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CERTAIN CRITICAL ASPECTS OF  
PAUL'S LETTERS

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A Dissertation  
Presented to  
the Faculty of  
Asbury Theological Seminary

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

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by  
Noel Ivan Liddle  
May 1954

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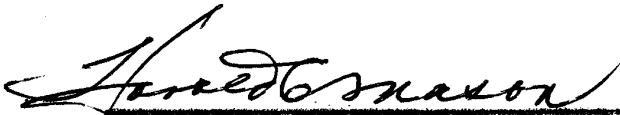
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. PAUL'S LIFE AND LABORS.....	1
II. PAUL'S LITERARY WORKS.....	40
The Thessalonian Letters.....	40
The Corinthian Letters.....	47
The Roman Letter.....	56
The Galatian Letter.....	64
The Prison Letters.....	66
The Pastoral Letters.....	86
Summary.....	98
III. SUBJECTS OF PAUL'S TEACHING.....	100
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	118
APPENDIXES.....	124
Appendix I.....The Question Concerning the Identity of the Galatians.....	125
Appendix II.....The Egyptian Papyri.....	132
Appendix III....The Authorship of Hebrews.....	140



## PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to investigate certain aspects of the literary contribution made by the Apostle Paul to the Christian Church. Since the main body of the New Testament bears the name of Paul it is important that the preacher and teacher of God's word examine critically the works of this pattern Christian.

In this inquiry substantial biographical research has been made as an aid to a proper understanding both of the author himself and of the setting of his literary works. Thus one chapter dealing with Paul's life and missionary endeavors precedes the direct discussion of his literary works. The investigation of Paul's literature included the avenues of approach and the areas of discovery which are relevant in both Lower Criticism and Higher Criticism. Having examined at length the literature which this Apostolic Church leader penned, a chapter dealing with the teachings contained within those writings climaxes the entire study.

## CHAPTER I.

### PAUL'S LIFE AND LABORS

The conversion of Paul is one of the greatest events in the religious history of the human race. This is realized more specifically when the following is brought to mind. In the 18th century, the age of Deists, Agnostics, and Rationalists, two eminent Englishmen, Gilbert West and Lord Lyttleton, Members of Parliament, and friends of Johnstone and Pope, were both professed sceptics. In one year, during the Parliamentary recess, these two men devoted themselves to two tasks. West examined critically the evidence for the resurrection of Christ, and Lyttleton scrutinized with utmost care the conversion of Paul. It was their honest expectation to prove both events mythical. The results of these investigations was to convince West that Jesus did rise from the dead and Lyttleton that Paul's conversion was actually a genuine happening. Lyttleton concluded that the conversion and apostleship of Paul was proof enough of the validity of the Christian revelation.

These two events, the resurrection of Christ and the conversion of Paul, are inseparably related. If Paul was converted, then Jesus arose from the dead. Paul's consistent explanation of what had happened was that he had seen the

Lord.<sup>1</sup> God had appeared to Paul and had revealed his Son in Him.<sup>2</sup> The death, burial, and resurrection of Christ are among the basic truths of Christianity which Paul taught, and it is significant to note that in speaking of these in I Corinthians the first two verbs are in the aorist tense whereupon the tense changes to the perfect. ἀπέθανεν καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται;<sup>3</sup> the meaning and force of the tense change being that Christ abides in the risen state. Paul, in the same chapter, refers to numerous appearances of our Lord and then says, "He was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time;"<sup>4</sup> that is, one of untimely birth. It is noteworthy that the vision Stephen had is not included in the series of appearances mentioned by Paul. Stephen's vision was in another experiential context. The appearances noted by Paul were not mere subjective mental phenomena; they were objective manifestations. And the last of the series was exceptional for Paul. The only rational explanation of what happened near Damascus was that the risen Lord did appear to Paul. The apostle's testimony to it is confirmed by the radical change that took place in his life:

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1 I Cor. 15:8

2 Gal. 1:16

3 I Cor. 15:3-4

4 I Cor. 15:8

on the one hand, "Saul yet breathing out threatenings;"<sup>5</sup> on the other, "Behold, he (Paul) prayeth."<sup>6</sup> Saul, who was the coming man in Judea, threw away all his purposes in life and turned friends into foes and exchanged a life of ease for one of toil and suffering.

Renan's theory is that Paul had sun-stroke and that his interview with Christ was pure fancy.<sup>7</sup> Renan suggests that fever from the sun-stroke perhaps suddenly seized Paul. It is significant to note that "perhaps" is used repeatedly by Renan, who goes on to say that at any rate, "the recollections of the apostle on this point appear to be rather confused."<sup>8</sup> Surely here is a travesty of the facts; for Paul's recollection of his conversion is very clear indeed.

If it were sun-stroke it must have been of a marvellous kind! Sun-stroke has a paralysing effect. But Paul's mind increased and put him in the front rank of the great men of all time. Some honest scholars suggest that perhaps Paul had a disease of the brain. Sir William Ramsay in this connection says, "Now there have been many madmen in all times; but the difficulty which many feel in classing St.

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<sup>5</sup> Acts 9:1

<sup>6</sup> Acts 9:11

<sup>7</sup> Ernest Renan, The Apostles, Translated from original French. (London, Kegan Paul, French, Tribner and Co., Ltd., 1893), pp. 157-158.

<sup>8</sup> Loc. cit. Page 159

Paul among them arises from the fact that not merely did he persuade everyone who heard him that he was sane and spoke the truth, but that he also moved the world, changed the whole course of history, and made us what we are."<sup>9</sup>

The question that demands an answer is, "Why should a man of this caliber so suddenly be uprooted in an instant from his cherished beliefs and be swept, like chaff before the wind, into the dogmatic camp of his most hated enemies?" Our concern here, however, is not only with the immediate effect of his conversion. We cannot lightly dismiss the fact that this overturning of a man's entire presuppositions survived a solitary life of three years in Arabia and nine years in Tarsus. Nor can we ignore the fact that it issued in a zeal for missions that has never been surpassed.

Let us look at Paul before his conversion. We are fortunate in that only the first few and last few years of his life are hidden from us. Of the early years we do know something.

According to Acts, Paul was a "man of Tarsus."<sup>10</sup> We conclude that he was born there. Tarsus was the capital of the

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<sup>9</sup> Sir W. M. Ramsay, Pauline and Other Studies, (Hodder and Stoughton, Limited, London, 1900) p.11.

<sup>10</sup> Acts 21:39

Roman province of Cilicia in South East Asia Minor. The city founded by Sardanapalus (B.C. 820) was made free by Augustus and so had free government, paying no tribute. It was a center of trade and transport, its inhabitants numerous and wealthy. Native Cilicians were in the majority but the wealthiest people were the Greeks. Trade was carried on chiefly in timber, Cilician cloth, and tents, these products being sold all along the coasts of the Mediterranean. It must have been a common sight to see in the streets of Tarsus throngs of native Cilicians garbed in Sail-cloth pursue leisurely their disorderly course. The city's population would be augmented by students, for the city was a seat of learning, holding rank with the other two principal university cities of the period, Athens and Alexandria. One is reminded of a large city of our own time, Glasgow, Scotland, which also is an industrial metropolis and the home of a great university. The cultural and cosmopolitan character of Tarