises particularly in regard to the written law — unwritten law distinction of Romans and 2 Corinthians, together with the uses of νόμος and φύσις and certain other terms in the Epistles. We shall begin by considering these questions, using first of all Rom. ii. 14 — 15 as a basis for discussion.

Rom. ii. 14 — 15: ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμου ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν, οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες ἑαυτοῖς εἰσὶ νόμοι οἵτινες ἐνδείκνυνται τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, συμμαρτυροῦσης αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδήσεως, καὶ μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων τῶν λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων ἢ καὶ ἀπολογουμένων.

Concerning this passage there is great divergence among commentators, the debated question being whether or not Paul is here acknowledging the existence and authority of a Law of Nature in the Stoic sense. Dodd, e.g., says "Here Paul comes very close to the Greek moralists.... For Paul the Mosaic Law is the most complete revelation of the will of God there is in terms of precepts and prohibitions; but the 'law of nature' is not a different law, but only a less precise and complete revelation of the same eternal law of right and wrong."¹ The same writer in another place, after remarking that

1. M.N.T.C. Romans, pp. 35f.

"Stoic morals are woven into the fabric of New Testament ethics", speaks of this passage and Rom. i. 19-21 as "the loci classici of the New Testament doctrine of natural law".¹ Lietzmann also relates this passage to the Stoic teaching on natural law, and quotes in illustration Chrysippus, Cicero and Philo.² On the other hand one may quote Nygren, who asserts "It is clear that Paul's thought here has nothing to do with the question of a lex naturae".³ This divergence of opinion at least shows that there is a considerable question here. It cannot be questioned that Paul's words fall — or at least can be put — into the context of a long Greek tradition. What is debatable is the extent to which Paul is indebted to that tradition for the content of his thought in this regard.

For the history of the concepts of νόμος and φύσις and their mutual relations, together with that of the concepts of written and unwritten law in the Greek tradition, we shall here follow largely the account given by the distinguished classical scholar, Walther Kranz.⁴ With regard to the former, Nomos and Physis are at first contrasted, as on the one hand the laws issued by men and on the other Nature as ordered by the gods. This antithesis was set forth most sharply by the Sophists. Thus Archelaos, Empedocles' contemporary, asserts:

τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ δισχρὸν οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ.⁵

This antithesis is present in many writers, and not only in the

1. 'Natural Law in the New Testament' (Theology, 1946; reprinted in his New Testament Studies, to which my page references refer), pp. 132, 140.
2. Handbuch in loc.
3. Commentary on Romans, p. 124
4. 'Das Gesetz des Herzens', Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, n.f. XCIV, 1951, pp. 222-241.
5. Diels, 87B 44, p. 363.

philosophers — Euripides, e.g., has ἡ φύσις ... ἡ νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει.

The two are first brought together by Plato. In the *Gorgias* we find such expressions as τὸ φύσει δίκαιον, τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιον, and even — 'an evidently newly-formed expression' —¹ ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος, although it is doubtful if this is to be understood as referring to an 'innate' law of nature.² In the *Laws* the attempt is made to dissolve

the opposition between the two concepts by means of a deeper line of thought. Clinias, in opposition to those who would force the contrast between νόμος and φύσις, insists that the lawgiver must defend νόμος and τέχνη, ὥς ἐστὸν φύσει ἢ φύσεως οὐχ ἥττονι, εἴπερ τοῦ γέ ἐστι φενημένα κατὰ λόγον ὄρφον. (890D) (Cf. Plato's view of the νόμος as τοῦ διαρρηγῆ, *Laws*, 713E-714A.)

The process of drawing together the concepts of νόμος and φύσις is continued in the work of Aristotle; and in connection with our passage it is important to observe that he too speaks of those 'who are a law unto themselves' — ὁ δὲ χαρίεις καὶ ἐλευθέριος οὕτως ἔξει, ὅλον νόμος ὡν ἐαυτῷ; and ὅθεν δηλόν ὅτι καὶ τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ ἀναγκαιὸν εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἴσους καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ συστάσει, κατὰ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἐστὶ νόμος, αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ νόμος.³ With the Stoics, νόμος and φύσις are fused: that by which men must live is ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος, a law arising out of nature, embracing

1. Kranz, p. 232.

2. Cf. Kranz, p. 233.

3. *Nic. Eth.* IV 1128a, 31: "The cultivated gentleman will be such (i.e., will regulate his wit) and will be as it were a law to himself;" and *Pol.* III, 8 (1284a): "Hence it is clear that legislation also must necessarily be concerned with persons who are equal in birth and in ability, but there can be no law dealing with such men as those described, for they are themselves a law." (The 'men described' are those of outstanding virtue, such that the virtue and political ability of all the rest are not equal to them.)

in its scope gods and men and the whole natural order. By ordering his life in conformity with this law inherent in nature, thus pantheistically conceived, man finds his freedom.

With this tradition the Stoics combined that of the *ἄγραφα νόμιμα* to which we now turn.

The written and the unwritten laws were at first regarded as complementary; the unwritten law was such that it was not necessary for it to be written down, as it was self-evident. Accordingly

Thucydides speaks (II. 37): τῶν τε *ἁπλῶς* ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν, ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐὼν ἀδικουμένων κείνται, καὶ ὅσοι ἀγροαφοῦντες / *ἁπλῶς* ἀδύνατον ὁμολογούμενην φέρουσιν. Aristotle defines *ἁπλῶς* and κοινὸς νόμος wholly similarly (Rhet. 1368b); and cf. Xenophon

Memorabilia IV. 19, where these laws are said to have been laid down by the gods: Ἐγὼ.... θεοὺς θίμαι τοὺς νόμους τούτους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θείναι

The unwritten law gives rise to certain fundamental laws —

Aeschylus, e.g., names respect for God, for parents and for guests

(Supp. 704ff., Eum. 270) and the Xenophontic Socrates repeats these

with certain modifications (Xen. Mem. IV. 4. 18ff). There is also

the notable instance of the obligation to bury a corpse, implied,

e.g., in Sophocles' Antigone 454. This unwritten law is uniformly

designated a κοινὸς νόμος, meaning either (a) a law recognised

throughout the whole πόλις, or throughout Hellas, or (b) a law

recognised by all men generally. In Demosthenes, e.g., and Aristotle

this unwritten law is attributed to nature: Dem., De Cor. 275, ἡ φύσις

αὕτη τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ θεοῖς δέωρικεν;

cf. Ar., Met. 1373b.

As Nomos and Physis were contrasted, so also were the written and the unwritten laws, and this finds its most moving expression in the Antigone of Sophocles. In opposition to Creon's proclamations, Antigone cries:

οὐδὲ σθέειν τοσούτου νόμον τὰ σὰ
κηρυγμαθ', ὥστ' ἀγραπτά κασφαλῇ θεῶν
νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητὸν ὄνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν.
οὐ γὰρ τί νῦν γε κ' ἀχθέεις, ἀλλ' εἰ αἰεί ποτε
ᾗ τὰυτὰ κούδεις οἶδ' ἐξ ὅτου φάη. **L.**

This tradition of ἀγραφα νόμιμα is taken up into the Stoic idea of the Law of Nature, and adds to it the element of intellectualism that is lacking in a law of nature conceived purely naturalistically.

This is apparent in the various Stoic formulations which Kranz gives:

νόμος = λόγος φύσεως
οὐ νόμος = λόγος ὁρθός - νόμος φύσει
οὐ λόγος = φύσει νόμος - ὁ νόμος κοινός - ὁ νόμος ὁ κοῖνος
ὅσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ ὁρθὸς λόγος, διὰ πάντων
ἐρχόμενος, ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ Διί - ὁ μεγαλόπολις,
ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, χρῆται νόμῳ ἐνί.

When we put the words of Paul in Rom. ii. 14 - 15 into the context of this tradition we cannot but be struck by the parallels:

φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν; ἑαυτοῖς εἰσὶ νόμος; γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς
καρδίαις ἡμῶν. It would seem perfectly right to speak with Dodd

of this passage as the 'locus classicus' of natural law in the New

1. Ant. 453ff: Nor thought I that thine orders had such power,
That thou, a mortal man, shouldst outrun the laws,
Unwritten, fixed, unfailing, of the gods.
Not of today nor yesterday are they,
But live for ever: whence, no man may know.

Testament, or to say with Kranz:

Das alte Nomos-Physisproblem verwandelte sich mit Notwendigkeit für Paulus in das des bei den Juden herrschenden göttlichen Nomos und der bei den Griechen gelehrten Physis, die dennoch auch von Gott anerkannt wird.... Ins Herz ist, so ergibt sich ihm, den radikal gesinnten Griechen das „Werk“, d.h. die Betätigung (Möglichkeit) des Gesetzes geschrieben; auch hier ist es im Gegensatz zu der Gesetzesschrift auf Stein die Schrift der Physis, nach menschlichem Begriff also eigentlich ein „ungeschriebenes“ Gesetz wie in den Worten des zweiten Korintherbriefes.

But the meaning of Paul's words must also be considered from the standpoint of his theological position, and not only from that of the Greek tradition. It then becomes abundantly clear that for Paul there could be no "acknowledgement of this 'Law of Nature' "² in the sense of an acknowledgement of its validity: for that would mean that Paul acknowledged Nature as the highest court of appeal in moral questions, whereas for him the supreme authority can only be God, who stands over against a fallen world. This is put most forcibly by Pohlenz. After noting the 'ungreek' theological position held by Paul, he states:

Aber damit gibt er der griechischen, ihm natürlich geläufigen Antithese von Physis und Nomos einen ganz anderen Sinn. Denn der Nomos ist für ihn nicht etwa Menschensatzung, aber auch nicht das stoische, in der Natur wurzelnde Vernunftgesetz, sondern ausschliesslich das von Gott gegebene Gesetz, das dieser nicht bloss den Juden durch den Dekalog geoffenbart, sondern auch den Heiden 'ins Herz geschrieben hat'. Dieses göttliche Gesetz bleibt die einzige sittliche Instanz; eine autonome 'natürliche' Sittlichkeit gibt es sowenig wie eine von Gott unabhängige Physis.³

Had Paul recognized the Law of Nature to be valid he would thereby have compromised his most basic theological positions. He would in

1. Op. cit., p. 240. The reference is to 2 Cor. iii. 3, discussed below.
2. As Dodd says there is in the New Testament: op. cit. p. 134
3. M. Pohlenz, Die Stoa, I, p. 403. This position is amplified in the same writer's 'Paulus und die Stoa', Z.N.W., XLII, pp. 69-104.

effect be in the same position as Philo, of whom Pohlenz speaks as 'der Brückenbauer' 'der Kompromissler', 'der mit seiner griechischen Bildung kokettierende'. Pohlenz indeed argues that Paul and Philo are to be contrasted on this precise point of their attitude to natural law. He argues that Philo tries frantically to prove that the Mosaic Law is in conformity with the Law of Nature and the ἡγερέα νόμος, and that he transfers to the Law of Moses the definition which Chrysippus gives of the Law of Nature.¹ Thus finally for Philo Nature becomes the standard according to which Moses judges; where Paul, on the other hand, knew only one Law, that which God had given, and he recognised a certain fulfilment of that Law among the Gentiles. But a 'Law of Nature' Paul could never recognize, principally for the reason that

Eine selbstständige 'Natur' neben Gott gibt es nicht. Vollends der hellenische Begriff einer Natur, die ausschliesslich ihren eigenen Gesetzen folgt und keinen Eingriff von aussen duldet, wäre für Paulus Denken ebenso unfassbar wie die Allnatur, die für den Stoiker selbst die Gottheit ist.²

This comparison between Paul and Philo in their attitude to the Stoic conception of natural law is most compelling. It seems perfectly clear that in Rom. ii. 14-15 Paul is not acknowledging the validity of the Law of Nature.

But is he perhaps referring to the Law of Nature as having a certain qualified validity for the Gentiles? This is rather less clear, but it seems that a negative answer is required, for three main reasons. First, the whole tenor of Pohlenz's argument is such as to suggest that Paul could never have any serious dealings with the Law of Nature. Secondly, a further consideration of the Stoic teaching

1. 'Paulus und die Stoa,' p. 76, referring to Philo, Migr. Abr. 130

2. 'Paulus und die Stoa', p. 77.

on natural law renders this position even more untenable. Bonhöffer points out that in Stoic teaching the Law of Nature is identified with the νόμος ὁ κοινός which, so far from being innate in every man -- as many interpreters of Romans seem to assume -- was a most precious possession of the few gained only through the most painstaking search and discipline.¹ Such a view of natural law could not explain Rom. ii. 14f. Thirdly, one must ask, does Paul in fact say that the Gentiles have a law at all? He actually speaks of them as νόμοι καὶ ἐχόντες (and the omission of the article is significant); and the point of the passage is to strike against the Jew, who prides himself on possessing the Law but does not perform it, whereas the Gentile who does not have a law nevertheless (on occasions at least) does what the Law requires.

Thus there is every justification for Nygren's assertion, quoted above, that "Paul's thought here has nothing to do with the question of a lex naturae" But what then is Paul positively affirming? This will in part be considered below in relation to other passages, but at this point we follow Nygren. Paul has in mind the specific situation when a Gentile actually does something which the Law commands, and it is his doing of this act which is being contrasted with the Jew's confidence in the mere possession of the Law. Paul believes not in a deistic God but in the Living God, who is ever active, even among the Gentiles, and shows them in concrete situations what they are to do.

God has not written 'the law' in the hearts of the Gentiles, in the sense that they have by nature a universal principle to which to subject life and from which to draw conclusions as to how they ought to live. He has written 'the works of the law' in their hearts so that if they do otherwise in the concrete situation,

1. Cf. A. Bonhöffer, Epiktet und das Neue Testament, p. 154

they are aware that they have done evil. 'Their conscience also bears witness'.¹

We must also consider the question of the relation between Rom. ii. 14-15 and 2 Cor. iii. 3, which are brought together by Kranz and by Dodd. The latter states:

(In Rom. ii. 14-15) there is the remarkable phrase 'written on the hearts' *γραττωρ ἐν τοῖς καρδίαις*. In Jer. xxxi. 31-34 this is the attribute of the New Covenant, and that passage is echoed in Paul's locus classicus about the two covenants, 2 Cor. iii. 3. Is this accidental? Or does it mean that, just as Paul, in Gal. iii. 15-22, regards the Law of Moses from one point of view as a parenthesis between the covenant with Abraham and its fulfilment in Christ, so from another point of view it is a parenthesis between the original, 'Noachian', covenant and its fulfilment in Christ? In at least two cases the sayings of our Lord imply an appeal behind the Law of Moses to the order of creation. While, therefore, the Law of Moses is from one aspect the first stage of revelation, leading up to the Law of Christ, in another aspect it is a temporary expedient on the way from the Law of Nature to the Law of Christ, serving certain limited purposes, which fulfilled, it may be set aside, leaving mankind in Christ confronted by the original law of his creation.²

There is one great danger in this proposed conjunction of the two passages, stated most clearly by Augustine. He points out that it is necessary to consider carefully the sense in which the Apostle wrote Rom. ii. 14-15.

ne videatur non esse certa distantia Novi Testamenti, quod leges suas Dominus in cordibus populi sui se scripturam esse promisit, quandoquidem hoc Gentes naturaliter habeant....Dicet enim aliquis Si Deus hinc discernit a Vetere Testamento Novum, quod in Vetere Legem suam scripsit in tabulis, in Novo autem scripsit in cordibus: fideles Novi Testamenti discernuntur a Gentibus, quae habent opus legis scriptum in cordibus suis, quo naturaliter quae legis sunt faciunt, quasi jam illo populo vetere potiores, qui legem acceperit in tabulis, et novo populo priores, cui hoc praestatur per

1. A. Nygren, Commentary on Romans, pp. 124-125.
2. 'Natural Law in the New Testament' p. 141.

Testamentum Novum, quod his natura jam praestitit.¹

Augustine here points clearly to the absurdity which results from the conjunction of these two passages on the basis of a purely verbal similarity -- an absurdity from which the statement by Kranz referred to above is not altogether free. Dodd's view of the relation between the passages is, however, in a rather different category. But several questions need to be raised about the interpretation of the passages in 2 Cor.

First, one must ask whether there is any similarity between the language used by Paul here and that in which the 'unwritten law' tradition found ^{none} expression in Greek thought. The most striking thing here is that in of the examples Kranz gives is the koinos nomos, ἡ ἀρχαία νόμος described as a νόμος γραπτός ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις, nor do Liddell and Scott give any reference to such a usage. One might well ask whether there would be any tendency to relate these words to the Greek koinos nomos were it not for the mistaken assumption that γραπτός ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις Rom. ii. 15, refers to the Law of

1. De Spiritu et Littera (Migne, P.L. tom. 44, cols. 199-246), cap. 43
~~199-246~~: lest it seem that there is no clear distinction in the New Covenant, because the Lord has promised to write his Laws in the hearts of his people, seeing that the Gentiles have this by nature For someone will say, if God distinguishes the New from the Old by this, that in the Old he wrote His Law on tables but in the New has written it on the heart; how then are the faithful of the New Covenant to be distinguished from the Gentiles who have the work of the Law written in their hearts, so that they do by nature the things of the Law; as if they were superior to that ancient people who received the Law on tables, and in advance of the new people, on whom that has been conferred through the New Covenant which nature has already given to the Gentiles?

13

Nature. At all events, the evidence would seem to suggest that Paul's language here is derived from the LXX of Jer. ~~xxd~~ (xxviii). 33, rather than from reminiscence of the Greek tradition.

The context in which Paul wrote 2 Cor. iii. 3 must also be considered. He has rejected the idea that he is ⁱⁿ need of letters of commendation, and asserts that the Corinthian Christians constitute a letter written on his heart ($\epsilon\gamma\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$). The thought then passes over to that of the Corinthians as a letter of Christ, "written not with ink but with the Spirit of the living God, not on stone tables but on the fleshly pages of your hearts". The reason for this abrupt transition can only be that already in verse 3 is beginning to obtrude the question of the relation between the two Covenants, which he discusses in verses 4ff. Apart from the mere recurrence of the words $\epsilon\gamma\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ there is no reason to see any connection between this verse and Rom. ii. 15, for what is in the Apostle's mind here is the realisation of the eschatological hope expressed in the prophecy of Jeremiah, a realisation that has come about through the work of Christ and the activity of the Holy Spirit. It is difficult to see here any connection with a theory of natural law. This becomes very clear when we consider that the New Covenant of Jeremiah, which underlies Paul's thought here, is not merely a moral conception. For the Hebrew, the Torah is the revelation of God. The Torah which is to be written on the heart under the New Covenant is not merely a moral law that is internal rather than external; it is the fullest revelation of God, which Paul ^{has} in view here as having been made through the work of Christ and sealed to

the Corinthian Christians by the Holy Spirit. To attempt to align this thoroughly Hebraic conception with the Greek idea of natural law is to falsify it utterly. Yet this is done if Rom. ii. 15 and 2 Cor. iii. 3 are linked in the way that Kranz and Dodd suggest.

It is now necessary to consider some other examples of Pauline language which are said to show the influence on Paul of Stoic ethics. The first of these must be the striking phrase in 1 Cor. xi. 14, ἡ φύσις αὐτῆς δίδασκεῖ ὑμᾶς. Of this Dodd says, "the communis sensus, then, by which pagans recognise the goodness of conduct ordered by the revealed Law of God is the teaching of Nature".¹ The language here is certainly thoroughly Greek. But it is significant that the phrase is used of nothing more important than the respective length of hair for men and women, and that that in itself is subsidiary to his argument on the also not very important matter of women having their heads covered during prayer but not men. Robertson and Plummer² point out that "at this period civilized men, whether Jews, Greeks or Romans, wore their hair short"; and Pohlenz suggests that all that the phrase shows is that the popular ethical discourses 'did not rush past him without leaving any trace'.³

Secondly, there is Paul's use of the allegedly Stoic expression, τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα (Rom. i. 28). Lietzmann⁴ speaks of this as a Stoic expression, and also quotes Philo in illustration of its use,

1. 'Natural Law in the New Testament', p. 133.
2. ICC 1 Corinthians, in loc.
3. 'Paulus und die Stoa', p. 81
4. Handbuch in loc.

while Sanday and Headlam describe τὰ καθήκοντα as "a technical term with the Stoics", referring also to 2 Macc. vi. 4¹. There is certainly no doubt that the term without the negative was in use among the Stoics with a sharply defined technical sense, denoting 'duty', because it marked that action which was in accordance with nature. (Cicero's 'De Officiis' is a translation of the term in this sense.) Yet the word was also common in ordinary speech for 'that which is fitting' without any of the technical precision of meaning in Stoic usage.² It is this non-technical sense that fits Paul's meaning here much better. Further, the negative form used by Paul in one never used by the Stoics — their negative was πρὸς τὸ καθήκον 3. The negative used by Paul may have been current in the koine in conjunction with the non-technical sense of καθήκον ; at any rate there is a close parallel in 2 Macc. vi. 4. It is in a somewhat similar context, the pollution of the Temple by Gentiles, to the effect that ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθνων... τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα εὐδον εἰσφερόντων. This strongly supports the view that here Paul was following koine rather than Stoic technical usage.

συείδῃς

(conscience) is another of Paul's terms

which he is frequently asserted to have borrowed from the Stoics —

1. ICC Romans, in loc.
2. Cf. Bonhöffer, op. cit., p. 157, Pohlenz op. cit., p. 73, and Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, pp. 87ff. 92 ff.
3. So Bonhöffer. There are two possible instances in Stoic usage of μὴ with τὰ καθήκοντα but in both cases the μὴ is textually uncertain. These two instances are Epict. iii. 22. 43 and Plutarch, de Comm. Not. 12, p. 1064.

so, e.g., Denney, Dodd and Sanday and Headlam (somewhat cautiously) on Rom. ii. 15, together with Moffatt on 1 Cor. vii. 7ff; while Lightfoot, who throughout his essay 'St. Paul and ^{Seneca} Stoicism' is very hesitant about drawing any connecting lines between Paul and Stoicism, nevertheless asserts,

The most important of moral terms, the crowning triumph of ethical nomenclature, $\sigmaυρεΐδ\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$, Conscientia, the internal, absolute, supreme judge of moral action, if not struck in the mint of the Stoics, at all events became current coin through their influence.¹

In actual fact very little evidence can be offered in support of this view. The only use in a period definitely prior to Paul is that of Chrysippus who, as cited by Diogenes Laertius vii. 85, does indeed speak of $\sigmaυρεΐδ\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ but attributes it to every living creature with regard to its awareness of its own composition. This is the only definite instance of a pre-Pauline use among the Stoics.² Pierce, who fully discusses this question, rather surprisingly does not discuss Seneca; but in his case there are difficulties of chronology, as Seneca and Paul were almost exactly contemporaries. It is difficult to make any final decision as to the origin of the term -- it is doubtful if one can confidently either affirm or deny Stoic origin. And if Pierce is right in linking conscience to the wrath of God, as an internal manifestation thereof, Paul would seem to have invested the word with a thoroughly non-Stoic meaning.

Another term which may be discussed as a final example is

$\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\varsigma$ (Phil. iv. 11), $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (2 Cor. ix. 9). OF

¹ 'St. Paul and Stoicism', Commentary on Philippians, p. 301.

² Cf. C.A. Pierce, Conscience in the New Testament, ch. 1

these words Dodd writes:

When.... Paul confesses that he has learnt to be ἀντάρκης, in poverty and wealth, in prosperity and adversity (Phil. iv. 11), he is not only using Stoic language; he is confessing conformity to a moral ideal which was original in the Stoic school it is true that the robe which Christianity fashions out of the materials is widely different from the Stoic philosophers cloak. Paul's ἀντάρκεια is by no means the same as Seneca's, because it belongs to a life which is redeemed in Christ.¹

It cannot be questioned that Paul is here using Stoic language. But that ἀντάρκεια is used in a quite different sense from the Stoic technical term is shown by the context: πᾶσιν ἀντάρκειαν ἔχοντες must be translated 'having enough of everything', and this has nothing to do with Stoic technical usage. ἀντάρκης may have more affinity with the technical term; but here again, as Enslin points out,² the context is decisively against its being in any way an expression of Paul's conformity to a Stoic moral ideal: the succeeding words, οἶδα καὶ ταπεινῶσθαι, could never have been uttered by a Stoic or by one who accepted their moral teaching. This word is a good example of the use of Stoic language but without the meaning with which the Stoics invested their terms. And it is important to note in regard to this matter of the use of Stoic language by Paul, that precisely the most characteristic terms of the Stoic ethic are absent from his writings — ἀπαθεία, ἀταραξία, εὐδαιμονία, ἡ γέμονικόν, φαντασία and those that are present are used without technical content given them in Stoic use.³

In view of all this evidence, it would be impossible to assert

1. 'Natural Law in the New Testament', p. 132.
2. The Ethics of Paul, p. 38
3. Cf. Pohlenz, 'Paulus und die Stoa', pp. 81-82.

that Stoic ethical teaching had had any extensive influence on Paul. Verbal similarities there are --- and they are not as frequent as one would expect in a citizen of Tarsus --- but very little else.

Thus far the discussion of the relation between Paul and Stoicism has been largely --- and necessarily --- negative: we have discovered little more than verbal likenesses. But having rejected the view that Paul gave support to any form of natural law, it is necessary to give some positive account of the facts in the New Testament which led Dodd to say that it does recognise the Law of Nature. These facts are, in brief, (1) the very fact that the New Testament writers felt free to use pagan ethical terms and maxims, and (2) the recognition of the capacity for moral judgment among the Gentiles. With regard to the former, while it is true that many of these terms and maxims acquire a different connotation through being brought within the life of the Chosen People (as at an earlier date other moral teaching did through being brought within the context of the Mosaic covenant), yet the fact that the New Testament writers felt free to use them is striking. It may, of course, be simply that, as Enslin puts it, Paul "took his truth where he found it";¹ but the conjunction of this fact with the recognition of the moral capacity of the Gentiles suggests something more far-reaching. There is a moral awareness outside the covenanted people of God.

Dodd offers as the explanation of this the acknowledgment of natural law in the New Testament, but we have seen that there is little justification for this view. He also relates this to the "Noachian

1. Op. cit. p. 36.

ordinances' involved in the Noachian covenant of Gen. ix. This is a rather artificial explanation, in view of two facts, both of which are noted by Dodd: the difficulty of establishing the pre-Christian, or at any rate pre-Pauline, date of thought on these 'ordinances' in Judaism, and as well their extremely meagre content. Dodd himself states "The contents of the Noachian Code are developed by the rabbis out of very scanty hints in scripture, and it must be confessed that they are disappointingly inadequate as an attempt to state the Law of Nature".¹

Further, such an appeal to the Noachian Code is unnecessary. The essential clue to the problem is given by Augustine in his answer (or, rather, one of his answers) to the problem raised in the passage quoted above.² The answer which Augustine actually prefers is the highly unlikely one that in Rom. ii. 14-15 Paul is speaking of Gentiles who are converted and therefore within the New Covenant. But if this be not acceptable Augustine offers a second. If this passage be understood as referring to those who are ungodly and do not worship the true God, but who nevertheless perform certain actions which we are bound to regard as praiseworthy, then he says:

*Verumptamen, quia non usque adeo in anima humana imago Dei terran-
orum^{affectuum} labe detrita est, ut nulla in ea velut lineamenta extrema remanserint, unde merito dici possit etiam in ipsa impietate vitae suae facere aliqua legis vel sapere Non omni deletum est, quod ibi per imaginem Dei cum crearentur impressum est Nam sicut ipsa imago Dei renovatur in mente credentium per Testamentum Novum, quam non penitus impietas aboleverat.... ita etiam ibi lex Dei non ex omni parte deleta est per injustitiam,*

1. 'Natural Law in the New Testament', p. 139n.

2. See above, pp 4-12.

*profecto scribitur renovata est per gratiam.*¹

One may not full agree with Augustine as to what constitutes the image of God, but nevertheless he has stated the essential matter, namely that the image of God in man, however badly marred by man's ungodliness, has ^{not} been totally effaced and is under the New Covenant renewed. It is for this reason and no other that Dodd is perfectly right in speaking of 'mankind in Christ confronted by the original law of his creation'. "For it is the God who said 'Let light shine out of darkness' who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. iv. 6). In the work of Christ the whole creation finds its renewal. In Him, the Last Adam, mankind is renewed. In Christ is set forth what is human in the divine intention (i.e., *κατὰ θεόν* not *κατὰ φύσιν*); and thus through his 'Last Adam' Christology Paul is set free to recognise the truly human wherever he sees it, in Jew or Gentile. Herein is repeated at a more profound level that which occurred when ethical maxims drawn from various sources were incorporated within the Mosaic Code. That was possible because these things were in harmony with the will of God who was known above all in His redemption

1. De Spiritu et Littera, cap. XLVIII: Nevertheless the image of God is not so utterly worn away in the human soul by the corrosion of earthly affection, so that not even the slightest trace of it remains therein, and therefore it may reasonably be said that they do or can understand something of the law even in the midst of their ungodly life.... What was imprinted on them through the image of God when they were created is not in every way effaced.... For as the actual image of God, which ungodliness has not completely destroyed, is renewed in the minds of believers through the New Covenant -- for there remained at any rate the rational qualities without which the soul of man cannot exist: so also there the Law of God, which is not altogether blotted out through unrighteousness, is forthwith written anew by grace.

of His people from Egypt. Now in the person and work of Christ there is at once the final revelation of God and of His purposes for man, and the realisation of those purposes: in Christ the *καιρός ἑρμηνεύτης* appears. In drawing out the consequences of this for the lives of his readers, Paul uses any language and any ethical teaching which may be conformed to this basic pattern of life in the new age. The consideration of this basic pattern will concern us in some detail below, but we must first consider another comprehensive approach to Paul's ethics, that offered by W.D. Davies.

B. PAUL AND RABBINIC JUDAISM.

In his valuable work, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, W.D. Davies has argued that for Paul both the words of Jesus and the whole Person of Christ have become a New Torah; that Paul is best understood as a 'Christian Rabbi', who 'lived and died a Pharisee'; and that consequently "it is possible to make too much of a contrast between Pauline Christianity as a religion of liberty and Judaism as a religion of obedience. Indeed, it is not improbable that Paul would not find it strange to regard himself as a Christian Rabbi charged to be a steward not only of a *κηρύγμα* but of a *διδασχὴ*, a New Torah to be applied, expounded and transmitted".¹ This thesis is so important in itself, and has been so extraordinarily influential, that considerable space must be devoted to it. We shall first consider in outline the various strands in Davies's theory, and then discuss some of the problems that arise.

1. Op. cit. p. 145. Davies's work will henceforth be referred to as PRJ.

Davies first calls attention to various inconsistencies in the Apostle's practice: that although he was the apostle to the Gentiles, he yet was concerned primarily with Jews -- he preached first in synagogues in every place he visited; "it was his declared policy to preach first to the Jews and it was his custom always so to do";¹ it was with Jews that he 'wrestled most'; and the last view we have of him is that given in Acts xviii. 11f., wherein Paul on arrival in Rome "calls together for consultation not the Christians but the Jewish elders," who welcomed him as one of themselves".²

He then turns to the question of Paul's attitude to the Law, and after noting some of Paul's statements in the Epistles, writes:

Paul observed the Law, and that in the pharisaic manner, throughout his life, (Acts xvi, 3, xxi. 26, xxiii. 6). In 1 Cor. vii. 18 he implies that obedience to it is his duty; to conciliate the Jews he even agreed to the circumcision of Timothy, who was born of a Greek father, and Acts xxi. 21f. make it clear that he regarded the observance of the Law as incumbent on all ^{Jewish} Christians. We are faced with a dilemma. The Apostle who first turned to the Gentiles on the ground that salvation could be received apart from the Law, himself lived and died 'a Pharisee'.³

Davies discusses and dismisses various explanations, and suggests that the 'inconsistency' only becomes explicable when Paul's life is looked at from the Rabbinic point of view. He notes the view as far back as Jeremiah that in the Messianic Age everyone would spontaneously obey the Torah, and continues:

Later Rabbinic literature reveals the same attitude, and although those passages which explicitly speak of the Messiah as the bringer of a New Torah, Torah bedashah, are late, we cannot doubt that they reflect earlier beliefs, because there must have been controversies

1. PRJ. p. 68, giving Acts xiii. 46 as his authority.
2. Ibid. p. 69.
3. Ibid. p. 70.

a/

among the Rabbis as to the role of the Torah in the Messianic Age in all periods. Moore writes: "Inasmuch as the days of the Messiah are the religious as well as the political consummation of the national history, and, however idealized, belong to the world we live in, it is natural that the Law should not only be in force but should be better studied and better observed than ever before; and this was indubitably the common belief."

(Moore, Judaism, I, p. 271.) When the Rabbis taught, moreover, that the Messiah when he came would bring a new Law, they thought of that law as new not in the sense that it would be contrary to the Law of Moses but that it would explain it more fully. (Str.-B., IV, part I, p. 1)

True to this expectation Jesus had come and preached a new Torah from the mount (Matt. v) and had yet remained loyal to the old Torah, displaying 'universalism in belief and particularism in practice' (Schweitzer, Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p. 178.) In view of all this, it would not be unnatural for Paul also to believe that loyalty to the new law of Christ (Gal. vi. 2) did not involve disloyalty to the Torah of his fathers, while at the same time holding that the latter, in its full sense, had also predicted that the Gentiles should share in the glories of the Messianic Age.¹

At this point it is necessary to note that the position indicated above regarding the evidence for the existence among pre-Christian Jewish circles of an expectation of a New Torah is not substantially altered by Davies's later work, Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come. The conclusion which Davies reaches after a survey of the relevant material in the Old Testament and Jewish and Rabbinical literature may be summarised as follows:-

- (1) In general there was the expectation that the Torah in its existing form (though with its present obscurities removed) would persist into the Messianic Age and probably also into the Age to Come, in so far as they may be distinguished.
- (2) The conception of a New Torah was probably not a well-defined and accepted part of the Messianic hope, but there were elements present

1. PRJ. pp. 72-73.

in that hope which would enable some to consider the Messianic Age as marked by a New Torah. The precise nature of the New Torah cannot be defined, except that it did not involve a rejection of the existing Torah. But there are very few passages which speak of a New Torah in this way, and they are very late.

(3) "The evidence that we have been able to adduce in favour of a new Messianic Torah cannot be regarded as very impressive. But what makes it probable that some elements in Judaism at least may have contemplated a new Messianic Torah is the fact that early Christians, who were conscious that they were living in the Messianic Age, did in fact find room in their interpretation of the Christian dispensation for such a concept. At this point we must insist that the ^{New Testament} NT must be allowed to illumine the Messianic hope of Judaism."¹ (The form of the argument is to be noted: in PRJ it was suggested that since in Judaism the Messiah was regarded as the bringer of a New Torah, therefore it was natural for the New Testament so to regard Jesus; now it is suggested that since the New Testament uses the concept of the New Torah, therefore such a concept was probably also present in Judaism.)

(4) Davies concludes by pointing out that in so far as the Early Church saw its New Torah in Jesus Himself (and not only in his words), then the hopes of Judaism were not only fulfilled in Him but also transcended.

These two points (the problem of Paul's inconsistency, and its solution in terms of the 'New Torah' of Judaism) are the basis of much

1. Torah in the Messianic Age, pp. 90-91.

that follows, and will be discussed in some detail below.

The next strand of the argument consists in pointing to the similarity between early Christian and Jewish baptism proselyte baptism, and the similarity between the Haustafeln in the Pauline epistles and the material used by Rabbis for the instruction of proselytes. He concludes:

We may probably rightly surmise that much of Paul's activity in his dealings with converts must have been indistinguishable to outsiders from that of Jewish Rabbis in their proselytizing.... Strange as it ^{might} seem then, Paul the Apostle of the freedom of the Christian man from the bondage of legalism has turned out to be a catechist after the manner of a Rabbi.¹

This is followed by a detailed treatment of the dependence of Paul's ethics on the teaching of Jesus, which shows, according to Davies, that Paul regarded Jesus as a new Moses and His words as a New Torah. He quotes many instances of such dependence -- places where there are indubitable echoes of the teaching of Jesus, without that teaching being definitely quoted as an authoritative source -- and also six places in which Paul quotes the words of Jesus. These six are 1 Cor. vii. 10, ix. 14, xi. 23; 1 Thess. iv. 15f.; Acts xx. 35; and 1 Cor. xiv. 37. As well, Davies reads 1 Cor. vii. 25 as indicating a tone of regret at not having on hand an appropriate saying of Jesus.² Further, he notes the fact that in "the most personal point of all his Epistles we cannot help tracing the impact of the teaching of Jesus". This is Rom. vii, where Paul chooses as his example "the one prohibition of the Decalogue which deals with the inner life and not with overt action",³ and suggests that this note

1. PRJ, p. 129.

2. Ibid., pp. 140-141, following Dibelius.

3. Ibid., p. 141, quoting Dodd in loc.

of the importance of the inner life he had learnt from Jesus. Finally there is Paul's use of the phrase 'the law of Christ', of which Davies does not give an exegesis in context, but argues that it must be understood from the point of view of the tradition of the church which was actively engaged in preserving the teaching of Jesus and placed great emphasis on His words. In view of Paul's use of the teaching of Jesus and the impact on him which Rom. vii shows that teaching to have made, Davies concludes:

The cumulative result of what we have written above is that Paul must ^{here} regard Jesus in the light of a new Moses, and that he recognized in the words of Christ $\alpha\rho\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ which formed for him the basis of a kind of Christian Halakah. When he used the phrase $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ he meant that the actual words of Jesus were for him a New Torah.¹

Davies then proceeds to widen somewhat this argument by pointing to the way in which Paul refers not merely to the teaching but to the whole Person and deed of Christ and urges the imitation of Christ. This suggests that not only the words of Jesus but Christ Himself in the totality of His person is a New Torah, and that for Paul conformity to Christ has taken the place of conformity to the Jewish Torah. While Paul never explicitly affirms Jesus to be a new Torah, it is nevertheless "clearly implied in the famous passage in which Paul contrasts the Christian ministry with that of the Old Covenant in 2 Corinthians".² It appears that Davies is referring to 2 Cor. iii-iv, and from his discussion the stress seems to fall on 2 Cor. iv. 6. On this, after speaking of the 'fading glory' on the face of Moses (iii. 7ff), Davies writes:

1. PRJ, p. 144.

2. Ibid., p. 148.

Paul and the other Christian ministers had found the light which had come into being at creation, in the face of Jesus. The significance of this is only fully realised when it is recalled that in Rabbinic Judaism the Torah was associated with light.... The object of the argument was to prove that that Jesus, not the Torah, was the true revelation of the divine glory and the divine light. This probably means that Jesus was a New Torah.

Davies takes up this section of 2 Corinthians again later.

He first discussed iii. 1-3, saying that in these verses Paul is contrasting the New Covenant with the Old, and that "he claims that he himself has written Christ in the hearts of the Christians, just as Moses had written his Law on tablets of stone".² Davies carries this interpretation into the following verses, and at the same time brings the Pauline doctrine of the Spirit into connection with his thesis. It is necessary to quote him again.

He is contrasting in the verses following the work of Moses and his own work as a minister of Christ. He claims that he had been the means of planting a New Torah, so we may understand his words, in the hearts of Christians. Paul can speak in this way because for him the Torah has become 'Christified'....; this further meant that it was Spirit, because in Paul's thought Christ was almost identified with the Spirit. If we cannot go so far as to say that Christ, the New Torah, is Spirit and Spirit is Torah we can at least say that by the Spirit Christ, who was the New Torah, could dwell in the hearts of Christians.³

An argument somewhat similar to the above is given briefly by Davies at another point,⁴ when he points out that the words applied to Christ in Rom. x. 6ff. are quoted from the LXX of Deut. xxx. 12-14, where they refer to the Torah.

There is one final strand to be considered in Davies's argument, that in which he brings the concept of the obedience of Christ into connection with his thesis.⁵ After speaking of the death of Christ,

1. Ibid., pp. 148-149.

2. Ibid. p. 225.

3. Ibid., pp. 225-226.

4. Ibid., p. 154, n. 2.

5. We do not consider here Davies's discussion of Christ as the Wisdom (contd. bottom of next page.)

as an act of obedience to the Father, he continues:

When we go on to ask in what sense Jesus fulfilled the will of God, or how he became aware of the demands of that will, we must answer that that will was revealed to him in Scriptures, the Death of Jesus was *κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς* (1 Cor. xv. 3) and it was also revealed in the spiritual consciousness of Jesus Himself, because we have seen that for Paul, Jesus Himself in the totality of His being was a New Torah. There is therefore a duality or incongruity in the thought of Paul at this point; Christ is for him both the New Torah and also the example of a perfect obedience to that New Torah; such an incongruity, however, should not be regarded as a blemish in his thought but merely as a mark of its unresolved complexity.¹

With this rather obscure paragraph is completed the outline of the way in which Davies builds up his view of Christ as the (or a) New Torah. We shall now proceed to discuss it.

(1) We must begin with a general reflection on the thesis as a whole. We could say that this view of Christ as a New Torah might well be natural to one who viewed the Church principally or exclusively under the category of the New Israel, and the extent to which Davies uses this category in the explication of the Pauline theology is marked. That Paul did view the Church as the New Israel is clear, but it is not a distinctively Pauline view. It was the view of the Church that Paul had derived from the Primitive Church, and it played a large part in its thinking. But Paul had other ways of looking at the Church, and indeed in many respects his stress ^a may be held to lie in the direction of a wider conception, through the use of such figures as that of the 'Body of Christ'. Within such a wider view of the Church the idea of

5. (Contd. from previous page) of God and the link thereby made with Jewish thought about the Torah. For a discussion of this view cf. E. Percy, Die Probleme der Kolosser und Epheserbriefe.

1. PRJ, p. 266.

Christ as the New Torah does not fit nearly so naturally, and this should make us a little cautious in approaching Davies's thesis.

(2) From this we must proceed to question the statement of Paul's 'inconsistency' which Davies gives on pp. 68-70 of his work. It is fair to say, first, that Davies has forced the evidence of Acts even further than a natural interpretation would warrant in the direction of Paul's 'Pharisaism' and concern with the Jews; and, secondly, that the evidence of the Epistles which might count against that picture is treated at a discount. (It might further be said that the problem of the historical reliability of Acts, where its picture of Paul does genuinely diverge from that of the Epistles, deserves more consideration than Davies gives to it.) Here we can consider only a few examples. Acts xiii. 46 ("Paul and Barnabas spoke out boldly, saying, 'It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to you, ^{and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life,} Since you thrust it from you, [^] behold, we turn to the Gentiles") is made to mean "It was his (Paul's) declared policy to preach first to the Jews and it was his custom always so to do",¹ which seems to import a good deal that is not there. In discussing the circumcision of Timothy, the fact that he was half-Greek is mentioned, not the fact that he was also half-Jew. In 1 Cor. vii. 18 ("Was any one at the time of his call already circumcised? Let him not seek to remove the marks of circumcision. Was any one

1. PRJ, p. 68.

at the time of his call uncircumcised? Let him not seek circumcision.") Paul is understood to say that "obedience to it (the Law) is his duty",¹ a meaning that is not to be found there and is in any case contradicted by the following verse. Further, one might reasonably ask of anyone who wishes to maintain that Paul 'lived and died a Pharisee' (as Davies does throughout his work) that he discuss fully such passages as Phil. iii. 5-7 and Gal. iv. 3, 9. In the whole book they are in fact mentioned only once, the former on p. 2, where Davies disapprovingly quotes Montefiore's assertion that it contains 'no genuine Jewish ring', and the latter on p. 36, where its extreme force is reduced to the rather innocuous statement, "Bondage has given place to liberty". On the basis of such instances as these the adequacy of Davies's statement of the problem may well be questioned.

There follows the statement of Davies's solution to the problem, particularly as given in the section quoted above.² We must note, first, that the Rabbinic sources which speak of a New Torah are late; secondly, that the passage from G.F. Moore says nothing about a New Torah; and thirdly, that Strack and Billerbeck explicitly reject the idea of a New Torah as opposed to a new interpretation of the old. Strack and Billerbeck write:

Ja, jene Erwartung (of the Messiah as a teacher of the Torah) ging so weit, dass man sogar von einer neuen Tora redete, die der Messias bringer werde, u. die man geradezu als "Tora des Messias" bezeichnete. Doch darf man das nicht so verstehen, als ob diese neue Tora die alte Tora Moses verdrängen oder durch Zusätze erweitern sollte Nein, die neue Tora des Messias wird die alte Tora Moses sein; aber der Messias wird die alte Tora in neuer Weise auslegen.³

¹ PRJ, p. 68

² See above, pp. 17-18, 22-23.

³ Stra.-B., IV, pt. I: erster Exkurs, Zur Bergpredigt Jesu, p. 1

This leads us to raise a fundamental problem of definition in Davies's work — what is this 'New Torah' that Paul has found in Jesus Christ? Davies at no point suggests that in thinking thus Paul in any way contradicted the rabbinic line of thought, and this would lead one to suppose that it is the old Torah with a new explanation that Davies means by his term 'New Torah'. This seems to be borne out by the first sentence on p. 73 — it is "true to this expectation" that Jesus had come and preached a New Torah. And it seems to be in this way that Davies regards his thesis as the solution of the problem of Paul's 'Pharisaism'. But on the other hand we are told in the same place that "Jesus had come and preached a New Torah.... and had yet remained loyal to the old Torah, displaying 'universalism in belief and particularism in practice'." Here the old and the new Torah are set in contrast, and it does not seem that we are meant to relate Jesus' 'universalism in belief' simply to a new explanation of the old Torah. Further, we are told elsewhere¹ that "conformity to Christ.... has taken the place for Paul of conformity to the Jewish Torah". Here the old Torah is set on one side as the "Jewish Torah", which has been replaced for Paul by conformity to Christ, the New Torah. For one thing, one would like to know how anybody can be described as 'living and dying a Pharisee' for whom anything has replaced the Torah; but more than that, it is not a mere quibble to say that there is a fundamental lack of clarity and even of consistency in Davies's use of the term 'New Torah'.

1. PRJ, p. 148; similar statements appear on pp. 149, 222.

(3) We must next consider the way in which Davies treats Paul's use of the words of Jesus. There are first the echoes of Jesus' teaching in Paul. That there are such reminiscences is undoubted; but 'in no case can echoes be regarded as equivalent to appeals to a new code of authoritative moral rules'.¹ Indeed that there are so many more 'echoes' than quotations seems not only not to support Davies's thesis, but to count positively against it. It seems hardly likely that one who regarded the words of Jesus as an authoritative law would refrain from quoting them when he obviously knew them and felt them to be apposite.

Secondly, there are the six instances in which Paul does cite the words of Jesus as authoritative. The relevance of all of these to Davies's argument is doubtful; he seems to be arguing for a use by Paul of the words of Jesus as a moral authority, yet that is not the bearing of most of these passages. 1 Cor. ix. 14 relates to a matter of church organisation, 1 Cor. xi. 23ff. is an account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, 1 Thess. iv. 15f. is a piece of apocalyptic teaching. Acts xx. 35, granting that it is an authentic utterance of Paul, is simply "a general ethical reflection",² while 1 Cor. xiv. 37 "cannot refer to a word of Jesus, since one can scarcely imagine that Christ gave regulation for the conduct of Church services at which people spoke in tongues and prophesied, or that he gave rules about women speaking in church. The verse can

1. J.A. Allan, unpublished notes. As will be apparent, I owe a good deal in this section to Dr. Allan.

2. Ibid.

only be taken as a claim to represent the Lord's authority."¹ This would leave only 1 Cor. vii. 10 to support Davies's argument, with perhaps the interpretation that he place on 1 Cor. vii. 25. This "scarcely seems adequate or convincing as evidence for what by definition must on this theory have been an all-pervading idea in Paul's attitude to conduct".² Further, to force all of Paul's uses of the sayings of Jesus into the category of citations of a law seems to be a considerable over-simplification.

Thirdly, there is the question of the effect of the teaching of Jesus on Paul, as shown by Rom. vii. No one would wish to deny that the teaching of Jesus had had an effect on Paul; but that is to say nothing about His words being a new law. Further, Davies's view depends upon the adoption of an autobiographical interpretation of Rom. vii, which is at least dubious.³

Fourthly, there are the occurrences of the phrase, 'the law of Christ' (νόμος τοῦ χριστοῦ, Gal. vi. 2, and the cognate ἐννομος χριστοῦ 1 Cor. ix. 21; these are the only instances in the Pauline corpus). Davies relies on the cumulative effect of what he had written earlier, and no fresh consideration is called for at this point.⁴

It is quite clear that Paul's use of the teaching of Jesus is rather more subtle than can be comprehended within any such apparently simple formula as that His words had become for Paul a new Law. We

1. J.A. Allan, op. cit.

2. Ibid.

3. Cf. below, pp. 198 - 202.

4. The phrases are discussed below, pp. 250 - 253.

5. Cf. above, pp. 8ff.

shall consider this question in detail below; at this point it is necessary simply to point out the inadequacy of Davies's thesis to comprehend all the facts of the situation.

(4) Davies's exegesis of 2 Cor. iii-iv must next be considered, together with that of Rom. 2, 6ff. Here is to be found the strongest support for his thesis. In 2 Cor. iii. 1-3 the language is certainly provided by the LXX of Jer. xxxi. 31,¹ and it may well be that in these verses Paul is consciously setting in contrast the revelation of God given in Christ with that given in the Torah. But to say that in the following verses "he is contrasting.... the work of Moses and his own work as a Minister of Christ"² is radically to distort his meaning: the contrast is between the transitory glory of the revelation given to Moses and the abiding glory of that given in Jesus Christ. But that the final revelation of God in Christ is described in terms drawn from Jewish modes of speech about the Torah is clearly established. Much the same may be said about the argument given earlier,³ although we must insist that the reference of 'light' (iv. 6) is primarily to the light of creation and not to the Torah. Yet the general line of thought is present, that the revelation of God in Christ supersedes that given in the Torah. But it is not so clear that it is therefore valid to speak of Christ as a New Torah, a question that will be taken up below.

1. Cf. above, pp. 13-14.

2. PRJ, p. 225

3. Ibid., pp. 148-149 on 2 Cor. iii-iv.

Rom. x. 6-8 is a rather more clear example. Here Paul is freely quoting with some additions ^{of} the LXX of Deut. xxx. 12-14. The two passages are set out in parallel below; there are underlined in (a) words not represented in the Romans passage, and in (b) Paul's additions to the text of Deuteronomy.

(a) LXX Deut. xxx. 12-14.
 οὐκ ἐστὶν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄγνω ἐστὶν
 λέγων τις ἀναβήσεται ἡμῖν εἰς τὸν
 οὐρανὸν καὶ λήμψεται αὐτήν
 ἡμῖν; καὶ ἀκούσαντες αὐτὴν
 ποιήσωμεν. οὐδὲ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης
 ἐστὶν λέγων τις διαπεράσει
 ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης
 καὶ λήμψεται ἡμῖν αὐτήν;
 καὶ ἀκούσθην ἡμῖν ποιήσει
 αὐτήν, καὶ ποιήσωμεν.
 ἐστὶν σοὶ ἐδῶς τὸ ῥῆμα
 στόμα ἐν τῷ στόματι σου
 καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ
 ἐν πνεύματι κέρσειν σου καὶ αὐτὸ
 ποιῇν.

(b) Rom. x. 6-8.
 ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη οὕτω
 λέγει, Μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ
 σου, Τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν
 οὐρανόν; (τοῦτο ἔστιν, Χριστὸν καταβαλεῖν)
 ἢ, Τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὸν ἄβυσσον;
 (τοῦτο ἔστι, Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν
 ἀνασταθεῖν).
 ἀλλὰ τί λέγει;
 ἐδῶς σοὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἐστὶν, ἐν τῷ
 στόματι σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου·
 τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως
 ὃ κηρύσσεται.

It is clear that in this passage Paul has taken up some of the words in Deuteronomy and applied them to Christ or the Gospel, although at the same time with a thorough re-interpretation. Hunter takes this to mean that for Paul Christ was a New Torah,¹ and as we have seen Davies also uses it, although in a surprisingly minor way. It is the clearest example that can be offered in support of his thesis.

The context in which it occurs is also illuminating; for later in the discussion on which he is involved Paul writes (verse 13):

πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλεσῇται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται,

An exact quotation from Joel ii. 32 (LXX, MT ii. 32), but with the difference that for Paul 'the Lord' is Jesus the Christ. That which

1. Introducing New Testament Theology, p. 105.

the Old Testament regards as in the hands of God Paul regards as in the hands of Christ; for Paul, Christ is the full revelation of God. He may therefore also apply to Christ some of the language which the Old Testament used of the Torah, in that it too was a revelation, however partial, of God.¹ May we then say that for Paul Christ was a New Torah? Of course we may, in this sense, that for Paul Christ was a new revelation of God. Equally certainly, Paul would say that He was the revelation of God, and if we are going to use this language at all we must speak of Him as the New Torah, not a New Torah. But yet "it is true that at no point in the Pauline Epistles is the recognition of Jesus as a New Torah made explicit in so many words".² It is surely worth asking if there is any reason for this, especially if we consider the idea to bulk as large in the Apostle's thought as Davies suggests. There may well be such a reason. In both of these passages we may understand the contrast between the old and the new dispensation to lie in the fact that the Torah is a veiled form of revelation, Christ the unveiled. (Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 15-16.) This leads one to suggest that rather than speak of Christ as a New Torah (or even the New Torah), Paul would rather speak of the Torah as a veiled Christ. Of course he does neither, and either view is sheer conjecture; but the latter seems to accord more with the Apostle's customary mode of thought. It accords, e.g., with the form of the argument in 1 Cor. x. 1-4, and it also seems to accord

1. Cf. Moore's famous definition of the Torah (Judaism, I, p. 263): "All that God has made known of His nature, character and purpose and of what he would have man ~~to~~ be and ~~to~~ do".
2. PRJ, p. 148

more with Paul's unquestionable insistence on the superiority of the revelation given in Christ to that given in the Torah. To speak of Christ as a New Torah (especially a New Torah!) goes somewhat against that, in the direction of subordinating Christ to the Torah.

(5) We come then to the final point of criticism: that of the adequacy of Davies's thesis to bear the weight of all that he would put upon it. We have noted that he holds that Jesus is a new Moses and His words a New Torah. Then Jesus Himself in the totality of His person becomes a New Torah, and it is Paul who is assimilated to Moses. (One might well ask if the word 'Torah' is being used in the same sense in these two statements.) Then the doctrine of the Spirit is brought into connection with the New Torah thesis. Finally the obedience of Christ is brought under the same head. Davies's argument at this point is most obscure. But apart from the obscurity of the argument, it is evident that at this point Davies feels some strain at the growing complexity of his thesis. To quote him again:

There is therefore a duality or incongruity in the thought of Paul at this point; Christ is for him both the New Torah and also the example of a perfect obedience to that New Torah; such an incongruity, however, should not be regarded as a blemish in his thought but merely as a mark of its unresolved complexity.¹

It is clear that at this point Davies's whole thesis falls to the ground: it does not provide a suffice sufficiently comprehensive basis for all the facts. Of course one may not deny a priori that there are any inconsistencies of 'unresolved complexities' in the Pauline theology; but one is under a certain obligation to make sure that they really are in Paul before attributing them to him. We have

1. PRJ, p. 266.

seen that there is some basis for the thesis that Davies puts forward, but that that basis is a slender one. When, in building upon such a basis, one comes to the point of having to attribute 'unresolved complexities' to Paul's thought, it is a clear sign that the foundation is inadequate. The concept of the obedience of Christ is for Paul closely related to the idea of Christ as the Last Adam, reversing and more than reversing the fruits of the disobedience of the first Adam. That this is a basic motif of the Pauline theology is recognised by many, including Davies.¹ The fact that Davies's thesis finally breaks down at the point at which he attempts to subordinate this concept to that of Christ as a New Torah suggests that, whatever validity there may be in the latter conception, it must as the less comprehensive take its place within the former as the more comprehensive.

.....

We have now discussed ~~the~~ two main theses about the foundations of the Pauline ethic, that of Natural Law and that of Christ as the New Torah, and been forced to reject both as inadequate. Yet both are illuminating at the very point of their inadequacy, in that both point to the theology of Christ as the Last Adam. To this we now turn, in the expectation that it may provide us with a more comprehensive framework within which to consider all the facts.

1. PRJ, p. 53

CHAPTER II: JESUS CHRIST, THE LAST ADAM.

I. CONSIDERATION OF CHIEF PASSAGES.

The argument of the preceding chapter has brought us to consider the 'Last Adam' Christology in Paul's writings, under the supposition that from the theological standpoint it affords we can best understand Paul's ethics.

The contrast between Adam and Christ becomes explicit only twice in the Pauline corpus -- in 1 Cor. xv and in Rom. v -- yet it nevertheless occupies a dominant position in the theology of Paul (as was argued, e.g., by Peake)¹ and consequently the contrast is in many places clearly present, although implicit. The Christ-hymn of Phil. ii. 5-11 is a striking instance of this, and will be considered first as it is possible that it antedates both 1 Cor. xv and Rom. v.

The passage consists of six strophes of three lines each, with an extra clause added to the third strophe (placed in square brackets below):²

ὅς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων
οὐκ ἄρπασμον ἡσθήσατο
τὸ εἶναι ἴσα τῷ Θεῷ

ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν
μορφὴν δούλου λαβών,
ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος.

1. 'The Quintessence of Paulinism', B.J.R.L., IV, (1917-18), pp. 285-311.
2. For an alternative arrangement of the passage, see Appended Note A, pp. 95-96 below. The above follows Hunt's arrangement (Paul and his Predecessors, p. 46), based in turn on that of Lohmeyer.

καὶ σχήματι ἐφρεθείς ὡς ἄνθρωπος
ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν
θενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου
[θανάτου θῆς σταυροῦ].

ὅτι καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν
καὶ ἐκαρίσματο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα
τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα,
ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ
πᾶν γένος κέμψῃ
ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων,

καὶ πᾶσα ὀλῶσα ἐξομολογήσεται
ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς
εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς.

The passage clearly gives every impression of being a hymn which Paul is quoting at this point in order to drive home his appeal for humility in the Christian community, to which he has himself added the particularly forceful words, *θανάτου θῆς σταυροῦ*. This may safely be described as the view of most modern commentators. On the date of the hymn it is impossible to reach any very definite conclusion. Many writers follow Hunter¹ in speaking of it as 'pre-Pauline'; while

1. A.M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, p. 51, following Lohmeyer. Hunter's reservations about the use of the term 'pre-Pauline' must, however be noted. "I am aware that the term 'pre-Pauline', if it suggests the period of early Christian history (not more than five years) between the crucifixion and Paul's conversion, is misleading. I use the term for lack of a better. By it I mean 'the twilight period' between the rise of the Christian Church and the decade in which Paul's extant letters were written." (Op. cit., pp. 7-8.)

Bultmann is even more specific, assigning the passage to the 'kerygma of the Hellenistic Church aside from Paul', and holding that it shows the influence of the Gnostic myth on that Church's preaching.¹ There is insufficient evidence to enable anyone to be as precise as this. Of Paul's extant letters, Philippians is in all probability the last to be written; we have no means of knowing how long before Philippians this hymn was written, nor for knowing whether or not earlier preaching and writings of Paul had influenced the writer.² There is thus no warrant for describing it as 'pre-Pauline'—'pre-Philippians' is as precise a term as one may use.

There are many exegetical problems involved in this passage into which we shall not enter. The two main points of exegesis are abundantly clear: we have here presented the picture of Jesus Christ, the Last Adam, whose obedience is implicitly contrasted with the disobedience of the first Adam; and, secondly, this obedience of the Last Adam is further characterized by being described in language drawn from the picture of the Suffering Servant of Isa. lii. 13-liii. 12. As Adam was in the image of God, so is Christ;³ but whereas Adam regarded the status of lordship and equality with God a prize to be seized (ἐρπεδμός), Christ remained obedient and through humble sacrifice attained to that at which Adam had grasped; further, there is apparent in the phrase ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἑωθρώπων δευόμενος

1. Cf. his Theology of the New Testament, pp. 175, 298. The question of the Gnostic myth is discussed further below, pp. 56ff.
2. Cf. Davies, PRJ, p. 42. The authorship of the passage is discussed very fully with copious references to literature on the question by J.M. Furness, 'The Authorship of Philippians 11.6-11', Exp.T., LXX (1959), pp. 240-243. Furness follows E.F. Scott in ascribing the passage to Paul himself.
3. Cf. Hunter, op. cit., p. 49: μορφή probably stands for the Aramaic demoutha, image. Cf. also G.S. Duncan, Jesus Son of Man, p. 193 n.3.

a strong influence from Gen. i. 26. The contrast between the two Adams is thus clearly present; equally clear is the dependence of the description of the obedience of Christ on the account of the Suffering Servant. There is the term *δουλός*,¹ and there are in addition many verbal echoes, the most striking being the expression *ἑαυτὸν ἐκέλευσεν* which, "attested nowhere else in Greek and grammatically extremely harsh, is an exact rendering of *נָתַן* *יָשׁוּעַ* (Isa. liii. 12)".² *ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν* reflects the thought of Isa. liii. 7, and *διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωκε* takes up the thought of Isa. lii. 13.

Thus there are intertwined in this passage the motifs of the Second Adam and of the Suffering Servant. Fundamental is the idea of the Last Adam who chose the way of obedience to God; and this obedience of the Last Adam is interpreted by means of the category of the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah.³ What is primarily in view is the historical life of lowly obedient self-giving of our Lord, although it is not only the historical life which lies before the writer here -- there is included the pre-incarnate Son who stooped to be incarnate and was ultimately exalted. It is this whole which forms the Datum of the hymn, and is again the chief point in its use by Paul. It is this Jesus Christ, the Last Adam,

1. *παῖς* would be more usual. Jeremias suggests that this is a direct translation of the Hebrew *נָתַן* (Isa. lii. 13), and has not been taken from the LXX. W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, The Servant of God, p. 97.
2. J. Jeremias, *ibid.*, p. 97.
3. It will be suggested that the author of the hymn is in this dependent on the teaching of Jesus himself; cf. p. 77 below.

by whose obedience there is a ^{re}newal of the life of man, that is held up to us for our imitation.

In chronological order in the writings of Paul - apart from this passage -- the contrast between Adam and Christ is first made in 1 Cor. xv, where the idea of Jesus Christ as the 'second man' or the 'last Adam' is used in a basic way in the explication of Paul's resurrection doctrines. It occurs twice in the chapter, first at verses 20-22, and again at verses 45-49. Although the idea is basic to the exposition of the doctrine of the resurrection as given by Paul in the greater part of this chapter, it is these verses that we will particularly study here.

A D A M

C H R I S T

20

Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐδήρξατο ἐκ
νεκρῶν, ἀρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων.

21 ἐπειδὴ ὅτι δι' ἀνθρώπου }
θανάτου }

{ καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου
{ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν

22 ὥσπερ ὅτι }
ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ }
πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν }

{ οὕτως καὶ
{ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ
{ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται

45 οὕτως καὶ δέσεται

ἐξέσται ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ } { ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ
εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν } { εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιόν

46 (Parenthesis) ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὸ πνευματικὸν ἀλλὰ
τὸ ψυχικόν, ἔπειτα τὸ πνευματικόν.

47. ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος } ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος
ἐκ θῆς κοϊκός, } ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.
48. οἷος ὁ κοϊκός } καὶ οἷος ὁ ἐπουράνιος
τοιούτοι καὶ οἱ κοϊκοί, } τοιούτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι.
49. καὶ καθὼς ἐφορέσμεν } φορεσόμεν' καὶ
τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ κοϊκοῦ } τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουράνιου.

1. Manuscript evidence overwhelmingly supports *φορέσμεν* rather than *φορέσμεν*. "But not only the context and the whole tenor of the argument are in favour of the future, but the hortative subjunctive is here singularly out of place and unlooked for." (Ellicott, quoted by Robertson and Plummer, ICC, in loc; Moffatt, MNTC, and J. Weiss, Meyer, similarly.) It is to be noted, however, that J. Hering, C.N.T. in loc., argues in favour of *φορέσμεν*: Est-ce seulement après la resurrection que nous porterons cette image en nous? Si nous lisons l'indicatif futur *φορέσμεν* = nous porterons, il faudra répondre par l'affirmative; mais les meilleurs manuscrits, entre autres P46 et B, donnent le subjonctif. On suppose que cette image peut déjà être en nous des ici-bas. Il s'agit de ne pas lui refuser l'hospitalité et de ne pas retomber sous la domination de la *σάρξ*, qui n'héritera pas du Royaume de Dieu (pas de resurrection charnelle); dans ce sens on pourra dire par anticipation que les chrétiens sont déjà des *ἐπουράνιοι* = des celestes." (Op. cit. p. 149.)

The theme of the Adam-Christ contrast is present in other passages of 1 Cor. xv than these, but the verses above contain the explicit references. The first passage (verses 20-22) concentrates on the effects of Adam and of Christ respectively. There is that in which they may be compared — *ἡ' ἁνθρωπίνου . . . ἡ' ἁνθρωπίνου; ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ . . . ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ*; they both stand at focal positions, Adam as the head of the old humanity, Christ as the head of the new humanity. There is certain correlation in ^{the} effects that they produce: the old humanity is marked by death, the new by life. But at the same time there is that in which the two are not comparable, a point made more clearly in Rom. v by the use of *πολλῷ μᾶλλον* of the work of Christ, but here also indicated: by Adam came death, by Christ came that which overcomes even death, *ἀνὰ ὅτι νεκρῶν*; in Adam all die, in Christ all (precisely those dead in Adam) shall be made alive.

Verses 45-49 take up this line of thought in a somewhat different way; Paul is turning from the fact of the resurrection to the nature of the resurrection life. He begins with a quotation from Gen. ii. 7 (LXX), to which he has added two words (underlined in the following): *ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἁνθρωπὸς Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν*. ¹ Here again there is the contrast between Adam and

1. Whether Paul's quotation ends there is a matter of dispute. Cf. Burney (The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, ^{pp. 43-48} cf. Also J. Weiss in loc.) argued that the quotation continued as far as *ζωσποιοῦν* and that the whole was taken from an early Christian collection of testimonia. This does explain the way in which Paul appears to use the whole as his authoritative text; but on the other hand there is no other trace of it as such, and in view of the importance of the idea of Christ as the Last Adam this absence is all the more striking (cf. Davies, PRJ, pp. 43-44). Burney's suggestion therefore seems unacceptable, but nevertheless something of a puzzle remains.

Christ, but again they are not evenly balanced, as it were: Adam became a $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\ \zeta\omega\sigma\alpha$, Christ a $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \zeta\omega\sigma\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ -- there is again with Christ the emphasis on life, a life which overflows to those in Him.¹ Verse 46 (perhaps directed against speculation of a Philonic type) insists on the priority in time of the natural, followed by the life brought forth in Jesus Christ.² In verses 47-49 the contrast is carried on to include 'life in Adam' and 'life in Christ': mortality is the fate of the first Adam, and it is shared by those who bear his image; the 'second man' comes from heaven, and offers to man the life in Him, which is granted to those who bear His image. In this way the doctrine of the first and last Adams provided Paul with the framework for his resurrection teaching.

It is in Romans v. 12-21 that the doctrine of the first and last Adam is set out most fully, even though these actual expressions do not occur therein. The main argument of the passage is set out below.³

Διὰ τοῦτο

ADAM

CHRIST

12 ὥστε δι' ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἡ
ἁμαρτία εἰς τὸν κόσμον
εἰσῆλθεν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας
ὁ θάνατος, καὶ οὕτως εἰς
πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ θάνατος

1. The phrase $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \zeta\omega\sigma\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ is discussed further below, pp. 122 ff.
2. Cf. below, pp. 62 ff.
3. The arrangement is taken largely from G. Bornkamm, Das Ende des Gesetzes, pp. 81-82.

διήλθεν ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες
ἡμάρτον —

I BREAK IN ARGUMENT.

13-14 (a) PARENTHESIS: The Universality of Sin and Death.

(b) PARENTHESIS: The Lack of Correspondence in the
Effects of Adam and of Christ:

15 (α) THESIS:

ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς τὸ παραπτώμας οὕτως τὸ χάρισμα

BASIS:

εἰ δ' αὖρ... εἰ πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον } πολλῶν { ἡ χάρις... εἰς τοὺς
μᾶλλον } πολλοὺς ἐπερίβουθεν.

(β) THESIS:

16 οὐχ ὡς δι' ἑνὸς } τὸ ἔωρημα
ἁμαρτήσαντος }

EXPLANATION:

τὸ μὲν δ' αὖρ κρίμα } τὸ δὲ χάρισμα
ἐξ ἑνὸς {
εἰς κατάκριμα } ἐκ πολλῶν παραπτωμάτων
εἰς δικαίωμα }

BASIS:

17 εἰ δ' αὖρ... ὁ θάνατος } πολλῶν { οἱ τὴν περιβόειαν τῆς χάριτος
ἐβασίλευσεν } μᾶλλον { καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης λαμβάνοντες
διὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς } διὰ τοῦ ἑνός.

II THE COMPLETION OF THE COMPARISON.

18. ὡς δι' ἑνὸς παραπτώματος } οὕτως { δι' ἑνὸς δικαιώματος
εἰς πάντας ἁνθρώπους } εἰς πάντας ἁνθρώπους
εἰς κατάκριμα } εἰς δικαίωσιν ζωῆς.

19. ὥσπερ δ' αὖρ διὰ τῆς παγκοῆς } οὕτως { διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς
τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου } τοῦ ἑνός
ἁμαρτωλοῦ } δίκαιοι
κατεστάθησαν οἱ πολλοί. } κατεστήθονται οἱ πολλοί.

20a ΠΑΡΕΝΘΗΣΙΣ: νόμος δὲ παρεσιήλθεν ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα

III CONCLUSION:

20b οὐ ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία

21 ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐβαδίσκουν

ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ

Θεῷ

ὑπερπερίευσεν ἡ χάρις

{ καὶ ἡ χάρις βαδίσκει διὰ
δικαιοσύνης εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον
διὰ Ι.Χ. τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

There are various exegetical problems here which will not be entered into in any detail; and the status of the Law, a question which is raised in this passage, is discussed in a later chapter.¹ At this point we are concerned with the main trends of thought in the passage.

The first point is that while the Adam-Christ typology is basic to the discussion, it is not the bare comparison and contrast of the two that provides the focal point of the passage. What is central is the fact of the reconciliation accomplished by God in Jesus Christ, and the Adam-Christ typology is used only to explicate the universal significance of the reconciliation. This is most forcefully expressed by G. Bornkamm, who in emphasising the connection of verses 12-21 with the preceding verses of the chapter writes:

Es ist also nicht so, dass Paulus in ein fertiges, geschichtstheologisches Schema wie in ein Koordinatennetz Gestalt und Werk Christi hineinzeichnete, sondern umgekehrt: die *καταβολὴ* ermöglicht und schafft die Aufgliederung der Geschichte. Im Sinne des Paulus heisst das zugleich: die Botschaft von der Rechtfertigung (v. 1) erschliesst den universalen Zusammenhang von Verlorenheit und Rettung, der durch die beiden Namen und Gestalten Adam und Christus gekennzeichnet ist.²

But having established this, it is also clear that in the theological

1. Cf. below, pp. 194-215.

2. Das Ende des Gesetzes, p. 81

expression of the universal reconciliation established in Christ the Adam-Christ typology is basic. Yet there is another caveat: as verses 15-17 indicate, there is no simple correspondence between the person and the work of Adam and the person and the work of Christ; as the analysis above makes plain, there stands between the two the πολλὰ μᾶλλον of the χάρις, the δυνάμει, the χάρισμα, the reigning in life of those over whom death once reigned. This cannot in any way be 'balanced' against the effect of Adam's sin: "stehen wir unter der umfassenden, übermächtigen Gnade Christi, die wider nicht nur eine Möglichkeit, etwa ein theologisches Postulat, ist, in einem Schema der Entsprechung von Sünde und Gnade zu begreifen, sondern übermächtige Wirklichkeit."¹ This same lack of comparability is exhibited also in the way in which Paul never speaks of Christ as the Second Adam, and in this passage does not even use the terms he had used in 1 Cor. xv, 'the last Adam' and 'the Secondman' -- he is evidently concerned lest Adam and Christ be placed altogether in the same category and one's understanding of the role of Christ be determined by one's understanding of the role of Adam.²

But yet there is that in which Adam and Christ may be compared, as is clear in the analysis of verses 18-21 above. On what does this possibility of comparison rest? Bornkamm puts it succinctly:

Die Durchführung des Vergleiches zwischen Adam und Christus und

1. G. Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 87.
2. Cf. M. Black, 'The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam', S.J.T. VII, p. 172. It might be suggested that there is a certain progress in the Apostle's thought here from 1 Cor. xv, indicated by the absence of the above expressions present there, and by the very great definiteness of the οὐκ ὡς and the πολλὰ μᾶλλον here.

ihrer antithetischen Entsprechung ist getragen von dem Grundgedanken, dass Gestalt und Tat beider, Adams und Christi, eine die ganze Menschheit umgreifende Bedeutung und Wirkung haben.¹

If further one asks in what this significance for all mankind of Adam and Christ consists, one can best answer briefly in the words of Anders Nygren (who throughout his commentary insists on this section as the focal point of Romans):

Adam and Christ stand there as the respective heads of two aeons. Adam is the head of the old aeon, the age of death; Christ is the head of the new aeon, the age of life. As sin came into the world through one man, Adam, and death through sin, so also through one man, Christ, the righteousness of God came into the world, and through righteousness life.²

For Paul then, there stand the two aeons: the first, that under Adam, is marked by sin and death; the second, that which has come with Christ, is marked by righteousness and life. His thought on the two aeons is informed by current Jewish modes of thought. This age (ha-^colam ha-zeh) is an age of pain, of sin, and of death,³ and is contrasted with the age to come, (ha-^colam ha-ba'), an age of splendour marked above all by the assumption by God of sovereignty over the world (exercised through the Messiah), and by the restoration of that which man had lost at the Fall.⁴ For Paul and for his early Christian contemporaries this 'Age to Come' has moved into the present with the coming of Jesus, a view which goes back to the teaching of Jesus.⁵ The two aeons now stand side by side; this age will continue

1. Op. Cit., p. 83.

2. Commentary on Romans, p. 410.

3. Cf. Str.-B. IV. 2. pp. 799-976, Excursus entitled 'Diese Welt, die Tage des Messias, und die zukünftige Welt', esp. p. 847.

4. Cf. Str.-B. IV. 2. pp. 880-892.

5. Cf. Luke xi. 20: *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν βλαστῶνι θεοῦ (εἰς τὴν) ἐκβολῇ τῶν δαιμονίων, καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.*

until the End, when Christ's dominion is complete and he hands the kingdom to the Father. (cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 24).

Adam stands at the head of the old aeon; not that his act forces man to be a sinner, but that he typifies the old man, i.e., man in what must now be called -- since the Age to Come is come -- the 'old' aeon. Adam's transgression (παράβασις, ver. 14, παράπτωμα, verse 15, παράκομή, verse 19) was a representative act, through which a situation was created in which all are involved. This situation is characterized by the fact that sin (ἁμαρτία) entered in (εἰσῆλθεν, ver. 12). Adam's transgression was a definite act in disobedience of the known will of God. Sin thereby entered in. As Pfleiderer notes, "ἡ ἁμαρτία (ver. 12) does not indicate a single act of sin, but sin as a universal thing, which can be the subject of predicates, such as βασιλεύειν (ver. 21), κυριεύειν (vi. 14), ἐπιθυμίαν κατεργάζεσθαι (vii. 18), which is condemned (viii. 3), under which man is sold (vii. 14), from which (or from the binding power of which) the Christian is freed (vi. 22, viii. 2)."¹ For Paul, that is, by the act of Adam a situation is created in which man is placed under the dominion of sin.

Yet the dominion of sin must not be thought of as something external to man, for which he is not responsible. He is responsible; and this is secured by Paul by the use of the expression, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἡμάρτον (ver. 12). The meaning of the ἐφ' ᾧ has been much

1. O. Pfleiderer, Paulinism, I, p. 38.

disputed but, to quote Sanday and Headlam in loc., "there can now be little doubt that the true rendering is 'because' ", or, as Moule translates it, 'inasmuch as' -- Moule adds: "the in quo interpretation of Rom. v. 12, closely connected with theories of Original Sin, is almost certainly wrong."¹ The significance of this is well brought out by Bornkamm:

Die deutliche Spitze seiner Gedankenführung ist vielmehr die verantwortliche Behaftung des Menschen selbst. Darum die eigentümliche Brechung des Gedankens von "Erbsünde" und "Erbtod" in der Wendung *ἐν ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον* (weil sie alle sündigten). Damit ist die Sünde nicht mehr nur als ererbtes Verhängnis, sondern als verantwortliche Tat und der Tod als Strafe für des Menschen eigene Sünde bezeichnet.²

This situation of man's responsible (yet not altogether individually responsible) servitude to sin is best described in the words of Bultmann:

At the base of the idea of inherited sin lies the experience that every man is born into a humanity that is and always has been guided by a false striving. The so-derived understanding of existence applies as a matter of course to every man; and every man brings himself explicitly under it by his concrete "transgression", thereby becoming jointly responsible for it.... So everyone exists in a world in which each looks out for himself, each insists on his own rights, each fights for his own existence, and life becomes a struggle of all against all even when the battle is involuntarily fought. So sin is always already there....³

The consequence of this situation as envisaged by Paul is

1. C.F.D. Moule, Idiom-Book, p. 132. The in quo interpretation to which he refers is that underlying Bengel's classic comment on the clause, omnes peccarunt, Adamo peccante. It is to be noted, however, that the in quo interpretation is supported by as distinguished a modern scholar as W. Manson, 'Notes on the Argument of Romans (chapters 1-8)', New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T.W. Manson, p. 159.
2. G. Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 84.
3. Theology of the New Testament, I, p. 253.

death; not merely that there was such a thing as death, but that "death reigned" (verse 14). Death is here in view not just as the termination of life on earth -- although that is in view here too -- but as the symbol of the whole of man's existence, an existence that already in life is in a state of separation from God.¹ As Dodd succinctly notes, "Sinful man is dead while he lives, and bodily death is his fitting end."² This age is under death, and the whole of man's life leads to death as its inevitable end. This is the situation of mankind in Adam.

And it is in this situation³ that Jesus Christ, the Last Adam, carries out His saving work. How is it that through this one man there has come about the radical transformation of man's condition in Adam? By way of answer we may best begin with the words of Dodd:

For him (Paul) there is a real unity of mankind, a sort of mystical unity in Adam (1 Cor. xv. 22); and so also there is a mystical unity of redeemed humanity in Christ All that Christ did and suffered He did and suffered as 'inclusive Representative' of the new humanity which emerges in Him.⁴

Christ, that is, embodies in Himself the new people of which He is the Creator.

That act of Jesus Christ by which more specifically the work of the Last Adam is accomplished is described as His obedience

1. Cf. W. Manson, 'Notes on the Argument of Romans', p. 159: "Death is conceived not merely biologically but theologically, or, if the expression may be allowed, sacramentally: that is biological death is the sign or symbol of the extinction of man's spiritual life in God."
2. MNTC Romans, p. 81.
3. Note the 'where-(there)'¹ of verse 20; cf. Bornkamm, op. cit. p.85.
4. MNTC Romans, pp. 79-80. The meaning of the term 'inclusive Representative' is discussed below, pp. 78ff.

(ὑπακοή , verse 19). This is not just a single act in the life of Jesus: it is a summary description of His whole life.¹ His obedience was a free giving of Himself in obedience to the will of the Father, and as such may perhaps be spoken of as 'counter-balancing' the deed of Adam. But the obedience of Jesus comprises much more than that, for He is not just a man. He is at once the Son of God and the 'inclusive Representative' of all mankind.² That which is denoted by the obedience of Christ is above all the living-out (in the life of this one Man) of a harmony between God and Man. Jesus, even though made by man an outcast, yet in obedience to the will of God remaining identified with man and for the sake of man going even to the Cross, created for all man, whom He represented, the possibility of a harmony with God.³

This obedience of Christ initiates the new aeon, even though it is not yet consummated. (Note the future tenses, θα δεύσῃς, verse 17, Σικαιοι καταδικάζονται οί πολλοί, verse 19,) The primary marks of this new aeon are righteousness and life. Man's

1. Cf. Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 80: "Die ὑπακοή Christi ist für Paulus nicht eine einzelne Tat, sondern das Kennzeichnen seines Weges und Werkes im ganzen (Phil. ii. 8)."
2. Cf. J. Danny, The Death of Christ, pp. 125-126: "The obedience is conceived as obedience to the loving will of the Father to save men -- that is, it is obedience in the vocation of the Redeemer, which involves death for sin. It is not obedience merely in the sense of doing the will of God as other men are called to do it, keeping God's commandments; it is obedience to this unique and incommunicable moral calling, to be at the cost of life the Saviour of the world from sin."
3. Cf. C.K. Barrett, Commentary on Romans, in loc.: "The new Man instead of seeking to develop his own powers, individuality and freedom subordinated himself utterly to God, and became obedient even unto death. This was possible because he was at once representative Man and the Son of God. Thus the new manhood was from the beginning joined with God; from this relationship sprang the Life which the Man had surrendered in going to the Cross."

life in the old aeon is essentially a life of unrighteousness, in that it is life in revolt against God. But God in Christ 'justifies the ungodly' (Rom. iv. 5), i.e., God accepts him as righteous, and he is thus taken into the order of being whose mark is righteousness, because it is in accordance with the will and the activity of God. This idea is also contained within the term 'life' which -- as death marked the old aeon -- designates the chief mark of the new aeon. As by 'death' Paul does not mean only the cessation of life but the fact of separation from God, so by 'life' he means not only human existence but life in the divine favour, life which is sustained by the gift of God. Paul is doubtless influenced by the Apocalyptists, for whom life is the supreme blessing of the Age to Come. This life is now realised and made available, for in the Last Adam the Age to Come has come and a new humanity is arising.... "And he says, that it is by one man, for the Father has made him the fountain out of whose fulness all must draw. And thus he teaches us, that not even the least drop of life can be found out of Christ, -- that there is no other remedy for our poverty and want, than what he conveys to us from his own abundance." ¹

It is already clear that Paul uses the Adam-Christ typology in a most profound way to illumine the central conceptions of the Christian faith. Before proceeding further to discuss it and related ideas in the Pauline epistles it is necessary briefly to discuss the difficult question of the background and origin of Paul's thought.

1. Calvin's comment on Rom. v. 15.

II. BACKGROUND.

The question of the background of Paul's thought on the 'Last Adam' is closely linked with that of the background of the term 'Son of Man' in the Synoptic Gospels. It is a rather complex matter and within the limits of this essay we can only outline and discuss the merits of the principal views that have been advanced.

1. THE Gnostic MYTH.

The first view that falls to be considered is that which sees the explanation of the Pauline 'Last Adam' (and, usually, 'the Son of Man') in what is called 'The Gnostic Myth'. This is chiefly associated with the name of Reitzenstein¹ and has found a number of followers, although only to a limited extent among British scholars. Of the works available in English adopting this point of view the best known is that of R. Bultmann;² it is his treatment that will be considered here. Bultmann has many followers, including Bornkamm in the work already referred to and, e.g., W. Schmithals, who in discussing the terms 'Son of Man' and $\sigma\phi\omega\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\Lambda\delta\alpha\mu$ goes so far as to say:

Dass diese beiden Gestalten ursprünglich personhaft identisch sind, bedarf wohl keiner Frage; dass sie mit dem Urmensch-Mythos in Verbindung stehen, ist ebenso sicher; und ihrer Ableitung aus dem besonderen Mythos vom erlösten Erlöser dürfte nicht nur eine befriedigende, sondern auch die einzig mögliche Erklärung bieten.³

1. R. Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, esp. p. 193f; with an important qualification on p. 258f.
2. Theology of the New Testament, I, pp. 166, 177-8, 298-300.
3. W. Schmithals, Die Gnosis in Korinth, p. 105.

It is necessary to distinguish between the 'Primal Man' myth and the Gnostic myth (that of the 'Redeemed Redeemer'). The former was fairly wide-spread and may have been current in New Testament times. It is in many respects similar to one strand in the teaching of Philo discussed in the next section, and in this section it will be considered only in so far as it constitutes one of the sources for the Gnostic myth.

What is known as the 'Gnostic myth' is essentially the result of a conflation of this Primal man myth with that of a dying and rising God, whereby the figure of the Redeemer is brought into the myth. As expounded by Bultmann the Gnostic myth speaks of a Primal or Divine Man who fell from the celestial realm to earth at the beginning of time. He there fell a prey to demonic powers, and the unity of his personality was shattered; the 'splinters' of that light-person constitute human selves. They therefore have an innate affinity with the Primal Man, but are in this world imprisoned in matter. Redemption consists in being released from this imprisonment and being enabled to return to the celestial realm. This is attained when another light-person (the 'son' or 'image' of the highest god) comes to earth from the light-world bringing gnosis. He reminds men of their heavenly home, gives them the purifying sacraments, teaches them of the heavenly journey that will commence at death, and tells them of the pass-words that they will need to pass the demonic watchers at various stations on the way. The Redeemer goes on to prepare the way for them, and in taking this way the Redeemer himself is redeemed from the state of earthly existence and demonic servitude

in which he was involved in this world.¹

That by means of this myth it is possible to explain the Pauline doctrine of the Last Adam may seriously be doubted, and even confidently rejected. First, the legitimacy of using the term 'Gnostic' in this connection must be questioned. The materials used for the reconstruction of the myth are drawn from the second century or even later. There is no question that it is appropriate to use the term 'Gnosticism' of the systems of that period, but that there are adequate materials to justify one in speaking of Gnosticism in any systematic sense before that time is to be doubted, and confusion can only result from speaking of a pre-Christian Gnosticism for the existence of which we have no direct evidence.² That one may speak of a 'gnosticizing' type of thought in pre-Christian times may readily be granted, but one must question any use of 'Gnostic' which would suggest that before the New Testament period there were already systems comparable with those of the second century. The problem here is brought out with great clarity by Wilson in a discussion of Bultmann's assertion that Paul used Gnostic ideas in the presentation of the Gospel:

The vital question is not whether a particular word or idea can be paralleled in the later Gnostic theories, or even whether its 'Gnostic' meaning can be read into its use in Paul or Philo, but whether this Gnostic meaning was in the mind of the author when he wrote. In point of fact, it would seem more accurate to suggest that the Gnostics derived their language and ideas from Paul, although they gave to both a new interpretation which in

1. Cf. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167.

2. Cf. R.P. Casey, 'Gnosis, Gnosticism and the New Testament', in Essays in Honour of C.H. Dodd, pp. 76-77., and also the discussion by G. Quispel, 'The Jung Codex and its significance' in F.L. Cross (ed.) The Jung Codex, pp. 76-78.

many cases made of them something Paul would never have countenanced.¹

Secondly, serious questions must be asked regarding the myth itself. Even with respect to its basic material of the Primal Man it has been said that "The figure (of the Urmensch), so far as it can be regarded as 'pre-Christian' proves, on closer examination, to be largely a scholar's reconstruction from sources some as late as Islamic times, others even later."² No pre-Christian literature may be cited in support of the existence of the Gnostic myth, and the only first-century literature is the New Testament itself, in fact those very passages in it which the myth itself is supposed to explain.³ It may well be that the argument hangs upon a peg which in fact does not exist.

Thirdly, even if we were to grant the existence of the myth in the first century it is still inadequate to explain what is found in the New Testament. William Manson outlines various differences between what is found there and what is found in the Gnostic Myth, the most important of these being (a) that while the Christ of St. Paul pre-exists creation, He does so not as a man but as the Son of God; and (b) that our union with Christ does not result from any innate affinity with Him, but from His 'new creation'.⁴ On this point the words of Theo Preiss with respect to the Son of Man apply

1. R. McL. Wilson, The Gnostic Problem, pp. 71-72. Throughout this section I owe a great deal both to this work and to Dr. Wilson personally.

2. M. Black, 'The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam', p. 176. It is worthy of note that Jeremias, who in his Jesus als Weltvollender (1930) had accepted Reitzenstein's view as to the source of the Son of Man concept, can now write: "Such an authority as Iranism as Prof. H.H. Schaefer has convinced me that *νῦν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* has no 'Vorgeschichte' before Daniel vii. 13." (private note.)

3. & 4. These footnotes will be found at the bottom of next page.

equally:

The difference can be summed up very briefly: in the Gnostic myth Man is the divine principle substantially and eternally identical with the sum of the souls of men scattered but predetermined to salvation. In the thought of Jesus the Son of Man freely identifies himself with each of the wretched ones by an act of substitution and identification, and he will gather them together at the last day....It is not at all a question of an identity of substance between the primal Man and the totality of his scattered members but of a sovereign act of identification.¹

Other differences of detail might be noted; but what stands out above all is the complete difference in atmosphere between the Gnostic myth and the Pauline teaching. Paul's teaching is throughout eschatologically conditioned, and its focal point is the reconciliation which has been created within history and which determines his view of history.² The Gnostic myth, on the other hand, has its focus in an eternal world removed from the 'imprisonment' of space and time. And the salvation which the Last Adam brings is accomplished by his obedient dying, not by the imparting of Gnosis and instruction in pass-words. Even the existence of a pre-Christian primal Man myth is dubious; if there were such and if it were widely known in New

3. (from previous page) The second century 'Apocryphon of John' does contain material at least in this tradition; cf. K. Rudolph, 'Ein Grundtyp gnostischer Urmensch-Adam-Spekulation', ZRGG IX (1957), pp. 1-20. This writing is also discussed by Dr. Wilson, op. cit. chap. VI. He also there discusses the 'Gospel of Truth', and notes "...nor does the 'Gnostic myth' of the redeemed Redeemer find any place in this treatise". (p.156).
4. Jesus the Messiah, p. 186.

1. Life in Christ, p. 53; quoted by A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, pp. 143-144.
2. Cf. the discussion of Rom. v. above, pp. 48

Testament times it has been radically transformed -- in Jewish apocalyptic, in the teaching of Jesus, and in the theology of Paul.¹

Finally it must be pointed out that it is not impossible that the sources for the Gnostic myth have themselves been influenced by Jewish and Christian thought regarding Adam and Christ, in respect of the figure both of the Urmensch and of the Redeemer. This possibility was raised by Edwyn Bevan² and it has been suggested also, more recently, by G. Quispel, who in a discussion of the 'Gospel of Truth' writes:

There would appear to be good grounds for supposing that it was from Christianity that the conception of the redemption and the figure of the Redeemer was taken over into Gnosticism. A pre-Christian redeemer and an Iranian mystery of redemption perhaps never existed. And in so far as Gnosis is pre-Christian, it goes back to heterodox Jewish conceptions, e.g., about Adam and the Name, and to the pre-Asiatic syncretism in general.³

Even although the fact that the conception of the Primal Man-Redeemer was widespread from the second century onwards may make impossible any explanation totally in terms of Christian origin⁴ yet the possibility of considerable Christian influence cannot be ignored, and to that extent the use of the Gnostic myth to explain Christian conceptions becomes quite invalid.

It is at least clear that there are grave obstacles in the way of using Gnostic categories for explaining Paul's theology of the

1. On the degree of transformation required, cf. J.M. Creed, 'The Heavenly Man', *JTS* XXVI (1925), pp. 113-136, esp. p. 135.

2. *Hellenism and Christianity*, pp. 95ff.

3. G. Quispel, op. cit. p. 78; cf. Wilson, quoted above, pp. 58-59.

4. Cf. M. Black, op. cit. p. 177.

Last Adam. And in fact there is no necessity to do so, as other more likely explanations are available.

2. PHILO.

Many writers find the background of Paul's thought in the writings of his earlier contemporary Philo.¹ The chief source is Philo's treatment of the creation of man, in De Opif. Mundi 69ff, 134ff.; Leg. Alleg. I. 31. In the first-named work Philo is generally understood to differentiate between the creation of a heavenly man and the creation of an earthly man, the former being based on the first account of the creation of man at Gen. i, 27 and the latter on the second account of Gen. ii. 7.² For our purpose it is at least clear that there is this interpretation in De Opif. Mundi 134ff and Leg. Alleg. I. 31, where Philo clearly distinguishes a heavenly man created after the image of God and an earthly man made of clay. It is this distinction on which many interpreters of Paul fasten: Paul has expressed his belief in Jesus Christ as the Redeemer by using the Philonic conception of the heavenly man.

This, however, is highly unlikely. In 1 Cor. xv. 46 Paul asserts that the earthly is created first, whereas for Philo the heavenly is first, followed by the earthly. It may well be, in

1. So, e.g., J. Jeremias, T.W.N.T. Ἀδὰμ; J. Weiss, History of Primitive Christianity; Lietzmann, HZNT on 1 Cor. xv. 45. Most writers of course also assert some modification of the Philonic teaching in Paul.
2. Philo's treatment of the text may not, however, be as straightforward as this. Wilson has pointed out that this distinction only becomes clear at De Opif. Mundi 134ff in discussing Gen. ii. 7, whereas earlier in the same work (69ff.) he seems to have in mind actual man as the man created in Gen. i. 27. Wilson infact suggests that there are three quite distinct views on this in Philo. Cf. R. McL. Wilson, 'The early History of the Exegesis of Gen. i. 26', T.U. Band 63, pp. 424-425.

fact, that Paul is here opposing speculation of a Philonic type.¹ There would in fact seem to be no trace in Paul of the somewhat Platonic view of man and the world which motivates Philo's exegesis of the two creation accounts. Gen. i. 27 lies behind 1 Cor. xi. 7, but it refers to ordinary mortal men, i.e., it is not used in the Philonic manner,² at least as that appears in the two Philo passages cited above. And for Paul, Jesus Christ is not a 'heavenly man' in Philo's sense: He is a man, clothed in our flesh.

Other differences of detail might be noted, but these facts together with the strongly eschatological outlook of 1 Cor. xv³ make a direct link between the two writers highly unlikely.

What may, however, be the case is that both Paul and Philo⁴ were influenced by Rabbinic speculation concerning Adam. M. Black has drawn attention to Philo's discussion of Gen. ix. 1-2, and

1. Jeremias, however, asserts that Paul follows Philo in this precise point of the priority of Jesus Christ, the 'heavenly man' to Adam, the 'earthly man'. To prove it he quotes Col. i. 15, *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, and 1 Cor. xv. 46, saying that it "Besagt also keinesfalls, dass Adam eher erschaffen sei als Christus, sondern handelt -- es ist *ὁ ὢν* als Subjekt zu ergänzen vgl. 1 Kor. 15, 44b -- von der Leiblichkeit des Christen der zuerst den physischen Leib trägt, ehe er bei der Parusie den himmlischen Leib erhält." (J. Jeremias, *TWNT*, I, 143, lines 12-20.) But *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* does not mean that Christ existed as a man prior to the creation of ordinary men -- it refers to his eternal existence as the Son. (The phrase is discussed in greater detail below, p. 82-83.) In order to extract this sense from 1 Cor. xv. 46, Jeremias is required to overlook the immediate context, and verse 45 in particular. Exactly similar arguments to those advanced by Jeremias were advanced by J. Weiss, *History of Primitive Christianity*, II. pp. 487-488. But they rest on no better a foundation. Among those who suggest that Paul is here opposing speculation of a Philonic type may be mentioned J.M. Creed, 'The Heavenly Man', pp. 134-135.
2. Cf. E. Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, pp. 64-65.
3. This is stressed, e.g., by J. Weiss, op. cit. II. p. 488, and by J. Jeremias, op. cit.
4. 'The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam', p. 172.

points out that it bears a certain similarity to Paul's teaching concerning the Second Adam. Philo on Gen. ix. 1-2, after remarking on the similarity of these words to those of Gen. i. 28, writes:

Has it not indeed been clearly shown through these words that He considers Noah, who became, as it were, the beginning of a second genesis of man, of equal honour with him who was first made in His image? And so He granted rule over earthly creatures in equal measure to the former and the latter. And it should be carefully noted that (Scripture) shows him who in the flood was made righteous king of earthly creatures to have been equal in honour not with the moulded and earthly man but with him who was (made) in the form and likeness of the truly incorporeal being (κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀσωμάτου ὄντος); and to him (Noah) He also gives authority, appointing as king not the moulded man but him who was (made) in the likeness and form (of God) Who is incorporeal.... And so, by the literal bearing (of Scripture) it has been shown how the beginning of the second genesis of the human race was worthy of the same kingship as the man (made) in the likeness and form (of God).¹

There are two striking points here. First, that while there is presupposed the 'two men' of gen. i. 27 and of Gen. ii. 7, it is expressly to the former that Noah -- surely a man of flesh and blood in this world -- is assimilated.² This gives a much closer parallel to the thought of Paul than does the distinction between the heavenly and the earthly man, in which there is nothing more than a certain verbal resemblance. Secondly, in this passage the deliverance in Noah is made parallel with the original creation of man, in a way which suggests the influence of (or at least is strikingly similar to) Jewish speculation regarding the Messianic period as a return to the conditions of paradise, a view which will

1. Quaestiones in Gen. IX: Philo, Supplementary Vol. I, Loeb Classics, pp. 141-2.

2. This fact is also noted by E.R. Goodenough, By Light, Light, p. 135. It is, however, important to note that Philo has other views of Noah; there appears to be the same complexity here as we have noted with respect to his thought on Adam.

be discussed below.

That Philo was acquainted with this type of thought in Judaism was suggested by William Manson, who writes:

That he (Philo) should exalt the spiritual Adam, calling him 'Father, not mortal but immortal, Man of God, who, being the Logos of the Eternal, is necessarily imperishable' (De Conf. Ling. 41), is natural and to be expected from his Platonic premises. That he should glorify the earthly Adam is neither required by his Biblical authority nor to be expected from the standpoint of his Platonic philosophy. Yet Philo does it. He says that Adam excelled all who came after him in the transcendent qualities of soul and body, that he represented the acme of humanity, that the divine Spirit had flowed into him in full current, and that he may be described as heavenly (De Opif. Mundi, 136, 140, 144, 147). Such aberrations of Philo's thought from its ordinary orbit may be taken to indicate the presence to his mind of ideas not dissimilar to those which we have seen at work in the Adam-literature of Judaism.¹

The probability that Paul was acquainted with at least some forms of the Adam speculation in Judaism will be shown in the next section.

It may be that both Paul and Philo were influenced by similar currents of thought in Judaism, which accounts for any similarity there may be between them;² but at the same time this common material was taken up into two widely separated theological systems, and thus two very different views resulted. This at least accounts for all the facts, without positing what seems to be impossible, a direct influence of Philo on Paul in this respect. ?

3. THOUGHT IN JUDAISM.

That within Judaism in pre-Pauline times — at least as far as can be known from extant materials — the Messiah was never

1. Jesus the Messiah, p. 179
2. Cf. the somewhat similar conclusions of W.L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, pp. 135-136, and of F.-W. Eltester, Eikon im Neuen Testament, p. 131.

designated the Last Adam' was shown by G.F. Moore,¹ and his verdict has not been upset since. Nevertheless, there ^{were} ~~was~~ present in Judaism trends of thought which could assist Paul in giving expression to his belief in the cosmic significance of Christ, and which make the designation 'the Last Adam' not wholly strange.

There are two main lines of thought which are relevant here.² The first is that which sees in the Age to Come a renewal of the whole creation, the second that which glorifies the state of Adam before the Fall, thus stressing the greatness of his Fall, and looks for the restoration in the Messianic Age of that which Adam had lost.

Within the Old Testament there are some passages which look for a renewal of the whole creation; the most notable are Isa. xi. 6-9 and lxv. 17-25. But it is in Judaism that this development becomes most pronounced, probably (as Davies suggests)³ as a result of the experience of the Exile. This forced on the Jews a radical re-thinking of the whole of their view of man and of history, leading them to a much more comprehensive view of sin. In the Book of Jubilees the consequences of Adam's sin affect the whole of the

1. ' "The Last Adam": Alleged Jewish Parallels', JBL, XVI, pp. 158-161. Moore points out that any parallels adduced as evidence of the 'rabbinical' האדם האחרון are all from the Neve Shalom, a work which belongs to the fifteenth century A.D. Of it he states: "The book is not only separated from New Testament times by fourteen centuries, in which Jewish thought had been not less active than Christian, but also does not pretend to represent Jewish tradition." (p. 160.)
2. In treating this section a great deal is owed to the discussion by W.D. Davies PRJ Chapter III, and also to F.R. Tennant, The Fall and Original Sin and N.P. Williams, The Ideas of the Fall and Original Sin.
3. Op. cit., p. 38.

animal creation:

And on that day (on which Adam went forth from the Garden) was closed the mouth of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves, so that they could no longer speak: for they had all spoken with one another with one lip and with one tongue. And he sent out of the Garden of Eden all flesh that was in the Garden of Eden, and all flesh was scattered according to its kinds, and according to its types unto the places which had been created for them.¹

The development of this idea has been traced by Schürer.² It cannot, however, be said, that these cosmic conceptions were dominant in the minds of Jews in the time of Christ. They are, e.g., quite absent from the Psalms of Solomon, which probably best represents the type of Jewish expectation present in the minds of those to whom Jesus preached. It is in the first century A.D. works of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra that these conceptions become more prominent. The latter work e.g., has the remarkable passage:

For my Son the Messiah shall be revealed, together with those who are with him, and shall rejoice the survivors four hundred years. And it shall be, after these years that my Son the Messiah shall die, and all in whom there is human breath. Then shall the world return to its primaeval silence seven days, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left.³

There is much that is obscure here (particularly in the notion of the death of the Messiah), but it is clear that there is in the mind of the writer the idea of the restoration of the world to its original condition in creation: The end corresponds to the beginning.

In the Rabbinic teaching, what seems to lie in the foreground is the

1. Jubilees iii. 28-29.
2. The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, II. II. 130ff.
3. 4 Ezra vii. 28-30. (The possibility of Christian influence on 4 Ezra cannot, however, be ignored.)

idea of the part that Israel and her messianic king are to play. Israel, e.g., is to obtain at last the boundaries promised to Abraham, and the passing of world sovereignty from Rome to Israel under the Messiah is stressed.¹ Yet the cosmic range of thought is preserved in this, that the rule of the Messiah is to be precisely a world-rule.²

It seems doubtful if any world-reaching Messianic expectation had penetrated very far into the minds of the people; perhaps this is why Isa. lxx. 17-25 — and not to any comparable extent later literature — has so influenced the language and thought of the New Testament. But there is enough to make the idea of a *Kewy*^x *Kewy* not a wholly novel one.

Closely linked with the above is the growth of speculation regarding Adam: his glorious condition before the Fall is magnified, the greatness of his fall is dwelt upon, and the restoration to man in the Messianic Age of that which Adam then lost becomes a prominent theme. These ideas cannot be traced within the canonical scriptures of the Old Testament,³ but they appear as early as Ecclesiasticus xlix. 16: "Sem and Seth were in great honour among men, and so was Adam above every living thing in the creation". In the Pseudepigrapha, 2 Baruch contains many references to the effects of the fall; lvi. 6 stands out in particular:

1. Cf. Str. -B. IV. 2. pp. 880ff.

2. Ibid. p. 881.

3. F.R. Tennant and N.P. Williams argue that the story of the watchers, Gen. vi, for long constituted the source for views on the entry of evil into the world, rather than Gen iii; Tennant op. cit., pp. 236-238, Williams, op. cit., pp. 20-29.

For (since) when he transgressed,
 Untimely death came into being
 Grief was named
 And anguish was prepared
 And pain was created,
 And trouble consummated,
 And disease began to be established
 And Sheol kept demanding that it should be renewed in blood,
 And the begetting of children was brought about
 And the passion of parents produced,
 And the greatness of humanity was humiliated,
 And goodness languished.

In the rabbinic literature this is carried even further. Man was created to be a union of the celestial and the mortal;¹ he was created of dust taken from the four corners of the earth, so that "if a man from the east should happen to die in the west, or a man from the west in the east, the earth should not dare to refuse the dead";² his dimensions were gigantic, stretching from heaven to earth "or, what amounts to the same thing, from east to west";³ his splendour was such that the sole of his foot obscured the splendour of the sun;⁴ the bodies of Adam and Eve were "overlaid with a horny skin, and enveloped with the cloud of glory".⁵

There were six things lost at the fall which will be

1. Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, I. 50 and V. 75.
2. Ibid., I. 55 and V. 72-73.
3. Ibid., I. 59, V. 79. Ginzberg adds in an interesting note, "Among later generations of men, there were but few who in a measure resembled Adam in his extraordinary size and physical perfections. Samson possessed his strength, Saul his neck, Absalom his hair, Asahel his fleetness of foot, Uzziah his forehead, Josiah his nostrils, Zedekiah his eyes, and Zerubbabel his voice. History shows that these physical excellencies were no blessing to many of their possessors; they invited the ruin of almost all. Samson's extraordinary strength caused his death; Saul killed himself by cutting his neck with his own sword; while speeding swiftly, Asahel was pierced by Abner's spear; Absalom was caught up by his hair in an oak, and thus suspended met his death; Uzziah was smitten with leprosy upon his forehead; the darts that killed Josiah entered through his nostrils, and Zedekiah's eyes were blinded." I. 59-60, V. 79-80.
4. Ibid., I. 60, V. 80
5. Ibid., I. 74, V. 97.

restored in the days of the Messiah: the splendour of the human countenance, the length of human life, the greatness of the form of man, the fruitfulness of the soil, the fruitfulness of the trees,¹ and the brightness of the heavenly lights. This view is dated by Strack-Billerbeck in the middle of the third century, but that in part at least it goes back much earlier and in fact to pre-Christian times, is shown by two facts: (a), that Philo shows acquaintance with this type of thought; and (b), that there is similar material in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which may be almost certainly regarded as pre-Christian. In the Manual of Discipline we read: "For God has chosen them (the 'elect' of the New Covenant) for an eternal covenant, so that theirs is all the glory of Adam (אֲדָם כְּכָל הַכְּבוֹד)" ².

1. Str.-B. IV. 2, p. 886. The basic reference is to Bereshith Rabbah 12. Later again ten things were named, on the basis of O.T. promises, which would be given in the days of the Messiah: God would illumine the world (Isa. lx. 19), living water would flow out from Jerusalem (Ezek. xlvii. 9) trees would bring forth fruit every month (Ezek. xlvii. 12), all destroyed cities would be restored (Ezek. xvi. 55), Jerusalem would be rebuilt as sapphire (Isa. liv. 11ff), (lx. 3), the bear and the cow would lie down together (Isa. xi. 7), the wild beasts will no more injure Israel (Hos. ii. 20), there is no weeping any more (Isa. lxxv. 19), there will be no more death (Isa. xxv. 8), and there will be no sighing or sorrow any more, but only eternal peace and joy.
2. 1 QS iv. 23; cf. CD iii. 20, 1 QH xvii. 15. That the allusion is to Adam rather than simply to man is supported by Brownlee and by Wernberg-Møller, the latter adding "the conception being that the glory in store for the pious is identical with, or of similar grandeur to, the glory of Adam in Paradise before the Fall." Gaster, however, in the three places translates the phrase as 'mortal glory', and refers to Jn. xii. 43. (The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect, p. 105, n. 39). But such an expression seems scarcely appropriate to denote the realization of a final blessedness, as the term clearly does in the Manual; in fact from the standpoint of the Hebrew tradition 'mortal glory' seems almost self-contradictory.

This passage is particularly important in view of the significance of the idea of 'glory' in the thought of Paul, and one should perhaps link with it Ps. Sol. xvii., 34-35, in which the coming of the Messiah is connected with glory:

ἔρχεσθαι ἔσθαι δὲ ἄκρου τῆς θῆς ἰδεῖν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ
 φέροντες σώματα τοὺς ἐξησθενήκοις υἱοῦς, αὐτῆς
 καὶ ἰδεῖν τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου ἣν ἐδόξασεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός.

Yet for all this it is quite clear that the doctrine of the *ἐσθλὸς Ἀδάμ* has no fore-runners in Judaism. What the material from the Old Testament and Judaism shows is not that there was in existence already a doctrine of a coming Last Adam, ready to be fitted to the fact of Christ, but that there were trains of thought present in Judaism which would assist one profoundly under the influence of Christ to express His significance for the life of man. We must now ask if there was anything in the teaching of Jesus which might lead Paul to use the material that lay to his hand and to speak of his Lord as the Last Adam.

4. THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

The general question of the attitude of Paul to the teaching of Jesus is discussed below.¹ At this point it is necessary only to indicate that I do not accept the view advanced, e.g., by Bultmann² that Paul had no interest in the human Jesus or in His teaching. It is quite clear that Paul did know and have an interest in the teaching

1. See Chapter V.

2. Theology of the New Testament, I, pp. 293-294.

of Jesus. What concerns us now is whether or not Paul's use of the Last Adam concept depends in any way on Jesus' teaching concerning Himself. This is above all the question of the connection of Paul's teaching with that of Jesus concerning the Son of Man.

Into the very large question of the meaning of the term 'Son of Man' in the Gospels it is not possible to enter here at all fully. In this brief account the treatment followed is largely that of T.W. Manson.¹

(a) The term $\text{ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου}$ is a very bald and literal translation of the Aramaic bar nasha (Hebrew בן אדם). Thus translated into Greek it is virtually meaningless; the most idiomatic translation in Greek would be ὁ ἀνθρώπινος .

(b) The words thus taken alone convey very little. To discover the meaning of the term in the teaching of Jesus its 'meaning in use' must be considered; i.e., the background of the term is all-important. The most important single passage for this is Daniel vii. There the prophet sees in a vision four indescribably hideous beasts rise up, all hostile to God and to His People. These beasts represent world-rulers who have sought to usurp the place of God and claim for themselves world dominion. They are in turn destroyed, and the prophet sees one 'like unto a Son of Man' proceeding on the clouds

1. 'The Teaching of Jesus; cf. also M. Black, 'The "Son of Man" in the Old Biblical Literature'; 'The "Son of Man" in the Teaching of Jesus', Exp. T., LX (1948-1949), pp. 11-15, 32-36.

of heaven to the throne of God and receiving at His hand lordship over the world. Later in the same chapter this figure of the 'Son of Man' is identified with 'the people of the saints of the Most High'.

From this material¹ it is possible to draw certain conclusions as to the meaning of the term 'Son of Man' on the lips of Jesus. First, the term in Daniel is a 'corporate' term, as is shown by its equivalence to 'the people of the saints of the Most High', representing the purified and faithful people of God. It thus belongs in the same category as the great Isaianic conceptions of the Remnant and the Servant. (This is the aspect most stressed by T.W. Manson.) The 'Son of Man', i.e., may designate the whole people of Israel, or a group who represent that whole, or even one person who similarly represents the whole. This corporate stress is present in the teaching of Jesus and it accounts for Jesus' use of it as not simply a self-designation.² Of course in the end it does prove to be solely a self-designation: Jesus, who sought by preaching and teaching to arouse the whole of the people to their vocation, and who sought to

1. Within the limits of this section it is not possible to discuss the material in the 'Similitudes of Enoch'. There is dispute as to the meaning of the term 'Son of Man' in that work, and as well its pre-Christian dating is questionable. Further, it seems possible to give an adequate account of Jesus' teaching concerning Himself as the Son of Man without having recourse to that material.
2. See, e.g., Lk. xii. 8. It is from such passages as these that Bultmann derives his view that Jesus did not regard himself as the Son of Man, but looked forward to the future coming of that figure (Theology of the N.T., p. 9). But when this corporate background of the term is remembered, there is no problem in the fact that Jesus used the term at times to refer to Himself and at other times to refer to the community as a whole.

weld his disciples into a group to be with Him the nucleus of the new people of God -- the bearers of the title 'Son of Man' -- at length goes to the Cross alone, the only true bearer of that title. But yet it remains a corporate designation. Jesus does not go to the Cross as an individual, but as One who constitutes in Himself the true people of God.

Secondly, the title is an exalted one. In the vision of Daniel, the figure of the Son of Man belongs in the same category as the figures of the beasts in this respect, that it represents as they do in some sense the idea of rule; but with the difference that the dominion given to the Son of Man is one given to him by God. More specifically, we may speak of the Son of Man as an ideal figure, representing "the manifestation of the Kingdom of God on earth in a people wholly devoted to their heavenly King".¹ Jesus, in fulfilling the vocation of the Son of Man, was fulfilling completely the regal claim of God. That is to say, Jesus, in taking to Himself this title, was at the same time asserting His own central place in the redemptive purposes of God: He implies that it is through His ministry of suffering and death that the Kingdom of God becomes 'in process of realization'² among men.

Thirdly, the title expresses the solidarity of Jesus with the human race, although it is not to be taken as a description of His human as opposed to His divine nature. We saw above that the most idiomatic translation of the title in Greek was ὁ υἱος ἀνθρώπου , 'the

1. T.W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, p. 227.

2. The term is that of J. Jeremias, Parables of Jesus, p. 158

man'; and further, that in the vision of Daniel the figure of the Son of Man is contrasted with the figures of the beasts. The idea of the Son of Man thus may be said to include the idea of one who is the man, standing opposed to all that is 'beastly' in the world, and to whom the true dominion of man under God rightly belongs. Jesus, in describing Himself as the man, is asserting that He Himself stands at the fountain-head of a new human race. The title is thus a vehicle by means of which Jesus links himself to all humanity, and while it also expresses His solidarity with Israel, it therefore transcends the limits of a merely national hope. In the words of Jeremias,

Wenn Jesus diese messianische Bezeichnung auf sich selbst anwendet und sich als den neuen Menschen bezeichnet, so lehnt er damit alle nationalpolitischen Erwartungen ab, die an den Davidssohn geknüpft waren, und bezeichnet sich als den Welterneuerer, der durch Leiden hindurch zur Herrlichkeit eingeht und den neuen Äon herbeiführt.¹

With this conception of the meaning of the term 'Son of Man' in mind, it is not difficult to see that while Paul never uses

1. Jesus als Weltvollender, p. 56. Cf. G. Lindeskog, 'The Theology of Creation in the Old and New Testaments', A. Fridrichsen et al., The Root of the Vine, p. 15: "It is ~~not~~ usual nowadays to emphasize that Jesus as the Son of Man is not just a human being, but the Heavenly Man. We must not overlook the process by which these associations of meaning are built up. The term 'the Son of Man' as a Messianic title retained some of its shades of meaning in the Old Testament. The Son of Man is an individual of man as a species (see especially Ps. viii. 5, which is interpreted Christologically in Heb. ii. 6ff), and the species is created in the image of God. In the Old Testament anyone can be called a 'Son of Man'; in the New Testament there is only one Son of Man, Jesus Christ, who is also called in a Christological sense the image of God (2 Cor. iv. 4). Christ is the New Man, the Second Adam; as Son of Man, he is also the perfect man. What is said in the Old Testament about man in general is reserved in the New Testament for the one Son of Man."

the term of Jesus, everything it stands for is represented in the Pauline theology, and in fact comes to expression in his thought of Jesus as the Last Adam. It is scarcely surprising that the term itself does not appear in his writings; it is barbarous Greek, of a sort which Paul may well not have wished to employ, as well as being unlikely to be of use to one who was preaching in the Hellenistic world. Paul does, however, use the term $\delta \text{ ἄνθρωπος}$, which as we have seen is a better translation of the Aramaic than is $\delta \text{ υἱός}$ $\tauοῦ \text{ ἄνθρωπου}$. From this use it is an easy and natural step to speak of Jesus as the Last Adam. That Paul's use of this term does depend on Jesus' teaching concerning the Son of Man is conclusively shown by the use of Ps. viii in 1 Cor. xv. 27.¹ This passage in Ps. viii may have been in an early Christian collection of testimonia -- the whole passage appears in Heb. ii. 5ff, similarly applied to Christ, this application being made possible by the occurrence of the expression υἱὸς ἄνθρωπου (Ps. viii. 5, LXX; MT, $\text{דָּבָר} - \text{לֵךְ}$). It is apparent that in 1 Cor. xv. 27 the thought of Jesus as the Son of Man is in Paul's mind. But further, the idea of the Last Adam, made explicit in verses 21-22, is still under consideration, as the reference to death in verse 26 makes clear; for Paul, death is the consequence of the fall of Adam. It is therefore fair to infer that in this passage the idea of the Last

1. This connection is asserted by (among others) J. Weiss, History of Primitive Christianity, II, pp. 485-486; J. Jeremias ἄνθρωπος TWNT, II, p. 143; T.W. Manson, Teaching of Jesus, pp. 233-234; M. Black, 'The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam', pp. 173-174.

Adam is used in place of that of the Son of Man.

A further point to be mentioned in this connection is the way in which the Last Adam - Suffering Servant conceptions appear together in Phil. ii. 6-11 and in Rom. v. 19. It seems unlikely that these two would have become fused in the thought of Paul had they not already done so in the person and the teaching of Jesus, which combined the ideas of the Son of Man and the Servant of God.¹

The significance of this dependence of Paul's thought on the person and the teaching of Jesus is considerable. First, it means that his teaching concerning the Last Adam cannot be regarded purely as a piece of cosmological speculation; it is tied essentially to the historical career of one man, Jesus Christ, and without that would be meaningless. Secondly, Paul's teaching takes up in a new way the main themes contained in the title 'Son of Man'. As the Son of Man is a corporate figure, so is the Last Adam. It is for this reason that Paul can speak of the Body of Christ, and can speak of believers being 'in Christ', and in fact finding in Him their life, in contrast to the death which is their lot in Adam. Again, the note of exaltation contained in the title 'Son of Man' is present in the Pauline theology of the Second Adam. This title that Paul applies to Jesus stresses His centrality in the redemptive purposes of God for the whole world. The fact of the dependence of this Pauline teaching on that of Jesus means that it is not an innovation of Paul's. This has been stressed by Stauffer:

1. Supremely expressed at Mk. x. 45.

Paul develops out of the idea of the Son of Man in the Synoptics and John the basis of the doctrine of recapitulation... He develops it, but he has no need to introduce it. Jesus already had an idea of the Son of Man that comprised a whole theology of history in itself. In calling himself the Son of Man Jesus had already taken the decisive step in claiming cosmic history as his own.¹

And the fact that Jesus as the Last Adam stands at the beginning of a new aeon and as the head of the new humanity which arises in Him is clear (as has been shown above), and this again corresponds to Jesus' teaching about His own significance.

The conclusion for this section is best provided in the words of T.W. Manson:

We have in the Pauline teaching the same conception of the Son of Man as in the teaching of Jesus, with just that difference of orientation which arises from the historic facts of the death of Jesus and the resurrection. In the interval between the teaching career of the Master and the preaching mission of His Apostle the Son of Man idea has been incarnated in the person of Jesus. The Son of Man is no longer a mere religious ideal: it has been realised to the full in Jesus, the head of the new humanity: and men are now called to become 'the man' by union with Him.²

5. THE IDEA OF CORPORATE PERSONALITY.

Reference has frequently been made already to the idea of corporate personality. Before concluding this survey of the background of the Pauline teaching on the Last Adam it is necessary very briefly to consider the meaning of this conception, which is deeply rooted in the Hebraic tradition.

The term 'corporate personality' we owe to H. Wheeler Robinson, who has expounded the idea in many works.³ The essence of

1. E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, p. 111

2. T.W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, p. 234.

3. See, e.g., his Christian Doctrine of Man, pp. 27ff., Religious Ideas of the Old Testament, pp. 87ff., 'The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality' in Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments,

the matter is best stated in his words thus: "The whole group, including its past, present and future members might function as a single individual through any of those members conceived as representative of it."¹ The nature of the idea is clearly seen in, e.g., the story of Achan, whose individual action in breaking the taboo on the spoil of Jericho brings defeat to the whole people, and subsequently involves his whole family in punishment (Judges vii). But if one proceeds simply from such instances one is liable to dismiss the idea as belonging to a primitive tribalism, and not perceive that it is basic to Israel's understanding of herself: the whole people might be addressed in the singular -- 'Israel' or 'Jacob' -- and the whole people had one calling before God. This carries over into the New Testament, and it therefore requires briefly to be treated here.

Wheeler Robinson picks out four aspects of the idea for special notice:

(1) the unity both into the past and into the future; (2) the characteristic 'realism' of the conception, which distinguishes it from 'personification', and makes the group a real entity actualized in its members; (3) the fluidity of reference, facilitating rapid and unmarked transitions from the one to the many, and from the many to the one; (4) the maintenance of the corporate idea even after the development of a new individualist emphasis within it.²

The first point may be illustrated by the fact that Amos in the

3. (Contd. from previous page) pp. 49ff.; for other discussions see A.R. Johnson, The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God; G.A.F. Knight, From Moses to Paul, pp. 172ff.; J. Pederson, Israel I and II, pp. 271ff; S.A. Cook in the Cambridge Ancient History, III. 437-444.

1. 'The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality', p. 49.

2. Ibid., p. 50.

eighth century can still address the people as 'the children of Israel, the whole family which I brought up from the land of Egypt' (Amos iii. 1.) and (in its future reference) by the desire of the Hebrew to have male children to perpetuate his name -- which virtually is to extend his life beyond the grave. In a manner significant for our purpose Robinson takes as an example of the second aspect "the passage in Daniel vii. 13, 27, where the human figure coming with the clouds of heaven is explicitly identified as the people of the saints of the most high. This means that their unity is so realistically conceived that it can be concentrated into a single representative figure."¹ Another striking example is afforded by Numbers xxi. 4-5, where we read (A.V.) ".... and the soul of the people ($\text{לֵב יִשְׂרָאֵל} - \text{שֶׁבִי}$) was much discouraged because of the way. And the people spoke against God, and against Moses, 'Wherefore have ye brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? For there is no bread, neither is there any water; and our soul (נַפְשֵׁנוּ) loatheth this light bread.'" In both cases שֶׁבִי is singular: the people, though many, are one person, and this in what we would regard as a highly individual experience. The third aspect may be illustrated above all by the Servant Songs, in which there is an oscillation between the people and an individual as the Servant. The fourth aspect need not be further developed here.

T.W. Manson takes up this line of thought in the interpretation of the 'Son of Man', thus:

1. Ibid., p. 52.

We should be prepared to find that it ('Son of Man') may stand for a community comparable to 'the people of the saints of the most high' in Dan. vii, and that sometimes this community may be thought of as an aggregate of individual disciples, and at others as a single corporate entity. Again we should be prepared to find that this corporate entity is embodied par excellence in Jesus himself in such a way that his followers, who together with him constitute the Son of Man as a group, may be thought of as extensions of his personality, or, as St. Paul puts it later on, limbs of his body. And I think that all the authentic instances of the use of the term 'Son of Man' in the Synoptic Gospels should be interpreted along these lines.¹

It is not difficult to see that this conception is also integral to the Pauline equivalent of the Son of Man, the Last Adam, and C.H. Dodd so uses it in his Commentary on Romans.² As unregenerate humanity we are one man, the fallen Adam; in Jesus Christ we are made *ὡς εἷς καὶ σὰρκα ἑσθλὴν*. No one has expressed this better than Dodd, in words already quoted: "Adam is a name which stands to him (Paul) for the 'corporate personality' of mankind, and a new 'corporate personality' is created in Christ.... All that Christ did and suffered He did and suffered as 'inclusive representative' of the new humanity which emerges in Him."³

6. CONCLUSION

In view of this survey of the background of Paul's thought we are now in a position to summarize what Paul meant in calling Jesus Christ the 'Last Adam'. First, it stresses the fact of Jesus' humanity: Jesus was a man, in fact the man absolutely. (Thus Paul uses *ὁ ἄνθρωπος* of Christ.) For the first time since the

1. 'The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels', BJRL XXXII (1949-50), pp. 190-191.

2. pp. 79-80.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

creation of Adam there stands one who is a true man before God.

Secondly, it is an exalted title. Paul uses it to express the cosmic scope of the work of Christ, and in doing so he is going no further than Jesus did in taking to Himself the title 'Son of Man'. By the use of that term, Jesus was expressing the fact that in Him was at work in a final way the power of God, that through Him the rule of God was to be established in the world. He thus claimed for Himself a central place in the dealings of God with the world. Paul, in speaking of Jesus as the Last Adam, was true to this teaching of his Lord. In so designating Christ he is asserting that Jesus stands at the beginning of a new aeon, brought about by His own ministry, into which all men may come, and within which all may live at peace with God. The title thus well expresses the world-embracing nature of Christ's work.

In this it is, of course, closely linked with other terms used of Christ by Paul. In saying that He is the *εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ* (2 Cor. iv. 4) Paul's thought is running on closely related lines: as man was created in the image of God, and the image has been marred, so in Christ it is restored, as He is the image of God. Closely related with this is the idea of the *δόξα* which shines forth in Jesus (see especially 2 Cor. iv. 6). We saw above that in Judaism thought on the messianic age included the idea of the restoration of the splendour of Adam (a reflection of the divine *δόξα*): this is now come in Jesus Christ. In Col. 1. 15 the idea of Christ as the image is linked with that of the 'firstborn': Christ is spoken of as *εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀρχότου, πρωτό-*

τοκος πάσης κτίσεως. The meaning of πρωτότοκος has been much disputed; here (and the context is important) it (a) has an essentially communal reference -- it takes up the O.T. usage of, e.g., Ex. iv. 22, 'Thus saith the Lord, Israel is my son, my firstborn'; (b) expresses the intimate relation between God and Christ, Who now alone stands in that relationship to which God had called His ancient people; (c) implies Christ's existence as the Son before the creation of the world; and (d) asserts His sovereignty over the created order. This last has been disputed, but it seems to be required in view of the expression *ὁ υἱὸς γενήσεται ἐν πατρὶν αὐτοῦ πρωτότοκος* of ver. 18, and also in view of such O.T. antecedents as Ps. lxxix. 27 (LXX lxxviii. 28) *καὶ ὡς πρωτότοκον θέσομαι αὐτόν*.¹ This makes it quite clear that the idea of Christ as *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* stands in a close relation with that of the Last Adam. (In Rom. viii. 29, where Christ is designated *πρωτότοκος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*, the stress appears to fall on the temporal aspect of the term, as possible also in Col. i. 18, *πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*).

Further, it must be pointed out that from the standpoint of Paul's view of Christ as the Last Adam much light is shed on Paul's view of the Church as the Body of Christ,² and also on the *ἐν Χριστῷ* formula in Paul's writings, which, while profoundly expressing the intimacy of the relation between the believer and Christ, also contains an essentially communal reference.

The Last Adam Christology of Paul may thus be seen to have a

1. In this discussion I follow largely C.F.D. Moule, Commentary in loc., and V. Taylor, Names of Jesus, pp. 147-149.
2. This is stressed by W.D. Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-57.

position of very great importance in his theology. In the next two sections we shall consider some of its wider implications.

III. THE IMAGE AND THE GLORY.

The words 'image' and 'glory' are used frequently in the Pauline epistles and provide Paul with the means of expressing some of the fundamentals of his theology. His use of 'image' goes back to Gen. i. 26, 27, and his use of 'glory' depends upon the Old Testament use of the term and also upon speculation concerning Adam's loss of the $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ at the Fall and its restoration to man in the messianic age. The two concepts are thus closely linked: man who is the $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ of God shares in the divine $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$, and man who has lost¹ or perverted the $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ has lost also the $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$.² Although the two terms are accordingly not synonymous, they are accordingly sufficiently closely related for us to be able to discuss them together.

1. To speak of the image as 'lost' does, as Wilson points out (Gen. i. 26 and the New Testament', Bijdragen, 1959, pp. 121, 123), involve importing into the NT a conception which belongs to later theology. But it is difficult to find any other way of expressing what the NT clearly implies.
2. Although closely related the two concepts are thus not identical. Some writers (e.g., Kittel, TWNT, II, p. 395) identify the two; while L.H. Brockington ('The Septuagintal Background to the New Testament Use of $\Delta\Theta\Xi\Lambda$ ', Studies in the Gospels, ed. D.E. Nineham, pp. 1-8) argues on the basis of our instances in the LXX where $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ seems to have the meaning 'form' or 'image' that it should be so translated in Rom. i. 23, ix. 4; 1 Cor. xi. 27; and 2 Cor. viii. 23. But none of these require such a translation; they make at least equally good sense by being translated 'glory'. There is in fact no evidence that the NT has followed this usage of the LXX.

First, both terms are used to describe the state of man in Adam. This use appears in Rom. i. 23: καὶ ἠλλαξάν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφ' οὗτου Θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιωματι εἰκόνας ^{φωτιστοῦ} ^{ἑαυτοῦ} ^{ἑαυτοῦ}.¹ Even more closely clear is the use of δόξα in Rom. iii. 23: ~~καὶ~~ ἡμᾶρτον καὶ ὑπερβύνονται τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ where the latter half of the sentence, by means of the devices of parallelism, restates the content of the first half. (In 1 Cor. xi. 7, ἀνὴρ μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, Paul would appear to have in mind the creation of man, Gen. i. 26-27, and he may also be implying a priority of the male in creation.)²

Secondly the terms εἰκὼν and δόξα are used of the person of the Redeemer. This is the most important use of the terms in the Pauline epistles. The use of εἰκὼν in 2 Cor. iv. 4 and Col. i. 15 was pointed out above, and δόξα is similarly used, most strikingly at 2 Cor. iv. 6: ὁ Θεὸς ὁ εἰπὼν ἔκ σκοτῶν φῶς λάμπει, ὃς ἔλαμπεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ.

In Paul's use of the designation εἰκὼν there are at least two main strands of thought. The first is that by means of this title the fact of Jesus' humanity and at the same time the uniqueness of

1. While reference to the Imago Dei is not necessary in this passage such a reference does give a good meaning to the verse. Wilson, after expressing some doubts, notes: "it is certainly not difficult to interpret in terms of Gen. i. 26: true worship should be directed to the God in whose image and likeness man was made, but those of whom Paul speaks have substituted the image of man himself, if not of even lower forms of creation." ('Genesis i. 26 and the New Testament', pp. 118-119.)
2. But the verse is a very puzzling one; see further Appended Note B, pp. 96-97 below.

that humanity is stressed. In the New Testament, that which in the Old Testament is a natural property of man becomes the special designation of Christ; when predicated of man the imago is predicated almost solely of man in Christ (hence the fact that the use considered in the last paragraph is so obviously marginal).¹

(It is important to note that this movement of thought is similar to that already noticed in connection with the term 'Son of Man'.)² Jesus Christ is thus set forth as the Man, in whom the true nature of our humanity appears. The link with Paul's doctrine of Christ as the Last Adam is thus a close one.

The second main idea that we find here is that of Christ as the revelation of God. This aspect is well brought out by Eltester:

Die Herrlichkeit Christi ist nichts anderes als die Herrlichkeit Gottes, die auf dem Angesichte Christi sichtbar wird; damit ist nur umschrieben was die Prädikation, Abbild Gottes" meint: Christus als Eikon Gottes ist der die Erkenntnis Gottes Ermöglichende. Darin ist einmal ausgedrückt, dass Gott durch seine Eikon für den Glauben sichtbar wird, und zum anderen, dass in Christus als der Eikon Gott selbst sichtbar wird. Christus als Abbild Gottes ist also die Offenbarung und Repräsentation Gottes.³

As the *εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, Christ is set forth as the one in whom

1. Cf. K.L. Schmidt: "im Neuen Testament ist nicht nur vom Menschen in diesem Zusammenhang gesprochen, sondern auch und zwar, wie mir weiter scheint, vornehmlich von Jesus Christus als der Imago Dei und dazu, was wiederum beachtlich erscheint, vom Menschen als der Imago Christi." ('Homo Imago Dei im Alten und Neuen Testament', Eranos-Jahrbuch, XV (1957), p. 164.) Schmidt then traces the series: 1. Jesus Christus imago Dei, 2. Homo imago Christi, 3. Homo imago Dei.
2. See above, p. 75
3. F.-W. Eltester, Eikon im Neuen Testament, pp. 132-133.

God's final revelation has been accomplished: He is the historical person in whom God has acted for the redemption of man. Thus the designation of Christ as the eikon of God is closely related to the designation of Him as the Son.¹

The sources of this conception of Christ as the Image of God cannot be fully investigated here, but it is of interest to note the connection which Eltester, following Windisch, establishes with the 'Wisdom' of Hellenistic Judaism.² What is of importance for us is the way in which this whole train of thought moves within a framework provided by the language of creation: Adam, made in the image of God, is the crown of creation; Jesus Christ, the image of God, the Last Adam, is the Head of the new Humanity.

The use of 'glory' of the person of Christ is readily comprehensible in view of the background in the thought of Judaism sketched above. It is the use of the term with respect to Christ's person that is basic, as is well brought out by Ramsey:

In every aspect of the glory the person of Jesus Christ becomes the dominant fact. In so far as $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ means the power and character of God, the key to that power and character is found in what God has done in the events of the Gospel. In so far as $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ is the divine splendour, Jesus Christ is that splendour. And in so far as a state of light and radiance awaits the Christian as his final destiny, that light and destiny draw their meaning from the presence and person of Christ.³

1. Kittel points out that when $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (Col.i.13) is considered with Col. i. 15, "so wäre dennoch deutlich, wie das Bild-Sein Jesu nur ein Versuch ist, in anderer Form von seinem Sohn-Sein zu reden", (TWNT, II, p. 394.)
2. Particularly noteworthy is the designation of Wisdom as $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \chi\alpha\upsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ (Philo, Leg. Alleg. I. 43, I. 71, 22). (Eltester op. cit. p. 135).
3. The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ, p. 28.

In speaking of Christ as the glory of God Paul, on the basis of the Old Testament use of *ῥαῖα*, may be understood to assert that (a) there shines forth in Him the power of God manifested in the creation; (b), in Him the redemptive and saving activity of God is fully revealed; and (c), He is in His person the revelation of God Himself.¹ But in view of the background in Judaism it is necessary to go further, and to assert that in addition to this Paul sees in Christ not only the creative-redemptive activity of God, but also the first-fruits of that activity so clearly revealed in Him: for in Him is restored to man the *εἰσ* which Adam lost at the Fall.

Thirdly, and dependent on the above, there is the use of 'image' and 'glory' with respect to the final consummation of salvation. This is supremely expressed in Rom. viii. 29-30:

ὅτι οὗς προέγνω, καὶ προώρισεν συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς· οὗς ἔκ προώρισεν, τούτους καὶ ἐκάλεσεν. καὶ οὗς ἐκάλεσεν, τούτους καὶ ἐδικαίωσεν. οὗς ἔδικαίωσεν, τούτους καὶ ἐδόξασεν.

Paul sets forth here the mode by which the purposes of God are brought to realization. The *προώρισεν αὐτοῦ* is to be regarded as a summary statement of the whole. The completion of God's purpose in respect of the believer "is exactly defined as 'conformity to the image of His Son';² and conformity to the image of Jesus can mean nothing but conformity to His nature as displayed in His life. (An important related idea is found at Col. iii. 10, discussed in the next section.) This achievement of the

1. Cf. G.B. Gray, 'Glory', *HDB*, II, pp. 183-186; H.A.A. Kennedy *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, pp. 190-193.

2. Sanday and Headlam *in loc.*

purposes of God, thus summarily stated, is set out more fully in the verbs of the ver. 30: ἐκάλεσεν, ἐδικαίωσεν, ἐδόξασεν. The ἐδόξασεν marks the final stage of the process and accordingly must lie in the future; yet here Paul uses an aorist tense. The reason is that already in Jesus Christ the work of conforming man to God's purpose has begun: not only are men called now and justified now, but God has in Jesus Christ already taken the decisive step towards their glorification.¹ This is forcefully expressed in 2 Cor. iii. 18, in the phrase μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, on which Kittel's words deserve quoting:

Die Brücke zwischen Gegenwart und Eschatologie steckt in αὐτὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν. Das Jetzt ist zwar ἐν δόξει, trägt aber zugleich in dem εἰς den Blick auf eine noch kommende Vollendung. Das entspricht in der Bejahung und in der Begrenztheit genau der ἀπαρχὴ τοῦ πνεύματος. In dieser Präpositionalverbindung liegt jene ganze Gleichzeitigkeit des Habens und Nochnichthabens, die allenthalben den Grundzug der n.t. lichen Frömmigkeit bildet.²

While it is not practicable to give a complete survey of the uses of δόξα and its compounds in the Pauline epistles, the use in Rom. viii. 17 is to be noted: εἰ δὲ τέκνα, καὶ κληρονόμοι· κληρονόμοι μὲν Θεοῦ, συσκληρονόμοι δὲ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα καὶ συμπαύσμεν ἵνα καὶ δοξαζώμεν. This passage is important in that it (a) links the idea of glorification with that of our status as children

1. Cf. A.M. Ramsey, op. cit., pp. 46-47: "The problem of man's glorifying is one with the problem of man's justification; and the only answer is in the grace of God who in the events of the Gospel brings both God's glory and God's justification within reach of man."
2. G. Kittel, TWNT, II, pp. 254-255.

of God (which has as its corollary our restoration to the position from which Adam fell); (b) emphasizes our unity with Christ (the force of the $\delta\upsilon\upsilon$ -compounds); and (c) connects the idea of glorification with that of suffering. This last point is especially important: it makes clear that the idea of 'glorification' is not just a heavenly type of mysticism but is rooted firmly in the realities of this world. To share in the glory of God is to be conformed to His purpose for this world supremely expressed in Jesus Christ His Son: and this is to be made a partaker of His sufferings.¹

IV. THE NEW MAN.

Col. iii. 9-10: ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίδωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν.

Eph. ii. 14-15: Αὐτὸς ὅς ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν, ὁ

1. Thus, the 'doxological vocation' of the Church can never be merely the verbal giving of praise and adoration: it involves before all else that the Church should give her life for the life of the world, that the world may be brought to share in the divine $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$. Cf. T.F. Torrance, 'The Nature and Mission of the Church' (S.J.T. II pp. 241-270): "No doubt it is always a temptation of the Church to conquer a certain region and settle in on it and become self-contained, but that would be to forget that she can save her life only as she loses it for Christ's sake and the Gospel's. It would be to forget that the Church is humanity in eschatological concentration, the whole of humanity, and that in and through the Church this new humanity must break forth by the power of the resurrection and cover the earth." (p. 267) This may truly be included within the 'doxological vocation' of the Church.

ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφότερα ἐν καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ
λύσας, τὴν ἐχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν
δόγμασι, καταργήσας· ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς ἓνα
καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ποιῶν εἰρήνην.

Εφ. iv. 22-24:.... ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν προτέραν
ἀναστροφὴν τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν φθειρόμενον κατὰ τὰς
ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπικτῆς, ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοῦς
ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν κατὰ θεὸν
κτισθέντα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας ἀληθείας.

Before indicating the significance of these passages for the remainder of our study, it is necessary briefly to consider the following three points:

(1) The generally received view is that Colossians is earlier than Ephesians, if indeed Ephesians be by Paul at all. It is to be noted however, that it has been argued that in the precise matters here under discussion Colossians gives the impression of being a later summary of Ephesians.¹

(2) In these passages there appears to be no distinction in meaning between νέος and καινός. Many commentators (e.g., Plummer on 2 Cor. v. 17) assert that καινός has a purely qualitative sense, νέος a purely temporal. This distinction is not supported by the LXX, in which νέος is four times used to translate וְיָטַף (Lev. xxiii. 16, xvi. 10; Num. xviii. 26; Cant. vii. 13); otherwise καινός (or occasionally ἕτερος) is used. Papyrus usage does not support the distinction either.² And in

1. J. Coutts, 'The Relationship of Ephesians and Colossians', NTS, IV, pp. 201-207.

2. Moulton and Milligan sub καινός.

And in Col. iii. 10 νέος and καινός seem to be varied for reasons of style only. Both words appear to include both the qualitative and temporal senses.¹

(3) The meaning of the phrase κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν (Col. iii. 10) has been a matter of dispute — who is it that is regarded as the Creator of the new man, God or Christ? Moule² holds that the reference of εἰκών to Gen. i. 27 "is irrefragable", and that the Creator of the new man must therefore be God. But he suggests that in view of the designation of Christ as the εἰκών of God in this epistle (i. 15) we should see also a reference to Christ. Black, however, argues "If there is any doubt about the identity of the 'creator' of the new man at Col. iii. 10, it is dispelled in the light of Eph. ii. 15; it is not God but Christ who 'creates' (κτίσων) new men like Himself."³ Eph. iv. 24 sheds little light on the question — there is only the enigmatic expression κατὰ θεόν. Moule translates thus: 'in accordance with God (in God's image, cf. Col. ii. 10)!'⁴ But this is scarcely justified. With respect to the similar interpretations of Meyer and Ellicott, Abbott (ICC in loc) justly says: "in Col. it is just the word εἰκόνα that expresses the idea sought to be introduced here. That κατ' εἰκόνα means 'after the likeness of', is no proof that κατὰ = 'after the likeness of'."

1. Cf. R.A. Harrisville, 'The Concept of Newness in the New Testament', JBL, LXXIV, pp. 69-79.

2. Commentary in loc., following Lightfoot et. al.

3. "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam", p. 175.

4. Idion-Book, p. 59.

Of the three passages then Eph. ii. 15 is the only one that makes an unequivocal assertion as to the identity of the creator of the new man, and as it is borne out in this by Rom. viii. 29 it seems reasonable to interpret Col. iii. 10 in the same sense, and to assert that it is Christ who creates new men after himself.

.....

In these passages Paul is beginning to draw out the significance of his Last Adam Christology; the content of what is said here will occupy us in most of the rest of this study. Paul has in view here not merely an old, bad, individual self and a new, good self but the corporate re-creation of man through Jesus Christ, the Last Adam. In Eph. ii. 15 the condition of division and hostility in man in Adam is asserted to have been overcome through the act of Jesus in creating in Himself 'one new man'.

To quote Hanson,

In Christ (ἐν αὐτῷ), in the new Aeon, the condition characterized by αἰχισμὸς is impossible. All dualism of whatever kind it may be is contrary to the essence of the new life. Here the difference between Gentiles and Jews, between circumcised and uncircumcised, is abolished. Now it is instead a question of εἰς καὶ τοὺς ἑθνοὺς, i.e., Christ incorporating saved humanity. With Christ a new creation sets in.¹

In Eph. iv. 22-24 and in Col. iii. 9-10 the ethical significance of this act of re-creation is stressed. Jesus Christ is the new man absolutely: by His appearing, by His life of humble service and obedience, by His final sacrifice, there is created a new

1. Stig. Hanson, Unity of the Church in the New Testament, p. 145

humanity in which we might share.¹

In designating Himself the Son of Man, Jesus declared that the new creation was beginning in Him. We have seen the way in which and 'Last Adam' are essentially corporate titles. The position of Christ 'Son of Man' as the head of the new humanity is described in Paul's phrases, *πρωτότοκος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς* (Rom. viii. 29), *ἡπιαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων* (1 Cor. xv. 20). That is, we who are by sin bound to the 'old man' may now by grace share in the 'new man'. But this is not merely a translation from one spiritual state to another. It involves a change in our lives; and it is accordingly in such contexts as these that we find Paul's most characteristic ethical exhortations. To 'put on the new man' is to put on the mode of life of Him who is the new man, Jesus Christ. That we may be exhorted to do so depends upon the fact that it has now been made possible for us: for in Jesus Christ the new aeon has begun, and its presence and power are made available for us through the Spirit.

1. Eltester, while taking the *εἰκὼν* to refer to the Imago Dei rather than to the Imago Christi, writes in agreement with this line of thought thus: "Die Aussage, von Gen. i. 27, dass der Mensch als Ebenbild Gottes erschaffen ist, wird hier nicht auf den Menschen schlechthin, sondern auf den Christen bezogen. Ebenbild Gottes zu sein, ist kein naturgegebener Status des Menschen, sondern ein Kennzeichen der neuen, erlösten christlichen Existenz. Der neue Mensch" gleicht also Adam vor dem Fall. „Neuer Mensch" und „ebenbildlicher Mensch" sind identisch: der Christ zieht den neuen Menschen an und wird damit zur Eikon Gottes.

"....Christus ist der neue Mensch, und der Gläubige wird das, was Christus ist, nämlich neuer Mensch." (Op. cit. p. 158.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE A: PHIL. ii. 6-11. (See pp. 39-40 above.)

A different arrangement of the passage is suggested by J. Jeremias.¹ He suggests that it is more in accord with the Pauline style to arrange in three strophes thus:

6. ὃς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων
οὐχ ἄρπαζμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ

7. ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν
μορφὴν δούλου λαβών

ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἡνωθῶπων θενόμενος
καὶ σκλήματι εὐρεθείς ὡς ἄνθρωπος

8. ἑταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν
θενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου [θανάτου δέ βλαπτοῦ].

9. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν
καὶ ἑκαρίσκει αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα,

10. ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶς ὄνους κάμψῃ
[ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων]

11. καὶ πᾶσα ὁλώσῃ ἐξομολογηθεῖται ὅτι ΚΥΡΙΟΣ
ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ [εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρός].

When so arranged the first strophe speaks of the pre-existent Christ, the second of the earthly Christ, and the last of the exalted Christ. But this is over-precise. Throughout the hymn there is the interweaving of the three aspects: ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, e.g., has in view

1. 'Zur Gedankenführung in den paulinischen Briefen', Studia Paulina in honorem J. de Zwaan, pp. 146-154.

the historical death of Christ at least as much as the Incarnation, as Jeremias himself has elsewhere pointed out.¹ Consequently the arrangement given in the text is preferred, although this is not without interest.

ADDITIONAL NOTE B: 1 Cor. xi. 7. (See p. 86 above.)

The verse is a very difficult one. Further to what appears in the text, the following four distinct interpretations are appended, without comment.

(1) Eltester argues that the passage represents the Jewish view, derived from Old Testament, of man's universal possession of the image of God, although he also notes: "allerdings wird die Ebenbildlichkeit dort auf den Mann eingeschränkt, eine Auffassung, die weder im AT noch im Judentum noch im heidnischen Hellenismus eine Analogie kann."²

(2) In view of this restriction to the male, Cairns denies that there is in the passage a universal attribution of the image to man, in the Old Testament sense.³

(3) On the other hand, K.L. Schmidt argues that the passage does not deny to woman the image, but also argues that the passage shows that the Imago is not regarded as natural human possession, but as the gift of God:

1. See above, p. 42

2. Eikon im Neuen Testament, p. 153

3. The Image of God in Man, p. 35n.

Zu dieser vielverhandelten Weisung ist einmal zu sagen, dass die davor genannte ebenfalls von Paulus stammende Weisung über die Aufhebung auch Geschlechtsunterschiedes kein Freibrief für allerlei blosse Emanzipationsbestrebungen gegen jegliche Sitte sein darf. Dazu ist aber dann vor allem noch dies zu sagen, dass die hier „Abglanz des Mannes“ betrachte Frau keineswegs für ihre Person der Würde als imago Dei verlustig geht, die hier scheinbar nur dem Manne zugesprochen wird. Denn die Würde und Macht des Menschen als imago Dei ist ja nicht in seinem eigenen Wesen begründet, sondern etwas von Gott Abgeleitetes.¹

(4) To complete the confusion, there is the use that Dodd makes of this verse with respect to the Person of Christ: "Man as God meant him was created in the image of God, and Christ is the 'image and glory of God (1 Cor. xi. 7)', and so He is the heavenly Man (1 Cor. xv. 49)".²

1. 'Homo Imago Dei', p. 194
2. MNTC Romans, p. 120.

CHAPTER 111: THE PAULINE DOCTRINE OF THE SPIRIT.A. INTRODUCTION.

In the preceding chapter we have seen the way in which Paul views Jesus Christ as the Last Adam, and have also seen how pervasive is this conception in his writings. Further, we have seen the way in which this view of Christ gives a basic form to his ethics: the Christian is made a new man after the image of Him who is the New Man, Jesus Christ. We have now to consider a conception not less fundamental to Paul's theology, and one that similarly exercises a determinative influence on his understanding of ethics: the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

The centrality and the scope of the doctrine of the Spirit are shown above all by two passages in which he is defending the Gospel. Of the Galatians, in danger of grave misunderstanding of the Gospel, he asks: "Did you receive the Spirit by the works of the Law or by the hearing of faith?" (A. Gal.iii. 2) Similarly, the only vindication of his preaching that he offers to the Corinthians is that it was ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ σοφίας (1 Cor. ii. 4).¹ To be a Christian, that is, is to be one who has received the Spirit, and truly to proclaim the Gospel is to preach in the Spirit.² With respect to ethics, the whole of the Christian's life falls under the heading πνεύματι περιπατεῖν (Gal. v. 16)

1. Cf. H.A.A. Kennedy, The Theology of the Epistles, pp. 86-87.

2. Cf. J. Denney, art. 'Holy Spirit', H.D.C.G., 1, p. 738b: "Regarded from the side of God and His grace and power in initiating and maintaining it, Christianity is the Spirit; regarded from the side of man and his action and responsibility in regard to God, it is faith. The two are co-extensive, and all Christianity is in each."

The Christian's life is a life lived under the guidance and the direction of the Spirit, and the virtues of the Christian are His¹ fruits.

The Spirit is at least mentioned in every epistle of Paul except Philemon. The term $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ is used variously in his writings, as in the entire New Testament. It is used in the sense of 'breath', i.e., an Old Testament use of $\pi\rho\upsilon\gamma$ (2 Thess. ii. 8). It is used to denote a part or an aspect of the human personality: when contrasted with flesh, $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ designates the immaterial part; (e.g., Col. ii. 5) when the two terms are conjoined they denote the whole personality (2 Cor. vii. 1). Further, the inner life of man may appear divided into $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ and $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ (1 Thess. v. 23; cf. Phil. i. 27). There is the use of $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ to designate the centre of feeling and will; Bauer suggests that Paul's conviction "that the Christian possesses the divine $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ and thus is different from all other men, leads him to choose this word in preference to others, in order to characterize the inner being of the believer generally."² Thus it is also used to refer to 'the self' (e.g., Rom. viii. 16), and to a disposition (e.g., 1 Cor. iv. 21). It is noteworthy that $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ is not used by Paul as a designation or description of God Himself (as in Jn. iv. 24), and it is used only rarely of the whole realm of 'spirits', good and evil -- the only possible instances are Rom. xi. 8, 1 Cor. ii. 12, 2 Cor. xi. 4, and 2 Thess. ii. 2. (This is a matter of some importance in regard to the dualism of the two spirits in the

1. The personal pronoun will be used throughout this study with reference to the Spirit. While there are certain impersonal aspects in Paul's doctrine of the Spirit, the bulk of the evidence points to a conception that is personal. (See below, p. 29-130) The Spirit may not, of course, be a 'person' in the modern sense of that term, but it is at least more true to use 'He' than 'It'.
2. Bauer, E.T., p. 681 b. (Cf. Rom. i. 9) Throughout this brief analysis it will be obvious that much is owed to Bauer.

'Manual of Discipline' and other Jewish writings.)¹

Paul's characteristic use is to designate the Holy Spirit, although here there is a wide variety of expression. He speaks of 'the Spirit of God', τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ (1 Cor. ii. 11), τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ (1 Cor. ii. 12), τὸ πν. τοῦ ἐγγεγραμμένου Ἰησοῦ (Rom. viii. 11) πνεῦμα θεοῦ (Rom. viii. 9). He is the Spirit of Christ, πνεῦμα χριστοῦ (Rom. viii. 9c), τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου (2 Cor. iii. 17b), τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ (Gal. iv. 6). There is the use of 'the Holy Spirit', τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (only in Ephesians i. 13, iv. 30), τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα (2 Cor. xiii. 13),¹⁴ anarthrously, πνεῦμα ἅγιον. The concept of the Spirit may be more closely defined by the use of the Genitive: τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ζωῆς (Rom. viii. 2), πνεῦμα θεοῦ (Rom. viii. 16),¹⁵ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως (2 Cor. iv. 13).

In this study we shall have occasion to refer only rarely to Paul's use of πνεῦμα to designate the human spirit. Our main concern is with the Pauline doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which we are required to consider somewhat carefully. In doing so it seems better not to begin, as do so many writers,² with the contrast between flesh and spirit (or flesh and Spirit). The principal reason is that advanced with some force by Hermann Gunkel, that it reduces the study to an investigation of two concepts and their relationship. Gunkel writes:

Nun stehen allerdings diese beiden Begriffe (flesh and Spirit) bei Paulo in solchem Verhältnis, dass es unmöglich ist, bei der Besprechung des einen von dem andern ganz zu schweigen. Eine andere Frage freilich ist es, ob es sich empfiehlt, bei der Untersuchung von diesem

1. See below, p. 104 ff.

2. E.g., E.F. Scott, ^{THE} Spirit in the New Testament, pp. 132ff.

Gegensätze auszugehen oder dieselbe wenigstens von vorneherein auf eine solche Vergleichen zuzuspitzen. Diese Behandlung kann namentlich für unsere Frage, die Lehre vom πνεῦμα, verhängnisvoll werden. Denn da es sich bei dem Verhältnis von Fleisch und Geist in der paulinischen Weltanschauung zunächst um das Verhältnis zweier Begriffe zu handeln scheint, so ist man in der Versuchung, auch den Geist bei Paulus als einen „Begriff“ aufzufassen, den man nur richtig zu definieren braucht, um sich seiner zu bemächtigen. Indess entsprechen diesem Begriff sehr konkrete Anschauungen und tief innere Erfahrungen, die man dem Apostel nachempfinden muss, um seine dogmatischen Aussagen verstehen zu können. Die lebenswarme Ueberzeugung des Apostels vom πνεῦμα ist noch keineswegs erschöpft, wenn man den Begriff des Geistes zutreffend definiert hat.¹

We shall, of course, have to consider the contrast of flesh and Spirit in the Pauline Epistles,² but Gunkel is correct in insisting that we do not start from there — by so doing a pattern of thought is imposed on Paul which is basically misdirected, and is incapable of comprehending the vividly personal and eschatological elements that lie at the basis of his thought on the Spirit.

In rejecting that method of approach we also reject that which sees the Pauline doctrine of the Spirit primarily in the context of that conception of the Spirit which was current in Hellenistic religion, wherein the contrast of flesh and spirit is fundamental. In fact on other grounds also the rejection of that position seems to be required. Davies's arguments against Reitzenstein's 'explanation' of the Pauline doctrine in the light of Hellenistic mysticism are sound, and that material will not be covered here.³

1. H. Gunkel, Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes, p. 57

2. See below, pp. 97ff. 131 ff.

3. Cf. W.D. Davies, PRJ, pp. 191-200. The relation between the Pauline doctrine and the Stoic πνεῦμα will also not be discussed here. Reasons have already been given (see above, pp. 1-24) for rejecting any close connection between the Pauline theology and Stoicism in general, and this must make us have care when we consider any suggested particular points of contact. Davies (*ibid.*, pp. 178-191) examines and rejects the arguments for a connection in the matter of the Spirit, and I find his arguments convincing.

This, however, leaves us with the question of where we are to begin. To this question there can be only one answer: to begin where Paul began, with the Church. For Paul discovered in the Christians a community which, contrary to every expectation, actually possessed the gift of the Spirit.

B. THE SPIRIT AND THE CHURCH.

The community brought together by the disciples of Jesus was sustained by the conviction that it possessed the Spirit of God, and in that possession it saw the peculiar feature which distinguished its members alike from the Greeks and from the Jews.¹

That this is true of the primitive Church as it is portrayed in the Book of Acts cannot be questioned.² The prominence that the writer gives to the Pentecost story, and the setting off the whole of the subsequent course of the Church's life in the context of the activity of the Spirit, makes that plain. What is important for us is that it was precisely this pneumatic community that Paul entered. It may not be as fashionable as it once was to consider the whole of the Pauline theology in the light of his conversion,³ yet it would indeed be surprising if the circumstances attendant on that event had been wholly without effect on his subsequent thought. The life out of death which Paul found was his as a member of a community separated from Judaism not only by its

1. A. Schlatter, Art. 'Holy Spirit', H.D.A.C. 1, p. 573a.
2. It may be alleged that the view of the Spirit in the early chapters of Acts is coloured by the later thought and experience of the Church. This is at least doubtful, and it is certainly not the developed Pauline doctrine. Cf. A.M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, pp. 112ff. It may be added that the 'doctrine' in Acts is also certainly not the Johannine.
3. Cf. H.A.A. Kennedy, Theology of the Epistles, Part 1, chap. IV, entitled 'The Normative Influence of St. Paul's Conversion on his Religious Thought'.

belief in the risen Lord but also by its belief in the presence of the Holy Spirit, granted to them as a result of the work of Christ. The Church which Paul persecuted was a body that had received the gift of the Spirit, awaited since the days of Joel, and phenomena associated with that gift ^{were} apparent to all.¹ The Spirit made them a new community which 'continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and prayers'. They 'were together, and had all things in common ... and they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favour with all the people.' (Acts ii. 42, 44, 46, 47.) By the Spirit they were enabled to defend themselves before their accusers, and to testify to Jesus.² Stephen, possibly in the hearing of Paul, charges his people with 'resisting the Holy Spirit' (Acts vii. 51). To Paul himself on his conversion comes Ananias, and lays his hands upon him that he might receive his sight and be filled with the Holy Spirit (Acts ix. 17).

The Church as Paul represents it in the Epistles is not fundamentally different. It is a community in which the Spirit leads men to confess Jesus as Lord (1 Cor. xii. 3), and grants his various gifts (1 Cor. xii. 8-10, cf. Rom. xii. 6ff). Under the inspiration of the Spirit men

1. Cf. Acts ii. 33:he has poured out this which you see and hear.
2. Cf. Acts iv. 8 iv. 31 is interesting in that it links the gift of the Spirit with the preaching of the Word *μετὰ παρρησίας*. *παρρησία* characterizes the preaching of the Church in Acts, and the last glimpse that we have of Paul in that book portrays him *κηρύσσων τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διδάσκων τὰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας, ἠκωλύτως*.

address God as Father (Rom. viii. 15, Gal. iv. 6).¹ There can be no suggestion here of a gulf separating Paul from his predecessors. Paul himself shared in the experiences of the primitive Church, in visions, speaking with tongues, signs and wonders. He knew of the Spirit as a Spirit of power and joy. However much in penetration and in depth the Apostle developed the doctrine of the Spirit, he stood upon the foundation of an experience of the Spirit common to both the primitive Church and himself.

Romans viii may seem far removed in tone from the early chapters of Acts. But 1 Thessalonians presents in some ways a rather different picture. Hunter writes:

If 1 Thessalonians alone of all the Pauline epistles had come down to us, we should have inferred that Paul's conception of the Spirit did not differ at all from that of the primitive church. The epistle has four references to the Spirit. Two of these are anarthrous, as often in Acts (i. 5, 6). Like Acts, Paul associates the Spirit with 'power' and 'joy' (i. 5 and i. 6). The Spirit is God's gift (1 Thess. iv. 8), as in Acts. And the (sic) Paul's exhortation (v. 9), 'Quench not the Spirit' (as though he said, Let the flame of the Spirit burn freely), might have been uttered by Peter in his Pentecostal speech.²

Enough has been said to show that the Church which Paul had persecuted, and in which he later found life, was a body which above all was aware that it had received the gift of the Spirit. This basic experience lies at the basis of all that he has to say on this subject:

1. Gunkel, op. cit. 60-61 attractively argues that this is the opening word of the Lord's Prayer.
2. A.M. Hunter, op. cit., p. 116. Cf. H.B. Swete, The Holy Spirit in the New Testament, p. 176, with respect to the references to the Spirit in the two Thessalonian epistles: "All these references to the Holy Spirit are consistent with the early date of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, for they do not carry us beyond the experience of primitive Christianity."

that God had granted the gift of the Spirit to those who followed 'the way' of Jesus Christ.

In order that we might grasp more fully the significance of this fact it is necessary to consider something of the background to Paul's thought in the Old Testament and in Judaism.

Within the Old Testament the term 'Holy Spirit' occurs only rarely, in fact three times: Ps. li. 11 (Heb. 13), and Isa. lxxiii. 10, 11. The term 'Spirit of God' or 'Spirit of the Lord' is, however, much more common. Snaith stresses "three points of particular emphasis" in regard to the meaning of רוּחַ : "It stands for Power, for Life, and it is of God as against of man"¹ The word רוּחַ alone, both in the sense of breath and in that of wind, carries the idea of power, and this is carried over into what we would now call psychology, to denote the dominant impulse or disposition of an individual.² In fact it at times approximates to שׁוֹרֵט. The ruach is of God, and it stands in contrast to flesh, which is not regarded as evil, but represents man in the frailty of his nature. "The division is man and flesh on the one side, God and ruach on the other."³ The standard example is Isaiah xxxi. 3: "The Egyptians are men and not God, and their horses are flesh and not spirit." When the OT speaks of the Spirit of God, these shades of meaning remain. Dominant is the idea of power: "The ruach-adonai

1. N.H. Snaith, Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, p. 143. Throughout this brief discussion of the O.T. material, much is owed to Snaith's treatment.
2. Ibid., p. 146.
3. Ibid., p. 150. Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, The Christian Doctrine of Man, p. 25 Also, compare the following distinction between רוּחַ and נֶפֶשׁ in the OT: "Während נֶפֶשׁ im AT einfach das Zentrum der menschlichen Existenz bezeichnet als Sitz alles Fühlens, Denkens und Wollens, bezieht sich רוּחַ auf die wirksame, alles Fühlens, Denken und Wollen durchwehende Macht, die von Jahve ausgeht." (H.-J. Kraus Biblischer Kommentar XV, 5, p. 389, on ps. 11.)

is the manifestation in human experience of the life-giving, energy-creating power of God".¹ The gift of the Spirit comes as a special endowment to particular people, enabling them to perform the tasks that God has given them to do. It is especially connected with prophecy (Num. xxiv. 2; 2 Chron. xx. 14; Neh. ix. 30; Ezek. iii. 24, xi. 5; Micah iii. 8). By the Power of the Spirit the judges judged (e.g. Judges iii. 10); it showed itself in the great strength of Samson (Jud. xiii. 25), and in the skill of craftsmen (e.g. Ex. xxxi. 3). It is worth remarking that there is little evidence in the OT of any specific connection of the Spirit with the activity of God in creation and in sustaining the world. Gen. i. 2 (וְהָאֵלֹהִים מְרַחֵם עַל-בְּנֵי אָדָם) is often quoted in this connection (and so EDB). This, however, is dubious; von Rad suggests that rather than translate וְהָאֵלֹהִים מְרַחֵם by "Geist Gottes", "es ist besser mit „Gottessturm" = furchtbarer Sturm..... wiederzugeben."²

The OT thus knows of the Spirit of God as an invasive power which comes from God into this world, strengthening and directing man and renewing his life. In the prophetic teaching there is the expectation that this which is already known in the present will in the future be manifested in a new and striking way. It is by the Spirit and the wisdom given thereby that the coming deliverer shall rule (Isa. xi. 2). The anointed one of the Lord is inspired by the Spirit (Isa. lxi. 1), and at the end God will pour out His Spirit on all flesh (Joel, ii. 28-29, Mt. lxxiii. 1-2). Particularly interesting in this connection is the

1. Snaith, op. cit., p. 153.

2. G. von Rad, Das Alte Testament Deutsch in loc.

prophecy of Ezekiel:

A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances. (xxxvi. 26-27) And I will put my spirit within you, and you shall live, and I will place you in your own land; then you shall know that I, the Lord, have spoken, and I have done it, says the Lord. (XXXVII. 14)

In these passages there is presented the utter dependence of man upon God's gift of the Spirit for life, and the conviction that God will by His Spirit grant that life to his people. Further, the life that is so given, and thus the Spirit as the agent thereof, is conceived in ethical terms, for the gift of the Spirit will enable the people truly to walk in the ways of the Torah.¹ This conception is again finely set forth in the fifty-first Psalm.

Create in me a clean heart, O God,
and put a new and right spirit within me.
Cast me not away from thy presence,
and take not thy Holy Spirit from me.
Restore to me the joy of thy salvation,
and uphold me with a willing spirit.²

Ps. LI. 10-12 (Heb. 12-14).

The utter dependence of man upon God and His grace is magnificently set forth in these verses. In verse 10 the verb translated 'create' is $\text{X } \overline{\text{7}} \overline{\text{2}}$, which at once brings Gen. i to mind. Kraus points out that this verb is always used with God as subject, and

1. Hence we see the utter nonsense involved in speaking of Paul "ethicizing" the Spirit, as though the idea of the Spirit were in the Church and in OT - Jewish thought before him & non-ethical conception.

continues

Grundverschieden von allem menschlichen Wirken ist Gottes Schaffen (vgl. Gen. i. 1), einzigartig ist sein schöpferisches Tun — frei von allen Voraussetzungen und Anknüpfungen, erhaben über alle chaotischen Unmöglichkeiten. Das „reine Herz“ kann der Mensch sich selbst nicht bereiten, kein Ritus kann es ins Leben setzen. Nur Gottes freie, schöpferische Tat kann das Innere des Menschen erneuern.

The Holy Spirit is within the power of God to give or to take away; hence the psalmist's greatest fear is that God might take His Holy Spirit from him, which would mean that he would be cut off from the presence of God. The teaching of Ezekiel lies in the background here, in the knowledge that it is by His Spirit that God will cleanse the heart of His people, that they may do His will. The Spirit is thus conceived as that power which God may grant in this world, solely by His grace, in the renewal and the sanctification of His people. The Spirit is by no means conceived as immanent; but within the 'Psalmenfrömmigkeit' something of the eschatological tension present in Ezekiel is lost. It is interesting to note that Kraus takes up the exegesis of the Reformers, holding that although in their writings there are some excessive subtleties of exegesis yet they were right to find in this psalm the principle of the sola gratia. This seems to be correct, but it is to be noticed that it involves some modification of the prophetic hope that underlies it.

This psalm contains much of the fulness of Old Testament thought on the Spirit of God. When one turns to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha a certain difference becomes apparent: the loftiness of thought

1. H.-J. Kraus, op. cit. pp. 388-389. His exposition of this Psalm has been most fruitful here.

on the Spirit attained in Ps. li and in Ezekiel finds little counterpart in these writings. There are a number of references to the Spirit in connection with past events - e.g., with respect to the punishment of the fallen angels (Jub. v. 8, Enoch lxvii. 10), in connection with Isaiah's speech to Hezekiah (Mart. Is. i. 7), Isaiah's death (ibid. v. 14), and Rebecca's blessing of Jacob (Jub. v. 14). It is with the present and future aspects of the Spirit's work that differences from the canonical scriptures become more apparent. In so far as the future activity of the Spirit is concerned, there are two passages which link the Spirit with the coming of the Messiah, Enoch xlix. 3 (although the possibility of Christian influence on Enoch cannot be ignored) and especially Ps. Sol.

xvii. ³⁷42: καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενήσει ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θεῷ αὐτοῦ.
ὅτι ὁ θεὸς κατεργάσεται αὐτὸν δυνατόν ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ,
καὶ σοφὸν ἐν βουλῇ συνέσεως μετὰ ἰσχύος καὶ δικαιοσύνης

But there is little to equal the conception of the final, life-giving outpouring of the Spirit as we have seen it in Ezekiel.

In these writings also we find little to equal the sense of utter dependence upon God for his gift of the Spirit in the present, so finely set forth in the fifty-first psalm. The present activity of the Spirit is conceived in an ethical sense, as in the Testament of Simeon vii. 12: "He that hath a pure mind in love, looketh not after a woman with a view to fornication: for he hath no defilement in his heart, because the Spirit of God resteth on him". A somewhat similar passage appears in T. Simeon iv. 4. The conjunction of the Spirit with this simple ethical instruction seems to belong to the same category as the teaching of e.g., Barnabas and the Didache, and is relatively independent of any particular history and eschatology; and as well the possibility of Stoic influence

must be recognised -- cf. Seneca: "A holy spirit dwells within us, one who marks our good and bad deeds, and is our guardian".¹ There is also emphasized the present activity of the Spirit in connection with the ideas of God's guidance of his people and the gifts of truth and wisdom (see especially Sib. Or. iii. 701; Sib. Frag. i. 5; Wisdom i. 6b-7, ix. 7). This has Old Testament antecedents, especially in, e.g. Job xxi. 8:

But it is the spirit in a man,
the breath of the Almighty,
that makes him understand.

There is here also the considerable possibility that a basically Old Testament conception has been developed under Hellenistic influence. In Wisd. i. 7b ('that which holdeth all things together') we have a conception closely related to that of the Stoic 'world-soul'. (For Stoicism, the $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ is a natural element, connected variously with air and fire, of which God consists and in which man has his life, as in "a living and thinking gas".)²

In regard to the present activity of the Spirit in the gift of prophecy we see a considerable difference between the Old Testament and the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. This becomes most clear in 4 Ezra xiv. 18-31, in which Ezra offers prayer for inspiration to restore the lost Scriptures. Verses 21-22 read:

~~For thy Law is burnt (a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar); and so no man knows the things that have been done by~~

1. Sacer into nos spiritus sedet, malorumque bonorumque nostrorum observator et custos (Ep. Mor. 41. 2, of conscience).
2. W. Scott, Hermetica, quoted C.H. Dodd, "The Bible and the Greeks", p. 122, n. 7. Cf. A. Bonhoeffer, Epiktet und das neue Testament, p. 163, and S. Holmes in R.H. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, in loc. (vol. I, p. 536)

thee, or the works that shall be done. If, then, I have found favour before thee, send into me the Holy Spirit, that I may write all that has happened in the world since the beginning, even the things which were written in thy law, in order that men may be able to find the path, and that they who would live at the last, may live.

Ezra's prayer -- ostensibly at least -- is a prayer for inspiration only to restore the lost Scriptures, not for the gift of the Spirit to convey some fresh revelation of God. In this we see the 'hardened' view of inspiration which has arisen, according to which the Spirit of prophecy has been withdrawn.

This point of view is in fact that of Rabbinic Judaism, but it is there formulated much more rigidly. For Rabbinic thought the Spirit has ceased to be presently active. The Spirit was given in the past, in the prophets and supremely in the giving of the Law, but not in the present.¹ The reason for this is clear: the life of Israel was governed by what was given in the past, i.e., the Law. So, e.g., Davies writes: "However much the fact may have been exaggerated by Christian scholars, Rabbinic piety was essentially nomistic",² and Moore writes similarly: "When the holy spirit was withdrawn from Israel, the age of revelation by prophetic agency was at an end. The scribes, interpreters of the word of God written and custodians of the unwritten law, succeed."² The time

1. Cf. Davies, PRJ 209-215, who discusses the contrary arguments of Abelson and Marmorstein, and concludes: "The evidence.... of belief in the frequent activity of the Holy Spirit in Rabbinic Judaism is unconvincing. The weight of the evidence suggests that that activity was regarded as a past phenomenon in Israel's history, a phenomenon that had indeed given to Israel its Torah, its prophets and the whole of its Scripture, but which had ceased when the prophetic office ended." (W.D. Davies, PRJ p. 215) It is however, important to note that this applies to the gift of the Spirit in terms of prophecy, which is one way only of God's working, albeit for the Hebrew tradition one of great importance.

2. Davies, op. cit., p. 215; G.F. Moore, Judaism, 1, p. 421

of this cessation of the Spirit's activity was variously given, the two main views being that it ceased with the destruction of the first Temple, and that the cessation came with the death of the last of the prophets.¹

This somewhat rigid view may have resulted from several factors. It may have arisen in part simply from the desire to ensure the absolute authority of Israel's scriptures,² but as well the increasing awareness was difficult to reconcile with the idea of the continuing presence of the Spirit. "However saintly an individual may be, the Rabbis deemed that only if he lived in a worthy environment could he receive the Holy Spirit; his milieu had to be such as to make possible his reception of the latter."³ Moses could thus receive the Spirit, as not only he but also the people were worthy of it. Hillel the Elder, on the other hand, was worthy of the Spirit but his generation was not, and consequently he was denied the gift of the Spirit; similarly in the case of Samuel the Little.⁴ The people were aware that they were unworthy of the gift of the Spirit, and because they were unworthy even the most worthy individuals could not receive it. R. Eliezer (80-120 A.D.) in answer to the question 'Why is the Holy Spirit so little in evidence in Israel?' quoted Isa. lix. 2: "Your iniquities have made a separation between you and your God".⁵

1. The two views and the authorities for both are given by Davies, op. cit. pp. 208-209.
2. The effect of the rise of the Christian Church on Rabbinic thought is difficult to assess. It seems at least possible that the idea of the cessation of the Spirit's activity might have appeared attractive in part for the polemic opportunity it gave to deny the authority of the Christian Scriptures. Cf. Moore, op. cit., I, p. 241.
3. Davies, op. cit., p. 205. Cf. L. Blau, art. 'Holy Spirit', J.E., VI, p. 448b: "The Holy Spirit dwells only among a worthy generation, and the frequency of its manifestations is proportionate to the worthiness."
4. Davies, PRJ, p. 207, Moore, Judaism, I, p. 422; Tosefta Sotah 13. 3; J. Sotah 9. 24b; b. Sotah 48b; b. Sanh. 11a. Cf. Str. -B. I, p. 124, II, p. 128 n. 1.
5. Davies, PRJ, p. 206, quoting Sifre Deut. on xviii. 12, para. 173.

This, incidentally must make us cautious of speaking of the Spirit as 'withdrawn', as, e.g., Moore does;¹ rather we must say that the Spirit was present, but was denied free course by the sin of the people.

The material available in the Dead Sea Scrolls presents us with a situation rather different from that which we have seen in Rabbinic literature, and also different in many respects from that found in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. This material is discussed more fully below,² but at this point it is necessary to draw attention to the intense awareness of the presence of the Spirit that is characteristic of the community and the ethical significance attached to the Spirit's work. These facts bring the view of the Spirit held by the Qumran community considerably closer to the view of the early Christian community.

We are now in a somewhat better position to appreciate the significance of what Paul found in the Church. Here was a community in which the Spirit was indeed present. And it was present not merely as an all-pervasive element or as something that was permanently present in this world, but came from another world to this in all the creative power of which the Old Testament knew, and even more than that: all to which the Old Testament pointed forward. The NT. experience of the Spirit, even at the earliest stages, is not represented only as return to the days when the Spirit raised up prophets in Israel; it is, rather, the realisation of that day when all the people should be prophets (Acts ii. 16-21). This understanding of the gift of the Spirit to the Church as the realisation of that to which the OT pointed forward is not stated so

1. Judaism, I, p. 421.

2. See pp. 141 ff

explicitly in the Pauline epistles, but is nevertheless present. The only explicit reference is in Gal. iii. 14 "... that we might receive the promised Spirit through faith".¹ But the understanding of the gift of the Spirit by the primitive Church is also shared by Paul, in that his view of the Spirit is, as we have seen, not basically different from that of his predecessors in the Church. The phenomenon of prophecy, e.g., is regarded by him as a consequence of the presence of the Spirit (cf. 1 Cor xii. 10-11), and he, no less than Ezekiel, regards the new life of the people of God as the gift of the Spirit (Rom. viii. 2)². Through the work of Christ,³ a community had been created within which the Spirit might have free course.

When we approach this from the point of view of the Rabbinic literature we would expect this to mean: The Age to Come, ha-olam ha-ba, has come: the evil age in which the Spirit could not have free course because of the sin of man, is no more. And in fact this contrast between the two Ages is present in Paul. The believer belongs no longer to the temporal world, but to the eternal (2 Cor. iv. 18). There are two ages, each with its own σχήμα, "but the σχήμα after which the Christian patterns himself is that of the other world, not that of this world."⁴ The Christian's πολιτεία is in heaven, not on the earth, and therefore he

1. "τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος is a metonymic phrase meaning the promised Spirit" (Burton, ICC in loc.). Cf. Eph. i. 13: ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ — the expression is the other way around, but means the same. G. Vos, 'The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline conception of the Spirit' (Princeton, Biblical and Theological Studies, pp. 209-259) argues that there is this explicit link in Rom. i. 1-4 also: "The two aspects of the Messianic Person, that κατὰ πνεῦμα as well as that κατὰ σάρκα were part of the prophetic promise in the Holy Spirit." (p. 224) But this seems to be over-forcing Paul's language: the connection is not as particular as that.
2. Though the gift of life is not exclusively associated with the Spirit; see below, p. 93. 123.
3. The dependence of the gift of the Spirit on the work of Christ is discussed below, p. 88. 120

should not mind earthly things (Phil. iii. 19-20). God has blessed us with every spiritual (πνευματικός) blessing in Christ Jesus (Eph. i. 3). Believers are those εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντηκεν (1 Cor. x. 11). That age to which the free outpouring of the Spirit belongs has come.

But it has not yet fully come. Paul's use of the terms 'this world' and 'the flesh', for example, clearly implies that these stand for real present forces against which the Christian must struggle. Death is still a real enemy, which will not be fully overcome until Christ's ultimate victory, (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24-27). The eschatological conflict remains. This is well brought out by Vos:

The pneumatic life of the believer, while centred in heaven, loses none of its eschatological setting. Back of the static continues to lie the dramatic; the distinction between the earthly and the heavenly is not cosmologically but eschatologically conceived. By the pneumatic as a synonym for the heavenly, Paul does not mean heaven or the spiritual in the abstract, but heaven and the spiritual as they have become in result of the process of redemption.....

The new contrast between two simultaneous worlds does not supersede the eschatological perspective for the future. The two spheres are still in conflict, the two ages still labour to bring forth their respective worlds, a crisis is still outstanding.¹

Thus the Pauline eschatology is not to be understood as a purely 'realised' eschatology: rather, this world and the next are simultaneously present and are in conflict with each other.

We must accordingly ask what is the place of the Spirit in this rather more complex eschatological scheme. The answer to this is found in those passages in which Paul designates the Spirit as the ἀρχή and ἀπαρχή.² In using these terms, Paul is employing two vivid

1. Ibid., p. 245

2. Rom. viii. 23; 2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5. In all of these cases the genitive τοῦ πνεύματος is a defining genitive, not (as Gunkel, op. cit. p. 63, and Hamilton, The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in

metaphors: the Spirit is in the one likened to that sheaf of wheat which is given representing the whole of the harvest, and in the other to the down-payment which guarantees the payment of the remainder due.¹

In Rom. viii this gift of the Spirit is set in a world-embracing context: in the midst of a creation that groans longing for redemption, the Spirit appears among the Christians as the sign that redemption actually is nigh. In 2 Cor. i. 22 the gift of the Spirit is the guarantee of the ^{κοινωνία} of Paul and his readers in Christ, and in 2 Cor. v. 5 the Spirit's presence now is the guarantee of the future final redemption of the body. The significance of this for Paul's theological position is excellently brought out by Barrett:

For Paul also, the gift of the Spirit meant both the realisation of eschatology and a reaffirmation of it: so much is implied by his use of the term ^{ἀπαρχή}; the present possession of the Spirit means that part of the future bliss is already attained, and equally that part still remains future, unpossessed.²

'This world' is for Paul a world of evil, of suffering and of death. The Spirit belongs essentially to the world to come. But through the grace of God, the gift of the Spirit may be received now in the community which is raised up in Christ.³ In the midst of this world, within the Church, the

2. (Ctd. from previous page) Paul p. 32 n.2) a partitive genitive: the meaning is not that we have received the first part of the gift of the Spirit, but that we have received the gift of the Spirit, which is the first part of our inheritance. In Eph. i. 14 the ^{ἀπαρχή} is identified with τὸ πνεῦμα, and is here followed by the (in this case) partitive genitive τῆς κληρονομίας. Although the construction is different, the meaning is thus the same. Cf. Vos, op. cit. p. 227 n. 22.

1. The use in modern Greek of ἀπαρχή = engagement ring is an attractive analogy. G. Delling (ἀπαρχή, TWNT 1, 483-484) interestingly points out that this use of ἀπαρχή involves an inversion in the normal relationship of giver and receiver: here God gives the ἀπαρχή.

2. C.K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, p. 153, quoted Hamilton, op. cit. pp. 20-21.

3. Cf. Vos, op. cit., p. 228: "The Spirit's proper sphere is the world to come; from there he projects himself into the present, and becomes a prophecy of himself in his eschatological operation."

power of the coming age reveals itself. Thus there is an essential connexion between the present Spirit and the final consummation, the nature of which is well brought out by Gunkel:

Das den Christen verliehen^{ist} gut ist Gerechtigkeit, Friede und Freude im heiligen Geist, worin eben das Reich Gottes besteht (Rom. xiv.17).
 — *Τρέμμα* also und *κνισσομεν* gehören zusammen; jenes ist die gegenwärtige, ⁹⁷
 diese die zukünftige Teilhaberschaft der Christen am Gottesreiche. Der das eine gab giebt sicherlich das andere hinzu. Der angefangen hat, wird auch vollenden. Gott ist treu.

We have seen the significance of that presence of the Spirit which Paul discovered in the Church: it means that for him the ideas of the Church and of the Spirit stand in indissoluble connexion. Further, this presence of the Spirit in the Church means for him the confirmation of the Gospel. That to which the OT and Judaism had looked forward had come to pass. The guarantee of the final consummation of God's redeeming work in Christ as there to be seen in the Spirit-filled Christian community. In the light of this we can understand more clearly some aspects of the Apostle's life and thought. 'Quench not the Spirit', e.g., is more than an indication that Paul did not disapprove altogether of some forms of Spirit-utterance: to quench the Spirit would be to deny a basic datum both of Paul's experience and of his theology. We can also understand better why Paul so exerted himself as a churchman².

1. H. Gunkel, op. cit. p. 64.
2. Cf. J.A. Allan, unpublished notes: "Paul's whole life's activity as a preacher of the Gospel was essentially the work of a founder and organiser of the churches, and one of his great concerns was to maintain the unity of the Church. This passion for the Church and its unity is shown not only by his constant appeals for harmony within individual congregations, but also by his refusal to entertain for a moment the obvious solution to the problem raised by the Judaisers, namely to begin a separate Gentile Church; and by his risking of his liberty and life to take the collection to Jerusalem."

Certain characteristic emphases in his teaching concerning the Church become clearer. The Church is one, because there is one Spirit (1 Cor. xii. 11-13). It is a new community, different from all others. "It is universal, the meeting ground for men and women, slave and free, Jew and Gentile. No physical differences and no accidents of colour or station have any relevance for Christ's love, Christ's Spirit, Christ's Father. All participate in the Son and in the Spirit, forming a genuine fellowship of the unlike. Christ risen and Christians raised are one in the Spirit."¹

The nature of the Church thus given in the Spirit is something which both is the case and is an ideal that is to be demanded. In the fact that the Church is a new and unique community is given also the normative form of the Church, and the nature of the Christian's life as a member of this new community is also given. But before we can proceed further to consider the bearing of Paul's doctrine of the Spirit on his understanding of the Christian life we must consider the relation in his thought between Christ and the Spirit.

C. THE SPIRIT AND CHRIST.

The relationship in the thought of Paul between the Spirit and Christ presents us with a rather complex question. It is particularly difficult in that we tend to approach the matter with a mental framework provided by the whole course of the development of Trinitarian theology within the Church, with the result that we approach Paul's thought with pre-suppositions which were not his. This is not to deny that Paul's thought is basically

1. G. Johnston, The Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament, p. 100

Trinitarian in structure, or to pre-judge the issue in any way, but rather to insist that the framework for his thought is provided by experience, both his own and that of the primitive Church -- he did not have behind him two thousand years of Christian theology.

We shall begin by examining some of the ways in which Paul connects the Spirit and Christ, considering first some of the simpler modes of expression and clearer lines of thought, only then proceeding to discuss some more difficult passages.¹ There is first the familiar fact that for Paul the new standing of the Christian may be designated equally well as $\epsilon\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ (e.g., Rom. viii. 1) or as $\epsilon\upsilon\ \pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ (Rom. viii. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$). The reception of the Spirit was, as we saw above,² the mark of being a Christian. This connexion between the Spirit and Christ is further brought out by the use of the phrase 'the Spirit of Christ' (Rom. viii. 9; cf. 2 Cor. iii. 17b; cf. Gal. iv. 6; Phil. i. 19).

In this phrase there is evident an intimate connection between the

1. In adopting this procedure I must indicate my absolute dissent from that adopted by N.Q. Hamilton, The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul. While his work contains much that is of value, his treatment is made highly questionable by his whole method of approach. (i.) He brings to his work a definite dogmatic presupposition, without raising the question of its adequacy for the Pauline material. Of Professor Oscar Cullmann he writes: "His work Christ and Time opened up the main issues of the eschatological debate so clearly and treated them so convincingly that my study takes Professor Cullmann's conclusions as a foundation." (P. 2) (ii.) As the starting point for his discussion of the Pauline material he takes the celebrated crux interpretatum 2 Cor. iii. 17. It seems extraordinarily bad methodology to base a study upon the interpretation of such a verse; and what is even more surprising, he has not considered at all that stream of thought which does not interpret that verse as identifying the Spirit and Christ, represented, e.g., in the Greek Fathers, and among modern writers in the 4th. edn. of Lietzmann (1/11 Korinther), E.F. Scott, A.E.J. Rawlinson. The passage is discussed below, pp. 126ff. 89-91; at this point I merely wish to make clear my objection to the methodology adopted by Hamilton.

2. P. 98; Gal. iii. 1-2, cf. Rom. viii. 9

Spirit and Christ, but it is also clear that there is a differentiation made: Paul is not speaking tautologically. The gift of the Spirit is for Paul not explicitly made conditional upon the work of Christ, as in the Johannine literature.¹ This, however, is not surprising and cannot be construed as a difference between Paul and John: it is to be explained by the fact that Paul writes always in the context of the finished work of Christ. This is to be seen, e.g., in the way in which the Spirit is regarded as constituting the one body of Christ (1 Cor. xii. 13); the idea of the Body of Christ is meaningless except in the context of Christ's completed work. Only in this way, too, can we understand the eschatological connotation of the Spirit in the Church: His presence is possible only because Christ's work has created a community within which the Spirit may freely act. It is interesting to note that this pattern is repeated in the case of the individual believer: it is in consequence of his justification that he receives the gift of the Spirit.² There is thus an 'historical' difference between Christ and the Spirit. There is a further clear difference to be pointed out: "Whereas Christians are said to constitute with Christ one Body, so that as members they are incorporated into Christ, no such relation is ever suggested in the case of the Spirit,

1. Cf. Jn. vii. 39, xvi. 7

2. Cf. Rom. v. 1-5. A. Schweitzer draws a sharp distinction between on the one hand 'being in Christ' and the life in the Spirit which is the mark of that state, and on the other hand the doctrine of Justification by faith, which he describes as a "subsidiary crater, which has formed within the rim of the main crater -- the mystical doctrine of redemption through the being-in-Christ" (Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p. 225). In view of the connection here noted between the fact of justification and the gift of the Spirit, the distinction which Schweitzer draws appears to be far too rigid. Rather we must regard the dying and rising with Christ and Justification by faith as parallel descriptions of the same thing.

although the Spirit is everything for the life of the Body."¹

We can see then that for Paul the Spirit is brought into the closest association with Christ, but that there are also certain distinctions made. We shall now consider some of his statements that are less clear, bearing in mind the material already covered.

(1). Rom. viii. 9b: "Anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him."

This occurs in a passage in which there are three parallel expressions:

Rom. viii. 9a: Εἴτερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν.

Rom. viii. 9b: εἰ δὲ τις πνεῦμα χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει

Rom. viii. 10: εἰ δὲ χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν.

Hamilton points out that in this passage the terms 'Christ', 'Spirit of Christ' and 'Spirit of God' are used interchangeably, and asserts that this implies a "dynamic identification" of Christ and the Spirit.² But on the following page he implies that there is a distinction in that he says that Rom. viii. 9b "States that the Spirit is the connecting link between Christ and the believer in every respect." (One cannot speak of x as a connecting link between a and b if it is identical -- in any recognisable sense -- with either.) It seems better to recognise that in this Chapter Paul is not concerned with trying to establish any ontological relation between Christ and the Spirit, and to speak with Dodd, of his "virtual identification of the experience of the Spirit with the experience of the indwelling Christ."³ (It is possible that this is

1. J.A. Allan, referring to E. Mersch, The Whole Christ, pp. 146-147

2. Op. cit., p. 10.

3. C.H. Dodd, M.N.T.C. Romans, p. 124. My italics.

what Hamilton means when he speaks of the 'dynamic identification' of Christ and the Spirit, but his use of that term is rather elusive.)

(2). 1 Cor. xv. 45: "The first man Adam became a living soul, the last Adam a life-giving spirit".

This passage has already in some aspects been discussed.¹ The question which concerns us at this point is whether by πνεῦμα Paul refers to τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα. Should we, that is, translate by 'a life-giving spirit' or 'a life-giving Spirit'? -- or even 'the life-giving Spirit', as does Davies?² We shall begin with what seems at any rate relatively clear: the ἐγένετο of the first half of the verse is understood also in the second, and thus speaks of a change in the condition or status of Christ. It seems clear, further, that this change in status or condition is effected by the resurrection, which is the theme of the whole chapter. The contrast between the first and the last Adam is thus that the first man was a living soul, whereas the last Adam not only has life but is capable of communicating life to others.³ The πνεῦμα is thus contrasted with the ψυχῇ, ζωοποιεῖν with ζῶν. ψυχῇ here denotes "the merely natural, earthly vitality in contrast to the divinely given capacity for eternal life."⁴ What specifically does Paul mean by πνεῦμα? There are two possible interpretations: (a), that the reference is to the Holy Spirit, and that accordingly we are to see here an identification of Christ and the Spirit and (b) that πνεῦμα is used as a description of the nature of

1. See above, pp. 30ff.
2. PRJ, p. 177 (my italics)
3. Cf. Bengel: non solum vivit, sed etiam vivificat.
4. Bultmann, op. cit., I, p. 204. Bultmann notes that this is a departure from Paul's normal use of ψυχῇ, which stands wholly in the OT tradition, denoting man as living being, without any deprecatory sense. This departure is attributed by Bultmann to the influence of the Gnostic usage, but it seems rather more likely that it is the result of Paul's concentration on the splendour of the life brought into being through the last Adam.

the risen Christ.

In favour of the former one may point to the conjunction of $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ and $\zeta\omega\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; the same verb is used with $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ as subject in 2 Cor. iii. 6,¹ and there is, e.g., the description of the Spirit as the 'Spirit of life' (Rom. viii. 2). Thus Schlatter writes:

Denn er (Christus) ist der Empfänger und Besitzer des Geistes, und die Verschiedenheit zwischen beiden zeigt sich darin, dass Christus nicht bloss für sich selbst Leben hat, sondern solches in den anderen zu schaffen vermag. Das aber ist das Merkmal des Geistes, dass er die schaffende Kraft in sich hat, die da Leben hervorbringt, wo es nicht ist.²

Hamilton takes this a great deal further, and writes:

In 2 Cor. iii. 17 we saw that the Spirit was identical with the Lord (i.e., the resurrected exalted Christ). Rom. i. 4 made it clear that this life of resurrection and exaltation came after and as a result of the resurrection. What we have behind this verse is a striking and illuminating parallel between what occurred at creation and what occurred at Christ's resurrection. In the same way that God breathed the breath of life into the man of dust so that that breath and man's life became synonymous, so also at Christ's resurrection the Father breathed the Holy Spirit into His dead Son so that He lived and so that that Spirit and the life of the resurrected Lord became synonymous.

Here we see the Spirit and Christ identified in a remarkably intimate way which goes beyond all dynamic explanations. The Spirit is the resurrection and exaltation of the Lord.³

In considering this approach we must first note that there is no uniformity either within the Pauline epistles or in the New Testament as a whole in the ascription of the role of the life-giver. Richardson in a valuable note points out that "in John. v. 21, Rom. iv. 17, Heb. xi. 19, etc., it is God who gives life to the dead; in John v. 21 (cf. vi. 33, 51 etc.), 1 Cor. xv. 22, 45, Christ is the life-giver; and in John vi. 63... Rom. viii. 2. 10f, 2 Cor. iii. 6 the Spirit is the life-giver."⁴

1. Which Hamilton, op. cit. p. 7, links with 1 Cor. xv. 45.

2. A. Schlatter, Commentary in loc.

3. N.Q. Hamilton, op. cit. pp. 14-15. (His italics.)

4. A. Richardson, Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 72, n.1.

Schlatter's view that in the New Testament it is the Spirit that is regarded as the life-giver is thus true, but not exclusively so.

Hamilton's argument is perplexing both in its premises and in its conclusion; it is difficult, in fact, to attach any sense to the last sentence quoted. The connection between the Spirit and the resurrection of Christ does not appear to rest on any strong foundation - his exegesis is quite strained. Of the passages which he holds make this link, he writes, "They do this indirectly, by means of the concepts of 'glory' and 'power' associated with the Spirit",¹ The passages in question are 1 Cor. vi. 14, Rom. vi. 4, 2 Cor. xiii. 4, and Rom. i. 4. Typical of the exegesis we are offered is the comment on the second of these passages: " 'By the glory of the Father' is probably a formal, and perhaps a liturgical phrase. Glory suggests the state to which Christ attained at His exaltation, and behind that state lies the Spirit. Then we may conclude that that same Spirit is the agent at work behind the glory which raised up Christ."² This is quite illegitimate exegesis. The phrases 'the glory of God', 'the power of God', and 'the Spirit of God' do belong, as it were, in the same 'family group'; but that is not to say that when Paul uses one of them he means another. There in fact seems to be no evidence to suggest that Paul viewed the Spirit as the agent in Christ's

1. Op. cit. p. 13. He is here following Vos, op. cit., p. 234.

2. Ibid., p. 14.

resurrection.¹ Thus Hamilton's second basis of argument for regarding $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ in 1 Cor. xv. 45 as a reference to the Holy Spirit is also seen to be unsound.

We must therefore consider the alternative: that $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ is used as a description of the risen Christ. This has at once the merit of fitting in with the context, which is a discussion of the 'spiritual body',² whereas a reference to the Holy Spirit would appear to be a digression. $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ here bears the ideas of power and energy associated with נְהַיִת in the OT (quite apart from the נְהַיִת נְהַיִת). It is in this respect that it is contrasted with $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ which here (and perhaps only here) denotes the merely living. This contrast is further brought out by the qualifying words, σωποιοῦν and ζῶσα . The verse thus emphasizes the victory implied in the resurrection of Christ, not only in

1. Hamilton unfortunately does not discuss the following view of E.F. Scott: "It is not a little remarkable that in his references to the act of resurrection Paul leaves the Spirit out of account. When Ezekiel tells of the dry bones changing again into living men he makes the Spirit breathe into them and restore them. The Psalmist conceives of God as sending forth His Spirit, and so renewing the pulse of life from generation to generation. In view of such Old Testament suggestions we might have expected that Paul, too, would have ascribed to the Spirit some direct part in the process of resurrection. Perhaps he refrains from doing so because of his profoundly inward conception of the working of the Spirit. It effects the renewal now, in man's inward life, and the actual resurrection is nothing but the inevitable outcome of this renewal. 'If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies because of his Spirit that dwelleth within you.'" (The Spirit in the New Testament, pp. 148-149, quoting Rom. viii. 11)
2. Cf. J. Hering, C.N.T. in loc.: "Le deuxième Adam est $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$, parce que créature spirituelle, c'est-à-dire surnaturelle (sur le sens de $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$, v. 44), De plus, il contient en lui-même la source de toute vie, et plus particulièrement la source de la vie éternelle, tandis que le premier ne fait que participer à la vie à la manière d'un être naturel.
 a tandis que le premier Adam est $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, c'est-à-dire un être naturel (cp. le sens de $\psi\upsilon\chi\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ v. 44).

the negative sense of a victory over the forces of evil, but also in the positive sense of a victory whereby the Lord Christ enters into that status wherein He may give life to all men, a status that is indicated by πνεῦμα ζωοποιού

(3). 2 Cor. iii. 17a: ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστίν.

This phrase appears puzzling when it is considered in the light of the passages discussed above; although we see there a close association between the Spirit and Christ, there is nothing which may be taken to imply identification. Yet many scholars consider that in some sense at least such an identification is made here by Paul.¹ On the other hand, there are also many who deny that there is to be found in this clause an identification of Christ and the Spirit.²

Any understanding of the clause that is to be deemed satisfactory must fit it intelligibly into its context; verses 17-18 clearly constitute the climax of the argument running through the chapter, and the clause must therefore be understood in the light of the development of Paul's argument. This in turn requires that attention be given to the meaning of each of the words in the clause.

2 Cor. iii is concerned principally with the question of the relation of the new covenant to the old. The difference between them is summed up in this, that the old covenant belongs to the sphere of γράμμα the new to that of πνεῦμα. The basic reference of τὸ πνεῦμα

1. So, e.g. H. Gunkel, op. cit. p. 90; C.H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, p. 67; R.H. Strachan, M.N.T.C. 2 Corinthians, p. 88; N.Q. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 4.
2. As, e.g., W.G. Kummel (Lietzmann, An die Korinther 1/11, 4. Aufl., p. 200) E.F. Scott, The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 181; A.E.J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ, p. 155 n. 6. Rawlinson also states that it is the interpretation of the majority of the Greek Fathers and for references thereto refers to Lebreton, Les Origines du Dogme de La Trinite, p. 567 n. 2.

in verse 6 is not to the Holy Spirit but rather to spirit (πνεῦμα)

in a more general sense as the source of power and of life. Because of this the old covenant is itself one of death while the new is one of life. There follows the discussion of the abiding glory (the Christological associations of δόξα are to be borne in mind) of the new covenant as opposed to the transitory glory of the old. The fleeting nature of the glory of the old covenant is illustrated by reference to Moses (Ex. xxxiv), and 2 Cor. iii. 16 follows closely the language of Ex. xxxiv. 34, LXX.¹

But although Paul is using Old Testament language it has been

re-interpreted: ὁ Κύριος is not ὁ Κύριος πνιγ' but ὁ Κύριος

Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.² It is this Lord who is the subject of the following clause, which asserts that He τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν. From the progress of the argument a reference to the Holy Spirit at this point seems out of place; rather, τὸ πνεῦμα is used in the sense in which it appears in verse 6 (and earlier at 1 Cor. xv. 45). In what sense then does the clause say that the Lord is spirit? The verb to be is not here used to postulate identification, and still less to make any assertion regarding the 'substance' of the Risen Lord. It seems best to regard it as being used here (as often in the Pauline epistles)³ in the sense of 'means', 'signifies'. The clause may then be understood to assert that the Lord signifies or represents the new order of the spirit that has come into

1. The two passages are set out below; in (b) words taken up or represented in (a) are underlined.

(a) 2 Cor. iii. 16.

ἡ γὰρ δὲ ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ
πρὸς Κύριον
περιπίπτει τὸ κάλυμμα

(b) Ex. xxxiv. 34, LXX.

ἡ γὰρ δὲ ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ
ἐαυτὶ Κυρίου λαλεῖν αὐτῷ
περιπίπτει τὸ κάλυμμα

2. Cf. Forster, 'Κύριος', T.W.N.T. iii, p. 1088: "Dass Jesus ist Κύριος als der Auferweckte, geht durch das ganze Neue Testament". (Quoted Hamilton, op. cit. p. 4 n. 1.)
3. For example, Rom. x. 6f; Gal. iii. 16, iv. 24.

being. This new order being of such a kind as it is (i.e. being characterized by πνεῦμα rather than by γράμμα) it follows naturally that where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. In view of the development of the argument, τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου in the second half of the sentence may be used with the quite specific sense of 'the Holy Spirit', in a way that was not possible until there was reached the position enunciated in the preceding clause.

This understanding of the clause is much superior to that which sees in it an identification of the Spirit and Christ. First, it accords with what we have seen to be Paul's thought elsewhere on the relation between the Spirit and Christ. Secondly, it understands the clause in the light of the development of the argument of the chapter, linking it intelligibly both to what precedes and to what follows. An assertion of the identity of Christ and the Spirit could at this point be only a Christological digression of a speculative nature, unrelated to the preceding argument and providing no foundation for what follows. Accordingly we must understand the clause to assert that the Lord represents the new order of spirit.

These passages, together with the others that we have studied, show that Paul both distinguished between Christ and the Spirit, and yet also thought of them in the closest association. How are we to account for this? It arose most probably from Paul's experience. It was among the followers of Jesus of Nazareth that Paul found the community of the Spirit. For him, as we have seen, the reception of the gift of the Spirit was the mark of true Christian belief, and the presence of the Spirit in the Church

was the chief mark of the Christian Church. It would indeed be surprising if that which is the chief mark of the Church were radically different in character from her Lord. The Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, and the genitive denotes both the source and the character of the Spirit. Hence the parallels noted in Rom. viii appear wholly natural.

This close relationship in Paul's thought between the Spirit and Christ is of considerable importance for our study. This becomes clear when we consider the words of Denney, that for Paul the Spirit "is not the power or the life of God simpliciter, but the power or the life of God as that has been manifested in Christ and especially in his resurrection and exaltation."¹ In other words, for Paul the Spirit is understood in the light of Christ. This affects two main questions: that of the 'personality' of the Spirit, and that of the relation of the Spirit to ethics.

The parallels which we have noted between the indwelling of Christ and of the Spirit, and the similar parallelism between ²ΕΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ and ²ΕΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ make it clear that for Paul we cannot think of any radical distinction between Christ and the Spirit. It would therefore be strange if he were to think of the former in personal categories (as he certainly does) but of the latter in impersonal categories. Also, the parallelism of such a passage as 2 Cor. xiii. 14 suggests a similar conclusion. And in fact actions are predicated of the Spirit which are quite personal. The following expressions from Rom. viii alone imply a fully personal understanding of the Spirit:

1. J. Denney, art. 'Holy Spirit', H.D.B., 1, p. 739a.

Verse 14: ὅσοι γὰρ Πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἔχονται

Verse 16: τὸ πνεῦμα συμμαρτυρεῖ τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν

Verse 26: τὸ πνεῦμα στενάζει ὑποτακνύμενον τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ ἡμῶν

Verse 26: τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεκτενύχεται στεναγμοῖς ἀκατάληκτοις.

There are also, of course a few passages which suggest an impersonal conception of the Spirit (e.g., 1 Cor. xii. 13: καὶ πάντες ἐν πνεύματι), but the whole tendency of Paul's thought on the Spirit suggests rather a personal conception and this is supported by the great majority of particular references.

Secondly, the close association in Paul's thought of the Spirit and Christ affects his view of the ethical nature of Christ's work. This will occupy us in the next section, but some preliminary remarks are called for here. First, we have seen that it is false to speak of Paul having 'ethicized' the idea of the Spirit, for it was an ethical conception already in the Old Testament,¹ and we need not deny to the primitive Church a similar insight. Nevertheless, Paul did make a definite contribution here. In a Church which was in danger of confining the work of the Spirit to the sphere of the extraordinary, Paul saw that the whole of a man's life 'in Christ' is also altogether a life 'in the Spirit', for there can for him be no suggestion of a gulf between the Spirit and Christ. In the words of Kennedy, "for those who absorbed the Apostle's teaching the Spirit became the normal principle of life and conduct".² It is this fact of bringing the whole of the Christian's life, and not merely the spasmodic and the spectacular, within the sphere of the

1. See above, p. 107

2. H.A.A. Kennedy, Theology of the Epistles, p. 91.

Spirit's activity that characterizes the Pauline teaching. And within this there is a stress on the ethical fruit of the Spirit, as distinct from others perhaps more striking. To the ethical aspect of Paul's doctrine of the Spirit we now turn.

D. THE SPIRIT AND THE CHRISTIAN'S LIFE.

For Paul the gift of the Spirit is, as we have seen, primarily a gift to the community: it is within the company of those redeemed in Christ that He has free course. But this does not mean that the Spirit is without significance for the life of the individual. The way in which Paul views the personal activity of the Spirit as He comes to each individual, and the consequences of this for the Christian's life, is of extreme significance for our study. We shall best consider this by means of an examination of Gal. v. 19-23, but before doing this, it is necessary to consider Paul's use of the term 'flesh'.

That for Paul the terms 'flesh' and 'spirit' stand in contrast to one another, and that the term 'flesh' stands for all that is opposed to God, is an observation frequently made. It is true so far as it goes, but it is to be noted that it covers only a minority of the Pauline uses of the term. In the majority of cases the word is used in a 'non-ethical' sense, without in itself conveying any moral judgment, but simply to denote a part or an aspect of human nature. Bultmann correctly speaks of the use of 'in the flesh' in Gal. ii. 20, Phil. i. 22 and 2 Cor. x. 3 in this way:

"To live" or "to walk in the flesh" means nothing else than simply "to lead one's life as a man", an idea which in itself does not involve

any ethical or theological judgment but simply takes note of a fact; not a norm but a field or a sphere is indicated by "in the flesh".¹

This 'non-ethical' use of 'flesh' preponderates in the Pauline epistles, appearing in Rom. i. 3, ii. 28, iii. 20, iv. 1, viii. 3c, ix. 3, 5, 8, xi. 14; 1 Cor. i. 29, v. 5, vi. 16, vii. 28, x. 18, xv. 39a.b.c.d, 50; 2 Cor. iv. 11, v. 16a.b, vii. 1, 5, x. 3a, xi. 18, xii. 7; Gal. i. 16, ii. 16, 20, iv. 13, 14, 23, 29, vi. 12, 13; Eph. ii. 11a.b, 14, v. 29, 31, vi. 5, 12; Phil. i. 22, 24, iii. 3, 4; Col. i. 22, 24, ii. 1, 5, 13, iii. 22; Philm. 16. The use of *σάρξ* with a morally bad sense appears in Rom. vi. 19, vii. 5, 18, 25, viii. 3a.b, 4-9 (7 times), 12, 13, xiii. 14; 1 Cor. i. 26; 2 Cor. i. 17, x. 2, 3b; Gal. iii. 3, v. 13, 16, 17a.b, 19, 24, vi. 8a.b; Eph. ii. 3a.b; Col. ii. 11, 18, 23.² The term does not appear in either sense in the Thessalonian epistles, and in Philippians and Philemon, where it appears in the former sense it is absent in the second, and there is only one instance of the latter in 1 Corinthians. This is a fact of some significance, especially in relation to the last-named: it appears that Paul could discuss the 'sins of the flesh' without using the term *σάρξ*. It is not suggested that on the basis of this material one can regard the ethical use of 'flesh' as of little consequence, but it is suggested that care must be taken in considering it and that this distinctive ethico-theological meaning must not be read into contexts from which it is in fact absent. Further, it may be

1. R. Bultmann, op. cit., I, pp. 236-237, 235-236.

2. Similar lists appear in H. Wheeler Robinson, "The Christian Doctrine of Man", pp. 113ff., and in W.D. Davies, 'Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit' in K. Stendahl (ed.) The Scrolls and the New Testament, p. 163. In any such list there will be one or two instances in which the interpretation is doubtful, but at the present juncture we are not concerned with a detailed exegesis of every use of the term 'flesh' in Paul, but only with the general tendency of his usage.

illuminating to consider the specific contexts in which Paul does use the word in this sense.¹

One conclusion which does emerge at once, however, from a consideration of Paul's usage is the radical difference between Paul and any thinkers who hold an essentially dualistic view of man and the world. No such thinker could ever regard the flesh as 'morally neutral', and yet that is the sense in which Paul most frequently uses the term. Herein we see the gulf that separates his use of 'flesh' from that of the Hellenistic mystery religions. The flesh for Paul is not essentially evil.² In this he is dependent on the O.T. tradition, in which $\gamma\psi\tau$ is used simply of the human constitution. When it is contrasted with God or with spirit it does not imply the sinfulness of man but rather "man's frailty, dependence, or incapacity".³ This sense is basic in the Pauline epistles. But already it provides the basis for the second sense of 'flesh' that we there find. This is particularly clear in Jer. xvii. 5:

Thus says the Lord:

"Cursed is the man who trusts in man

and makes flesh his arm,

whose heart turns away from the Lord."

Our human constitution, in other words, is not essentially evil: but dependence on one's $\gamma\psi\tau$, one's self, rather than dependence on Yahweh,

1. See below, pp. 137 ff.

2. W.D. Davies, PRJ, p. 18 adduces two further reasons for distinguishing the Pauline use from the Hellenistic: (a), theologically, it makes impossible any belief in the real coming of Christ into this world; and (b), Hellenistic usage did not use $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ to express the material as opposed to the spiritual -- for that purpose $\sigma\alpha\lambda\eta$ was used.

3. H. Wheeler Robinson, op. cit., p. 25.

is apostasy and sin. This opens the way for the Pauline view of the flesh in this specifically ethical sense. It is unlikely, however, that Paul's idea stands on an O.T. basis alone. Davies (and before him N.P. Williams) show a connection with Rabbinic thought concerning the yetzer hara.¹ Rabbinic Judaism (and here I follow Davies) did not develop the ethical connotation of the term 'flesh' already present in the Old Testament. Rather, Rabbinic teaching entertained the idea of two impulses, the good and the evil, the struggle between which took place not in the flesh but in the heart. The evil impulse impelled man toward sin, especially sexual sin, yet "it is not evil in itself but only in so far as man is impelled by it to evil acts. It is the urge to self-preservation and propagation in a man and can therefore be mastered and put to good use."² It is highly likely that Paul, while himself continuing to use the O.T. term 'flesh', was also influenced by this mode of thought.

A rather closer parallel to the Pauline teaching is to be found in the Qumran literature, where the actual term $\gamma\psi\eta$ is used in a sense very similar to that of Paul.³ In 1 QS xi. 9-10, as Kuhn points out, "the company of the flesh of evil" is synonymous with "the mankind of perversion",⁴ "the company of worms", and "those who walk in darkness". In the

1. W.D. Davies, PRJ, pp. 20ff; N.P. Williams, op. cit. pp.
2. Davies, op. cit. p. 22.
3. This use is discussed by K.G. Kuhn, 'New light on Temptation, Sin and Flesh in the New Testament', in Stendahl, op. cit. pp. 94-113, and by W.D. Davies, 'Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit' (ibid., pp. 157-182), and also PRJ, 2nd. edition, pp. 352-352 (additional note 3).
4. Kuhn, op. cit. p. 102. The Hebrew reads:

... ואנ' לאדם רשעה ולסוד בשר וזל 9. 4
... חושך וחולב' לסוד רמה 10. 4

The use of the pronoun $\gamma\psi\eta$ in 10 is to be noted: it is the same sort of use as in Rom. vii. 7ff, and is discussed below, p. 196 ff.

Habakkuk Commentary on ii. 7, 8 there appears the term 'body of flesh', which occurs in a non-ethical sense in Col. i. 22 and in an ethical sense in Col. ii. 11. The Qumran literature in fact provides many parallels to the Pauline use of the term 'flesh'. Of course there are also considerable differences: the use of the term 'flesh' must be seen in light of the dualism present in the literature, and in fact it may be that Paul is in Colossians arguing against Sectarian influences of the very kind here set forth.¹ But it seems unlikely that the Pauline use of 'flesh' can be wholly explained on the basis of O.T. material, and ^{it} is highly probable that Paul's thought on this was influenced by the thought of Judaism, both Rabbinic and Sectarian.

What, then, is the meaning of σὰρξ when it is used by Paul in this quite specific ethical sense? K.R. Kirk rightly points out that there is more in it than 'human nature in its frailty'; he suggests that the word has two closely connected meanings:

It implies, first, those factors in a man's character, possessions or surroundings which, though good in themselves, it is possible for him to misuse or misapply; it implies, in the second place, the tendency to misuse them which, apart from grace, is the normal and indeed inevitable tendency of life.²

But even this does not go far enough. It does not account for the use ⁱⁿ the passage in Galatians that we have in mind here, where the flesh appears as more than a 'tendency', but as a positive power of evil; it does not account for the gulf that separates life κατὰ σάρκα from life κατὰ πνεῦμα. The best exposition of the meaning of the term in this sense is given by Bultmann, whom it is worth quoting, even if at some

1. Cf. Davies, 'Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls', pp. 166-169. The dualism mentioned is discussed below, pp. 141 ff.
2. The Vision of God, p. 91 (his italics).

length.

The crucial question is whether 'in flesh' only denotes the stage and the possibilities for a man's life or the determinative norm for it -- whether a man's life "in flesh" is also life "according to the flesh" -- or, again, whether the sphere of the natural earthly, which is also that of the transitory and perishable, is the world out of which a man thinks he derives his life and by means of which he thinks he maintains it. This self-delusion is not merely an error, but sin, because it is a turning away from the Creator, the giver of life, and a turning toward the creation....

The sinful self-delusion that one lives out of the created world can manifest itself both in unthinking recklessness and in considered busyness.... -- both in the ignoring or transgressing of ethical demands and in excessive zeal to fulfil them. For the sphere of "flesh" is by no means just the life of instinct or sensual passions but is just as much that of the moral and religious efforts of man....

Whether, then, it is a matter of giving one's self up to worldly enticements and pleasures, either in frivolity or swept along by the storm of passion or whether it is the zealous bustle of moral and religious activity that is involved -- life in all of these cases is apostasy from God -- a turning away from Him to the creation and to one's own strength, and is, therefore, enmity toward God (Rom. viii. 6) and disobedience to the will of God (Rom. viii. 7; x. 3; 2 Cor. x. 5). All human wisdom, power and greatness must come to naught in the presence of God (1 Cor. i. 26-31).¹

We can now understand more fully the contrast between $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ and $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\mu\alpha$.

Where the latter term refers to the human spirit there is not always a contrast -- indeed, the two terms appear conjoined simply as a designation of the whole personality (e.g., 2 Cor. viii. 1). The human $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\mu\alpha$ "is that in virtue of which he (man) is open to and transmits the life of God".²

While it is at times difficult to decide whether Paul is in a particular case using $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\mu\alpha$ to refer to the human or to the divine spirit, there are cases in which the contrast between $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ and $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\mu\alpha$ is between two elements in man. Such instances are 1 Cor. v. 5, Rom. ii. 28-29, Col. ii. 5. More important for our purpose, however, is the contrast between the flesh and the Holy Spirit, as in Gal. v, where the two appear

1. R. Bultmann, op. cit. pp. 239, 241.

2. John A.T. Robinson, The Body, p. 19, citing Rom. viii. 16, cf. 1 Cor. ii. 10f.

as opposing forces: a power of evil which is in this world and of this world, and a power which is of God.

But before we proceed to consider this contrast, there is a further question which must be raised in connection with Paul's use of the term 'flesh'. Davies points out that almost all the instances of Paul's use of that term in the ethical sense occur "in three types of material: (a) in Rom. vii and viii, where Paul is concerned with the individual experience of sin; (b) in the polemic portions of Colossians; and (c) in the paraenetic section in Galatians." Later, he writes "The obvious fluidity with which Paul can use language makes the particular incidence of the term 'flesh' in his epistles even more significant. It is sectarian contexts that seem to be evocative of it."¹ This is a point of some importance, and one that it is too little noticed; but Davies's explanations of it hardly seem adequate. The connection with the religion of the Scrolls is established differently in each of the three groups of material. In Rom. vii-viii this connection is established by arguing that both there and in the Qumran literature the idea of the flesh as the seat of sin arises in a personal, experiential context. He interprets Rom. vii-viii autobiographically, and argues that there is a similar personal reference in those passages in the Scrolls in which basar has a moral connotation, especially in the psalms. The connection with Col. ii. 11-23 is established by showing the close similarity between the heresy that Paul is there fighting and the religion of Qumran. For Gal. v. 13-21 the connection is demonstrated by showing the points of

1. W.D. Davies, 'Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls', pp. 163, 169.

contact between that passage and the dualism of the two spirits in 1 QS iii. 13 - iv. 26, although he notes that the parallelism here¹ is loose".¹ The 'sectarian context' that is held to be evocative of this use of the term 'flesh' in the Pauline epistles is thus understood in a very general way, the relationship with the thought of the sect being understood differently in each of the three cases.

This is a rather complex hypothesis, and we must ask if there is not a more simple hypothesis which yet will cover all the facts adduced by Davies. It seems that there is, in that in all of the passages in question there is a connection with the Law. This is clear in the case of Romans and Galatians, and is also present in the case of Colossians, as Davies also notes.² (This is strengthened if we see in this passage a reference to the Qumran sect, with its extreme legalism.) In Galatians the whole context is provided by Paul's controversy with the Judaizers and it is only when this is borne in mind that the force of this passage can be appreciated. That the question of the Law is central in Rom. vii-viii is unquestionable. Further, the nature of the connexion which Davies sees there with the Scrolls is dubious. It is highly doubtful whether the 'I' of this literature ought to be taken in an individual sense,³ and the same is also true of the use of the first person in Rom. vii: the autobiographical interpretation is at least doubtful.⁴

1. Ibid., p. 171.

2. Ibid., p. 168: "... the Law itself is included among these forces (of evil), Col. ii. 14."

3. K.G. Kuhn, op. cit., p. 102 describes it as 'gnomic, descriptive of human existence' --- and in fact links it with Rom. vii for that very reason, i.e., the directly opposite reason from that of Davies! M. Black ('The Gospels and the Scrolls', T.U. LXXIII (1959), p. 578) holds that "the first person is like the 'I' of the Psalms, i.e. the representative of the Faithful congregation of Israel".

4. This is discussed below, pp. 198ff.

The connection of these particular passages with the Qumran literature is thus not altogether a strong one in any respect other than the use of the term 'flesh', and it is necessary to posit a different relationship to that literature in each case. In connecting them rather with the Law we have a rather more simple hypothesis, at least as far as the Pauline literature is concerned. It is to man in all the weakness of his flesh that the Law comes, in all its holiness as the revelation of the will of God. Man in the flesh cannot meet its demand: it stands over against him as a tyrant, causing him either to rebel, or else to try to seek justification out of his own strength by the complete fulfilment of it. Either way it is life *κατὰ σάρκα*, for it is life lived out of one's own resources. The Law and the flesh thus stand intimately linked in the Pauline view of man and of history.

With this in mind we may now return to the discussion of Galatians v. In verses 19-21 Paul enumerates a list of the 'works' (*ἔργα*, verse 18) of the flesh, i.e., 'deeds that originate in the flesh'.¹ In iii. 2-5, we find mentioned the 'works of the Law', *ἔργα νόμου*, i.e., deeds that the Law commands to be done. This is not just verbal coincidence. iii. 2-3 read: "... Did you receive the Spirit by works of the Law, or by hearing with faith? Are you so foolish? Having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?" (RSV) This 'ending with the flesh' means ending 'Not in sensual passions but in observance of the Torah', as Bultmann notes, and hence he can rightly say

To the category of conduct "according to the flesh" belongs above all zealous fulfilment of the Torah; it does so because a man supposes he can thereby attain righteousness before God by his own strength.²

1. Translation from Bauer, p. 306a.
2. Bultmann op. cit., I, p. 240.

In iii. 2ff. life in the Spirit is contrasted with life according to the Torah; in v. 19ff. it is contrasted with life according to the flesh. Life according to the Law is also life according to the flesh, and thus life $\beta\epsilon\rho\tau\omega\ \pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ stands opposed to both. But life 'according to the flesh' does not mean the same as life 'according to the Law'; both are fruitless for man's justification, but whereas life according to the flesh may show itself in a zeal for the Law it may also show itself in a life diametrically opposed to the ways of the Law. Having shown that life according to the Law is basically a life after the flesh, Paul in v. 19ff presents another picture of life after the flesh, and one that doubtless would shock any pious Jew or Judaizing Christian. For he appends a list of vices whose evil is manifest. Similar lists of vices appear, e.g., in Rom. i. 29-30, Col. iii. 5-8; 1 Cor. v. 10-11, vi. 10; Eph. v. 3. There are considerable differences between these lists, although some terms run through all of them -- e.g., $\pi\omicron\rho\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\lambda\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta$ (and $\pi\lambda\epsilon\omicron\rho\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ with which it is identified, Col. iii 5), and $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta$. These lists probably reflect current moral teaching of both Judaism and Hellenism;¹ for the former they constituted a part of the Jewish apologetic among Gentiles. Detailed study of the Galatian list is not here required. Paul's purpose is to bring home to his readers the real nature of life 'after the flesh'. They see set before them the enormity of such a life, and see that no

1. Cf. the parallels between the passage in Rom. i and the book of Wisdom in Sanday and Headlam, pp. 51-52; for parallels in the common moral teaching of the Hellenistic world, see A. Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, pp. 315ff., for a general discussion H. Lietzmann, H.Z.N.T III, p. 11; B.S. Easton, 'New Testament Ethical Lists, J.B.L. LI (1932) pp. 1-12; S. Wibbing, Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament.

one who lives after the flesh can inherit the kingdom of God.

Paul then passes to a list of virtues, described as the 'fruit of the Spirit' (ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος). Before going on to discuss this it is necessary to consider an important passage in the Manual of Discipline of the Qumran community which bears a striking resemblance to this passage. This is the section 1 QS iii. 13 - iv. 26, in which we read of two spirits, which may be described as competing for the allegiance of man, the spirit of truth (אֱלֹהִים אֱמֶת) and the spirit of deceit (אֱלֹהִים רִמָּיָה). In iv. 2 - 14 the 'ways' of the two spirits are set forth, together with the destiny or 'Visitation' (אֲדִיּוּת) of those who walk in the ways of each of the two spirits. We may best consider it on the basis of the tabulated form given by Davies:¹

Counsels of the Spirit of Truth

(Counsels) of Spirit of Error

Spirit of humility

Greediness

Slowness to anger

Slackness of hands in service of
righteousness

Great Compassion

Wickedness

Eternal goodness

Falsehood

Understanding

Pride

Insight

Haughtiness

Mighty wisdom

Lying

Leaning on works and Love of God

Deceit

Spirit of knowledge in acts

Cruelty

1. W.D. Davies, 'Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls', pp. 171-172

Zeal for right judgments

Holy thought

Sustained purpose

Love for sons of truth

Purity

Abhorrence of idols

Walking with humility

Prudence

Concealing the truth of the mysteries

Impiety

Quickness to anger

Abundance of folly

Proud jealousy

Fornication

Uncleanness

Stiffness of neck

Blasphemous tongue

Hardness of heart

Blindness of eye

Walking in darkness

Deafness of ears

Walking in cunning

Rewards for Sons of Truth

Healing

Peace

Length of days

Seed

Eternal blessings

Everlasting joy

Life of Eternity

Crown of glory

Raiment of Majesty in Eternal Light

Punishments for Sons of Error

Afflictions by destroying Angels

Eternal perdition in fury of God's
vengeance

Eternal trembling

Destroying disgrace in dark places

Sorrowful mourning

Bitter calamity

Dark disasters

No remnant

No escape

All men share in both: both spirits are at enmity

But

A PERIOD OF RUIN FOR ERROR IS SET BY GOD

Truth of the world will emerge

Man purified of evil spirit: sprinkled with spirit of truth

Given wisdom and knowledge of God and Sons of Heaven

The new comes,

.....

We quite clearly have here a striking parallel to our passage, which in similar^{fashion} has lists of 'the works of the flesh' and the 'fruit of the Spirit'. But first we must examine the idea of the two spirits and their nature and also the general ethical teaching of the sect, in order to fit this passage into context.

The teaching of the two spirits is without any immediate parallel in the O.T. The question at once arises, where do we find anything at all similar? Dupont-Sommer and Kuhn¹ both suggest a connexion with Zoroastrian teaching. The former quotes material from the Gathas, which it will be useful to have before us here:

I shall discourse of the two Spirits,
Of which the more holy one, at the beginning of existence, said to the
destroying one,
Neither our thoughts nor our doctrine, nor our mental forces,
Nor our choices, nor our words, nor our deeds,
Nor our consciences, nor our souls agree.

.....

At the beginning, the two spirits which are known.....as twins
Are the one better, the other evil

1. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, E.T. ch. vii: 'The Doctrine of the Two Spirits'; E.G. Kuhn, 'Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion', Z.T.K.XLIX (1952), pp. 296-316. I have not, however, seen the latter.

In thoughts, words, deeds; and between these two,
The wise choose well, but not so the foolish.

And when these two Spirits met,
They established in the beginning life and lifelessness,
And that at the end the worse existence should be for the evil,
But for the righteous the Better Thought.

Of these two Spirits, the evil one chooses to do the worse things,
But the most Holy Spirit, clothed with the firmest skies, sided with
Righteousness,
And thus did all those who are pleased to gratify the Wise Lord by
honourable actions....

But when their punishment shall come to these sinners,
Then, oh Wise One, thine empire shall be imparted, with the Good Thought,
To those who have surrendered Evil to the hands of Righteousness, O Lord...

Then shall there come about for evil the cessation of success,
While those who have gained good repute
Shall obtain the promised recompense
In the blessed abode of the Good Thought, of the Wise One, and of
Righteousness.....

If you, O men, understand the orders which the Wise One has given
Prosperity and punishment
Long torment for the wicked and salvation for the righteous, all shall
be henceforth for the better.¹

The Zoroastrian teaching does bear a considerable similarity to that
of the Manual. In both there is a certain ethical stress, and in both
an eschatological significance attaches to the two spirits. Wernberg-
Møller suggests a further similarity in that in both the conception of
the two spirits is 'metaphysical'.² This last point is questionable. The
use of the term 'metaphysical' in the context of the Manual is not
appropriate: we are dealing with a fluid mythology, remote from the
universe of discourse within which the use of the term 'Metaphysical'

1. Dupont-Sommer, op. cit., pp. 118-119, quoting Yasna xlv. 2 and xxx. 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11.
2. P. Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline, p. 70, n. 56; cf. p. 67, n. 43. (Wernberg-Møller's translation of the Manual has been used throughout this study.)

is appropriate.

Yet a considerable similarity remains. Whether, however, the thought of the sect in this field is to be regarded as derived from Zoroastrianism is quite another matter. In general, as Hyatt points out,¹ it is to the Old Testament that we should normally look for the background and inspiration of the thought of the sect. Conformable with this is the fact that while there is an ethical reference in the idea of the two spirits in both writings, the ethical stress is much more pronounced in the Manual, and the whole idea is rigidly subordinated to the traditional Hebrew monotheism: "He created man to rule over the earth, designing two spirits for him in which to walk until the time fixed for his visitation" (1 QS iii. 17-18). Further, while the idea of the two spirits does not have an immediate parallel in the Old Testament, it is not without its antecedents in the Old Testament and in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. It may well be that the conception has its origin in an unsystematic and mythological attempt to grapple with the problems of evil and sin in the context of a developing monotheism.² Already in the Old Testament there is to be found the idea of an evil spirit sent from God: an evil spirit from the Lord "tormented" Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 14ff., cf. xix. 9). With this should be compared the attribution of evil directly to God, as in the hardening of Pharaoh's heart (Ex. x. 1 etc.) and in Amos iii. 6:

1. J.P. Hyatt, 'The View of Man in the Qumran Hodayot', N.T.S., 11, p. 284.
2. This is suggested by Prof. G. Johnston in a study of 'spirit' in the Qumran literature, to appear in the Hartford Festschrift for Prof. A.C. Purdy. I am grateful to him for sending me a copy of some of his material, long before the published work could have reached me.

Is a trumpet blown in a city,
 and the people are not afraid?
 Does evil befall a city,
 unless the Lord has done it?

Especially interesting in this connection is Isaiah xix. 14:

The Lord has mingled within her a spirit of confusion;
 And they have made Egypt stagger in all her doings
 as a drunken man staggers in his vomit.

Closely related to this is the dualism apparent in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, as in the following three representative passages:

- (a) T. Judah, xxx: ¹3: Know, therefore, my children, that two spirits wait upon man -- the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit. And in the midst of is the spirit of understanding of the mind, to which it belongeth to turn whithersoever it will. And the works of truth and the works of deceit are written upon the hearts of men, and each one of them the Lord knoweth.
- (b) T. Asher, i. 3ff.: Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclinations, and two kinds of action, and two modes (of action), and two issues. Therefore all things are by twos, one over against the other. For there are two kinds of good and evil, and with these are the two inclinations in our breasts discriminating them. Therefore if the soul take pleasure in the good (inclination), all its actions are in righteousness; and if it sin it straightway repenteth.... But if it incline to the evil inclination, all its actions are in wickedness, and it driveth away the good, and cleaveth to the evil, and is ruled by Beliar; even though it work what is good, he perverteth it to evil.
- (c) As a final example from the Testaments, the dualism present in T. Levi xix. 1 is to be noted: And now, my children, ye have heard all; choose, therefore, for your selves either the light or the darkness, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar.

The doctrine of the two ways appears also in Ecclesiasticus,¹ and it is common also in early Christian literature, such as Barnabas, the Didache, and the Shepherd of Hermas.² It appears to belong to a method of ethical instruction common in late Judaism and in primitive Christianity.

This gives the essential clue to the understanding of the conception of the two spirits in the Manual. The community was faced with the problem not only of evil in the world but of evil in the Elect community itself. This issued on the one hand in the confessions of the Hodayot and in the penal code for the members of the community in the Manual. On the other hand, using Old testament antecedents and in conformity with what may be supposed to be a stream of thought in Judaism as represented by the material cited above, the whole problem is viewed in the light of God's activity. He who 'designed' the two spirits (1 QS iii. 18) has also "in His mysterious wisdom and His glorious prudence ... put down a limited time for the existence of deceit. At the time fixed for visitation He will destroy it for ever" (1 QS iv. 18-19).³ This final visitation of God is described partly in terms drawn from Ezekiel (cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 25ff.), and partly in terms of the 'Adam-speculation' of Judaism: "He will utterly destroy the spirit of deceit from them and clean His flesh by a holy spirit from all ungodly acts. He will sprinkle upon it a spirit of truth like water of purification, from all the abominations of falsehood and (from)

1. Cf. P. Winter, 'Ben Sira and the Teaching of "Two Ways"', Vetus Testamentum, V, pp. 315-318.

2. Cf. J.-P. Audet, 'Affinités Littéraires et Doctrinales du "Manuel de Discipline"', Revue Biblique LXIX, pp. 219-238, LX, pp. 41-82.

3. Much of the essential line of thought here is owed to G. Johnston.

being polluted by a spirit of impurity, so that upright ones may achieve insight in the knowledge of the Most High, and the wisdom of the sons of Heaven, and the perfect in way become wise. For those has God chosen for an eternal covenant, and theirs is all the glory of Adam, without deceit." (1 QS iv. 20-23.)

We have then the conception of two spirits, that of truth and that of deceit (or evil), implanted in man until the time of God's visitation. The next question we must raise is whether 'the spirit of truth' in this literature is to be understood as a designation of the Holy Spirit. The use of the term 'spirit' in the Scrolls is very fluid,¹ and one must beware of imposing an over-precise, systematic formulation on the material. Nevertheless, the following points may be made. First, while the spirit of truth is represented as the creation of God, it is not referred to as 'of God' or 'from God': its source is 'a spring of light' (1 QS iii. 19).² Secondly, the spirit of truth seems to be identical with the Prince of Lights (1 QS iii. 20; but there is possibly a distinction presupposed in 1 QM xiii. 9-10), and possibly also with 'the True Angel' (1 QS iii. 24).³ But the true angel of Israel is surely Michael -- Israel's 'helper, intercessor, accuser and guardian angel' (G. Johnston, cf. 1 Enoch. xl. 4,9; xx. 7 etc.; T. Levi v. 6; T. Dan vi. 1; Ascens. Is. ix. 23; Daniel xii. 1ff; 1 QM xvii. 6f). Thus, while much of the thought and language bears a considerable similarity to Christian thought and language about the Holy Spirit, yet the conception

1. See, e.g., Davies, 'Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit', and also G. Johnston's detailed study.

2. Cf. Davies, op. cit., p. 179.

3. So G. Johnston.

of the spirit of truth appears to belong rather to the field of angelology than that of theology, and there seems to be envisaged a certain distinctness from God.

There are also, of course, many references to 'the holy spirit' in the Qumran literature: some of these seem to refer much more clearly to 'the Holy Spirit'. Here again, however, there is difficulty. In 1 QS iii. 6f the spirit seems to be regarded as the spirit of the community: certainly it is given by God, but its primary feature is that it is the spirit of the council of holy men.¹ On the other hand, in 1 QS viii. 16 there seems to be a clear reference to the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of prophecy. Similarly the sustaining and illumining functions of the Holy Spirit are stressed, especially in the Hymns of Thanksgiving (e.g. 1 QH vii. 6f, ix. 32, i. 27-39). 1 QH xiv. 13-18 is of particular interest: the illumining work of the Spirit is brought into close relation with the community -- the Spirit has made known to the community its way of life.

In this literature there is accordingly to be found a conception of the Holy Spirit regarded as a power or influence from God that creates holiness and righteousness, sustains the elect in all the trials they have to face, and gives illumination, regarded primarily in the sense of illumination in the study of the Torah. (It is thus a Hebraic conception and quite distinct from any esoteric mysticism of a Hellenistic type.) But we cannot look to this literature for any distinct theology of the Spirit of God, in any sense approaching a Hypostasis; the conception belongs rather in category of a personification of the activity of God.²

1. Cf. Wernberg-Møller in loc.

2. Much of the above is again owed to G. Johnston.

Before proceeding to discuss Paul's relation to the thought of the sect (if it may so be called), it is necessary briefly to consider the ethical teaching of the community.

The sect was in origin most probable a priestly group "founded as a protest against the increasing hellenization of Jewish life under the Seleucids The Zadokites appear also to have been bitterly opposed to the rise of the new lay interpreters of the law, the Pharisaic rabbinate, regarding them as usurpers of the ancient prerogatives of the priestly caste (the kohen moreh), in particular of the high-priestly family of Zadok, to be the sole legal and judiciary authorities in a hierocratic Israel."¹ Their opposition to the Pharisees, however, did not lead to a more 'liberal' view of life than was entertained by the latter. Rather, the distinguishing mark of the ethical teaching of the sect is its extreme legalism, based not only on the Law written but also on the teachings of the prophets and the rule of life of the community. This is indicated at the very beginning of the Manual, where it is stated that the aim of the community is "to do what is good and right before Him (God), as He commanded through Moses and through all his servants the prophets" (1 QS i. 2-3). Again, the qualification for the members of the council is that they be "perfect in all that has been revealed from the whole Torah" (and in fact this is probably to be understood as referring to the whole community).² This legal stress is even more pronounced in the

1. M. Black, 'Theological Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls', Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok, XVIII-XIX (1953-1954), p. 74.
2. Cf. Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., pp. 122-123, nn. 1. 2.

Damascus document, especially in the section regarding the obligations of the covenant (CD vi. 11 - vii. 6) and the regulations for the observance of the Sabbath (x. 14 - xi. 18), regulations whose strictness exceeds that of the Pharisaic code.¹ The ethics of the sect is essentially nomistic: the 'good life' is a life that is lived in accordance with the Torah and the injunctions of the prophets, as the whole of that literature is interpreted within the community. Life in 'the way of the spirit of truth' is, as one should expect, interpreted similarly: it is life in the way of the Torah. Davies points out that "The community is aware of itself as under 'the Law' and yet as a 'household of the spirit'; it reveals no essential incompatibility or essential tension between life under 'the Law' and life under 'the Spirit'."² Indeed, we must go further than this — there is an essential unity between the way of the spirit of truth and the way of the Torah.

At first sight this seems not to be altogether the case. For of the terms used in the 'list of virtues' in 1 QS iv. 3ff (the 'ways' of the spirit of truth) the great majority of those which also appear in the Old Testament do not appear in either the Law or the prophets: most are drawn from the Wisdom literature. This is the case, e.g., with

1. Cf. M. Black, 'The Gospels and the Scrolls', T.U. LXXIII (1959), pp. 571-572: "One need mention only its (the sect's) Sabbath restrictions to realize how deep is the gulf between the Scrolls and the Gospels: there are 28 Sabbath restrictions, 23 of which agree with rabbinical prohibitions, but five of them new, among them the total prohibition of the Erub (regulations permitting certain freedom of movement on the Sabbath) in complete disagreement with the Mishnah.

"Perhaps the most illuminating for our purpose is the prohibition forbidding the removal of any animal which has stumbled into a pit on the Sabbath. The rabbis permitted this; and from 1k. xiv. 5ff it is clear that the Pharisees in the time of Jesus did the same. Jesus opposed the less straight-laced Pharisees; we are obliged to ascribe to him an even greater opposition to the stricter sectarians."

2. 'Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls', pp. 180-181 (his italics).

(humility), חַסְדִּים (patience), שְׂכָל ^{prudence} (patience), בִּינָה (insight), and חָכְמָה (wisdom). חָכְמָה occurs also in Micah vi. 8. Of all the terms used in this passage, only טְהוֹרָה (cleansing) seems to have a purely 'legal' connotation.

This leads us to consider another characteristic mark of the sect. Black has drawn attention to the 'Psalmenfrömmigkeit' of the community, as it appears in both the Manual and the Hymns of Thanksgiving, ¹ and has drawn my attention in particular to Ps. li. J.P. Hyatt points out that the thought of the sect is firmly rooted in that of the Old Testament, and for the doctrine of man points particularly to "Gen. ii - iii, Job, Qoheleth, and Psalms such as Ps li". ² This suggested connection becomes very clear when we consider such a passage as the following with Ps. li in mind:

From my youth thou hast appeared to me in thy just wisdom,
and with firm truth thou hast sustained me.
With thy Holy Spirit thou dost delight me,
and to this day thou dost lead me.
Thy righteous rebuke is with my thoughts,
and the guarding of thy peace to deliver my soul;
abundance of pardon with my steps,
and a multitude of mercies when thou dost enter into judgment
with me;
and to old age thou wilt support me.
For my father does not know me,
and my mother against thee has forsaken me;
but thou art a Father to all the sons of truth;
thou rejoicest over them
like her who has compassion on her sucking child;
and like a foster father thou wilt sustain in thy bosom
all that thou hast made.³

Here we have the same moral sensitivity and the same sense of utter

1. 'Theological Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls', pp. 83-84;
'The Gospels and the Scrolls', pp. 573-574.
2. 'The View of Man in the Qumran "Hodayot"', p. 284.
3. 1 QH ix. 31-36; translation of M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 412.

dependence upon God and His Spirit that we find in Ps. li. There truly is here a continuation of that which we have designated as 'Psalmenfrommigkeit', and this is true of a great deal of other material in the Hodayot and in, e.g., the final hymn of the Manual. The sense of dependence upon God is expressed partially in language influenced by the Wisdom literature;¹ hence the frequency of such terms as 'prudence', 'insight', and 'wisdom'. But these are not conceived in a Hellenistic way: the wisdom and insight desired is that required for the right understanding of the Torah, even as already in Ps. cxix. 34:

Give me understanding, that I may keep thy law
and observe it with my whole heart.

and it is noteworthy that in 1 QS ix. 15 'insight' and 'cleanness of hands' are used in parallel: "He shall admit him according to his cleanness of hands and bring him near according to his insight". Thus we cannot see in this any conflict with the monistic piety of the sect. Their sense of dependence upon God for wisdom and insight is not something distinct from their devotion to the Torah. Piety and ethics are at one in the exaltation of the Law.

We may now turn, then, to consider Paul's teaching in Gal. v, and the similarity between the lists of virtues and vices there and in 1 QS iii. 13 - iv. 26. First, we must take note of the fact that for Paul there is no dualism of spirits -- the use of $\piνευμα$ to designate an evil spirit hardly appears in his writings.²

Secondly, it is quite plain that for him the term 'flesh' has

1. Cf. J.P. Hyatt, 'On the Meaning and Origin of Micah vi. 8', A.T.R., XXXIV, pp. 232-239, for some interesting suggestions in this regard.
2. See above, p. 99.

not just taken the place of the 'spirit of error' in the writings that we have been considering — for Paul the flesh is not essentially evil. Nor is it the case that the various demonic beings that appear in the Epistles are the Pauline equivalent of the 'spirit of error'; if that were so we should expect to find these beings regularly contrasted with the Holy Spirit. In fact this is not the case: it is Christ who is so contrasted, and the victory over the evil forces is His victory. There is thus a considerable difference between the Pauline and the sectarian teaching at this point.

Thirdly, Paul's list of the things which constitute the 'fruit of the Spirit' falls into the context of a very clear theology of the Spirit in a way that the Qumran 'Way of the spirit of truth' does not. For Paul the Spirit belongs essentially to the Age to Come, and He is given now within the community raised up in Jesus Christ as the first-fruit of the Age to Come, bringing into our world all the power of God. This means that for Paul legalism is ended. The difference in eschatological position between Paul and the sectarians means that, as Cross puts it, "the legal framework of Judaism, including Essene Judaism, is smashed".¹ For the Law stands in the same sphere as the flesh; it belongs to this Age. But the new Age has come in Jesus, the Spirit is given. He generates ethical fruit, and "against such there is no law" (Gal. v. 23), for the Law does not belong to the same age as the Spirit. Thus between the nomistic piety of Qumran and the Christian's life in the Spirit there is a deep gulf, even as there is between that piety and

1. F.M. Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran, p. 102.

Jesus, in whom the New Age came.

This difference in eschatological outlook between the Qumran sect and the Christian Church is of crucial importance. Similarities in thought and language abound, and this is scarcely surprising: both depend upon the Hebrew tradition. But even where the same terms and thought patterns appear in both groups, we must realise very clearly the moulding influence of the particular history and eschatology of each group. For Qumran, this particular history and eschatology is provided above all by the giving of the Law, the factors calling the community into existence, and the expectation of the coming of the Messiah and the final Judgment. For the Church, it lies in the inauguration of the New Age in Jesus Christ and its final consummation in him. This means that to understand the terms in the Pauline paraenesis we must first refer them to that particular History and eschatology, i.e. to Jesus Christ. We shall do this more thoroughly in chapter V, but at this point it is helpful to look at some of the terms in Galatians v. Three of them are used again in Col. iii. 12, *μακροθυμία, χρηστότης* and *πραΰτης*. We have already pointed out that the latter passage — a description of the 'new man' — is based upon the historical figure of the New Man, Jesus Christ;¹ and the last term is used in 2 Cor. x. 1 of Christ himself. Joy and peace appear with righteousness as constituents of the Kingdom of God, Rom. xiv. 17. Love, the first word in the Galatian list, must remind his readers of Gal, ii. 20: "... the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me". 1 Cor. xiii sets forth the nature of this love, and it is not difficult to see

1. See above, pp. 93f.

here a picture of Jesus himself; and some of the terms used in Galatians are reflected in that passage. ἀγάπη, χάρις, and εἰρήνη are used again in Rom. xii (verses 9, 10 and 12 respectively), a passage imbued with the teaching of Jesus; it is to be noted that "after Paul in Rom. xii - xiii has set forth the Christian moral ideal in some detail, he sums up in the words, 'Put on the Lord Jesus Christ' ".¹

③ In other words the content of life ἐν πνεύματι, is a life ἐν Χριστῷ. This has been finely expressed by Schleiermacher in the words "The fruits of the Spirit are nothing but the virtues of Christ".² Thus the Pauline teaching on the fruit of the Spirit draws its content from a definite piece of history, the life of Jesus Christ. This distinguishes it radically from the teaching of the Qumran sect. But more important than that, it shows us that the nature of the Christian's life in the Spirit is one with his life in Christ. For it is the life of one who shares in the new humanity brought into being in Jesus Christ, the Last Adam.

1. C.H. Dodd, History and the Gospel, p. 66
2. The Christian Faith, p. 576, quoted J.S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 307.

CHAPTER IV: FREEDOM.

"Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom." (2 Cor. vii, 17)

"For freedom Christ has set us free." (Gal. v, 1)

Throughout the Pauline epistles there rings this note of freedom. In Christ and in the power of the Spirit men are set free from all that oppresses them and holds their life in bondage. This fact represents an essential element in the Gospel which Paul proclaims and any attempt to minimise it involves the falsification of all the Pauline theology. This is the clarion note of his Gospel.

It is of extreme importance for our study. In the category of freedom we see - as indicated by the two quotations above - the way in which the work of Christ and the present power of the Spirit impinge upon the believer's life with the one effect: to produce 'the glorious freedom of the children of God', (Rom. viii, 21) As will be seen below, this freedom is effected by the work of Christ. But further - and this arises particularly in connection with the ideas of freedom from sin and freedom from the Law - it is the present gift of the Spirit which guarantees the believer in his freedom. Thus the concept of freedom is essentially eschatological, in the sense that it belongs essentially to the time of fulfilment, to the full realization of the status of the children of God. We receive freedom now strictly as grace, on the basis of the work of Christ and in the power of the Spirit, who is the ²appar^{er} of the coming age. The freedom conveyed in the Gospel is not a natural possession of man, it is not something inherent in man. Indeed, for Paul the natural condition of man is one of servitude. Wherever a man regards freedom as his own, to be used for his own purposes, we have not the freedom of the Spirit but

only the seeming freedom of the flesh; and the ethic that results is not a Christian ethic but an ethic of antinomianism.¹

For the Doctrine of freedom is not a dictum of a 'pure' theology. It is not confined to the province of an inner freedom of the soul. It provides a basic category within which the nature of the Christian's life must be considered. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to an attempt to understand what Paul means when he speaks of freedom in the three main contexts in which he does so speak of it, and in each case the bearing of this on his view of the Christian life.

A. FREEDOM FROM SIN.

The servitude under which man lies is regarded most fundamentally as a servitude to sin, and the freedom which comes through the Gospel is correspondingly viewed above all as freedom from sin. In order to appreciate this, it is necessary to put away from ourselves every merely moralistic view, which sees sin only as the solitary wrong act of the individual. The condition which for Paul is most comprehensively described as the condition of sin is fundamentally not a moral condition -

1. It is noteworthy that in the whole of Professor C.H. Dodd's Gospel and Law there is a strong protest against the traditional Protestant stress on the liberty of the Christian man. No doubt there is much justification for this: at times in the history of Protestantism the doctrine of freedom has been turned into one of licence. But Professor Dodd himself seems to go rather too far in the opposite direction; and in Chap. 11, where he discusses "four points at which, above all, the Christian ethic in the New Testament betrays direct dependence upon the Gospel" (p.25) neither freedom nor Spirit are mentioned. It may be that on the basis of Dodd's position with regard to eschatology, freedom necessarily becomes licence, by being regarded as something wholly within this world; but that necessity does not exist in the case of an eschatological view not as thoroughly realized as Dodd's.

the term primarily conveys a theological, not a moral judgement about the condition of man, a condition which issues in both impiety and immorality (cf. Rom. i, 18).

This condition of man is given its most profound description in Rom. v. 12-21: it is the condition of man 'in Adam'. We have already seen ¹ the basic position of this passage in the thought of Paul: for by the Adam-Christ typology he is enabled both to give profound expression to his understanding of the condition of man, and to describe most comprehensively that which the deed of God in Jesus Christ has secured for man.

This unredeemed state of man consists not merely in the fact that he , but that he is 'under sin' (Romans iii. 9, cf. vii. 14), that he is 'dead in sin' 'commits sins' (cf. Eph. ii. 1,5; Col. ii. 13; the noun here is

παράπτωμα), that sin 'rules' over him (Rom. v. 21), that he serves the Law of sin (Rom. vii. 23, 25, cf. viii. 2). It is the condition of the man who has lost the image of God and fallen short of His glory (Rom. iii. 23), who dies in Adam (1 Cor. xv. 22). That is to say, the condition of man in sin is a condition in which he has cut himself off from God by a positive act of transgression and even rebellion, and at the same time is even a stranger to himself, being under the dominion of sin. ² 'Sin' thus denotes something much more far-reaching than the solitary act of an individual, but denotes a state of the whole human society, as cut off from God, and in rebellion against Him. This state is further a profoundly inhuman state: it is the denial of man's true nature as a child of God, and it bears in its train the terrible perversion of human nature

1. Cf. Chapter II above.

2. Cf. the discussion of Rom. vii. below, pp. 202 ff.

that Paul discusses in the early chapters of Romans. Further, it is a state in which man, while seemingly free, is in reality in slavery, for sin rules over him, and he lies under sin. This power of sin is opposed to God, drawing forth His wrath, and is at the same time alien to man; its consequences are summarily described by Paul by the use of the term 'Death'.

It is against this situation of profound misery that Paul sets the Gospel. Jesus Christ, the Last Adam, has come, and has brought man freedom out of the slavery of his situation in Adam.¹ To describe the change in the human situation that results from the work of Christ, Paul uses a large number of terms - justification (δικαίωσις, δικαιοῦν), reconciliation (καταλλαγή), salvation (σωτηρία), redemption or ransom (ἀπολύτρωσις), and so on. These figures drawn from different spheres of life, all illumine various aspects of the central theme, that through Jesus Christ there has come freedom from sin's dominion. Two figures are important for us. One is the stress on Jesus' obedience (ὑπακοή), which is emphasized particularly in Philippians ii and Romans v, and has already been discussed.² The second figure is that of the way in which Christ made Himself one with men in their situation under sin, death, the Law and all the spiritual forces of evil. This is expressed most clearly in 2 Cor. v. 21: "For our sake He (God) made him to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God." The obedience of Christ to the will of the Father for our freedom went so far as to

1. See above, chapter 11.

2. See above, pp. 53-54

involve His making Himself one with us in our situation of sin; He endured the final consequence of that state, viz. Death;¹ but being at one with God (i.e. without sin) and preserving that harmony with God even through Death, He made possible for all men the harmony with God which He Himself possessed, i.e. reconciliation. This is thus a figure closely related to that of 'becoming the children of God'.

While we must overlook the different shades of meaning present in the variety of figures used by Paul to describe God's redeeming act in Christ, it is nevertheless reasonable to hold that Paul's essential view of the nature of that act is set forth most comprehensively in his description of the Work of Christ as the Last Adam, even as the condition of man prior to his redemption is most adequately described as his condition 'in Adam'. This, however, has already been discussed at some length, and will not be covered again.

But there is a second basis in Paul's thought for the freedom of the Christian from the power of sin. This lies in his doctrine of the Spirit.² "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom" (2 Cor. iii. 17). Into this world in servitude to sin and estranged from God the Spirit comes, God's gift of grace to the believer as the guarantee of the status that he now enjoys as the son of God. The Spirit comes with the fulness of power of the Age to come; He stands opposed to every power that is of this world; and because He comes with all the power of God from His new world, He overcomes every enslaving power of this world, and thus brings men freedom. That is why the Christian

1. And in particular, crucifixion, an accursed death; cf. below, pp 209f.
2. Cf. chapter III above.

can face the conflict of the flesh and the Spirit of Galatians v¹ with a certain confidence and hope; for his struggle against the flesh is not a forlorn struggle, since now he has received God's own gift of the Spirit. God's Holy Spirit is now in this world, bringing freedom from the alien dominion of Sin.

It has been necessary to recapitulate somewhat in order to draw attention to the way in which Paul regards the freedom of the believer from sin as secured, for the nature of that freedom is implied in the way in which it is obtained. The believer enters through faith into that new humanity of which Christ, the Last Adam, is the head. As we saw above² the figure of Adam - both the first Adam and the Last Adam - is to be understood by means of the 'corporate personality'. Jesus Christ is the head of the new community, of which He is also constitutive. Paul calls this new community perhaps most fundamentally the Body of Christ, thus emphasizing this that it has its being in Christ alone. The character of this new community is, that is to say, already given in Him. We have already seen the way in which Paul views the liberating, redeeming act of God in Jesus Christ. This redeeming act of God is appropriated by the believer, so that he becomes personally involved in it, by faith; and faith's primary confession is *κύριος Ἰησοῦς* (cf. 1 Cor. xii. 3). From the standpoint of the believer, that is, one passes out of the dominion of sin by confessing the dominion of Christ. By faith he acknowledges that this very Jesus is the Christ and is the Lord - thereby according Him a place no less exalted than that of *ἡ ἡ*

1. Discussed above, pp. 139 ff.

2. See pp. 78 ff.

and at the same time exalting Him as δ κύριος above the κύριοι πολλοί of the pagan world (cf. 1 Cor. viii. 5). This assertion of Jesus' Lordship is not, however, merely a theological assertion; it is also a personal statement of my acceptance of the Lordship of Jesus over me. My entry into the new community is thus marked primarily by my confession of the sovereignty of Jesus Christ. For Paul, faith is thus essentially ethically conditioned:¹ it is a laying hold of that victory over sin which Christ secured, and consequently also the repudiation of sin's dominion.

By faith the believer enters into the new community of which Jesus Christ is head. That means first that he is reconciled to God (Rom. v. 10-11, 2 Cor. v. 18-20; Col. i. 20-22; Eph. ii. 16). That state of sin in which he was at enmity with God (cf. Rom. v. 10, Col. i. 21) has been brought to an end. This reconciliation has God as its subject and man as its object (i.e. it is not merely a change in man's attitude towards God that is in view here):² it is God's act in the Cross that brings about the reconciliation. But 'reconciliation' also denotes the state that ensues upon the act of being reconciled, and thus speaks of a harmony with God, the Holy God. He then who enters the community of those redeemed in Christ shares in a life that is in harmony with God, under the Lordship of Christ.

Again, that community which the believer enters by faith is the new humanity of those in Christ, the Last Adam: the community in which

1. Schweitzer's assertion that "there is no logical route from the righteousness by faith to a theory of ethics" (Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p. 225) would appear to be quite wrong - unless his idea of 'faith' is false to Paul's idea.
2. Cf. Sanday and Headlam, op. cit. pp. 129 - 130.

is restored the glory of Adam and the image of God. As such it is the community of those in whom the results of the deed of the first Adam are reversed, and more than reversed. Consequently it is the community of those among whom the old man - the inhuman state of the denial of man's true nature - is brought to an end. This too is of radical import for ethics. The state of enmity between men, the radical cleavage between Jew and Gentile, is brought to nought in this new humanity. The state of perversion from one's humanity that Paul sets forth in Rom. i - ii is also brought to an end: for man is brought into that state in which his true humanity is restored.

The freedom that is ours in Christ is thus constituted peculiarly by the fact that it is at the same time and necessarily constituted by the recognition of Christ's Lordship in a way that profoundly affects the believer's life. This is brought out with great clarity by Bultmann:

This freedom arises from the very fact that the believer, as one "ransomed", no longer "belongs to himself" (1 Cor. vi. 19). He recognizes himself to be the property of God (or of the Lord) and lives for Him:

"None of us lives to himself
and none of us dies to himself
If we live, we live to the Lord,
And if we die, we die to the Lord,
So then, whether we live or whether we die,
We are the Lord's"

(Rom. xiv. 7f.; cf. vii. 4; Gal. ii. 19f.; 2 Cor. v. 14f.)
The mightiest expression of freedom is 1 Cor. iii. 21-23:
"For all things are yours
whether the world or life or death
or the present or the future,
all are yours."

But the concluding clauses are "and you are Christ's; and Christ is God's." 1

Further, this freedom is brought to us by the Spirit, who comes with a power superior to every power of this world. But that means that the freedom from the power of sin arises within the sovereignty of the Spirit, Who generates His fruit in men.

Thus Paul's conception of freedom is, at least at first sight, paradoxical. It is a freedom from the one power, sin, that is obtained - from man's side - by the acceptance of the real authority of the other power, Christ and His Spirit. The connection of this freedom with ethics is thus essential - and more than that, its connection with the service of Christ is essential.

Before we proceed further to discuss the nature of this freedom, it is necessary to pause and raise the question whether it may rightly be called 'freedom' at all. It certainly is not freedom in the sense of a freedom to do anything at all; it is not, for example, a freedom to sin. But that is not because the freedom we have in Christ is subject to arbitrary limitation (that indeed would be unfreedom), but rather because a 'freedom to sin', in the specific sense of freedom we have in mind here, is self-contradictory. For, on the one hand, the act of sin is the means by which we fall into the state of being 'under sin', i.e. in a state of servitude; and on the other hand, the freedom that is ours is the freedom to be the child of God, the freedom to be truly man (i.e. followers of the Man), and sin is in its essence the denial both of God and of man's real nature. But is this 'freedom' so defined truly freedom, since it involves essentially the recognition of another as Lord? It is, but only on this understanding, that He who

is our Lord is also He in whom our true manhood appears. Our freedom is thus the possibility - never otherwise open to us - of realizing our own manhood. But if this understanding of our Lord's nature be obscured, and our service to God understood as purely blind obedience to an arbitrary Will, then the reality of the freedom that we have in Christ is denied.

The freedom which the Christian possesses in Christ (which is most fundamentally the freedom from sin) is accordingly to be distinguished with some sharpness from the Stoic conception of freedom. For Stoicism freedom is a freedom of the self for the self; it is a freedom from the service of others, and a freedom from every passion or desire which might lead the self to the service of another. Thus, "No man is free who is not master of himself" (Epict. Fgm CXIV) "He is free who lives as he wishes to live; who is neither subject to compulsion nor to hindrance, nor to force; whose movements to action (*σπουδή*) are not impeded, whose desires attain their purpose, and who does not fall into that which he would avoid Do you think that freedom is a thing independent and self-governing? - Certainly - Whomsoever then it is in the power of another to hinder and compel, declare that he is not free." (Epict. Discourses IV. I.) The language of Epictetus bears at times the greatest similarity to that of the New Testament, but the passages cited above show a view of freedom that is completely different in its origin and fundamental nature. This is brought out most clearly by Bornkamm:

Aber das Evangelium meint eine ganz andere Freiheit, und zwar darum, weil es das Wesen unserer Unfreiheit von Grund auf anders versteht. Unfrei, sagt der Stoiker, sind wir, sofern und solange wir nicht über unser Leben verfügen und ein anderer die Verfügungsgewalt über uns hat. Unfrei sind wir, sagt das Evangelium, gerade solange wir über

unser Leben verfügen und Jesus Christus nicht die Herrschaft über uns gewonnen hat.¹

The peculiar nature of the Christian's freedom which lies in and is secured through the recognition in faith of Christ's Lordship is thus radically different from the Stoic and indeed from practically every other type of understanding of human freedom. It is so because it lies at the heart of the Gospel in all its radical distinctness.

Paul's view of freedom is set out with the greatest sharpness in the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans, especially chapter vi; in this section we shall consider primarily the latter passage.² There Paul sets the question of the believer's freedom in the context of baptism, rather than of faith as we have in our discussion above. From the point of view of the New Testament, however, this does not signify any vital difference; faith and baptism are co-extensive.³ Paul's use of the fact of baptism in this connection is, however, of great interest. He is not in this section giving new teaching about baptism itself, but he appeals to the received facts of baptism, the universally recognized teaching thereon, in order to give point and force to what constitutes the real subject of the chapter.⁴ Baptism, as it was understood and practised within the Primitive Church, provided the Apostle with a definite basis for his argument in the accepted doctrine

1. G. Bornkamm, 'Die christliche Freiheit', Das Ende des Gesetzes, p. 137.
2. The former has already been discussed in part, chapter iii, and is further discussed below in connection with Paul's view of freedom from the Law, pp. 204f
3. Cf. A. Richardson, Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, pp. 347ff.
4. Cf. C.H. Dodd, Commentary p. 87: "He is not, in the present passage, expounding the nature of a sacrament as such, but exploiting the accepted significance of the sacrament for a paedagogical purpose."

and shared experience of the Church.¹

The position to which Paul addresses himself in this chapter is that indicated by the first verse, which itself takes up the preceding sentence (v. 20-21): since it was where sin appeared at its height that grace also appeared and won its decisive battle, why should we not continue in sin that grace might appear in even greater bounty?

The discussion which follows falls into two main sections, verses 2-11 and 12-23, the division falling at the word 'therefore' (³ οὖν), verse 12. The first part consists of a re-iteration of facts, the second is dominated by the imperative mood; and it is highly significant that these admonitions are regarded as a direct consequence (³ οὖν) of the facts pointed out in the first section.

What ~~these~~^{then} are these facts to which Paul draws attention in his first section? They are the facts of Christ's work, and the facts of the Christian's baptism, and these two are presented as essentially inter-related. Fundamental for the understanding of Christ's work is verse 10: "the death he died he died to sin, once for all; and the life he lives, he lives to God." The first half of the verse is

1. This seems to be a better explanation of Paul's sudden taking up of the question of baptism than is given, e.g., by Sanday and Headlam. On vi. 1 they suggest that Paul meets the suggested conclusion 'shall we sin that grace may abound?' "not by proving a non sequitur, but by showing how this train of thought is crossed by another, even more fundamental. He is thus led to bring up the second of his great pivot-doctrines, the Mystical union of the Christian with Christ dating from his Baptism. Here we have another of those great elemental forces in the Christian Life which effectually prevents any antinomian conclusion such as might seem to be drawn from different premises." (Op. cit. p. 156.) This view, however, presupposes a greater distinction between faith and baptism and between justification by faith and the dying and rising with Christ than is actually present in Paul's thought. 57

to be understood in the light of 2 Cor. v. 21;¹ its essential significance is well brought out by Dodd:

Jesus, in plain terms, died rather than sin; and so this death, instead of being a sign of the victory of Sin over man's true nature, was a sign of the complete rout of sin in a decisive engagement. Whereas for other men death had been the sentence of their condemnation, Christ 'condemned sin in the flesh' (viii.3)²

The utmost significance attaches here to the word ἐφάπαξ, used by Paul in this sense only here, although it is a favourite term of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews.³ Here it stresses the fact of the once-for-all nature of Christ's encounter with sin. In his death there was struck the decisive blow at sin's dominion. The victory of Christ over sin is properly designated ἐφάπαξ, in that it marks the altogether decisive encounter of God with sin, and thus inaugurates a situation that is wholly new: the situation in which sin is overcome. The word ἐφάπαξ draws attention with great force to this complete change in the situation. It is of the utmost consequence in that this change in the situation has occurred 'between' (if we may so put it) v. 20-21 and vi. 1. That situation in which the Law acted as a catalyst to sin⁴ that therein grace might appear in greater bounty is not the situation in which the believers whom Paul has in mind in vi. 1 stand: for upon them has come this decisive change in the situation, in which Christ died to sin ἐφάπαξ.⁵

1. Cf. above pp 160-161

2. C.H. Dodd, op. cit. p. 90.

3. Heb. vii. 27, ix. 12, x. 10. ἐφάπαξ also appears in 1 Cor. xv. 6, in the sense of 'at once', 'all together'.

4. This function of the law is discussed below, pp. 205 ff.

5. Cf. Bornkamm, 'Taufe und neues Leben bei Paulus', Das Ende des Gesetzes p. 37: "Was diese dialektische Pseudotheologie (referring to the line of thought behind vi. 1) nicht wahr haben will und auf den Kopf stellt, ist die einfache Tatsache, dass der Sieg der Gnade über die Sünde gerade nicht einen dialektischen Schwebezustand inauguriert, sondern eine Wirklichkeit begründet, hinter die wir nicht mehr zurück können."

This is the basic fact to which Paul recalls his readers: the question of verse 1 implies a complete misapprehension of the significance of the death (and with it the resurrection) of Christ, for it implies that Christ's death is part of a repeatable pattern in the struggle of sin and grace, and that no radical change in the human situation was brought about by the death.

But it is not alone the death of Christ that Paul discusses in this section: interwoven with it is the idea of baptism. The form of the rhetorical question that Paul adopts in verse 3 shows that he is not introducing anything novel in speaking of baptism 'into Christ' as baptism 'into His death'. Paul takes up and uses with great effect the drama of baptism: the going beneath the waters a dying, the rising up from the waters a resurrection. Indeed, the link of baptism and death goes back to the teaching of Jesus.¹ The connection is greatly developed by Paul in verses 1-11. This is what their baptism means: they have been taken into the death of Christ, so that now they are with him dead to sin. Verses 5-7 and 8-10 contain a remarkable parallel in which the 'death' and 'resurrection' in the act of baptism is spoken of in terms exactly parallel to those in which Paul speaks of the actual death and resurrection of Christ.² The result is that as Christ died to sin, so have we died to sin, and as dead are freed from sin; and as Christ now lives to God, so we now live in newness, in Life.³ Implied throughout is the

1. Luke xii. 50. Cf. Stauffer, New Testament Theology p. 308 n.634: "Jesus called his own death a baptism, and in doing so was thinking of the descent into the waters of death in the underworld (Luke xii. 50; cf. Gen. vii. 11; Ps. xli. 8, lxxiii. 2f, 15; S. Bar. liiiff; 1 Pet. iii. 6; Hema. v. 3.2.2, 3.5.5; S. 9. 16. 5ff.)".
2. The parallelism is set out by Bornkamm, op. cit. p. 39
3. Adopting Bornkamm's attractive suggestion (op. cit. p. 38 n. 9) that
σωτης is an epexegetic genitive.

idea that baptism is $\epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\alpha\epsilon\varsigma$ even as is the death of Christ: for it is into this death that the Christian is baptised - it is not 'into' death in general, but Christ's uniquely significant death.¹ As Christ's death marks the turning point of the ages, in that it is the decisive encounter of sin and grace, so in the life of the believer baptism marks just such a turning-point, in that by it the life of the believer is taken up into the victory of Christ. "So you must count yourselves as dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus" - they must, that is, not in the sense of grimly forcing themselves to imagine that they are in a better position than they actually are, but simply of taking home to themselves the fact of this unrepeatable event that has happened.

Paul then adds in verses 12ff. a series of admonitions, connected with the preceding by 'therefore' ($\circ\upsilon\kappa$); i.e., he regards them as logically involved in what he has already said. The nature of this connection has occasioned much discussion, some (e.g. Weinel) laying all the emphasis on the foregoing, the indicative, and regarding the imperative as a lapse into legalism, and others (e.g. Holtzmann) laying all the stress on the imperative, and regarding the indicative as a piece of idealism.²

From what has been written above, we can easily see the inadequacy of these views. But what precisely is the nature of the connection between the fact of being freed from sin and the command to let sin no

1. But Richardson (Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 348) would seem to over-stress this in writing: "The actual historical baptism of the individual Christian is important precisely in the sense in which the actual historical death of Christ is important. Both are $\epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\alpha\epsilon\varsigma$, unrepeatable." This is true, but does not take adequate account of the fact that the $\epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\alpha\epsilon\varsigma$ - nature of baptism is in a sense different from the $\epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\alpha\epsilon\varsigma$ -nature of Christ's death, as is shown by the fact that the former depends on the latter.

2. Cf. Bornkamm, op. cit. p. 35, for these and other views.

longer reign - a connection which not only holds these two together but regards the latter as an implicate of the former?

Nygren, with verse 16 principally in mind, sees the connection in that the believer is 'freed from sin to serve righteousness' and adds:

Only when this positive complement has been added does the expression "free from sin" have unequivocal significance: it is thereby differentiated from a "freedom" which would leave scope for sin. Paul knows well that man can never be free in an absolute sense. He knows that even when man considers himself free and his own master, he is actually a servant; and the power which he serves is undoubtedly sin ... If freedom from sin means nothing more than just freedom, the result really is that man is still under the dominion of sin and more securely bound in its thralldom ... for the Christian the throne from which sin has been dethroned is never left unoccupied. That place has been taken by righteousness.¹

We may readily grant the truth of this. Yet it does not really meet the problem, for it does not in the least explain the 'therefore' of verse 12. Nygren writes as if Paul were appealing to some general proposition as

"All men serve something" as the premise for his argument; but in fact the premise which Paul takes consists in nothing but the fact of baptism. We must therefore insist that Nygren has failed to give an adequate solution of our problem.

Dodd offers a much better line of approach, in that he interprets the relationship by means of the maxim 'Werde das was Du bist'. His line of thought is more fully expressed in his words thus:

On the ideal or purely religious plane, the Christian, by faith and by his solemn incorporation into Christ's people, has left the old life behind and entered upon the new. But Paul was realist enough to recognise that it did not by any means automatically follow that the Christian ceased to sin. His letters are full of exhortations to those who, ex hypothesi, have died to sin, but who are far from having realized the Christian ideal in practice.²

This, it will readily be seen, is much more close to the train of Paul's thought than was the line of interpretation adopted by Nygren. But yet

1. Commentary on Romans, pp. 252-253

2. C.H. Dodd, M.N.T.C. Romans, pp. 92-93. (His italics)

it may be doubted if it really gets to the bottom of Paul's thought; in particular, the use of such an expression as 'ideal' only clouds the issue. Paul has nothing ideal in mind at all here, for he is wholly concerned with the realities of the situation in which believers now stand. Dodd's view at least tends to suggest that Paul's exhortations are given as a means for the attainment of that which now exists only ideally and whose full accomplishment lies in the future, whereas these exhortations in fact result from that which exists now in virtue of past events - the Death of Christ on the one hand and the believer's baptism on the other.

Both events, we saw above, are 'once for all' events. By Christ's death $\epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\lambda\epsilon\chi$ sin's dominion has been brought to an end, and by the believer's baptism $\epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\lambda\epsilon\chi$ he has been given a share in Christ's victory so that sin's dominion over him is brought to an end. But this must be seen in the context of the whole of Paul's theology, and in particular that aspect of it which is concerned with the conflict of the two ages.¹ Christ has come but will also come again. Sin has lost its power, but the last enemy is yet to be destroyed. The principalities and powers have been dethroned, but still seek to assert their former dominion over man. The relevance of this for our passage is brought out most clearly by Bornkamm:

Der alte Aeon ist gewendet, aber so, dass gerade nicht in Offenheit ein neuer Weltzustand angebrochen ist. Paulus kann nicht sagen: die Sünde ist tot, der Tod ist tot, sondern er sagt: Wir sind ihr gestorben.²

1. This is discussed above pp. 50-51, 114-115

2. Op. cit. p. 46.

Just as the new aeon has not come in openness, so also the believer's new life: it is hidden, as is stated explicitly in Col. iii. 3, "your life is hid with Christ in God". Bornkamm quotes Luther, Haec vita non habet experientiam^{iam}, sed fidem, and adds:

Der Getaufte ist nichts als ein Glaubender und Hoffender - so hat er die Rechtfertigung und das in der Taufe ihm geschenkte neue Leben. Dadurch ist die Spannung seiner zeitlichen Existenz bestimmt: "Wenn wir mit Christus starben, so glauben wir, dass wir auch mit ihm leben werden" (Rom. vi. 8).¹

From the 'hiddenness' of the new life, there follows the necessity for the baptismal teaching and for the imperatives; but the imperatives gain their force from the fact that this new life, though hidden, is real. The exhortation can be given, because this new status is already theirs, in virtue of what has come to pass in Christ's death and through their baptism. But more than that, the exhortation not only can be given but must be given. For to continue to sin is to act as though nothing had happened, as though sin were still upon its throne. It is to renounce baptism and to act as though Christ's victory over sin were only a seeming victory and were nothing crucial. This victory is not only hidden but denied if the believer allows sin to continue to reign. Therefore Paul states μή οὐρ βασιλεύτω ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ σμῶρ σώματι. He uses οὐρ because the injunction is a strict consequence of what he has already written; and he uses μή with the present imperative - 'Stop the rule of sin' - because to let the rule of sin continue is to attempt to deny the facts of the situation that has been brought about.

The passage is clearly one with the greatest consequence for our

1. Ibid.

view of the nature of the Christian's life. Basic both to the Gospel and to Christian Ethics is the proclamation 'You are freed from sin'. For our purpose its significance for ethics is of the greatest importance.

First, it sets the Christian's life in a new context. "Sin shall not rule over you" (verse 14).¹ The fact of the 'hiddenness' of Christ's victory must not lead Christians into thinking that it is not a real victory. These words express the same confidence as is expressed in "we believe we shall also live with Him" (verse 8). A new possibility has been brought about, in which the hopeless struggle with sin (as Paul pictures it of man under the Law in Romans vii)² has been transformed into a situation in which hope and confidence dominate. A man may view his life now from a new perspective and with a new horizon. Thus the Christian's life in general is marked by a wholly new atmosphere.

Secondly, and more concretely, this new situation is marked by the fact that "The Christian ever finds himself on the front line, between the forces that fight against each other. The outpost which he occupies is always opposed to sin's attack."³ Thus his situation is marked by a new urgency: he finds that the struggle between the old aeon and the new, between sin and God, is being fought out to its conclusion in himself.⁴ Indeed Paul speaks even more specifically: it is in their 'members' that the issue is being fought out, and the situation requires that their members be transferred from the service of sin to the service of righteousness (verses 13, 19). There could hardly be a more concrete

1. *κυριεύσει* is a simple future; there is no justification for Moffatt's translation, "Sin must have no hold over you".
2. Discussed below, pp. 196 ff.
3. A. Nygren, Commentary on Romans, p. 246.
4. Cf. G. Bornkamm, *Op. cit.* p. 48

demand placed before the Christian: the demand comes to be expressed in terms of the limbs of the body.¹ The issue between the two aeons is not an abstract theological issue, but an issue fraught with the most specific consequences for the believer's life.

Thirdly, that battle with sin which is being fought out 'in the members' is not, so to speak, a defensive rearguard action, any more than was Christ's encounter with sin. Christ, entering into this world of sin, overthrew its power, and this whole is seen by Paul as a manifestation of the righteousness of God. The Christian's very limbs are now made 'weapons' (*ὅπλα* , verse 13) of this righteousness, and the offensive against sin which Paul views as undertaken by the righteousness of God in Jesus Christ is now shared in by the Christian. Hence Nygren is correct in stating:

He who is not free from sin cannot fight against it, for he is the slave of sin. That which he does serves sin. Only he who, through Christ, has been freed from sin can enter the battle against it; and he, because of his status as a slave of righteousness, is obligated to join in that battle.²

Fourthly, we must consider the specific content of the admonitions that Paul delivers here, for there is not only the question "from what is the Christian freed?" but also the question "for what is the Christian freed?" Here Bornkamm has drawn attention to a striking fact, that Paul

in den Ermahnungen nur wiederholt, was in Taufe selbst schongeschehen ist..... Nichts anderes als Mit-Christus-Sterben (nun eben ein Leben hindurch), nichts anderes als In-Christus-Leben (nun eben dieses Leben hindurch), nichts anderes als das Anziehen ~~des~~ Herrn Jesus Christus ist der Inhalt der Mahnung.³

1. Bornkamm, *ibid.*: Hand und Fuss.
2. *Op. cit.* p. 263. Some of the ways in which we are to view this positive struggle against sin are discussed in the next section.
3. *Op. cit.* p. 47.

The content of the Christian's life, that is to say, is already given him through his baptism, wherein he is incorporated into Christ: his life is to be a life in conformity to Christ. If one were to ask what is the distinctive characteristic of such a life, from what we know of that which was manifested in the whole life and death and resurrection of Christ, we would answer "Love". And so indeed does Paul, in the Epistle to the Galatians: "For you were called to freedom, brethen; only do not use your opportunity as an opportunity for the flesh, but through love be servants of one another." (v.13) Thus the Christian's freedom from sin consists in freedom for Christ, for love, for the neighbour.

B. FREEDOM FROM THE PRINCIPALITIES AND POWERS.

In considering the Pauline teaching on the principalities and powers we must first consider the immediate background to Paul's thought, which in this case is supplied by the Synoptic Gospels. The Synoptists consistently present the ministry and work of Jesus as a victorious conflict with the powers of evil. In Jesus Christ the power of the Kingdom of God was breaking through to release men from the demonic forces that held them imprisoned. One thinks, e.g., of the saying "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven" (Luke x. 18); or "If it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you" (Luke xi. 20), and the following story of the overpowering of the strong man. Similar material occurs in Matthew, and this theme of conflict underlies the whole of Mark's Gospel. According to the Synoptists -- and we may reasonably believe that this goes back to the mind of Jesus Himself -- what happened in Jesus Christ was no mere static revelation of truth but the victorious encounter of the power of God with evil forces.

Further, as Cullmann points out, "in all the ancient confessions of faith, from the first and the opening of the second century, it is said in a decisive place that Jesus through his deed has defeated and subjected these invisible powers".¹

In the thought of Paul this is thrown into a wider context, and we meet forces of evil on a grander scale than in the Synoptists; and the redemption in Christ is presented on a similarly grand scale.

1. O. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 103.

Man is regarded as held in slavery; slavery to, e.g., Sin, the flesh, the law and death. These things themselves at times assume quite personal characteristics -- sin, e.g., "sprang to life (*ἀνέστη*)" (Rom. vii. 9); or "the last enemy to be destroyed is death" (1 Cor. xv. 26). But in addition to these, and in a way connected with them, stand other forces of evil which hold men under their sway. Paul uses an extraordinary range of terms for them, and it is worth noting that some or other of these terms appear in all of the Pauline epistles except Philemon. It is also worth noting that the term *δαίμονια* (Mt. viii 31; Mk. v. 12; Lk. viii. 29; Rev. xvi. 14 xviii. 2) does not appear in Paul's writings. The terms that he does use are the following:

ἀρχαί (abstract for concrete, i.e. ? ?). Rom. viii. 38; 1 Cor. xv. 24; Col. i. 16, ii. 10 and 15; Eph. i. 21, iii. 10, vi. 12.

ἐξουσίαι 1 Cor. vi. 3, xi. 10; 2 Cor. xii. 7; Gal. iii. 19, iv. 14; Col. ii. 18; Eph. i. 21.

ἐξουσία 1 Cor. xv. 24; Col. i. 13 and 16, ii. 10 and 15; Eph. i. 21, ii. 2 (where the singular is used collectively).

δυνάμεις of personal supernatural spirits or angels, 1 Cor. xv. 24; Rom. viii. 38; Eph. i. 21.

κυριότητες of a special class of angelic powers, Col. i. 16; Eph. i. 21.

θρόνοι (used by metonymy of those who hold dominion or exercise authority) Col. i. 16.

λεγόμενοι θεοί 1 Cor. viii. 5a.

θεοί πολλοὶ καὶ κύριοι πολλοί 1 Cor. viii. 5b.

πάν ὄνομα ὀνομαζόμενον Eph. i. 21.

τὰ πνευματικά τῆς πορνείας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις Eph. vi. 12.

ἑποφάνια καὶ ἐπιθέια καὶ καταχθόνια Phil. ii. 10

Στάγ

Rom. xvi. 20; 1 Cor. v. 5, vii. 5; 2 Cor. ii. 11, xi. 14, xii. 7; 1 Thess. ii. 18, 19.

τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἐρομίας 2 Thess. ii. 7.

ὑψωμα and βάθος Rom. viii. 38. (Astrological terms for the ascension and declination of the stars.)

στοιχεῖα

Gal. iv. 3, 9; Col. ii. 8, 20. The meaning of this term has been disputed. Originally it denoted things arranged in a row or ordered sequence, hence coming to be used of the alphabet, and from that it came to be used in the sense of 'rudiments of knowledge'. From that use in turn came its use to mean 'physical elements', and then ^{it} further acquired the sense of 'elemental spirits or powers'. In the New Testament it is used in Heb. v. 12 in the sense of 'rudiments of knowledge' and in 2 Pet. iii. 10 in the sense of '(physical) elements of the universe'. Moule maintains that the term does not occur in literature earlier than the N.T. itself in the sense of 'elemental spirit or power', and that accordingly in Colossians it must be translated 'elementary teaching'. This sense could be adequate in Col. ii. 8, but it gives a very weak sense in Col. ii. 20; and if this meaning is taken in Gal. iv. 3 and 9 it reduces Paul's statement to one far weaker than is appropriate in the context. Despite the lack of pre-New Testament attestation, it seems necessary to insist in these three (if not four) instances on the meaning 'elemental spirits'. This is the view of, e.g. Duncan, Percy, Bietenhard, Reicke and Bornkamm.¹

1. G.S. Duncan, M.N.T.C. Galatians; E. Percy, Die Probleme der Koloss-
erund Epheserbriefe; H. Bietenhard, Die Himmlische Welt; Bo Reicke
- 'The Law and this World According to Paul', J.B.L. LXX (1951),
pp. 259-276; G. Bornkamm, 'Die Häresie des Kolosserbriefes', Das
Ende des Gesetzes, pp. 139-157.

The last-named gives a full discussion of the term; the following gives its essential meaning:

Der Begriff meint die elementaren Kräfte und Gewalten des Kosmos, die in den Erscheinungen der Natur und den Schicksalen der Menschenwelt geheimnisvoll und gebieterisch, lebenbedrohend und lebenspendend walten. Dass der Begriff geprägt ist und ein Schlagwort der Häresie enthält, hatte nach den reichlichen Belegen für seine astrale, theologische und dämonologische Verwendung aus persisch-chaldaischer Astrologie, orientalisch-hellenistisch Mysterien und gnostischen Spekulationen nicht neuerdings bestritten werden sollen.¹

ἀρχόντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου 1 Cor. ii. 6-8. As is pointed by MacGregor² this term is reminiscent of the Johannine use of ὁ ἀρχὴν

τοῦ κόσμου τούτου as a designation of the supreme demonic being,

the Synoptists' term being ὁ ἀρχὴν τῶν δαιμονίων. Similar terms

in Paul's writings are ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου (2 Cor. iv. 4) and ὁ ἀρχὴν

τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ αἰῶνος (Eph. ii. 2), "a phrase which recalls Jesus'

words in Luke xxi. 53, 'this is your hour, καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία σκότους',

which seems to mean 'and the powers of darkness are in the ascendant'.³

οἰκοκυβερνήται τοῦ σκότους τούτου Eph. vi. 12. This term

is used in astralism of the seven planets which are enthroned as

'potentates of this world' and arbiters of human destiny. To escape

from their power the saviour deities were invoked, and when they did

not provide release there remained the way of magic.⁴

This completes the catalogue of Paul's terms for the powers of evil. One cannot fail to be impressed by the sheer number and variety of them. There can be little doubt that these terms represented something real, though not divine, for Paul, and while we do not

1. Op. cit., pp. 141-142.

2. 'Principalities and Powers', N.T.S., 1, p. 18.

3. Ibid.

4. Cf. MacGregor, op. cit., pp. 20-21; W.L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, p. 202.

need to attribute to him all the superstition connected with them, it is doubtful if we can avoid the conclusion that for Paul these are real enemies of man. It does not seem to be enough to say with Lightfoot that Paul displays a "spirit of impatience with this elaborate angelology",¹ or with Leivestad that "the different entities lack individual character. The whole enumeration is meant to produce a rhetorical mass-effect, to call forth an atmosphere of horror, danger and war."² It is true that Paul does pile up these terms with rhetorical effect, and that he does thereby produce an atmosphere of war: but he does so because there is something to be fought.

In Paul's thought these powers stood (and in some sense still stand) over against man, as awful enemies. But by the deed of God in Jesus Christ man has been freed from these enslaving powers; though still in existence they have been de-throned, for Christ has overcome them in a victory that will be consummated at the End.

In the endeavour to understand this we today are confronted by great difficulty, in that we are required to enter a 'dark underworld' that is remote from our modern modes of thought. We cannot here undertake an exhaustive examination of this ancient thought-world, but we shall consider some of the passages which are most important for our purpose.

First, Christ has met these evil powers in a decisive struggle and

1. Colossians, p. 150

2. R. Leivestad, Christ the Conqueror, p. 161.

has overcome them. Phil. ii. 10 asserts Christ's cosmic Lordship over all other powers. How this victory has been achieved is not altogether clear, but two passages are of importance in this connection. First, in 1 Cor. ii. 6-8 it is said that if the $\lambda\omicron\chi\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου had understood the secret wisdom of God they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory. To whom is Paul referring? Human beings crucified Jesus; but that obviously is not all that Paul is thinking of here -- the expression is far too grand and pompous to be referring merely to men. Most commentators accordingly take Paul to be speaking here of the spiritual powers opposed to Christ, and to regard them as having acted through the human agents of the crucifixion. We thus see the Cross regarded here as the battle-ground between Christ and the powers of evil, and the fact that those powers there made (if we may so put it) a strategical blunder.¹

1. O. Cullmann, Christ and Time pp. 191ff. offers a most peculiar exegesis of this passage. He assumes that Paul is in this passage referring to the spiritual powers impelling Herod and Pilate, and on the basis of this discusses the question of the Christian's proper attitude to the state, finding (somewhat characteristically) that proceeding from this basis he can reconcile Rom. xiii and Rev. xiii. Cullmann argues that the $\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\delta\iota$ of Rom. xiii. 1 must be understood in a demonological sense; the exhortations of Rom. xiii are intelligible and sound, because there the Apostle is speaking of a state which is keeping within the bounds proper to it, now that the $\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\delta\iota$ have been brought within the sphere of Christ; the picture of Rev. xiii is also intelligible and sound, for it is a picture of a state that has stepped outside its proper limits and become 'demonic'.

The details of Cullmann's elaborate exegesis will not be discussed here, but the following points may be made: (1) The biblical evidence seems to be strained by Cullmann so as to fit in with his basic theological conception of the 'time-line' (cf. below, p. 201). (2) We need to take a somewhat wider view than does Cullmann; the spiritual powers that Paul refers to were acting not only through Herod and Pilate, but also, e.g., through Caiaphas and the crowd; but it would be highly implausible to discuss on this basis the relation of a Jew to the High Priest, or of an individual to a multitude. (3) Caird rightly points out: "It is no service to the Apostle Paul to father upon him a deficient doctrine of creation.... The powers of the state are to be obeyed not because they have been

made subject to Christ but simply because no authority can exist apart from God's decree. Their authority belongs not to the order of redemption but to the order of creation." (G.B. Caird, Principalities and Powers, p. 25)

The second passage which calls for examination is the long section Col. i-ii, in which the relation of Christ to the various world-powers has a prominent place. Here man is viewed as under the dominion of darkness (i. 13), estranged from God and at enmity with Him (i. 21), dead in trespasses and the 'uncircumcision of flesh' (used metaphorically of spiritual alienation, ii. 13), under the dominion of principalities and powers and the elemental spirits of the universe (ii. 15, 20), and in bondage to the Law (ii. 14). From this state the believer is redeemed by Christ, who is in Himself, as the agent of God's creation, that which gives it coherence and its end, superior to all the principalities and powers (ii. 15-17); He is "the head of every principality and power" (ἡ κεφαλὴ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας -- where denotes primarily supremacy).¹ The incarnate Lord, in whom dwells the fulness of God σωματικῶς (ii. 9), overcame the principalities and powers. Moule's paraphrase of these two verses is illuminating:

Deleting the adverse bond signed by us as committing us to the decrees of the law -- the bond which was opposed to us -- he has removed it, nailing it to the cross. Divesting himself of the rulers and authorities, he bodily displayed them, leading them in triumphal procession on the cross.²

1. S. Bedale, J.T.S. n.s. V pp. 211-215 discusses the meaning of κεφαλὴ and points out (p. 213) that in the LXX "ὦν" in its literal sense is rendered by κεφαλὴ; but where it signifies 'first' or 'beginning of' the LXX has ἀρχή, which is also the normal rendering of "ὡς πρῶτον". This led to a certain interchange in meaning in the LXX between κεφαλὴ and ἀρχή.
2. Commentary in loc. (p. 102).

Thus Christ is set forth as the effective agent in both creation and redemption. This description of His person and work is brought into particular connection with the Church: as Christ is *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* (i. 15), so He is also *πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν γενεῶν* (i. 18); as He is *ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, τῆς ἐκκλησίας* (ii. 10), so He is also *κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, τῆς ἐκκλησίας* (i. 18). 22

Christ's victory over the powers of evil is not an individual victory: it is a victory available for all men, and is manifested within the sphere in which He is acknowledged sovereign, His Body, the Church. Accordingly, in these two chapters we find life within the Church separated from and opposed to life under the principalities and powers; in particular the acceptance of angel worship and ritual food regulations and the like is a falling again under the sway of the very powers from which Christ has redeemed men (ii. 16-23). Through the work of Christ a community has been created over which the principalities and powers have no control; within it all men can be reconciled to one another and to God (the stress on Jew-Gentile unity is especially noteworthy). This community represents what Paul elsewhere speaks of as the 'new creation', the new humanity arising in the Last Adam. ✓

This connection of the principalities and powers with Christ's work appears also in other epistles. In Gal. iv. 3, 9 Paul asserts that those who go back to the Law are not merely falling into error but are placing themselves again under the sway of the *στοιχεῖα*. In Rom. viii. 38-39 demonic forces are represented as striving to separate the believer from the love of Christ, but their power is now insufficient.

Reicke¹ argues that the sufferings mentioned in verse 35 are the work of those demonic beings that are the agents of the wrath of God; but now the love of God in the Cross of Christ has overcome them.

The connection of the victory over the powers with the Church and the Christian's life is particularly stressed in Ephesians. In Eph. iii 10 the very existence of the Church is regarded as striking a blow against these forces. Dodd comments on the verse thus:

In 1. Cor. ii. 7, 8 the 'mystery' of the divine wisdom was concealed from 'the rulers of this age' (i.e., the superhuman orders of being, the 'world-rulers' of Eph. vi. 12) when they brought about the crucifixion of Christ. Now the existence of the Christian Church, uniting the hostile sections of the human race in one body, is a plain fact which these 'world-rulers' cannot ignore, that God is, in fact, summing up all things in Christ.²

Eph. vi. 11-12 carries further the relation of the Church to the principalities and powers, for the Christian is there represented as actively struggling against them, and for this struggle there is made available for him God's own armour of redemption. On this figure of the armour Knox comments:

The armour, while in itself going back to Pauline language (Knox holds Eph. to be not by Paul) and so to Isa. lix. 17, with a possible extension from Wisdom v. 17 seq., is drawn from a widely diffused convention of the time. But while it is placed in an astrological setting in which it appears with some frequency, it is used with a deliberate change of meaning; the duty of the Christian is not to resign himself to the decrees of fate like a good soldier obeying his commander, but to fight against the rulers who ordain them with the panoply which will enable him to conquer the temptations which beset him.³

This is a definite development beyond what we find in the other Pauline

1. 'The Law and this World According to Paul', pp. 270-272.
2. C.H. Dodd, Abingdon Commentary, Ephesians in loc. He further points out that "in both (Colossians and Ephesians) the ultimate destination of the divine purpose is cosmic; but in Ephesians attention is in general fixed upon the critical stage of that purpose represented by the Church".
3. W.L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, p. 202.

(or the Pauline?) epistles, although it has its definite basis there too, and is true to what we otherwise know of Paul's thought. For the Christian is to struggle against the principalities and powers until they take their place within the scheme of creation as restored in Christ, when He shall be "all in all" (Eph. i. 10); and he may engage in this conflict with confidence, in that Christ Himself has already been victorious over them.

It is quite clear that the thought of the dominion of the principalities and powers, and the freedom therefrom that has been won for the Christian, plays a considerable part in Paul's thought. The question at once arises, whether this can have any meaning for us today: for we must be quite clear that our modern view of the world leaves no room for the existence of such beings as metaphysical entities.² This is not just, so to speak, a 'post-Bultmann' problem. The following comment by Calvin on Rom. viii 38 is rather revealing:

.... Angels are also meant by 'principalities and powers', and they are so called, because they are primary instruments of the Divine power: and these two words were added, that if the word angels sounded too insignificant, something more might be expressed. But you would, perhaps, prefer this meaning, 'Nor angels, and whatever powers there may be'; which is a mode of speaking that is used, when we refer to things unknown to us, and exceeding our capacities.

Yet we are required to make the attempt to understand what Paul meant,

1. G.B. Caird, op. cit. p. 82 links Col. i. 20 and 2 Cor. v. 12 with the same result: the Christian is to share in Christ's reconciling work in respect of even the principalities and powers.
2. Some modern writers (most notably, perhaps, J.S. Stewart, 'On a Neglected Emphasis in New Testament Theology', S.J.T. 1V, 1951, pp. 292-301) tend to suggest that we ought to believe in the existence of these forces of evil. For a strong protest against this and a very sober treatment of the whole subject, see J.A. Allan, Ephesians (Torch Commentary), Essay VII (pp. 138-142): 'Demonology in Ephesians'.

and also to translate that meaning into modern categories, or else we shall be blind to a whole dimension of the Christian faith and the Christian life.

There have been various modern attempts to express Paul's meaning in a more acceptable terminology. Brunner states: " 'the demonic' means being enslaved by something finite which is regarded as absolute", and Niebuhr and Tillich speak similarly. Galloway defines 'the demonic' as "the menace with which the impersonal structure of man's world threatens his personal life".¹

None of these categories is adequate to cope with the realities of which Paul speaks, and which we know in our world. William Manson, in speaking of Galloway's thesis, wrote:

As we look at humanity in its collective aspect, with its terrible exposure to hysterical hallucination on a gigantic scale, those merely negative categories of the impersonal and the unmeaning do not fit all the facts. They are not adequate to the expression of man's whole experience of his moral environment. As we look at history what we often see is not the merely impersonal and unmeaning, but the irrational and the mad.²

Very few of the modern attempts at demythologising have quite taken this fact into consideration, although Bultmann does to some extent in saying "the spirit powers represent the reality into which man is placed as one full of conflicts and struggle, a reality which threatens and tempts."³

But from the point of view of adequately designating the forces of evil in the modern world, most attempts at 'demythologising' fail.

1. E. Brunner, The Divine Imperative, p. 392; R. Niebuhr, The Nature and Destiny of Man, 11, pp. 114-116; P. Tillich, Systematic Theology, 1, p. 149; A.D. Galloway, The Cosmic Christ, p. 281.
2. 'Principalities and Powers', p. 16 (His italics.)
3. New Testament Theology, 1, p. 259.

More serious is the failure to appreciate with sufficient accuracy the real functions of this type of language in the ancient world. We have noted the almost bewildering variety of the terminology used by Paul for the powers of evil. In most attempts at 'demythologising', this variety is reduced to the one level of the 'demonic' and then the attempt is made to translate this reduced form of speech into modern concepts. This, however, is in itself dubious. It is doubtful if we can ever hope to understand Paul's teaching if we fail to take note of his specific language and endeavour to grasp the shades of meaning in the various contexts.

Very significant in this connection is the work of A.N. Wilder.¹ Drawing on the field of literary criticism (and the work of Coleridge and Eliot in particular), he draws attention to the peculiar character of mytho-poetic statement, to which category the New Testament statements concerning the principalities and powers undoubtedly belong. In his essay, 'Scholars, Theologians, and Ancient Rhetoric' he particularly stresses three points:

Mytho-poetic statements have a dynamic dramatic character resting on deep cultural associations.... The symbol in question draws its meaning from its concrete social context. Evidently literalism in interpretation is ruled out, but also any colourless theological interpretation ... The particular figures are intended and specific and should be taken in all their concreteness as suggested by their social antecedents...

Our modern students of symbol tell usthat myth and mytho-poetic statement cannot be paraphrased; they cannot be translated into a discursive equivalent...'Poetic truth is inseparable from poetic form'...

1. Cf. his Otherworldliness and the New Testament; 'Kerygma, Eschatology and Social Ethics' in The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, pp. 509 - 536; and especially in this connection, 'Scholars, Theologians, and Ancient Rhetoric', J.B.L. LXXV (1956) pp. 1-11.

Following on Coleridge, modern literary critics have pointed out that a poem or unit of mytho-poetic discourse represents a fusion in one act of the imagination of many contributory and often apparently contradictory aspects of experience. The poet interprets the heterogeneity and disorder of common experience by a synthetic act of vision, often by the use of a mythological pattern.... The imaginative act is such that the most subtle and profound aspects of experience can be included. The medium is therefore adequate to the totality of awareness in a way not at all possible to discursive statement. It (mytho-poetic statement) represents not merely an emotional reaction to reality, but a judgement about reality, an account of reality, and an account based on this kind of concrete and subtle experience The corollaries for us of this view of symbolic statement are that we shall expect to find wisdom in New Testament myth, but not a wisdom that can be identified with some prose statement or some theological formula. The images or the fable must be assigned their rights in terms of all their connotations.¹

Here we have a most valuable aid to the right interpretation of the Pauline mytho-poetic statements. Wilder's approach compares most favourably with e.g. that of Bultmann and Dodd, whom he accuses of forcing the material into a quasi-philosophical pattern, and that of Cullmann, in whose work a "theological thesis has the same disadvantage".²

How then are we to approach the Pauline language about the various powers of evil? In the same essay Wilder points out:

What we call the theologumena of 'the principalities and powers' is not to be understood in an abstract theological way but in a quasi-sociological way. The early Church interpreted political and social and cultural forces mythologically - in the attempt to speak most significantly about them - but we should not be misled into thinking that the Church here was only concerned with otherworldly realities.³

We must then look for the concrete social and cultural sitz im leben of these powers. Wilder points out two examples. The first is that of the $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ and $\alpha\pi\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ in their intimate

1. Op. cit. pp. 9-11.
2. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
3. Ibid., p. 11

connection with the Law of Moses as brought to an end in Christ. The victory of the Gospel in this regard is not merely a victory over ritual prescriptions and legal demands. Rather, he writes,

It is a victory over a massive ethnic pattern of life, associated by Paul with the 'flesh' and with death, yet determining the destiny of countless souls, and sealing a fateful cleavage between Jew and Gentile until the partition was broken down by Christ. The release of men from such indurated social attitudes and the institutions which represent them is the essence of social action.¹

The second example is that of Paul's experience in Ephesus, where there was a conflict between the Gospel and "magic, astrology and the vested interests of the local cult of Artemis".² In this incident we see the early Church carrying on Jesus' battle with the demons; but this fight against the demons cannot be interpreted as a purely spiritual combat, for it was fraught with very considerable political, social and economic consequences.

Wilder, as a consequence of his view, points to the necessity for the Church to take seriously that task which the early Church took upon itself in its warfare against the forces of evil: and for us today, that task is the duty of the Church to construct an adequate social ethic and perform its true social task, in view of the many social and cultural tyrants. This task of the Church is inherent in the Gospel: only we have been blinded to it by interpreting the eschatological dualistic symbolism of the New Testament in purely other-worldly categories.³

1. 'Kerygma, Eschatology, and Social Ethics', pp. 531-532.

2. Ibid., p. 534.

3. Cf. Wilder, Ibid., p. 534. Cf. also, for a similar line of approach, Hendricus Berkhof, 'The Church's Responsibility for World' in Richardson and Schweitzer (eds.) Biblical Authority for Today pp. 247-255, and H.D. Wendland, 'The Relevance of Eschatology for Social Ethics', Ecumenical Review V (1952-53) pp. 364-368.

It has been necessary to quote from Wilder at considerable length, as his work in this field has been quite pioneering and of the greatest value. By means of it, we are enabled to gain a new insight into an important aspect of the thought of the early Church, and of Paul in particular. A full study along the lines that Wilder suggests would take us well beyond the bounds of this section. We shall therefore briefly summarize and offer some tentative conclusions.

- (1) For Paul, man outside of Christ stands enslaved under forces of evil. These forces of evil, for which he uses a wide variety of terms, are forces active in both the spiritual and social-cultural realms.
- (2) In the ministry and death of Jesus there occurred the decisive battle with these forces of evil, and the victory then won will be consummated at the Last Day.
- (3) In the interim there stands the Church, and her life is to be viewed from the standpoint of the manifestation of God's order over against man's. She stands in the sphere of Christ's victory over the evil forces, and is by the Gospel committed to:
 - (i) The exemplification of an order of life which is free from the dominion of the evil forces (c/f. the $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\delta$ in Galatians and Colossians). This involves the obligation to realize the $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\rho\iota\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, to be a community in which there is neither Jew nor Gentile, bond or free, and so on. (Much of the ethical teaching of the New Testament falls into this context.)
 - (ii) A sharing in God's love for the world, which involves for the Church among other things the effort to free the world from subjection to the powers of evil. This struggle of the

Church for the world is carried out primarily by (a) the preaching of the Word, and (b) social action. (Although it is doubtful if the New Testament writers would have made this distinction.)

- (4) Proceeding from this basis it seems that it would be possible to construct a Christian social/ethic that is both realistic, in that it takes full account of the reality of evil in the world (in a way that the 'Social Gospel', the last fully-articulated social ethic that the Church had, did not), and is also (in the best sense) hopeful, in that it sees man's life in the context of Christ's victory and final supremacy over every force of evil.

(c) FREEDOM FROM THE LAW.

"The law is holy and the commandment is holy and just and good".
(Rom. vii. 12)

"The law is spiritual." (Rom. vii. 14)

"I delight in the law of God, in my inmost self." (Rom. vii. 22)

"Christ is the end of the Law, that every one who has faith may be justified." (Rom. x. 4)

"O foolish Galatians Let me ask you only this: Did you receive the Spirit by works of the Law, or by hearing with faith? Are you so foolish? Having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?" (Gal. iii. 1-3)

"Now I, Paul, say to you that if you receive circumcision, Christ will be of no advantage to you. I testify again to every man who receives circumcision that he is bound to keep the whole law. You are severed from Christ, you who would be justified by the Law; you have fallen away from grace." (Gal. v. 2-4)

"All who rely on the works of the law are under a curse." (Gal. iii. 10)

Within these statements alone there is evidently considerable complexity of thought. The law is holy, spiritual and of God; yet Christ is the end of the law, and all who rely on the works of the law are under a curse. Plainly there can be no simple answer to the question of Paul's attitude to the law, and we may well suspect the adequacy of any simple statement to cover the whole range of Paul's thought. The problem is made rather more complex by the picture of Paul in Acts, which in some respects diverges from what we know of the Apostle from his letters. Some suggest that most of Paul's statements concerning the law occur in Galatians and Romans, where Paul was carried away by fury in polemic, and that Acts therefore gives us the more sober view of Paul's thought. We have noted above that W.D. Davies for example, tends to think more here of the Paul of Acts than of the Paul of the Epistles.¹ Yet this scarcely seems reasonable. The strains of anger are clearly discernible in Galatians, but nevertheless we do

1. See above, p. 29.

find there Paul's own words, not a second hand account of him; and the sharpness of statement is more accountable in terms of the importance of the truth at stake than in terms of exaggerated polemic. And in fact we seem to have laid bare before us here the real Paul, fighting for what he regarded as most essential. A.S. Perke, arguing against the view that Paul was not a consistent thinker, wrote significantly:

Paul was not a mere controversialist who took the arguments that might be convenient for disposing of one antagonist without regard to their consistency with those he had used against another. Behind his occasional utterances there lies a closely knit and carefully constructed system of thought. He moves in his attack with such speed and confidence because he is in possession of a standard to which he relates each new issue as it confronts him.¹

This seems in general to be sound. We may safely use the material that is found even in Galatians - indeed, above all in Galatians - for determining Paul's attitude to the law.

There remains the question of the divergence between Acts and the Epistles. This is a most difficult question, and cannot be discussed fully here. T.W. Manson, in discussing the vexed question of the Apostolic Council and Paul's visits to Jerusalem, points out that the autobiographical part of Gal. i and ii "bristles with difficulties, mostly (not all) arising from the necessity of fitting Paul's account into the narrative of Acts", and in this connection proposes "three canons":

- (a) Where Acts and Galatians conflict, the preference should generally be given to Galatians.
- (b) Any reconstruction of the events which involves tampering with the order in Gal. i, ii, is to be regarded with suspicion. And, on the other hand, a reconstruction which allows us to preserve the Galatian order should have that fact accounted to it for righteousness.

1. 'The Quintessence of Paulinism'. pp. 285-6.

- (c) Never to forget Paul's purpose in writing the whole letter, and the first two chapters, in particular. Galatians is Paul's apologia pro vita sua.¹

With regard to the specific problem of the Apostolic Council, these canons seem to be perfectly sound, and further they are capable of a more general application: it is Paul's own statements that we must first grapple with, and we may do so in reasonable hope of their consistency and reliability.

When we do this, we cannot but be impressed by the vigour of Paul's discussion of the problem of the law. There can be no doubt that here we are dealing with Paul's inmost self. However difficult it may be to comprehend his statement in detail, yet one thing is abundantly clear: the attitude to the law of Paul the Christian is radically different from that of Saul the Pharisee. It is at this point that the reality of his new status as a believer in Christ differs most sharply from his former position - and it is this sharpness that we find, e.g. in Phil. iii. 2 ff. Already it is the question of the Law that is beginning to divide Christians from Jews: for it is at this very point that Paul has discovered the freedom in the Gospel.

We may best begin our study by a consideration of the classic passage, Rom. vii. Here Paul repudiates vigorously any suggestion that the law is anything but of God, holy, and given in order that by it life might come. But we find that the law and sin have entered into a truly 'deadly' combination;² and verses 1-6 describe the freedom from

1. T.W. Manson 'St. Paul in Ephesus: (2) The Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians.' BJRL XXIV (1940), p. 62.
2. 6f. Bornkamm's phrase, "tödliche Verbindung." I am considerably indebted in this section to his "Sünde, Gesetz und Tod", Das Ende des Gesetzes pp. 51-69.

I.c.?
cf.
above

the Law which the believer now has through the death of Christ. These verses contain striking similarities to chapter vi, as Nygren points out: it is clear that freedom from the law is thought of in a way similar to freedom from sin. Nygren sets out the parallels thus:

Chapter 6

- Vs.1 ἡ ἁμαρτία (sin)
 Vs.2 ἀπεθάρμεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ
 ("We died to sin")
 Vs.4 ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατή-
 ("that we might walk in newness of Life")
 Vs.7 ὁ ἀποθνήσκων δεδικαίωται
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας
 ("He who has died is free from sin")
 Vs.18 ἐλευθερώθητε ἀπὸ τῆς
 ἁμαρτίας
 ("having been set free from sin")

Chapter 7

- Vs. 1 ὁ νόμος (the law)
 Vs. 4 ἐθαυτώθητε τῷ νόμῳ
 ("You have died to the law")
 Vs. 6 ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος δουλεύειν
 ("that we might serve in the new life of the Spirit")
 Vs.6 κατηργήμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου
 ἀποθνήσκοντες ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα
 ("We are discharged from the law, dead to that which held us captive")
 Vs.3 ἐλευθέρα ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου
 ("free from the law")¹

The parallels are striking. The conclusion then is inevitable: that Paul views the Law as one of the powers over against man which oppress him, i.e. the Law in that sense belongs in the same category as Sin and death. But is not then the further conclusion inevitable, that the Law itself is sin?² But while Paul insists that we are free from the Law, and speaks of this in a way analogous to that in which

1. A. Nygren, Commentary in loc., p. 268.

2. cf. Bornkamm, op. cit. pp. 52-53: "Wie kann Paulus denn in die Reihe der knechtenden Gewalten, Sünde und Tod, das Gesetz hineinstellen? Sollte man nicht erwarten: befreit von der Sünde sind wir frei für das Gesetz? Will Paulus denn wirklich sagen, dass das Gesetz mit der Sünde und dem Tode zusammengehört, und wenn er das meint - er meint es ja wirklich -, ist dann die lästerliche Konsequenz nicht unabweislich, dass das Gesetz selbst Sünde sei (vii. 7) und also das Gute, d.h. das zum Leben gegebene Gesetz zur Todesmacht geworden ist (vii. 13)?"

he speaks of freedom from sin, yet he does not draw this seemingly inevitable conclusion; indeed, he recoils from it with horror. The remainder of the chapter may be regarded as a sustained defence of the law, and the explanation of the way in which it is yet made use of by sin so that it itself can be regarded as an enemy of man.

In giving this apologia, and in describing the effect of the combination of law and sin, Paul uses the first person singular: τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔδωκεν (verse 7); ἡ ἁμαρτία... κατεργάσατο ἐν ἐμοὶ πᾶσαι ἐπιθυμίαι (verse 8); ἐγὼ δὲ ἔσχω χάρις νόμου ποτέ (verse 9); ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπέθανον (verse 10)

and so on. In what sense are we to take this 'I'? The most commonly accepted view is that Paul is here speaking autobiographically, from the standpoint of faith looking back on his pre-Christian life. Among commentators in English, this is (basically) the view of C.H. Dodd and of Sanday and Headlam; among German writers of Paul Althaus and W.G. Kummel; it is also the most general view among the Greek Fathers. But quite apart from the general question of whether it is an autobiographical passage at all, it seems that it cannot have reference to Paul's pre-Christian past, for the following reasons: (i) Phil. iii, 5ff shows that Paul does not view his life under the law as a time of moral failure for which he feels penitence. (ii) The words ἔσχω and ἀπέθανον have to be evacuated of almost all meaning to fit this interpretation. (iii) According to Jewish Teaching, the period of childhood can hardly be described as a "time without the law".¹

But that Paul is writing autobiographically of his Christian life

1. cf. Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 58, where these three reasons are advanced.

(as is substantially the view of Nygren) is no more probable: he is not writing here (as in Gal. v) of a struggle in which the Christian is constantly engaged. In Gal. v the Christian is represented as bound to struggle, but it is a struggle which consists in the application of the victory of Christ over the flesh; in Rom. vii the victory has not yet been achieved - this is the precise point of the burst of thanksgiving in the final verse, carrying on into chapter viii.

W. Manson has drawn attention to this problem with great clarity.

Discussing Rom. vii. 15-25 he states:

The Greek Fathers, founding on the hopelessness of the condition here depicted, have seen in the chapter a transparent account of the Apostle's pre-baptismal experience, the Western Fathers, notably St. Augustine, and the Reformers, especially Calvin, founding on the goodness of the will or *voluntas* engaged in the conflict, having given the analysis a post-baptismal reference. But if the Apostle was writing of his unregenerate past in Judaism, why have the glory and grace of God vanished from the Torah? And if he was writing of his Christian experience, why is no mention made of grace until the end (vii. 24)? If we take the representation as autobiographical in any strict or real sense, we are in the curious position of having to say that either it reflects a Judaism in which the glory has passed from the law, or a Christianity in which the glory has not yet risen on the gospel. For this reason the chapter should be taken rather as a dialectical analysis of the state of the naturally sin-enslaved soul *ὁπὸ νόμου*. This is made definitely certain by the conclusion of the argument in vii. 25, where the subject of the representation is described as *αὐτὸς ἐγώ*.¹

But if we do understand the passage as a whole in this way, how are we to understand the 'I' used throughout it? The 'I' is to be understood as was suggested above² - in much the same way as the 'I' of the Hymns of Thanksgiving and of the Manual of Discipline of the Qumran community, and the 'I' of the Psalms. It is not thus to be

1. W. Manson, "Notes on the Argument of Romans", in New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, p. 162

2. cf. pp 134, 138 above.

understood autobiographically, though this does not exclude depth of personal feeling arising out of personal involvement in the situation described.¹ But of what sort is this non-autobiographical interpretation?

Here are two principal views, not widely separated. The first is that advanced by Ethelbert Stauffer in his New Testament Theology².

Stauffer argues that "Rom. vii can only be understood in terms of the history of salvation: it is a chapter about the Jewish man who fights under the banner of the Torah, and therefore fights to the bitter end, because he is fighting in a lost position."³ In support he quotes Augustine: "In prima ergo actione, quae est ante legem, nulla pugna est cum voluptatibus in secunda, quae sub lege est, pugnamus, sed vincimur; in tertia pugnamus et vincimus: in quarta non pugnamus, sed perfecta et aeterna pace requiescimus,"⁴ and also Luther: "Opera peccati, quae dominante concupiscentia fiunt.... Opera legis, quae foris coercita concupiscentia fiunt.... Opera gratiae quae repugnante concupiscentia, victore tamen spiritu gratiae fiunt. Opera pacis et perfectae sanitatis, quae, extincta concupiscentia, plenissima facilitate et suavitate fiunt, quod in futura vita erit, hic incipitur."⁵

This is undoubtedly more sound than the autobiographical

1. Dodd and Nygren both object to any non-autobiographical interpretation on the ground that the depth of personal feeling - supremely apparent in verse 25 - would be inappropriate in the case of an 'idealistic construction' (Dodd's phrase). But the alternative does not lie between autobiography and idealistic construction: Pss. 23 and 51, e.g., do not belong to either of these categories, and one cannot deny depth of personal feeling in them.
2. p. 275 n. 239. Cf. his article 'Eyw TWNT 1 pp.
3. p. 275.
4. M.P.L. XL Col. 66 (De Diversis Quaestionibus LXXXIII, LXVI 7)
5. WA 11, p. 492 (Commentary on Galatians, on ii. 16)

interpretation. But it suffers from the defect of imposing on Paul's thought a philosophical schema not directly implied by Paul's actual statements, and which may in fact have little to do with the Pauline theology.¹

The alternative to Stauffer's view is that advanced, e.g., by Bornkamm, that 'I' in this passage is to be understood in a general sense:

Das ²Εγώ von Röm. vii kann darum nur einen generellen Sinn haben. Es ist der Mensch unter Gesetz und Sünde der in diesem Ich sich ausspricht, der Mensch, in dessen Geschichte sich freilich die

1. Of the doctrine of the Heilsgeschichte propounded by O. Cullmann, cf. the criticism of Professor J. McIntyre: "It is the reality of this fragmentariness of history which would lead one to question the continuity of the 'redemption-line' which Cullmann traces through history. Since the Bible would appear to know nothing of the continuity of which Cullmann speaks it would be interesting to learn whence he derived the notation. It would be, to say the least, embarrassing, if, after all, the origin of this idea of continuity were Greek. We have not only Aristotle's explicit statement that "time is a continuous flux" (Physics, IV, xi, 219b) but also the whole interest of the pre-Socratics in the nature of infinity, which is the same problem as that of the continuous series. It may be, simply, that Cullmann has unwittingly accepted an evolutionary type of theory concerning the nature of history and transcribed it into his own terms of the redemptive time-line.... But the Hebrew mind and the Christian mind (even when it is Hellenistically inclined) within the limits of Old and New Testament thought have shown no concern about the problems of philosophy and physics connected with infinity and continuity; whereas the introduction of evolutionary concepts into the interpretation of the Biblical view of time and history is the grossest anachronism and immediately invalidates any theory which commits this sort of error." (The Christian Doctrine of History, pp. 42-43.) Stauffer's conception of Heilsgeschichte appears not to be as rigid as that of Cullmann, and to that extent Professor McIntyre's criticisms may not be valid; but nevertheless, much greater care must be exercised than is shown by Stauffer in the use of the concept of Heilsgeschichte. It is to be noted that Stauffer makes a charge similar in form against Bultmann's interpretation of Rom. vii: "Its chief fault is to neglect the distance in time which separates the theological anthropology of the NT from the metaphysical anthropology of existentialism." (Op. cit. p. 275 n. 239.)

Geschichte Adams in eigentümlicher Weise wiederholt. Die ^{ἐντολή} die dem Menschen begegnet, ist zwar nicht mehr das Paradiesesgebot, sondern der Dekalog, dem ja auch das ^{οὐκ ἐπιθυμίαι} entnommen ist; in der Begegnung aber mit diesem mosaischen, durch welches es zur ^{ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας} (Röm. iii. 20) und zur Anrechnung der Sünde (Röm. v. 13) kommt, wird die Verfehlung des Ich im eigentlichen Sinne der Übertretung Adams erst analog.¹

This, it will be noted, is substantially also the view of W. Manson, as already quoted.² In this chapter Paul presents us with a picture of man subject to the Law and subject to sin.

And what is the position of the Law in this situation, as Paul analyses it? It is clearly presented as something hostile to man, even as sin itself is. Is the law therefore sinful? Never: but in the law sin - which was present before the law came - found its opportunity (vii. 8 and 11, ^{ἐφορμή} - in military terminology, its base of operations). How has this come about?

To man in his sin the Law was given, to lead him to life (verse 10). But the law on the one hand showed sin to be what it is (verse 7, ^{ἐπιθυμία} is used as a concrete example for all sin), and on the other hand the prohibition only excited further desire (verse 8). Thus through the commandment sin was given its opportunity:

it sprang to life (^{ἐξέζησεν}, verse 9), deceived me (^{ἐξαπατήσέ με} verse 10), and killed me (^{ἐπέκτεινεν} ^{+ allusions to Genesis} verse 11).

(The way in which, in the use of these verbs, sin is almost personified, is noteworthy.) Then Paul gives as a conclusion (note the ^{ὥστε}, verse 12) "So that the law is holy and the commandment is holy and just and good." Thus he has

1. G. Bornkamm, 'Sünde Gesetz und Tod', p. 59.

2. See above, p. 199.

vindicated the Law against the charge that it is itself sinful: and indeed declares the opposite to be true. But if this is the case, what is the function of the Law? - it is to show man his true situation, by showing sin up for what it is, that it might make sin quite apparent as καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἡμαρτωλός.

In verses 14 -25 is expounded the terrible nature of this situation in which at once the Law shows up sin in its awfulness, and yet also sin takes advantage of the Law to subject man even more completely to death. The situation is first, that I am at enmity with the Law, for I do not do that which the Law commands. Secondly, there is even a conflict within myself. I see what is right and do not do it, and that which I do perform I see to be wrong. But what is the cause of this, that I am at enmity with the Law and even now with myself? It is because I am 'sold under sin', πεπράμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας (verse 14). Indeed, sin is not only sovereign over me, but it even dwells within me (verse 17) so that I am even a stranger to myself. Bornkamm aptly quotes Shakespeare's Richard III:

What do I fear? myself? there's none else by:
Richard loves Richard; that is, I am I.
Is there a murderer here? No. Yes, I am.
Then fly. What, from myself?

This is the situation in which, by means of the law, I see myself to be: at enmity against that same law, even while acknowledging its holiness, and at enmity against sin. The true awfulness of this situation consists in the fact that that Law by which this situation

1. Act V sc. iii, lines 183-6; Bornkamm op. cit. p. 65 n. 30
(In German translation).

is revealed to me is powerless to save me: for it is spiritual, but I am fleshly (vii. 14). Only that which can deal with sin can save me; and sin has already used the law for its own purposes. But "God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do" (Rom. viii. 3): for Jesus Christ has brought us freedom from sin.

In Galatians (and the same is implicit in Romans) Paul sets the matter of the Law in the context of ^{an} historical schema. A.S. Peake stresses the basic nature of the Adam-Christ typology, as already discussed above¹ (Chapter 2), and points out:

But before the second racial personality could come, and by his act reverse the verdict on humanity and release new streams of energy to cleanse and redeem it and lift it from the natural to the supernatural plane, a long interval had to elapse. Another pair of contrasted figures, Abraham and Moses, play a subordinate part in the drama.²

The part of Abraham is greatly stressed by Paul; if the references were confined to Galatians alone, one might be tempted to conclude that it was for purely polemical purposes that Paul seized on the part of Abraham, as contrasted ^{with} that of Moses; but the same stress in the rather more considered statement of Romans forbids such a conclusion. Rather, we must assert that Paul, in the light of his Christian experience, was able to place the figure of Abraham in its true perspective. (Manson points out that in his treatment of Abraham Paul departed completely from orthodox Judaism, which saw Abraham in the light of Sinai.)²

The significance of Abraham for Paul's thought lies on the one hand in the fact that Abraham's relation to God was one of faith, and

¹.

². 'The Quintessence of Paulinism', p. 305.

³. Cf. T.W. Manson, 'Jesus, Paul and the Law', in Judaism and Christianity III: Law and Religion (ed. E.I.J. Rosenthal) p. 134.

on the other that God's relation to Abraham was one of grace, grace expressed in the promise of God to establish a universal relationship with men; and for Paul this situation of faith and grace has a validity which cannot be set aside by the coming of the Law 430 years later. For God's promise cannot be made void: yet this promise was given to faith, and "If it is the adherents of the law who are to be the heirs, faith is null and the promise void." (Rom. ^{iv.} iv. 14) The Law and the promise are antithetical: for under the promise man lives by faith, but under the Law he lives by works (cf. Gal. iii, 14).

Why then did the law come at all? It was given firstly as a declaration of God's holy will, whereby the true awfulness of man's situation in sin is made clear. Secondly, it acts even as a stimulus to sin (cf. Rom. vii. 8, Gal. iii. 19), thus actually making man's situation worse. (Manson attractively suggests the analogy of a poultice.)¹ This is the situation described in Rom. vii. And what is the ultimate purpose of this? Here Paul uses the figure of the

παιδαγωγός : the Law has played the part of the rough custodian, buffeting us until we come to the school of Christ. The object of the Law was to give us life. That it has not done. But it has made abundantly clear where we are to look for life: to Christ alone. The Law itself is powerless to save: but yet it has this saving function - to direct us to Christ as the source of our salvation.

Highly original as this treatment of the Law may appear to be, it is to be noted that it is essentially at one with the teaching of Jesus, although the latter is not presented within the context of a

1. Ibid., p. 136

developed view of history, as is Paul's teaching. But essentially Paul and Jesus stand on the same ground with respect to the Law. First, for both Paul and Jesus it is the ministry of Jesus Himself which constituted the supreme revelation of God, not the Torah: this represents the decisive break with the Law. Manson draws attention to this fact in Jesus' ministry:

For Jesus the thing of first importance, the only thing of any importance, is His own ministry, that is to say, His task of manifesting the perfect rule of God by being the Servant in perfect love of God and man. For Him that is the only thing in the world that comes with an absolute and unqualified claim. Not even the Law can compare with this supreme obligation. That is not to say that Jesus rejected the Law or that He lightly disregarded any of its commands or prohibitions. It does mean that He did not hesitate to break through its restrictions in the interests of His own task; and that He reserved the right to criticize freely, not only the oral tradition and the scribal decisions, but even the written Torah itself.¹

This at once challenges Judaism as a religion of the Law (in so far as it may truly be so described): for it can tolerate no displacement² of the Law or even any part thereof from a central and binding position. The Law and the Law alone can be sovereign. But already in the teaching of Jesus this claim is implicitly denied. Paul's task, in view of developments within the Church, is to make this explicit.

This much is clear. But yet we must ask ourselves if Paul has not quite passed beyond the teaching of Jesus in the role he ascribes to the Law as the *παροδὲγμος*, to bring us to Christ. This is rather less clear; but yet even this may have its basis in the teaching of Jesus. This is argued by Strauffer, who writes:

1. Ibid., p. 128.

2. Cf. G.F. Moore, Judaism, II, pp. 5-8.

The righteousness which is of the law can win no entrance into the kingdom of God (Luke xi. 52). The Torah is divine law given by God to meet the emergency of man's historical situation; and it has therefore an historical task to perform. The function of the Torah was to bring man's satisfaction with this world to an end, and to quicken in him a thirst for righteousness (Matt. v. 6). But the Pharisees can go about with all the appearances of satisfaction, for they have turned the historical function of the Law into its exact opposite. So the struggle between them and Jesus is necessarily a life-and-death struggle; and hence Jesus contrasts the illegitimate exegesis of the Law - the Halacha - with its legitimate interpretation - the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5. 27ff.; cf. vii. 29). But the mystery of the Sermon on the Mount is the paradoxical response it everywhere evokes. It makes man say 'no' to it, because it demands the impossible. But at the same time it calls forth an elemental 'yes', for what it requires is the only thing that is possible. This is the dire conflict into which Jesus thrusts man with his penetrating exegesis of the Law - so that in their need men may learn the hunger and thirst which the Torah can only quicken, but never quench (cf. Matt. v. 20; vi. 33). But who can quench it? There is none other than Jesus Christ Himself (Luke xi. 46; Matt. xi. 28ff.). So the Torah either takes us to Christ, or leads us astray.¹

If this is sound, we certainly have in the Sermon on the Mount the Law being brought to its function of revealing and even making more radical man's actual situation, and thus performing the role of the *παλιγγωγός*. Nevertheless, that we can attribute the understanding of the Law in this role to the teaching of Jesus depends upon the solution of the critical and theological problems connected with the Sermon on the Mount, problems which cannot be discussed here. All that we may do here is accept the very definite possibility that even in this respect Paul and Jesus are at one, and that in fact Paul may be building on the teaching of Jesus.

We have still to consider the question of the continuing validity of the Law. Schweitzer points out that here it is necessary to distinguish two questions, a theoretical and a practical:

1. E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, pp. 91-92.

1. In what sense and to what extent is the Law no longer valid?
2. What is the right attitude of believers towards the law, in so far as it is no longer valid?¹

This distinction is valuable, even though Schweitzer's answers to the two questions may not be so thoroughly acceptable. In answer to the first question, Schweitzer argues that "the Law belongs to that natural world which lies under the dominion of angels," and that as Christ has overcome the natural world the Law is no longer valid for those in Christ, while it remains valid outside the sphere of those 'in Christ'.² There is a good deal of truth in this but yet it over-simplifies the issue. From one aspect it is true that for Paul the Law does belong to the natural world (this appears especially in Colossians and Galatians), but yet the Law is of God, and it is a real expression of His Holy will. As such, it is clear that the Law cannot be regarded as belonging only to the natural world, and on that score no longer binding for Christians. Nor can it be thought that as we now (since the revelation in Christ) have a more true idea of God than formerly, we now see that the notion of the Law as the guide to man's conduct has been superseded by something better, and the Law may now simply be forgotten. The Law, however much it be historically conditioned, is a real expression of God's holy will for the life of His people, and the curse involved in the failure to fulfil the Law is a real curse. Thus, even Burton would appear in error in asserting that the curse (Gal. iii. 13) "is not the judgment of God.... If the curse is not

1. A. Schweitzer, Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p. 187

2. *Ibid.*, 188-9.

an expression of God's attitude towards man, neither is the deliverance from it a judicial act in the sense of release from penalty, but a release from a false conception of God's attitude, viz. from the belief that God actually deals with men on a legalistic basis."¹ This fails to grapple with the reality of the curse. In biblical thought, to quote Hebert, a curse:

expresses (and also conveys) that which proceeds from His (God's) wrath - disease, ill-success, ruin, desolation, death.²

It is to be noticed first that a curse (as also a blessing) is not a mere form of words, but actually transmits the curse. Secondly, it is to be noted that the curse is an expression of the wrath of God. The curse is not evaded by a new understanding of God's attitude. From this point of view the Law (and the curse which is associated with it) is an expression of God's righteousness and thus the problem of the Law is from this point of view one with the problem of the wrath of God. It represents something within the character of God which must find a place in any consideration of the atonement. Such a place it clearly has in Paul's thought, the crucial passage being Galatians iii. 13. The general sense of this verse is the same as that of 2 Cor. v. 21:³ it speaks of Jesus' complete identification with man in his condition of servitude to the Law. Of this passage in Galatians, Hebert writes:

God's wrath rested on sinners who broke His commandments; here he (Paul) quotes Deut. xxvii. 26, and shows how this curse rests on all who are under 'the works of the Law' (vss. 10-12). Christ, who came to bear his people's sin, accepted this curse in Himself; and it was worked out in the suffering and death which He bore. Thus there was indeed a curse resting on the Crucified; he 'became a curse for us' in being hanged on a

1. ICC Galatians in loc.

2. A.G. Hebert, art. 'Curse', A. Richardson, Theological Word Book of the Bible, p. 57.

3. Discussed above, pp 160-161.

tree, according to Deut. xxi. 22-3 (vs. 13). But it was impossible that the Son of God, on whom the fullness of the divine Blessing rested, should be overwhelmed by the curse. Its effect exhausted itself in his death on the cross; and in dying he 'redeemed us from the curse of the Law', so that through his resurrection the Blessing of Abraham might be saved for the Gentiles, and the messianic gift of the Spirit be poured out on them (vs. 14)¹

In this excellent discussion, it is to be noted that (i) full account is taken of the reality of the curse; (ii) full account is taken of the wrath of God; and (iii) the whole is interpreted in the light of Christ's saving work. The Law cannot merely be overlooked, for it has not simply been superseded. The Law was an expression of God's righteousness, and the claim of God's righteousness was fully met for men in the death of Jesus Christ.² (This passage therefore requires to be seen in the light of Paul's treatment of the work of Christ in relation to the righteousness of God, as in Rom. iii. 21-26.)

What then of the situation that obtains in virtue of Christ's work?

First, it is clear that for Paul the law in its essential nature was temporary: it did not come until 430 years after Abraham (cf. Gal. iii. 17), and it belongs to that covenant whose glory, though real, was destined to fade before the greater glory of the new covenant (cf. 2 Cor. iii. 7-11). Secondly, Gal. iii. 10-14 makes it clear that the work of Christ is understood as that through which the promise given to Abraham comes to fulfilment: the universal blessing without the Law then promised has been realised in Christ in whom Jew and Gentile receive the blessing by faith, apart from the Law. That blessing is further described in terms of God's gift of the Spirit, i.e.

1. A.G. Hebert, op. cit. p. 58

2. Cf. H.A.A. Kennedy, Theology of the Epistles, p. 129: "Christ had never been guilty of disobedience. But in accordance with the will of the Father He suffered for men the penalty of the broken Law: it exhausted its claim in the vicarious Redeemer."

the realisation of the eschatological hope. Thus this fulfilment of the promise to Abraham is also the restoration of man to his proper status as a child of God through the work of the Last Adam, of which Paul speaks directly in Romans but not in Galatians, although it is implied in Gal, iii. 26-29: those who are Christ's are Abraham's offspring and are also described in terms appropriate to the new humanity which arises in the Last Adam.¹ The realization of this state implies the end of the dominion of the Jewish Law. Thirdly, the Law was given through the mediation of angels (Gal. iii. 19, cf. iv. 9).² The dominion of those beings is now (as we saw in the section above) at an end, in view of Christ's victory over them. In so far as the dominion of the law was the dominion of these beings, that dominion is now at an end.

The conclusion is clear: for those who are in Christ, the Law has no further validity. The period for which it set the pattern for the life of the people of God has come to an end, for in Jesus Christ the new has come. It truly was an expression of the righteousness of God: but the claims of that righteousness have been met for all men in Christ, and indeed there has come in Him and his work the surpassing revelation of the righteousness of God. In this sense, just as the promise given to Abraham reached its fulfilment in Christ, so has the Law

1. It is interesting to note that G.S. Duncan, M.N.T.C. Galatians, in discussing Gal. iii. 13 quotes Newman's words:

'When all was sin and shame
A second Adam to the fight
And to the rescue came.'

2. The background and currency of this idea is discussed by Schweitzer, *op. cit.* pp. 69-70.

reached its fulfilment in Him.¹ The Law has done its work: it has witnessed to the righteousness of God, and thereby been a 'schoolmaster unto Christ': its validity is now come to an end.

There yet remains, however, following Schweitzer, the second question to be raised in this connection: What is to be the attitude of believers to the Law, in so far as it is no longer valid? Here again Schweitzer's answer seems to be inadequate: he relies on the theory of the Status quo of 1 Cor. vii. 20, and gives it a general application: "Whatever was the external condition in which a man has made his election a reality, that is to say, has become a believer, in that condition he is, as a believer to remain."² It follows that Gentile Christians must not obey the Law, but Jewish Christians must. This does not seem to meet the facts of Paul's teaching, and indeed seems to be a consequence of Schweitzer's own eschatological views rather than of Paul's teaching.

We must begin with the general observation that now all believers, Jew and Gentile, are free from the Law: there seems no justification for any distinction between Jew and Gentile in this regard, and indeed the whole force of Paul's argument lies in the opposite direction. This freedom, however, is a 'hidden' freedom, as is also the freedom from sin and from the principalities and powers: that is to say, it is a freedom that we have in faith, in Christ. The problem that thus arises is what this hidden freedom means in the openness of actual living.

1. As was pointed out above (p. ³⁶24) in rejecting Davies's 'New Torah' thesis, there is much to be said for the view that Paul regarded the Torah as a 'veiled Christ'.
2. Op. cit. pp. 193-194.

Here we must distinguish two views held by Paul in relation to two quite different circumstances. First, where faith in Christ is clearly held as the sovereign concern, there is a range of matters that may be regarded as adiaphora where the acceptance or continuing observance of them aids in the cause of the advancement and unity of the Church. This seems to be clearly implied in Paul's statement of his missionary strategy, 1 Cor. ix. 19-23.¹ His acceptance of the state of one under the law and also of the state of one outside the law are both for the sake of the Gospel. But that this applies only to a certain range of matters is made clear by his (quite furious) denial of the charge that he preaches circumcision, Gal. v. 11. A similar view is implied by Paul's acceptance of the Apostolic Decrees.² He can accept these things, because in themselves they are indifferent, and the demand for their observance is a demand only to preserve the unity (expressed in table-fellowship) of those in Christ. For this cause Gentile believers may sacrifice something of their freedom in order to avoid giving offence to those who have a sentimental attachment to their ancestral traditions. In a similar way, Paul can himself quote the Law, using it to support his arguments on matters conducive to the welfare of the Church, 1. Cor. ix. 8, xiv. 34. But it is remarkable that Paul does not quote the Law on matters of greater weight than this. A particularly striking

1. Cf. the excellent discussion of this passage by H. Chadwick N.T.S.I. pp. 261-275.
2. A full discussion of the vexed question of the Apostolic Council and the Decrees is impossible here. The position I here adopt is that of T.W. Manson, 'The Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians'. Manson argues strongly against that textual tradition which understood the Decrees in a moral sense, i.e. he argues that the words καὶ τῆς πορείας Acts xv. 20 be omitted with P 45 and the Ethiopic; the Decrees then speak only of dietary regulations.

example occurs in the same epistle, 1 Cor. vi. 12-20, where Paul does not appeal to the Law in support of his condemnation of fornication, but argues rather that he who has become a member of Christ cannot join himself to a prostitute. We must recognise that Paul was prepared to accept the use and observance of the Law in a range of matters which, while not of the greatest moment, were conducive to the welfare of the Church and the advancement of the Gospel.

This type of answer, however, as is well-known, is not that which Paul gives in the Epistle to the Galatians. But before accusing him of radical inconsistency at this point one must notice that the situation he faced among the Galatians was a completely different one. Here it was not simply a matter of the acceptance of certain practices for the sake of the unity and the advancement of the faith; rather, the substance of the faith was about to be perverted for the sake of the maintenance of these practices.¹ This is quite clearly a different question from the former, and Paul's answer to it is rightly quite different. Manson points out that Paul's rivals argued 'You must be circumcised if you are to be true Christians.' The logical contradictory of this is 'You need not be circumcised if you are to be true Christians'. He continues:

This is the contrary of the original contention. It carries the war into the enemy's camp. And it prepares us for the central argument of Galatians, which is not designed to prove the Law unnecessary for Gentile Christians, but to prove it obsolete, superseded.²

1. Davies, P.R.J. p. 73 points out that Judaism was very tolerant of heterodoxy, but was very intolerant of heteropraxis; perhaps we see here in Paul's thought the contrary view.
2. T.W. Manson, 'The Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians, p. 60. (Manson's italics.)

That which Paul's opponents demand is nothing less than the rejection of the substance of the faith. Through the work of Christ the new age has come, and there has been brought about the end of the old aeon, marked among other things by the temporary dispensation of the law. Now in Him has come justification, peace with God, the gift of the Spirit. But "if justification were through the law, then Christ died to no purpose" (Gal. ii. 21,). But that is the precise demand of the Judaisers, and against that demand freedom from the Law must be insisted upon as a central implicate of the Gospel.

Freedom from the Law and freedom from sin accordingly stand in the closest relation, and life in sin and life under the Law are both opposed to the Gospel, however different they themselves are.¹ But what is to be said positively of this life in freedom? Standing in opposition to both ways, the life in sin and the life after the Law, is the call to love. Herein lies the final point which must be raised in connection with Paul's attitude to the Law: for love is the fulfilling of the Law (cf. Rom. xiii 8-10 and Gal. v. 13-14). The way in which we are to understand this is clearly indicated by Bornkamm:

Vorbereitet ist dieser hier wie Rom. xiii. 8-10 bei Paulus ^bbegegnende Gedanke in Judentum selbst wie im AT (Hos. vi. 6; Mic. vi. 8). Die Frage nach dem Grundgebot, der Hauptsache in Gesetz, ist im Judentum immerhingestellt worden und ihre Beantwortung in Sinne der Liebe zu Gott und zum Nächsten (Lev. xix. 18) wie Lk. x. 25ff zeigt, grundsätzlich auch einem Schriftgelehrten möglich. Vor allem aber steht Gal. v. 14 in tiefem Einklang mit Jesu Wort (Mt. vii. 12; Mk. xii. 29ff. u.ö.). So wie in Jesu Botschaft ist das Acumen der Stelle dabei nicht die Frage der Auslegung des Gesetzes, sondern seiner Erfüllung durch die Tat. ΠΕΤ-ΔΗΡΩΤΑΙ (gnom. perf.) meint also mehr als die sinngemässe Zusammenfassung des Gesetzes in Liebesgebot, nämlich seine vollbrachte Erfüllung in der Liebe.²

1. Cf. Bornkamm, 'Die Christliche Freiheit' p. 134: "Gesetzlichkeit und Gesetzlösigkeit, Nomismus und Anomie sind.....nur feindliche Bruder vom selben Stamm".
2. Ibid., p. 135

The call to love is not a call to act in that way in which the highest commandment of the Law calls one to act, and love is not to be understood as the fulfilling of the Law in that sense. Rather, the call to love is the call to make real that which we receive as the 'fruit of the Spirit', i.e., that which we receive in Christ, whose whole life, ministry and death was a self-giving in love. In the deed of love is performed that act which is in accordance with God's own righteousness. Love is accordingly the fulfilling of the Law in the sense that the concrete deed of Love meets that for which the Law truly stands - God's righteousness.

The positive content of freedom from sin is, as we saw above, freedom for Christ, for love. This is also the positive content of the freedom from the Law. Thus when we consider the content of the Christian life from ~~either~~ approach, we encounter the same answer: it consists in righteousness, in love, or (at once less abstractly and more precisely stated) in Jesus Christ. Consequently we may close our discussion of the whole question of freedom with Manson's closing words in connection with the Law: "To the two questions: What does God offer to man? and What does God require of man? The New Testament returns one answer: the Life of Christ."¹

1. T.W. Manson, 'Jesus, Paul and the Law', p. 141.

CHAPTER V: THE PATTERN OF THE CHRISTIAN'S LIFE.

We have now reached the position where we must review the progress of the discussion. We began by considering an approach to Paul's ethics which sees therein a considerable and fundamental philosophical influence through the Greek tradition, apparent in various terms used by Paul and above all in the acceptance by him of the Stoic view of natural law. We were compelled to reject this view as a distortion both of Paul's theology and of his ethics, and were therewith compelled to reject any view which places great emphasis on the influence of the Greek tradition in Paul's thought.

Davies's influential and important work, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, was then discussed as a work which sees Paul's thought not in the context of the Greek tradition but of the Jewish. We were particularly concerned with the thesis put forward by Davies which expresses Paul's fundamental approach to both theology and ethics in terms of the conception of a 'New Torahⁿ'. We found this too inadequate, in that Davies's thesis suffers from several inconsistencies, distorts somewhat the New Testament evidence, and is unable to bear the weight of all that Davies places upon it.

Both of these approaches were illuminating, however, in that both pointed us towards certain aspects of Paul's theology, and in particular his doctrine of Christ as the Last Adam, as providing us with the best basis from which to consider his ethical teaching. This has led us to examine the 'Last Adam' doctrine and also his doctrine of the Spirit. The former we found to be a concept of fundamental importance in Paul's theology, enabling him to express in the most comprehensive

form his understanding of Christ both as Him through whom have come justification before God and reconciliation with God, and as Him who is the head of a new humanity. This led directly into the field of ethics, for, as the Last Adam, Christ is also the Image of God, the Glory of God, and the New Man, and these terms are also fundamental anthropological terms which Paul uses in connection with his thought on the life of man before God. The believer - the justified man - is he who is glorified, is conformed to the image of Christ, is a new man created after the image of Christ. The Apostle's doctrine of Christ as the Last Adam accordingly shows most clearly that the Christian is one who has received a new life at the hands of and after the fashion of Jesus Christ.

In the doctrine of the Holy Spirit we found another focal point of the Pauline theology. First, in the actual presence of the Spirit in the Church Paul found at once the guarantee of the Gospel and the pledge of the future glory. Secondly, this presence of the Spirit in the Church is of profound ethical consequence. He is active among the believers, generating ethical fruit - and this fruit of the Spirit is defined in a way that shows a fundamental connection with Paul's view of Jesus Christ. Thus Paul's view of the character of a life in the Spirit is at one with his view of the nature of Christ, and we are brought back to the fundamental question of the relation between Paul's ethics and his Christology.

As a consequence of Paul's view of the Person and Work of Christ and of his doctrine of the Spirit, the Pauline understanding of

freedom was considered. The three main aspects of freedom were discussed - freedom from sin, freedom from the principalities and powers, and freedom from the Law. In each case we saw how freedom is secured through the work of Christ and appropriated by the believer through faith and baptism. Further, in each case we examined the consequences of freedom for ethics.

In the case of freedom from the principalities and powers there was seen to be involved for the Christian an obligation to fight against the (now dethroned) powers, and at least a way in which this may be understood in the contemporary situation was indicated. While this is an aspect of Paul's thought that is of some importance, it will not be taken up again, as it is not as relevant to the theme of our study.

In the case of the two other aspects of freedom - freedom from sin and freedom from the Law - there was found a positive complement in the idea of freedom for Christ (this especially in the context of freedom from sin) and freedom for love and the service of the neighbour (this especially in the context of freedom from the Law). This striking unity in the positive complements of these two aspects of freedom was commented on, and our conclusion in the words of T.W. Manson made clear that here too the person of Christ is of fundamental importance in assessing Paul's view of the nature of the Christian's life.

We shall now proceed to examine more directly Paul's ethical teaching, approaching it first in a general way to see if this fundamental orientation towards the Person of Christ (or towards the Spirit) is maintained. Before going on to a more detailed discussion, we shall consider the question of Paul's knowledge of and attitude towards

the historical career of Jesus of Nazareth and His teaching.

We shall begin with a consideration of Paul's longest sustained section of ethical teaching, Romans xii-xiii. The fundamental direction and inspiration of this section is provided by the first two verses of chapter xii: "I appeal to you therefore, brethren, by the mercy of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship. Do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind, that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect."

That this section of ethical instruction is connected with the whole of the argument that preceded¹ and is indeed regarded as a consequence of it is shown by Paul's use of 'therefore' (οὖν). Thus Paul's appeal is based upon the facts of what God has done in Christ, and those facts not only make this ethical appeal possible but positively require it.² It is with this in view too that Paul points to God's mercy as the motive for their action - it is God's mercy alone that makes possible the presentation of themselves to Him, and also that presentation of themselves is the only way by which they might appropriate God's mercy.³

1. So, e.g., Sanday and Headlam in loc., rather than only with the concluding words of chapter xi.

2. Cf. the discussion pp. 171ff above of the relation between the indicative and the imperative in Romans vi.

3. In the expression $\delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\omega\varsigma\ \delta\iota\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\mu\omega\varsigma$, " $\delta\iota\alpha$ indicates that in which the motive is found" (Denney, Expositor's Greek Testament in loc.; cf. 1 Cor. i. 10, 2 Cor. x. 1. It is interesting that these two examples together with our passage give the impression of a quite regular formula $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\ \sigma\mu\alpha\varsigma$ (2ΘΕΛΩ) $\delta\iota\alpha\ldots$ The use of the plural $\delta\iota\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\mu\omega\varsigma$ is a Hebraism and hence is translated above by the singular, differing from the R.S.V. from which the rest of the translation is taken.

This offering of themselves to God is spoken of in language with a markedly 'cultic' tone. We shall not here consider it in detail, but the very use of language with such a connotation is significant, in that behind it there lies the conception that the worship and service of Jew and Gentile in Christ both fulfils and goes beyond that which was known in Judaism.

This leads Paul to a fundamental statement of that new basis for ethics that has come into being. Beneath it there lies the contrast between the old age and the new age which we have already discussed.¹ This distinction between 'this age' or 'this world' and the Age to Come was a commonplace of Jewish theology. The distinctive Christian affirmation is that in Jesus Christ the Age to Come has come, and the fact that it has so come ^{is} demonstrated by the presence and the power of the Spirit. This fact of the inauguration of the Age to Come and the consequent supersession of this Age provides the basis in fact for the exhortation that follows (i.e., the indicative on which the imperative depends). The exhortation is thus an exhortation to cease to follow (*μή* with the present imperative) the fashion of this Age which Christ's work has brought to an end and to be inwardly and fundamentally conformed to that new state of affairs which Christ has brought into being.²

1. See above, pp. 50-51 and pp. 114-115.

2. This depends upon the fairly sharp antithesis between *σῆμα* and its compounds on the one hand and *μορφή* and its compounds on the other, as pointed out by Lightfoot, on whose work most commentators depend (Philippians 3rd. edition, pp. 125-131). The contrast between the two ages is not explicit here, but is clearly implied by the contrast between *συσχηματίζεσθαι* and *μεταμορφοῦσθαι* as the latter is explicitly referred to 'this age'; and as well by the eschatological connotation present generally in the ideas of newness and of renewal. *ἀνακαίνωσις* is in fact closely related to *πάλινγενεσία* (Cf. Trechsel, Synonyms, para. 18)

This renewal is specified as renewing the mind, which in the old aeon was the *vous sárkos* (Col. ii. 18). The renewal is not, however, regarded as any sort of magical transformation: its object is to place man in a position in which he is responsible and by decision in concrete situations show his conformity to the new age in a life which is in accordance with God's purpose: he is to "prove what is the will of God."¹

In these two verses Paul has thus given his ethical teaching its fundamental basis in his theology. There is no explicit reference here to his Christology, but yet the whole (in that ^{the} conception of the New Age is involved) is intimately related to Paul's view of the work of Christ.

The Apostle goes on to discuss more specifically the nature of the Christian's life in this Age which has come in Christ. This involves first a discussion of the right use of the gifts of the Spirit within the community.² This is necessary, for the Spirit is now present in the Church in all His power, since the New Age has come; and it is essential that they be used rightly within the community. (We encounter in this a fundamental principle in Paul's ethics, the need for all things in the Christian's life to 'edify' the community.) In this

1. Cf. D. Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, p. 163: "There arises every day anew the question how here, today, and in my present situation I am to remain and be preserved in this new life with God, with Jesus Christ. And it is just this question which is involved in proving what is the will of God. Knowledge of Jesus Christ implies ignorance of a man's own good and evil; knowledge of Jesus Christ refers the man entirely to Jesus Christ; and from this it follows that there must every day arise a new authentic proving which will consist precisely in the exclusion of all other sources of the knowledge of the will of God."
2. The 'gifts' of the Spirit are to be distinguished from the 'fruit' of the Spirit, in that they are in the strictest sense gifts and the Christian cannot be commanded to possess them, whereas the fruit of the Spirit can be commanded. Cf. H.H. Rex, 'An Attempt to Understand 1 Corinthians 7', Reformed Theological Review.

we see again the close connection between the Spirit and Christ in respect of the believer; for it is in the community of those who are ^{ἐν} ^{τῷ} ^{πνεύματι} ^{καὶ} ^{ἐν} ^{Χριστῷ} that the Spirit grants these gifts.

Verses 9 - 21 contain a series of maxims which are all designed to bring out the nature of ^{ἀγάπη}. Sanday and Headlam point out many parallels in this section to 1 Cor. xiii, and this connection is brought out in striking fashion by Nygren, who paraphrases our passage thus:

Love hates what is evil, but holds fast to what is good. It loves the brethren, and seeks to outdo them in showing honour. Love never flags in zeal; it is aglow in the Spirit; it serves the Lord. It rejoices in hope, is patient in tribulation, is constant in prayer. It contributes to the needs of the saints, and practises hospitality. Love blesses those who persecute it; it blesses and does not curse. Love rejoices with those who rejoice, and weeps with those who weep. Love lives in harmony with the brethren. It is not haughty, but associates with the lowly. It is never conceited. Love does not repay evil for evil. It takes thought for what is noble in the sight of all. If possible, so far as it depends on it, love lives peaceably with all. Love never avenges itself, but loves even an enemy, according to the scriptures which say 'If your enemy is hungry, feed him; if he is thirsty, give him drink'. Love is not overcome by evil, but overcomes evil with good.

This paraphrase, though free, is legitimate in that it brings to view with the utmost clarity the basic theme of this section - that love which takes first place in the fruit of the Spirit and which also, for Paul no less than John, serves as an adequate description of the person and work of Christ. This too in the new age is made available for the Christian, and Paul's exhortations are designed to make more clear the nature of this love and its practical effects.²

1. A. Nygren, op. cit. pp. 425-426.

2. The exhortations are discussed further below, pp.

These maxims are followed by a discussion of the attitude to be adopted by Christians towards those in authority (xiii. 1-7, the passage will not be considered here) and this in turn is followed by an exhortation to $\lambda\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$ as the fulfilling of the Law.¹ Then in the concluding verses of chapter xiii Paul returns to a basic statement of the starting point for his ethics.

In the opening verses of chapter xii the basic nature of the Christian's life had been set out in terms of the contrast between the old and the new aeon. The new aeon has been initiated in Christ, Christians share in it, and therefore they are to bring their lives into tune with that situation that has come about. Thus in that passage there is implicit a certain historical emphasis: the nature of the Christian's life is such as it is in virtue of those things that have happened. Paul now places the emphasis the other way: he looks to the consummation of that new age that has been begun, and thus the whole tone of this passage is conditioned by the Pauline eschatology.² As in xii. 1-2 there was at least implicitly an ethical dualism between the old and new ages, so now Paul sets forth this basic ethical dualism in a series

1. Cf. above pp. 215 where the similar passage, Galatians v. 13-14 is discussed.
2. Cf. C.H. Dodd, M.N.T.C. Romans, p. 210: "The eschatology has become little more than an imaginative expression for the urgency which belongs to all moral effort when it is thought of in relation to the eternal issues of life. The Christian is perpetually faced by a crisis, with the Other World pressing disturbingly into this one. His awareness of that crisis leaves him no interest in the sensual life of unawakened humanity. He must live as becomes one who belongs to the Ultimate Order." There seems little justification for this interpretation. The language here is quite as vivid as in Thessalonians which Dodd does not subject to the thorough-going reinterpretation he offers in the above passage on Rom. xiii, and there does not seem to be any way open to Dodd whereby he could justify such a sharp distinction between the two passages.

of figures:

sleeping	-	waking
night	-	day
works of darkness	-	armour of light
put off (ἀποθέσθαι) -		put on (ἐνδύσθαι)
the Lord Jesus	}	the flesh
Christ		

As Sanday and Headlam point out,¹ "The contrast of ὕπνος, ῥύξις, and σκότος with ἡμέρα and φῶς finds many illustrations in Christian and in all religious literature", and indeed it represents a contrast of the greatest naturalness. It is well adapted to describe the situation in which the Christian finds himself, a situation which is accurately described by Nygren:

The life of the Christian in this world looks forward to the day of salvation that is to come. In one sense we may indeed speak of salvation as already present, but it will not be complete before the eschatological consummation. It is of this eschatological salvation that Paul speaks when he says, "Salvation is nearer to us now than when we first believed." Every step which the Christian takes carries him closer to "the day of the Lord", closer to the day of the revelation of the glory of the Lord, which will also include the manifestation of the glory of the children of God. When the Christian sees how time runs on, he ought to be made mindful thereby that "it is full time to awake from sleep the night is far gone, the day is at hand."²

It is accordingly not surprising to find that this theme appears elsewhere also in the Pauline literature. The contrast of sleeping-waking occurs in Eph. v. 14,² and also appears combined with the night-day and darkness-light metaphors in Thess. v. 5-10. This last named passage in fact bears a very close resemblance to Rom. xii. 11-14.

1. Op. cit. p. 436

2. Which A.M. Hunter (among others) suggests (with much probability) is a quotation from a primitive Christian hymn. Cf. Paul and His Predecessors, pp. 44-45.

The contrast of darkness and light is a common one in the Pauline literature, as indeed throughout the New Testament (and elsewhere). For Paul's use, 2 Cor. iv. 4-6 is fundamental. In that passage Paul on the one hand makes an implicit comparison between the primeval darkness and the state of those whose minds "the god of this world has blinded", and on the other hand makes an explicit comparison between the light of creation and "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." We are accordingly to view the contrast between darkness and light in Paul not from the general standpoint of the history of religion, but from his own specific theological position. Into a world in darkness the light came in the person of Jesus Christ; to be "sons of the light and sons of the day" (1 Thess. v. 5, cf. Eph. v. 8) accordingly bears primarily a christological reference.¹ This is a matter of some importance in view of the frequency with which Paul uses the ideas of darkness and light in ethical contexts (as in the

1. Cf. S. Wibbing, Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament p. 124. After pointing out the close parallels between Pauline and Qumran literatures in the use of the Light-Darkness contrast, he adds:

"Ebenso ist klar geworden, dass bei Paulus im Unterschied zum spätjüdischen Denken der mit diesen Begriffen umschriebene Determinismus aufgehoben ist: Die Herrschaft der Finsternis ist gebrochen durch Kreuz und Auferstehung Christi, und wo die Botschaft von dieser Tat Gottes den Menschen erfasst, begründet sie für ihn ein neues Sein."

passages we have been considering and very sharply in 2 Cor. vi. 14).¹
 The contrast of darkness and light in Rom. xiii. 12 is combined with the figure of the Christian's armour. This idea of the armour is again a favourite one with Paul, and has been discussed above² in connection with the Christian's duty to struggle against the principalities and powers as put forward in Ephesians vi. As Paul speaks here of τὸ ὄπλον τοῦ φωτός so in 2 Cor. vi. 7 he speaks of τὸ ὄπλον τῆς δικαιοσύνης as among the marks of his ministry as an apostle. (This tends greatly to confirm the view outlined above as to the significance of 'light' symbolism in Paul's writings.) This idea of the armour of righteousness as a mark of Paul's ministry reappears in slightly different guise in 2 Cor. x. 4, where Paul vehemently denies that the weapons of his warfare are 'fleshly' (σαρκικός), and asserts that they are "extremely powerful" (δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ).³ They are extremely powerful, because they are the weapons of God's righteousness.

The verbs used in Rom. xiii. 12b are of great interest: ἀποτίθημι to put off, and ἐνδύομαι put on (middle; though Bauer notes "The middle sense is not always right; the passive is sometimes better").⁴

1. By suggesting that we read the Pauline references to the darkness-light contrast in the light of 2 Cor. iv. 4-6 it is not intended that we should divorce the use of this contrast from its use in a great many different religious contexts, but rather that, as Paul has provided us with a specifically Christian interpretation of this common usage, we should not ignore it. The contrast appears with great frequency in Ephesians; if that letter is not by Paul and is to be dated c. 95, this may be due to the Writer's desire to use the language of incipient Gnostic movements while at the same time giving it a consistently Christian sense. In this way it is perhaps more akin to the use of the 'light' symbolism in the Johannine literature. Cf. J.A. Allan, *Ephesians* (Torch Commentary), pp. 118, 120-121.

2. See p. 186

3. τῷ θεῷ is probably to be taken as a Hebraism, "extremely", "divinely"; cf. C.F.D. Moule, *Idiom Book*, p. 184 on τῷ θεῷ as an intensive.

4. p. 263b.

These verbs may have gained currency in their ethical sense from the practice in the baptism ritual of removing one's clothes and putting on new ones, although this does not seem to be a necessary derivation; the metaphor is quite natural in itself.¹ In Rom. xiii. 10 the exhortation is to put off "the works of darkness"; in Col. iii. 8 the command is to put off a series of vices - a catalogue similar in nature to that which we have already discussed in Galatians v; in Eph. iv. 25, the command is to put off "falsehood", and most strikingly the command in Eph. iv. 22 is to put off "the old man" (ὁ παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος). We have already seen² that this term refers primarily to the man in Adam. The old man, the works of darkness, the vices - these belong together in that state of being in which the Christian is no longer, in that Jesus Christ, the Last Adam, has come. The believer who in faith lays hold on His victory over sin must therefore put off himself all that belongs to the state of those in Adam.³ The figure of putting off the old man in Ephesians - whether that letter be by Paul or not - thus expresses summarily the whole negative content of what it means to be a believer.

The verb ἐρδύομαι is used in this same passage with, as its object, 'the new man' (ὁ καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, Eph. iv. 24), and the parallel usage appears in Col. iii. 10. The primary reference of

1. The metaphor is not confined to Christian contexts, cf. Bauer, p. 263b.

2. See above pp. 93.

3. Cf. above pp.

this term is to Jesus Christ Himself, the Creator of the new humanity in His role of the Last Adam.¹ He is the New Man, "Who through His Divine personality makes His human nature effective in due measure for every believer".² To "put on the new man" therefore has a specific content, a content that is supplied by Jesus Christ, and in fact this verb is used explicitly of a putting on of Christ in Galatians iii. 27 (Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε) and in Rom. xiii. 14 (ἐνδύσασθε τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν). And on the other hand, in Col. iii, 12 the same verb of the 'putting on' is used of a series of virtues which culminate in love (ἀγάπη, verse 14).

With this we meet our central problem. We have seen the way in which Paul's ethical teaching is essentially set within the context of Christ's redeeming work. The nature of the Christian's life is determined by the fact that through the work of Christ he has been redeemed from his 'Adamitic' state, he has his life in the new aeon inaugurated by in Christ, he lives in the light, he has put on the armour of righteousness, he has put on the new man. By many different figures Paul sets the life of the Christian within the context of that new thing which has come to pass in Christ.... ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καὶ ἡ κτίσις τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ, γεγονός καὶ ἡμεῖς (2 Cor. v. 17).

What we may call the 'formal' nature of the Christian life, its essential nature and direction, is given: for it is determined by the nature of Christ's victorious mission.

But how specific is this? When Paul exhorted his readers to

1. Ibid.

2. B.F. Westcott Ephesians p. 68

'put on the Lord Jesus Christ', he was clearly drawing their attention to the general outline of the Christian life involved in the whole 'fact of Christ'. But was he doing more than this? - did he have in mind any more specific pattern of life which he regarded as given in that 'fact of Christ', including both what we may designate as the meta-historical aspects (The Incarnation, the Resurrection and Ascension, and so on), and also the historical mission and career and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth? Before we can answer this we must raise the question of Paul's knowledge of the traditions concerning the Jesus of History, and his attitude towards that figure.

We shall begin with what is unquestionable: that Paul knew of the death and resurrection of Christ. (The most basic reference is 1 Cor. xv. 1 - 4; Paul's indebtedness to the tradition is clear here.) Even Bultmann asserts Paul's knowledge of this, and holds that this includes knowledge of the incarnation and earthly life of Jesus "as bare facts". But further than this Bultmann does not go; he writes:

Paul is interested only in the fact that Jesus became man and lived on earth. How he was born or lived interests him only to the extent of knowing that Jesus was a definite, concrete man, a Jew, "being born in the likeness of man and being found in human form" (Phil. ii. 7) "born of woman, born under the law" (Gal. iv. 4). But beyond that, Jesus' manner of life, his ministry, his personality, his character play no role at all; neither does Jesus' message. To Paul, Jesus is not the teacher and prophet. It is true that as the exalted Lord he is also the lawgiver of the Church (1 Cor. vii. 10ff., cf. verse 25, ix. 14) and Paul accompanies his exhortations with appeals to authority of 'the Lord' (1 Thess. iv. 1f.; Rom. xv. 30; 1 Cor. i. 10). But Paul is not thinking of the historical Jesus here. Nor is he when he refers to Christ's example (Phil. ii. 5ff.; 2 Cor. viii. 9; Rom. xv. 3); for in these cases he means the pre-existent Christ, and his appeal to the "meekness and gentleness of Christ" (2 Cor. x. 1) is precisely an appeal to him who "emptied himself", "humbled himself", "became poor", "did not please himself".¹

1. Theology of the New Testament, 1, pp. 293-4, cf. pp. 188-9.

Many of the passages to which Bultmann refers in the above quotation will be discussed further below, as we consider what the epistles actually show us of Paul's knowledge of the facts concerning Jesus' life and ministry. But first we must remark on what a surprising assertion this is that Bultmann makes. As has been frequently stressed before in the foregoing pages, Paul had found in Jesus Christ a life out of death. But according to Bultmann, he was not in the least interested in anything that concerned the actual historical life of that Person. Whether in his life Jesus had, e.g., displayed love to sinners or had treated them with a proud contempt is apparently irrelevant to the Gospel. That this should be true of Paul - or, for that matter, anyone else - is to the present writer quite incredible. In the words of D.M. Baillie:

"If it is true that 'no man can say, Jesus is Lord, except by the Holy Spirit', it is equally true that no man can say it, in the truly Christian sense, except through a knowledge of what Jesus, actually was, as a human personality, in the days of His flesh."

Bultmann's view thus seems at first sight impossible to accept. And we shall, in fact, see that Paul, even though writing in the main 'occasional' letters concerned principally with the problems - especially of conduct - that have arisen in the churches, displays a very considerable body of knowledge concerning the life of Jesus. It is actually possible, as Hunter notes, to compile from the Pauline epistles, "a brief life of Christ",² although undoubtedly not a biography in our modern sense.

1. God Was in Christ, p. 52. Baillie's second chapter, 'Why the Jesus of History?' contains a penetrating criticism of that theological tendency (chiefly represented by Barth, Brunner and Bultmann) which seeks to dispense with the 'Jesus of History' and base all on the 'Christ of Faith'.
2. A.M. Hunter, Introducing New Testament Theology, p. 103, following Renan.

Bultmann buttresses his position by an obvious reference to 2 Cor. v. 16: "Any 'evaluation' of the historical person Jesus according to human categories would be a Kata sarka (flesh-wise) regarding of Christ and hence would mean seeing him as a "Kata sarka Christ".¹ This verse must accordingly first engage our attention. "From now on, therefore, we know no one after the flesh; even though we had known Christ after the flesh, yet we now know him so no longer."

There are a number of preliminary problems here which we shall consider first. (i) To whom does the 'we' refer? Although some (e.g. Gore)² take this as referring to Christian messengers generally, without any specific reference to Paul, it seems best to take this as referring primarily, at least, to Paul (the plural is often used in this epistle in contexts where we should expect the singular).

(ii) Is Χριστός here used to designate the office of Messiah rather than the person Jesus as Messiah? This has been maintained. While Paul frequently uses the title 'Christ' as little more than a proper name, it is also the case that on occasion he uses it with its full Messianic significance.³

1. Theology of the New Testament, I, p. 294
2. Belief in Christ, p. 105.
3. J.S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 280 refers to Rom. ix. 5 and possibly Rom. x. 6,7 for such a use. Cf. Bornkamm, Das Ende des Gesetzes p. 40: "Die Tatsache, dass Paulus den Christusnamen gelegentlich als nomen proprium verwenden kann, hat die verbreitete Auffassung veranlasst, der Christusfidel sei für ihn fast bedeutungslos geworden und durch den Κύριος - Titel ersetzt. Das trifft jedoch keineswegs zu. Beide namen haben bei ihm allermeist titularen Sinn und eine durchaus verschiedene Funktion. Χριστός gebraucht er - offensichtlich im Anschluss an die Tradition - fast immer in kerygmatischen Wendungen, wo es um Tod und Auferstehung Christi in ihrer Heilsbedeutung geht, Κύριος dagegen ist der Name, mit dem das Bekenntnis antwortet." Cf. also V. Taylor, Names of Jesus.

But while the title 'Christ' must not be reduced to mean nothing more than a proper name for Jesus, yet the reference throughout the whole passage in which this verse is set is consistently to this particular individual, who died and was raised. Accordingly any interpretation which views the verse as speaking simply of a change in Paul's view of the nature of the Messiah (without specific reference to Jesus the Messiah) is ruled out. (iii) Should the phrase, *κατὰ σάρκα* be taken with the verbs (*οἶδμεν*, *ἐβλῆκαμεν*, *γινώσκουμεν*) as Weiss, and ~~X~~ ~~X~~ H.D. Wendland, or with the substantives (*οὐδένα*, *Χριστόν*) as Lietzmann? In the first half of the verse the phrase is clearly to be taken with the verb, and this is wholly in accordance with Paul's general usage,¹ and seems quite clearly to be required in the second part of the verse. This confirms what we have already said, that Paul is not here speaking of the office of Christ conceived in a wrong (fleshly) way.

What then is the meaning of the verse? It seems best to take it thus: As Paul had once had a 'fleshly' knowledge or estimation of other people, so he once had a 'fleshly' knowledge or estimation of Christ, but now, in virtue of what has happened² - the death and resurrection of Christ - he knows no one, including Christ, in this way any more. This 'fleshly knowledge' is a knowledge based on and limited by what is natural, earthly, the merely outward (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 18, *καυχῶσθαι*

1. As is pointed out, e.g., by J. Weiss Paul and Jesus, pp. 43-44, citing 2 Cor. i. 17, *κατὰ σάρκα βουλευομαι*; x. 2ff *κατὰ σάρκα περιπατεῖν, στρατεύεσθαι*; xi. 18, *καυχῶσθαι κατὰ σάρκα*. Cf. also A. Schlatter, Paulus der Bote Jesu p. 539.
2. Note the *ὥστε*.

κατὰ τὴν σάρκα

to boast of one's outward circumstances -

descent, manner of life, etc.). Paul's meaning is well brought out by

Tasker:

He means that he now no longer makes his judgements of any person merely on the evidence of externals or in the light of preconceived conceptions, but that he makes the effort to see behind the surface of outward appearances into the underlying realities of character. There was indeed a time when he had thought it impossible that one born in such obscurity and living in such humiliating circumstances and suffering such a criminal's death could possibly be the Messiah of Jewish prophecy, and he had therefore rejected His claims. But that was to know Him 'after the flesh'.¹

The manner of Paul's knowledge of Christ was now determined by the great saving facts concerning Him, apparent above all in His death and resurrection.

The consequences of accepting this exegesis are these. (1) The verse does not imply that Paul had ever seen Jesus.² The question indeed cannot profitably be discussed, as we do not have the material whereby we could answer it. Lanter's verdict is the only possible one:

I waive the question whether Paul ever saw Jesus in the flesh. That is a question on which (pace J. Weiss, and others) we can only return the Scottish verdict of Not Proven.³

But on the other hand, this passage does not exclude the possibility that Paul had seen Jesus.

1. R.V.G. Tasker, 'St. Paul and the Earthly Life of Jesus', Exp. T xlvii (1936) pp. 557-558.
2. This view is usually associated with the name of Johannes Weiss. It is put forward in his Paul and Jesus, p. 54; but the meaning of the verse does not require it, and we have no further evidence to show that Paul had ever seen Jesus.
3. Paul and His Predecessors, p. 9

(2) The verse does not imply that Paul despised all knowledge of the Jesus of History. That is, as we have seen, the view of Bultmann. But the first half of the verse makes this quite impossible: if Bultmann's view be correct, then Paul must be understood to say that he despises all knowledge of any actual, historical person, which is quite absurd. To know Christ after the flesh is not the same thing as to know the historical facts about Jesus the Christ. The phrase $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$ implies both a knowledge of and a judgement based on what is external alone, and it is this which Paul has rejected. But this rejection does not imply a rejection of all historical knowledge of Him in whom Paul now sees the Christ of God.¹ With this in mind we shall be prepared to recognize what is in fact the case, that Paul displays a considerable knowledge of the life of Jesus.² From his epistles we can learn that Jesus was a man (Rom. v. 15, 1 Cor. xv. 21, 47), born of a woman (Gal. iv. 4); a Jew (Rom. ix. 5), being a descendant of Abraham (Gal. iii. 16) and of the seed of David (Rom. i. 3),³ and as such was under the law (Gal. iv. 4); he had more than one brother (1 Cor. ix. 5), and one was called James (Gal. i. 19). (If Paul had no interest in the human life of Jesus, it is surely remarkable that he should here bother

1. Bultmann's sense could be obtained by - and only by - emending $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$ to $\epsilon\nu\ \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\iota$, and attaching it to the substantives rather than to the verbs. But such a course would be without any justification.
2. Many writers have pointed out these facts. Cf. A.M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, pp. 9-10, and Introducing New Testament Theology pp. 103-4; G.A. Anderson Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, pp. 13-15 J.S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, pp. 286-7; C.H. Dodd History and the Gospel, pp. 64ff.
3. This is interesting in that the section Rom. i. 1-4 is quite clearly a piece of primitive tradition.

to mention that this James was 'the Lord's brother'.) He was in every way a man with a body of flesh (Col. ii. 11, Phil. ii. 7,8). Paul speaks of 'the twelve' (1 Cor. xv. 5) in a way that shows a knowledge of their special intimacy with Jesus. Jesus' ministry was among the Jews (Rom. xv. 8).¹ His life was marked by obedience (Rom. v. 19, Phil. ii. 8), meekness and gentleness (2 Cor. x. 1), endurance (ὑπομονή, 2 Thess. iii. 5), humility (Phil. ii. 8)² and self-sacrifice (Rom. xv. 2-3); He could thus be truly described as having lived the life of a Servant (Phil. ii. 7). It is possible that in 2 Cor. viii. 9, in addition to the divine condescension shown in the incarnation, the verb ἐπὶ τῷ χεῖρει refers to the earthly circumstances of Jesus.³ These questions cannot be attributed to an ideal form of the Messiah, as in 1 Cor. xi. 1 and 1 Thess. i. 6, "Christ is an object of imitation in the same sense as Paul himself is."⁴

Paul displays considerable knowledge of the closing events of Jesus' ministry. He was betrayed, and on the night of betrayal held the Last Supper, and Paul even recounts some of His words on that occasion

1. On this Dodd notes: "Paul must here be subject to the tradition. If it had been possible to aver that Jesus had preached to Gentiles, this would have been a valuable asset to Paul in his controversy with the Judaizing Christians." (History and the Gospel, p. 64, n. 5.)
2. Dodd, ibid. p. 65 n.4 points out that it is as a man (ἐδρεθῆς ὡς ἄνθρωπος) that Christ humbles himself, and that ἐταπείνωσεν therefore cannot be referred to the incarnation.
3. Cf. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, p. 9
4. Dodd, op. cit. p. 65 n.6. Weiss's comment on 1 Cor. xi. 1 is also most significant: "It is a very important trait, that Paul feels himself to be an imitator of Christ in his practical conduct. He could not say and be this, unless he had a living, concrete picture of the ethical personality of Jesus." (1 Corinthians, p. 267, qtd. A.M. Hunter op. cit. p. 10)

(1 Cor. xi. 23ff). He accuses the Jews of responsibility for His death (1 Thess. ii. 15) and says that the method of execution was crucifixion (1 Cor. i. 23; ii. 2, 8; 2 Cor. xiii. 4, Gal. iii. 1; cf. the many references to the Cross). (This presupposes considerable knowledge of the circumstances of the trial; to say 'the Jews killed Jesus' and 'He was crucified' is - as Dodd¹ points out - an apparent contradiction, in that crucifixion was not a Jewish method of punishment. The contradiction is only resolved for us by information given in the Gospels, whereby it becomes clear that the Jews took the initiative while the Roman authority pronounced the sentence. This must have been known to Paul.) He was buried, rose on the third day, and appeared to many of His company (1 Cor. xv. 3ff). If Ephesians be regarded as by Paul, we must also speak of a knowledge of the Ascension as something separate from the Resurrection (Eph. iv. 8-10; there is no other reference to the Ascension in the Pauline literature.)

This completes what we can glean from the Epistles regarding Paul's knowledge of the life of Jesus. We turn now to consider the question of the extent of Paul's knowledge of Jesus' teaching. First we must note the instances in the Epistles in which we find explicit quotations of the teaching of Jesus; of these there are four.² They are (1) 1 Thess. iv. 15: "For this we declare to you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who are left until the coming of the Lord, shall not precede those who have fallen asleep." (2) 1 Cor. vii. 10: "To the married I give charge, not I but the Lord, that the wife should not

1. Op. cit. p. 65 n. 1

2. There is a further quotation of Jesus by Paul according to Acts xx. 35; it will not be considered here. 1 Cor. xiv. 37 (as was pointed out above, pp³²⁻³⁵ 21) cannot be regarded as a quotation of Jesus' teaching, but rather as a claim to represent the authority of the Risen Lord.

separate from her husband." (3) 1 Cor. ix. 14: "The Lord commanded that those who proclaim the Gospel should get their living by the Gospel." (4) 1 Cor. xi. 23ff.: "The Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it, and said..."

These four instances may with full justification be regarded as quotations of the teaching of Jesus. When, however, we come to consider the question of Paul's dependence on Jesus' teaching, and reminiscences of the latter in the epistles, we are in a rather more difficult position; we have to form our own judgement as to the extent of this influence, and it is very easy to err in either of two ways - to see reminiscences of the teaching of Jesus at every point in the Epistles, or on the other hand to see none at all. Nevertheless, it is necessary to attempt to make some estimate.

We have already drawn attention to two matters in which Paul reveals dependence on Jesus: his view of Him as the Last Adam depends on Jesus' self-designation as 'Son of Man', and Paul's teaching on the Law is, at least in some respects, influenced by the teaching of Jesus and in essence is at one with it. We shall consider now passages - in particular of Paul's ethical teaching - which appear to be reminiscences of the teaching of Jesus.

Many writers have drawn attention to these reminiscences in Paul's letters. Dodd, Anderson Scott, and Hunter discuss them briefly in works to which we have already referred. In addition, Davies has a quite extensive discussion of them.¹ Fundamental, however, are the

1. PRJ. pp. 136ff

works of Titius and Resch.¹ The investigation of Titius is rather more careful than that of Resch, who finds so many parallels to the Gospels and the Agrapha that one is left quite incredulous.² And Resch's 'parallels often do not exist except in his own imagination; for 1 Thess. v. 18-19, *τὸ τοῦτο γὰρ θέλημα θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἐν Χριστῷ*

Ἰησοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς

he gives as the Synoptic

Parallel: *εἰς ὄραμα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* (Mt. xviii.19), which is quite impossible.

Nevertheless, Resch's work has been used here as a basis, together with the other works referred to. We set out below the main parallels between the Epistles and Gospels (especially from the point of view of ethics).³ 1. Thess. iv. 8 - v. 16 contains much material that is closely related to the teaching of Jesus as we know it from the Synoptics. This is well set out by Davies,⁴ and will not be covered here. This passage contains a characteristic mixture of ethics and apocalyptic, and one feature at least points to an actual dependence on the teaching of Jesus - the figure of the 'thief in the night' (cf. Mt. xxiv. 42-44, Lk. xii. 39-40) which as Dodd points out clearly seems to be original with the teaching of Jesus.⁵

1. A. Titius, Die Neutestamentliche Lehre von der Seligkeit, zweite Abtheilung, Der Paulinismus unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Seligkeit (1900) pp. 12ff; A. Resch, Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu (T.U. N.F. XI, 1904).
2. Davies op. cit. p. 137 gives a table summarizing Resch's results, which shows that Resch finds in the Epistles 110 parallels to the Agrapha and 1096 to the Synoptics!?
3. The text is normally given in English, except where it is desired to draw attention to particular verbal similarities, in which case the Greek text is given of both Paul's statement and the Gospel parallel.
4. Op. cit. p. 139
5. Cf. C.H. Dodd, 'The Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus', New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, p.114. Dodd further points out that although the Matthean form seems to have been influenced by the catechesis, "Yet as regards the substance of the matter we cannot doubt that the Gospel parable has priority".

1 Cor. iv. 12, cf. on Rom. xii. 14 below.

1 Cor. vi. 1ff: "When one of you has a grievance against a brother, does he dare go to the law before the unrighteous instead of the saints?"

cf. Mt. xviii. 15-17.

1 Cor. vi. 7: "Why not rather suffer wrong? Why not rather be defrauded?"

cf. Mt. v. 39-40.

1 Cor. vi. 16: "Do you not know that he who joins himself to a prostitute becomes one body with her? For he (or it - the Scriptures) says, The two shall be one flesh" Cf. Mt. xix. 5, taking up Gen. ii. 24. Cf. Titius: "Die unlesliche Verbindung, welche die Geschlechtsgemeinschaft schafft, wird 1 Kor. vi. 16 (Eph. v. 31), wie Mt. xix. 5 durch Berufung auf Gen ii. 24 erhärtet, und das vorsichtige Urtheil über die Ehelosigkeit in 1 Kor. vii. 7 hat in Mt. xix. 11-12 wohl nicht nur seine Parallele, sondern auch seinen Ursprung." (Op. cit. pp. 13-14).

1 Cor. viii. 9 see sub Rom. xiv. 13.

1 Cor. ix. 19: Ἐλεῦθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων πᾶσιν ἑμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω. cf. Mk. x. 44: ὃς ἂν θέλη εἶναι ὑμῶν εἰναι πρῶτος, ἔσται πάντων δούλος.

1. Cor. xiii. 2-3: "And if I have prophetic powers, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. If I give away all I have, and if I deliver my body to be burned, but have not love, I gain nothing".

This presents many similarities to the language of the Gospels. cf.

Mt. vi. 1-2, vii. 22, xiii. 11, xxi. 21; Luke xi. 52.

1 Cor. xvi. 13 (and often): ὑπηγορεύετε cf. Mk. xiii. 33-37.

Rom. xii. 8: ὁ μεταδιδούς ἐν ἀπλότητι cf. Mt. vi. 3.

Rom. xii. 12b: "Be constant in prayer" Cf. Luke xviii. 1: "... to the effect that they ought always to pray and not lose heart."

Rom. xii. 14: εὐδοθεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας ὑμᾶς, εὐδοθεῖτε καὶ μὴ κατὰρῶθε. Cf. Luke vi. 28: εὐδοθεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, and Matt. v. 44: ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσέχετε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

Rom. xiii. 1-7. cf. Mk. xii. 13-17. Titius op. cit. p. 17:

"Die Belehrung über den Werth der Obrigkeit (Rom. xiii. 1-7) setzt Bekanntschaft mit dem Herrnwort Mk. xii. 17 so wahrscheinlicher voraus, als, der Briefkontext an sich die Gipfelung in der Steuerpflicht nicht verlangte (v. Soden)". It is indeed possible that in this passage Paul is interpreting Jesus' saying in the light of the present situation of the Church.

Rom. xiii. 8-10. See above, p. 215

Rom. xiv. 13: "So let us stop criticizing one another; rather make up your mind never to put any stumbling-block or hindrance in your brother's way". (Moffatt). Cf. the comment of C.H. Dodd, based on the Moffatt translation:

This emphasis on the danger of putting a stumbling-block in the way of the weak recalls certain sayings in the Gospels - Matt. xviii. 7; Mark ix. 42; Luke xvii. 1-2. It can hardly be doubted that sayings like these were in Paul's mind The key word is skandalon, translated 'Hindrance'. It is not a good or usual Greek word, and the very fact that Paul uses it here suggests that he knew it in the tradition of the sayings of Jesus. The word translated 'stumbling-block' is its equivalent in good Greek.¹

1. M.N.T.C. Romans, p. 218 and note 1.

Rom. xiv. 14: "I know and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus that nothing is unclean in itself." cf. Mark vii. 15 ff.

Dodd, after pointing out that Paul simply assumes that "all things are clean" and that "nothing is unclean of itself" (verses 20, 14) continues:

To many of Paul's readers that would be far from self-evident, yet his argument falls to the ground if he cannot assume its truth. On what grounds, then, does he affirm this maxim? *πέπεισμαι ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ*, he says. In itself that need mean no more than "I am convinced in virtue of my union with Christ as a member of His body"; but if it means no more, it is not easy to see what reply Paul would have to one who would say "and I am convinced in the Lord Jesus that the reverse is true". It is therefore significant that among the sayings of Jesus in the Gospels we read the maxim, *οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἕξωθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐσπορευόμενον εἰς αὐτόν ὃ δύναται κοινῶσαι αὐτόν* - to which is appended the note, *καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα* (Mk. vii. 18-19).¹

Col. iii. 12: *Ἐνδύσασθε οὖν ... ἐπιτάχυνά δικτιμῶς, χρηστότητα, ταπεινότητα, πραότητα, μακροθυμίαν. Cf. Luke vi. 36: Δίνετε δικτήμονες, καθὼς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν δικτῶν ἔστιν, and Matt. xi. 29-30: Ἰρατε τὸν θυγῶν μου ἢ ὑμᾶς, καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι πρῶτός ἐστι εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ εὐρήθητε ἀναπαύσει τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν. ὁ δὲ θυγῶν μου χρηστός, καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου ἑλαφρόν ἐστιν.*

Col. iii. 13: "Forbearing one another and, if any one has a complaint against one another, forgiving each other; as the Lord has forgiven you so you also must forgive." Cf. Mt. vi. 12, 14-15. Davies and Hunter both quote B.F. Scott:² "We can hardly doubt, with a verse like this ^{before us}

1. *ΕΝΝΟΜΟΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ* p. 106.

2. *M.N.T.C. Colossians*, ad loc.; cf. Davies op. cit. p. 139, Hunter, op. cit. p. 59.

that it, (the Lord's Prayer) was familiar to him. He gives us, however, the other side of the petition in the prayer."

Col. iv. 6: "Let your speech always be gracious, seasoned with salt."
cf. Mark ix. 50.

Col. iv. 12 ἵνα στήτε τέλειοι καὶ πεπληροφορημένοι ἐν
παρτί θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ. cf. Matt. v. 48: ἔσεσθε οὖν ὡς ὑμεῖς
τέλειοι, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τελείος ἐστίν.

This list, which does not claim to be exhaustive, shows at least a considerable similarity between Paul's ethical teaching and that of Jesus. This similarity is such that, extending as it does to the closest verbal reminiscence, it can only be explained on the basis of the supposition that Paul knew, valued, and had pondered deeply upon the teaching of Jesus. When this fact is combined with the others that we have noted - the fact that Paul even quotes directly Jesus' teaching, and the fact that he shows a considerable knowledge of His historical life and its nature - Bultmann's view becomes quite untenable. It is clear that in considering Paul's ethical teaching we must recognize the effect upon it of the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth.

But on the other hand the correct interpretation of this material is not altogether easy. W.D. Davies, e.g., who also draws attention to the material that we have been considering concludes "when there is an explicit word uttered by Christ on any question, that word is accepted by him (Paul) as authoritative." ¹

1. R.R.J. p. 141. cf. the discussion of Davies' thesis, Chapter 1 above.

But this is to ignore any distinction between Paul's specific quotations of the words of Jesus as morally authoritative (which are very few in number) and his reflection of Jesus' teaching, usually in his own language but sometimes strikingly reminiscent of what we find in the Gospels. If Paul really regarded the words of Jesus as a New Torah, it is surely surprising in the extreme that he should so rarely quote them. It cannot be said that he does quote the words of Jesus whenever he knew them and felt them to be apposite, for it is precisely the case that his letters reveal numerous instances in which he plainly knew Jesus' teaching and felt it to be apposite, but refrains from quoting it. If we are to be true to Paul this distinction must be clearly retained: Davies's hypothesis obscures it by forcing all of Paul's uses of Jesus teaching into one mould, that of appeal to a New Torah.¹ To make perhaps a rather over-sharp distinction, it is to speak as though the *ρόμος* Χριστοῦ were in fact a *καὶνός* *ρόμος* Ἰησοῦ.

Secondly, this approach concentrates the attention too much upon the influence of Jesus teaching upon Paul. While we must clearly recognize the inadequacy of any view that fails to see this influence, it is also true that it can be over-emphasized. Peake, who recognizes fully the extent to which Paul knew and valued the teaching of Jesus, put the emphasis in the right place:

Paul's emphasis is thrown much more fully on the great facts

1. The same charge holds against C.H. Dodd's view that "maxims which formed part of the tradition of the sayings of Jesus are treated as if they were in some sort elements of a New Torah."
ΕΝΝΟΜΟΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, *Studia Paulina* in honorem J. de Zwaan, p. 107.)

of redemption, the Death and the Resurrection. This indeed is not unnatural. Jesus was naturally reticent as to the theological significance of facts, the possibility of which His disciples were unwilling to contemplate. And the Cross itself inevitably put the teaching into a secondary place. The deed of Jesus was mightier than His word. At first an insuperable objection to the acceptance of Him as Messiah, it had become for Paul the Divine solution of his problem, his deliverance from condemnation and from moral impotence. It contained a deeper revelation of God's nature and His love than the loftiest teaching of Jesus' could convey. Here was the climax of God's slow self-disclosure, manifested not in words however sweet, tender and uplifting, but in a mighty act, which filled that teaching with wholly new depth and intensity of meaning.

This emphasis must be kept. Any treatment of Paul's ethics that obscures the centrality of the work of Christ for the whole of Paul's thought is to be regarded with suspicion.

This already indicates the true solution of our problem. For Paul there is no divorce between the historical and the 'meta-historical' aspects of the Gospel, no divorce between the Jesus of History and the Christ of faith, for this Jesus is the Christ.

Phil. ii. 5-11,³ for example, cannot be regarded either as exclusively concerned with 'the Jesus of history' or as exclusively concerned with 'the Christ of faith'; both the historical and the meta-historical are juxtaposed, in fact interwoven. And it is the whole 'fact of Christ' (to use Hunter's term) on which Paul's ethical teaching is based; this very passage is preceded by the words, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ $\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\nu$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omega$ $\text{'I}\eta\sigma\omega$.

1. A.S. Peake, 'The Quintessence of Paulinism', B.J.R.L. IV (1917-18) pp. 292-3.
2. cf. Hoskyns and Davey, Riddle of the New Testament, pp. 158-9.
3. This may not be by Paul, (see above, pp 40-41), but in any case Paul agrees with it sufficiently to be able to quote it.

Paul's view of the Christian's life stands upon the foundation of Christ's victory in redemption, His human life and His teaching; and these three aspects belong together as a unity.

We may best describe this by saying that Paul views Jesus Christ as the Creator, the Exemplar and the Head of the new humanity that arises in Him, and that all three aspects are of the most profound ethical consequence.

First, for Paul Jesus Christ is the Last Adam and as such is Creator of a new humanity.¹ And because Paul so views Him, a quite particular form is given to his ethical teaching. On the one hand it means that man in Christ is ~~man~~ no longer subject to the curse of Adam, to sin, to this world. He has entered into the new age and been made a new man. And on the other hand the life of the new man is, as we have seen, understood in a quite particular fashion as a life after the image of Him who creates the new man, so that it may even be described as a 'Putting on of Jesus Christ'. It is life in the new Age, and the character of this Age is to be found in Him who initiated it, Jesus Christ and His redeeming act. It is in this way that we are to understand the appeals based on the sacrifice of Christ in redemption (as in Phil. ii; 2 Cor. viii.9;² and with this the exhortation to the Imitatio Dei, Eph. v.1). The sacrifice of the Son of God in becoming incarnate is, if taken in strict literalness, not only very difficult but logically impossible for us to imitate. It is clearly not in that way that it is to be understood. Rather, Paul means that there is revealed therein a pattern of the life of the new age, which we are to

1. Cf. Chapter 11 above.

translate into the life of that age lived in this world. That act by which the new age was initiated remains a permanently valid pattern for life within it. The life in the new age, in the light, is precisely a life in Christ: and it is on this fact that the exhortation to 'put on the Lord Jesus Christ' depends. It is in this way that Paul holds up the work of Christ as something to be imitated. And the writer of the Epistle to the Ephesians - whether Paul or another - is not doing anything different in speaking of the imitation of God. Dodd brings this out with great clarity:

The idea that man should imitate God, or should be as like God as possible, is a very widespread ethical conception. It was part of the preaching both of Greek moralists and of the teachers of Judaism. But it can be a very dangerous maxim.... The counsel to imitate God.. or to become like God, is one that we have to use with very great caution, because we really do not know how to translate our conceptions of divine perfection into canons of human behaviour.

The New Testament idea of the imitation of Christ is a way of making explicit what kinds of divine activity should be imitated by men, and how, and why, and in what circumstances. Thus, Paul is able to say, "Be imitators of God like dear children," adding, "and walk in love as Christ loved you" (Ephesians v. 2). It is in respect of the love which Christ showed to man that the character and action of God are to be copied.¹

But the nature of this imitatio Christi (or imitatio Dei) needs perhaps to be made more clear. It is not that there lies before us in the work of Christ a type of 'blueprint' which we are slavishly to imitate. Rather, the imitatio Christi bears to the work of Christ the same relation as the imperative bears to the indicative in Romans vi. We are baptised into the death of Christ; therefore our life henceforth bears the marks of that death.²

1. C.H. Dodd, Gospel and Law pp. 41-42

2. Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 10: "We always carry in our body the putting to death (τέκνωσις) of Jesus."

The imitatio Christi is therefore to be understood primarily as the making apparent of that state in which we actually stand, as those who share in the fruits of Christ's work. The imitatio Christi is the imitation of Him who is $\pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{o}\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma \ \epsilon\nu \ \mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma \ \lambda\omicron\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\iota\varsigma$. (Rom. viii. 29); the life of the sons of God cannot be radically different from that of the Son of God - indeed, without the latter the former is meaningless.

From this standpoint we can see too how natural it is for Paul to look at the historical life of Jesus as an example. This is what is meant by speaking of Jesus as the Exemplar of the life of the new humanity. He holds before his readers the vision of Christ's life as servant (Phil. ii. 8), His endurance (2 Thess. iii. 5), His self-sacrifice (Rom. xv. 2-3), His humility (Phil. ii. 8), His grace revealed both in the incarnation and in His earthly life (2 Cor. viii. 9). The man made new in Christ is naturally to hold before him the life of Jesus: for He is the New Man, and His life is the manifestation within this world of the New Age.

Just as that ethical function of Christ as the Creator of the new humanity merges into His role of its Exemplar, so also His role of Exemplar merges into that of authoritative Head of the new humanity. (This of course points to the artificiality of the distinctions we are making: but they are nevertheless necessary to aid our understanding.) At times Paul's use of the words of Jesus appears to belong to his view of Christ as Exemplar rather than that of Head: or rather to lie somewhere in between. Rom. xii-xiii is, as we have seen, clearly filled with echoes of the teaching of Jesus: but not once are His words quoted as an authoritative code. Rather, when Paul is only echoing the

words of Jesus he seems to be regarding them as authoritative indications of that conduct which is appropriate in the life of the new age. It is accordingly natural that Paul's teaching, even when clearly based on that of Jesus, is quite different in form from that which we find in the Gospels.¹ Paul has taken Jesus' descriptions of what conduct in the Kingdom of God is to be like - dramatic, picturesque descriptions - and converted them into statements of what that conduct is to be. Jesus Himself is the Exemplar, and He has also furnished examples, which Paul has used as a basis for more direct statements as to the pattern of the Christian's life.

But there are also occasions when Jesus' words are to be viewed in such a way that as the words of Him who is the Head of the new humanity they have a binding force. As we have seen, there are four occasions on which Paul so quotes the words of Jesus, and only one of them (1 Cor. vii. 10) occurs in an ethical context. This solitary occurrence makes extremely difficult the construction of any theory by which we can understand this type of appeal to the words of Jesus. It may be the result of the situation which faced Paul in the Corinthian Church, in which on the one hand there were grave abuses, and on the other hand Paul was hard-pressed to vindicate his apostleship; this combination of factors might well have lead him to buttress his position by appealing to the authority of Christ. (It is interesting to note in this connection that three of the four quotations appear in 1 Corinthians.) On the other hand, we must not overlook the possibility

1. This difference in form is clearly shown by Dodd, Gospel and Law, pp. 50ff.

that the reason for this express quotation is to be found in the fact that it was an apposite word of Jesus already couched in the "statement" form of Paul's own teaching rather than in the dramatic and picturesque form common in Jesus' teaching, and accordingly naturally lent itself to quotation here. The one view that seems quite unacceptable is that this quotation together with the other three, shows that Paul refers to Jesus' teaching as to a new Law; as we have seen, there is a great deal of the teaching of Jesus that Paul does not view as a new Law, and it would (to say the least) be very difficult to maintain that Paul viewed part of Jesus teaching as a new Law. It seems doubtful if Paul ever views the words of Jesus in such a way. The reason is that rather than view Him as a new Moses, he sees in Him the Last Adam, the Head of the new humanity, and as such holding authority within that new humanity. But authority need not be legislative in character in order to be real.

Paul, however, refers explicitly to the 'law of Christ' (1 Cor. ix. 21; Gal. vi. 2). Does this not mean that he does regard Jesus' words as a Law? Such a meaning is at least not necessarily implied by Paul's words in these two passages.¹ Paul's use of the term *νόμος* is remarkably flexible. In Cor. ix. 20 he is clearly using *νόμος* to

1. It is noteworthy that Davies, who argues that when Paul used these words he meant that for him Jesus' teaching was for him a New Torah, does not offer any exegesis of these passages, but relies on the cumulative force of his thesis. While we have seen reason to dissent from his thesis (and hence, by his method, from his interpretation of these passages), his form of procedure has much to commend it, as Paul's words on the *νόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ* are so fleeting that it is almost impossible to give a precise exegesis of them in context.

refer to the Torah: "To the Jews I became as a Jew, in order to win Jews; to those under the Law I became as one under the law - though not myself being under the law - that I might win those under the law."

The parallelism of 'the Jews' and 'those under the law' makes this quite clear. He goes on to say that to the ἄνθρωποι he became as one

ἄνομος. Here again the reference is to the Jewish Law: ἄνομος is a synonym for Gentile,¹ as indeed we should expect at this point -

Paul is describing his approach to both Jews and Gentiles. But in this

sentence Paul inserts as a parenthesis μὴ ὡς ἄνομος Θεοῦ ἀλλ'

ἐννομος Χριστοῦ. To what νόμος does he refer here? In the

case of ἄνομος Θεοῦ it is doubtful if Paul has any particular conception of νόμος in mind: he is simply pointing out that to be

ἄνομος in the sense of being a Gentile does not therefore mean that one is godless and wicked in the sense of the ἄνομος καὶ ἀσεβής

of 1 Macc. vii. 5 and the ἄνομος καὶ ἀτυπότηκτος of Titim. i. 9²

He is not ἄνομος in the sense that God's moral demands are flouted by him. This being the case, we would expect the term

ἐννομος Χριστοῦ to be simply an assertion of the fact that far

1. This is pointed out by Dodd, ENNOMOS ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, p. 97.

2. On the other hand Dodd, op. cit. p. 98, discussing this passage, says: "It is evident that (in this place at least) the Torah is not conceived as being identical, or equivalent, or at any rate co-extensive with the Law of God, which is either a different, or a more inclusive, law than the law of Moses." This, however, seems to read into Paul's words a good deal more than is really there. ἄνομος has a meaning of its own right apart from any reference to a particular law, and we should not try to extract from this expression a reference to 'the law of God', which Dodd plainly understands along the lines of his 'natural law' hypothesis, which we have already discussed.

from being ῥόμος in this second sense his life is moulded upon the moral demands of Christ. It is thus in the same way to be understood as a general assertion that his missionary approach to the ῥόμοι = Gentiles does not mean that he becomes ῥόμος = wicked, and the phrase ἔρρωμος Χριστοῦ is an emphatic way of stating this. This is all that may fairly be found in this passage.

But in Gal. vi. 2 Paul speaks quite definitely of the ῥόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ : "Bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ". This verse is part of the section v. 26 - vi. 5 in which the Apostle is discussing the relations which should exist between the members of the community, which ought to be characterized by gentleness, humility, and a readiness to forgive.¹ The injunction to 'bear one another's burdens' serves as a good summary of the theme of the section; and this bearing of one another's burdens is also described as a fulfilling of the Law of Christ. Here Lietzmann's comment, which pays due regard to the context, is most helpful:

Die Versuchungen des Fleisches sind eine Last, die einer dem andern tragen, d.h. sie überwinden helfen soll. Das ist echte 'Gesetzes'-erfüllung (s.v.14) im Sinne Christi. Der im Munde des Paulus ja seltsame Ausdruck ῥόμος Χριστοῦ ist ebenso wie Rm. iii. 27 ῥόμος πίστεως, gewollte Antithese gegen den Judaistischen ῥόμος - Begriff. Daraus ergibt sich das Recht, die damit bekämpfte mitleidslose Härte des Richtens als einen Ausfluss

1. Dodd, op. cit. p. 100 prefers to interpret it in the light of the whole section v. 16 ff. v. 26 -vi. 5, however, manifestly form a distinct 'sub-section', and it is to that context that we must first look for illumination, not forgetting its place in the ethical teaching of the rest of the epistle, nor indeed the purpose of the whole of the letter as Paul's apologia pro vita sua against those who would impose the Law of Moses upon the community.

falscher Gesetzesauffassung, in dieser Zusammenfassung also als Hinneigung zum Judentum zu verstehen.¹

Paul takes this very word νόμος from the Judaisers and flings it back at them. Their very passion for the Law leads them in their pride to "bite and devour one another" (v. 15).² The righteousness in Christ, however, leads to something radically different, nothing less than the bearing of one another's burdens, and Paul uses the term νόμος to give this its sharpest possible expression. Accordingly, we are not to see here any reference to the words of Jesus as a New Torah, nor in all probability a reference to a law of such a kind "that it can be stated in the form of a code of precepts to which a Christian man is obliged to conform", as Dodd finds.³ Accordingly the position outlined above with respect to Paul's attitude towards the words of Jesus is not subject to challenge on the basis of the Apostle's use of the expression νόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. But it does mean that Paul has found in Christ a new moral understanding and a new moral restraint.

This new moral understanding is the result of Paul's view of Christ. In that he views Him, as we have suggested, as the Creator, the Exemplar and the Head of the new humanity, he finds in Him also the basic pattern for the Christian's life. That is to say that the pattern of the Christian's life is fundamentally a given pattern, in that it is involved in the facts concerning his redemption and his Redeemer. It is 'given' in the sense that what it is to be a Christian man has

1. H. Lietzmann, An die Galater 2 Aufl., ad. loc.

2. Cf. Bornkamm op. cit. p. 154: "Hier jedenfalls kann Paulus in v. 15 nur das gehässige Gezänk meinen, das von den Verfechtern des in der Gemeinde angefacht ist."

3. Op. cit. p. 100.

received its definition in the mission, life, teaching, death and resurrection of Christ. For Paul these things constitute one organic whole: we may make no division between the historical and the 'meta-historical' facts concerning Christ. Christian faith consists precisely in faith in this person; and equally the Christian life is precisely a 'putting on' of the Lord Jesus Christ, a 'putting on' of the New Man, being a son of God after the Son of God. And as we have seen, Paul views Jesus Christ not only as the Redeemer entering a lost world but as a specific historical individual. To 'put on the Lord Jesus Christ' is thus not only to take upon oneself the pattern implicit in the divine self-giving of the Incarnation (although that emphatically is present); it is also to take to oneself the mode of life of this particular human being, to follow His example and to listen obediently to His teaching.

In endeavouring more clearly to discern the nature and significance of this pattern for the Christian's life that Paul finds in Christ, it is helpful to consider at this point Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Ethics. Bonhoeffer's work proceeds from a systematic rather than a Biblical basis, with the consequence that no detailed comparison can be made. It is, however, valuable to consider his general position in relation to what has been outlined here. His main thesis may be roughly summarized thus:

- (1) In Jesus Christ, true man and true God, there is declared God's love for the world, His condemnation on the world, and His will for a new world. The reconciliation of the world and God is the only true starting point for ethics.
- (2) The Christian's question is not as to what is good or right, but

as to what is the will of God for me here and now. This cannot be deduced from general principles, but is known only as Christ takes form among men.

- (3) Great stress is laid upon the four Divine Mandates (Marriage and the family, Labour, Government, and the Church) as indicating the structure of life in which obedience is to be offered to God.

What is of great interest for our purpose is the way in which Bonhoeffer stresses the Person and Work of Christ as providing the basis for ethics. The significance of the Person of Christ is particularly emphasized: in Him is to be found the reconciliation of the divine and the human, and as He 'takes form' in the Church we too become men, real men before God. The task of the Church is, so to speak, to be a kernel of true humanity in a world of false humanity. Our ethical task is day by day to make real in concrete decision the form of Christ, which is at the same time the true form of man.

It will readily be seen that here there is a considerable similarity to that which we have found expressed in speaking of Christ as the Last Adam, in whose image we are made new men. But difficulty arises when we begin to ask further just what Bonhoeffer means by 'the form of Christ'. It then becomes apparent that this form is provided almost solely by what we have designated as the meta-historical aspects of Paul's Christology - the incarnation and the atoning death - and - resurrection. Apart from the death of Jesus (and even that is regarded rather in meta-historical categories than as the actual physical death of this particular human being), the historical content provided for the form by the life and ministry and teaching of Jesus seems not to be

regarded as of any great significance. The content of the form is, it seems, to be provided ever anew in concrete decision.

The seriousness with which Bonhoeffer takes 'the form of Christ' as central for ethics is quite admirable, but in emptying it of its historical content he has emptied it of that which bears most closely upon our human life. Freedom is secured; but it is scarcely the freedom of the Christian man, for what it is to be a Christian man has virtually been deprived of its essential historical significance.

In contrast with this we see more clearly the significance of Paul's dependence on the historical career and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth for his ethical instruction. The 'form of Christ' (to use Bonhoeffer's terminology) is not a metaphysical form. When Paul speaks of the putting on of Jesus Christ there is in his mind the idea of a definite historical individual, who lived 'as a man among men', who died, whose life manifested certain characteristics, and upon whose teaching Paul places the highest value. Equally truly, of course, Paul does not view Him only as a good man whose example we are to follow and whose words we are to cherish. For this Jesus Christ is $\bar{\omega}$ Κύριος, $\bar{\omega}$ ἑσχατος Ἀδάμ, who by His coming into this world, by His life, His death and His resurrection has brought us life in all its glory. Plainly, He is no mere Teacher of the Good Life. To take Paul to mean this would be radically to misunderstand him. The pattern that is given in Christ is not to be regarded as a series of rules, to the implementing of which we are to apply ourselves. Paul's view is much more profound than that.

That this is so can be seen when we consider his thought on the nature of the Christian's life in its wider context. For Paul the

central emphasis lies on Jesus Christ as the Creator of the new man. There can be no suggestion of any one simply taking Jesus' life and teaching as a mere example. Man in Adam simply cannot take hold of the teaching of Jesus as a code of life: for he is lost in a condition of servitude, and even when he does attempt to take Jesus' words divorced from His work he perverts them into a new law. What is fundamental in Paul's thought is that now in Christ has come life, for we who are by nature the sons of Adam are by grace made the sons of God.

Secondly, we must see Paul's thought here in the context of his doctrine of the Spirit. The Spirit is now at work in the Church, distributing His gifts and generating His fruit. And the fruit of the Spirit is, as we have seen, ¹ understood 'Christologically'. The fruit of the Spirit consists in those qualities which were manifested in Christ - in the whole fact of Christ including the historical and the meta-historical aspects. That is, that to which we are exhorted as the Imitatio Christi is that which the Spirit creates in us. That following after Christ which is our duty is also that way of life which the Spirit bestows upon us. The pattern of life set before us in Christ is accordingly also the pattern created in us.

Here also there must be borne in mind that concept of freedom which was seen to be of basic importance both for Paul's theology and for his ethics. Freedom from sin, from the principalities and powers, and from the Law mean freedom for Christ, for love. The freedom that is given is the freedom to be a true man, set free from these servitudes; and the peculiar nature of the connection which we found to exist between the indicative and the imperative in Rom. vi. characterizes all of Paul's

1. See above, pp 118 ff.

ethics. Because a man has been brought into this particular situation, therefore he must now act in certain ways; and as the situation is now that he has been baptized into Christ's death, so he must now act as one who has died and risen with Christ. Here we see both the basic 'givenness' of the pattern and the freedom to realize it.

Thus the peculiar nature of this pattern becomes more clear when we bear in mind its general context in the whole of Paul's theology. It is a pattern that is both set before us and created in us, a pattern that both imposes a demand upon us and at the same time sets us free.

That this is the nature of the pattern is confirmed and further illuminated by what is - at least at first sight - the surprising fact that not all of Paul's ethical teaching can by any means be said to arise directly out of his Christology. Not even by the most dubious exegesis can every ethical utterance of the Apostle be made dependent on the teaching of Jesus, nor every virtue enjoined be made to depend upon the Character of Christ. Rather, what we find can best be described as a developed pattern, the development proceeding in a variety of ways.

First, Paul in one place speaks approvingly of those who became 'imitators of him and of the Lord' (1 Thess. i. 6) and elsewhere urges his readers to the imitation of himself (1 Cor. iv. 16, xi. 1; Phil. iii. 17). This is indeed surprising - not merely because of any feeling of immodesty that these words might cause us, but rather because it might have seemed that such an appeal is unnecessary. Is not the - surely much superior - example of Christ Himself sufficient?

This, however, is a misleading way of framing the question, and several points must be considered. First, were we called simply to imitating the Jesus of History, the objection implied in the question would have a certain

degree of validity. But we are never called by Paul to imitate the Jesus of History in that truncated modern sense: He whom we are called to imitate is Jesus the Christ. Paul's designation of himself as an example is accordingly not to be understood as setting himself - an ordinary historical figure - as an example beside another historical figure, Jesus of Nazareth. This leads us to see, secondly, the peculiar point of Paul's offering himself as an example, as he himself expresses it in 1 Cor. xi. 1: "Be ye imitators of me, just as I also am of Christ". Paul is first, one whom all the members of the Corinthian Church know in a way that they have never known Jesus; but more than that, he has been present among them as a living translation of the whole pattern presented in Christ, not just that given in the historical life and teaching of Jesus. Not just the historical aspect but that other which gives the historical aspect its significance is in its ethical meaning interpreted for them - at least in some measure - by Paul. It was pointed out above¹ that Paul, in order to speak of the imitation of Christ, must have had a clear knowledge of what the life of Jesus the Christ was; but Paul also knew the significance of that life in terms of the purpose of God for man. What Paul is presenting to his readers in offering his own example is this two dimensional pattern translated into the single dimension of history.

Paul's summons to his readers to regard himself as an example is thus a perfectly valid one. It is not a summons to "imitate him in externals, which is invariably an easy form of hero-worship (see vii. 7, 22)",² nor is it a plea that his readers should form a sect about

1. Cf. p. 236.

2. J. Moffatt, M.N.T.C. 1 Corinthians, p. 145.

him - an idea that the Apostle has already repudiated with horror (cf. i. 12ff) - but rather a plea that they should recognize in him what he is as one made new in Christ and hence be led to imitate him.

Negatively, this is of some significance. It means that we cannot regard the pattern given in Christ as a pattern that gives complete guidance for life in this world. It cannot be that, for the pattern itself does not lie wholly in this world. Positively, it directs our attention to the fact that this pattern must be translated into terms of history, and that in this we must be ready to accept the guidance given by those before us whose lives have manifested this pattern realized in terms of this world. Yet at the same time attention is directed most fundamentally to the original: "Be imitators of me as I am of Christ."

This exhortation given by Paul to the imitation of himself is only one of the ways in which the primary pattern is filled out. There are two other principal ways in which the development of the pattern is seen: first, in the catalogues of virtues and vices and, secondly, in the sections known as the *Haustafeln* and the whole development of what has come to be called the primitive catechism.

Catalogues of virtues and vices appear frequently in the Pauline epistles, the former in 2 Cor. vi. 6; Gal. v. 22-23; Eph. iv. 2-3, 32; Phil. iv. 8; Col. iii. 12, and the latter in Rom. i. 29-31, xiii. 13; 1 Cor. v. 10-11, vi. 9-10; 2 Cor. xii. 20-21; Gal v. 19-21; Eph. iv. 31, v. 3-5; Col. iii. 5, 8. These catalogues have been the subject of considerable discussion.¹ They will not be discussed in detail here, as

1. Cf. the literature cited above, p. 140.

there is very little that is new to be said. It is to be noted, first, that very many parallels to the lists of vices can be found in Hellenistic literature, in the literature of Judaism (especially in polemic against Gentiles) and in the Qumran literature. The second of these in particular may well have provided the basis for the New Testament lists of vices. There is nothing particularly remarkable about them: they consist in vices whose evil is manifest. Perhaps the only point at which any distinctively Christian influence is to be seen is the way in which (in, e.g. Gal. v. 19-21) such vices as ἐπιθείς, δικοστολογία and διέσεις are regarded as seriously as e.g. πορνεία and ἁκαθάρσια. Yet even this cannot be taken too far: in Qumran one's obligations to the community are paramount, and sins against the community are regarded with the greatest seriousness.

With the catalogues of virtues, on the other hand, the situation is rather different. Many of the terms used do not even appear in the Septuagint, while in the literature of Judaism outside of Qumran there are but few parallels, and similarly with the literature of Hellenism. The closest parallels occur in the Qumran literature, and these are greatly stressed by Wibbing. That these parallels exist we have already noted in discussing Gal. v. but at the same time we saw the remarkable fact that many of the terms used in that list of virtues appear also in Paul's descriptions of the mode of Christ's life and mission.¹ In other words, we have in Paul's own use of these words a specifically Christian definition of them in terms of the particular history of the mission and

1. See above, pp. 155-156.

career of Jesus of Nazareth. Accordingly, to detect the content of these terms we must first look to that particular history.¹ The close connection between Paul's view of the nature of the Christian's life and his view of the whole fact of Christ is thus apparent here also.

But while this is true of many terms of the Pauline paraenesis it is not true of all, and here in particular the question of the parallels with other writings become pressing. Wibbing² finds parallels in the Qumran literature for ταπειφροσύνη, ~~πραΰτης~~ μακροθυμία, ὀκτισημός, ἡλιθιότητα, χρηστοτής, & χρηστός (these three being related to the same Hebrew root), γρῶσις, δικαιοσύνη, δίκαιος, ἡγρότης, ἡγρος, πίστις, ἀληθεία, ἀληθής and ἐρηρή and argues for a close similarity suggesting in fact dependence. While in some of these terms there is for Paul in the Person of Christ a new understanding of their meaning (ταπειφροσύνη, ~~πραΰτης~~ and δικαιοσύνη are clear examples) this is at any rate not clearly so in the case of other terms.

Are we then to suppose that Paul's ethical teaching is dependent on that of the Qumran sect? Great care must be exercised in the use of the word 'dependent'. In the first place, the largest possible number of parallels does not require a judgement of dependence. More is needed than the mere occurrence of similar statements in order to establish dependence of one writer upon another. Secondly, it can now be claimed that the basis of Paul's ethical teaching lies in his Christology. Any assertion of dependence upon the teaching of the Qumran group (or equally

1. Cf. the discussion of the language of the N.T. in Hoskyns and Davey, The Riddle of the New Testament, chapter 1.
2. See his table, op. cit. pp. 104 - 106.

of dependence upon any Hellenistic source) which implies that Paul found his basis elsewhere and merely added on specifically Christian exhortations and sanctions to that basis may, therefore, be declared false. We have to assert that Paul's ethics ^{is} ~~is~~ dependent above all else on his theology. Any borrowings from other sources are to be regarded as additions thereto.

This provides us with the essential standpoint from which to view this matter. Parallels to Pauline teaching can be found in many sources, but in any particular case dependence is very difficult to establish. It may be that we must be ready to see borrowings from many different sources. But it is not enough ~~merely~~ to compile lists of parallels. Much more important is it to discern a principle of selection at work. There are striking parallels to the Pauline teaching in the Dead Sea Scrolls; equally certainly, there are striking dissimilarities (as, e.g., with regard to the Law).¹ If we assume that Paul was familiar with the teachings of the Qumran sect, we have to account both for his acceptance of (or at any least agreement with) some of that teaching and for his rejection of the remainder. We can do so only on the assumption that it was his Christology that provided the basic form for his ethics. His Christology leads directly to a certain number of ethical assertions. Others arise through the exhortation to the imitation of himself. Others again are drawn from a variety of sources. Their peculiar character consists in this, that while not arising

1. see above, pp. 150-151, 154.

directly out of the Christology, they are conformable to the basic pattern given therein. The Christology thus provides a principle of selection, whereby some things are accepted and others rejected.

The sources of Paul's borrowings are naturally to be seen principally in the Jewish tradition - in the Old Testament itself, in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigrapha, and in the Dead Sea Scrolls. That this is so is not only because Paul's thought as a whole is moulded by his ancestral Jewish tradition, but also because Jesus Himself must be understood in the light of that tradition. We shall not, however, attempt a detailed discussion of this material.

The influence of the Greek tradition, on the other hand, is not so extensive, but cannot be ignored. The comparison of Paul's ethical teaching with that of Seneca¹ reveals, as in the case of Qumran a pattern of similarity and dissimilarity. This suggests again the notion of a principle of selection operating so as to distinguish what is conformable to the basic pattern from that which is not, and this operates in the case of both ethical precept and ethical terms. It is further to be observed that in both cases there is often a quite radical re-definition of these terms and injunctions arising directly out of the Christology. This has already been discussed above in the case of some terms of the Stoic paraenesis.² With respect to the exhortations

1. Seneca was Paul's contemporary, and any direct influence is highly improbable. A comparison of his writings with those of Paul is nevertheless of value, as many of Seneca's works are extant, which is not the case with earlier Stoics, and as well Seneca is himself dependent on the teaching of earlier Stoics who may be regarded as having influenced Paul. For a comparative study, see J.B. Lightfoot's Essay, 'St. Paul and Seneca', Philippians (4th. edn.) pp. 270-333.

2. See above, pp. 14-17.

we may take as an example the exhortation to imitate God which occurs both in Paul and in Seneca.¹ For the Stoic, to imitate God or to follow God is the same as to follow nature or to follow reason; for Paul, to be imitators of God is to take upon one's life that pattern which is revealed in the mission and career of Jesus Christ. There is accordingly to be seen behind any Pauline borrowings the effect of his Christology, which provides him with a basic pattern. He may accept that which is in accordance with the pattern and reject that which is not; and even that which he accepts undergoes radical transformation. This, of course, makes very difficult the determination of the extent and the sources of Paul's borrowings from other literature.

In one particular area there has been a very considerable body of work which has revealed the sources of some of the material and a good deal of the form of Paul's teaching. This concerns the Haustafeln and the development of the Primitive Christian Catechism, and as the volume of literature on this is extensive little will be said here.²

1. Seneca, de Vit. beat. 15: 'Habebit illud in animo vetus praeceptum: deum sequere'; de Benef. iv. 25, 'Propositum est nobis secundum rerum naturam vivere et deorum exemplum sequi'; Ep. Mor. cxxiv. 23: 'Animus emendatus ac purus, aemulator dei'. For Paul, cf. Eph. v.1.
2. The principal works in English are the following:-
 W.K. Lowther Clarke, New Testament Problems (1929) pp.
 (a review of K. Weidinger, Die Haustafeln); K.E. Kirk, The Vision of God (1931) Chapter III (pp. 111ff.); P. Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism (1940); E.G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, (1946) Essay II 'On the inter-relations of 1 Peter and the other N.T. Epistles' (pp. 363-466), together with the appended note in the same volume (pp. 467-483 by D. Daube, 'Participle and Imperative in 1 Peter' (cf. Daube's The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism); C.H. Dodd, Gospel and Law (1951) and The Primitive Catechism and the sayings of Jesus, New Testament Essays: Studies in memory of Thomas Walter Manson (1959), pp. 106-118.

These investigations have shown that a very considerable similarity exists between some passages of ethical teaching in most of the New Testament Epistles. This similarity is so marked that it had led some commentators to suppose, e.g., a dependence of 1 Peter on the Pauline Epistles. The similarity extends to the content of the teaching, the language in which it is expressed, the style of the sentences (including a peculiar use of the ^a participle to which Daube has drawn attention) and the order in which the matters are dealt with. This extremely close similarity is sufficient to suggest a common ancestry. This suggestion is confirmed when it is found that this teaching appears, in somewhat extended form, in Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache. The nature of this common ancestor is held to be a primitive Christian Catechism, modelled upon lines familiar in Jewish catechesis (and to some extent adopting the content and style of that catechesis, as e.g. the imperative use of the participle), in which the same subjects are treated in the same order (see the tables given by Carrington, Selwyn and Dodd), and stress is laid upon the common virtues of personal and household life.

Whilst there is much that might be said regarding details, the soundness of the general hypothesis seems now unquestionable. What needs to be emphasized is that the hypothesis concerns matters of form at least as much as matters of content; that much of the content may be demonstrated to have a specifically Christian origin (as is shown, e.g., by Dodd), and that the whole is fitted into the fundamental Christological scheme of the Pauline ethic. While much of the material cannot be regarded as specifically Christian (even though set in a context of Christian motives and sanctions) yet none of it may be

demonstrated to be contrary to Paul's basic ethical principles. In so far as the Haustafeln are concerned, we have simple moral truths which need ever to be reiterated, and Paul repeats them in fundamentally the same form as that in which we may assume him to have received them. But they are not simply repeated; they are quickened by the context in which they are now placed. We are accordingly to view them not as in any way contrary to the basic scheme of Paul's ethical teaching but as expansions of it.

We are therefore to see a basic 'givenness' in the nature of the Christian's life. He who acknowledges Jesus Christ as Lord is made a new man, and therefore must live the life of a new man. That is no mere vacuous expression. It has received a quite specific definition in the coming, the life, teaching, death and resurrection of the New Man. This does not mean that there is given in Christ a complete and binding code. Rather, what is given is as it were a skeleton which is clothed with material drawn from various sources. While the recognition of this - at least in origin - extraneous material is important, what is of much greater importance is that in the facts concerning his redemption and Redeemer the Christian finds also the pattern of his life.

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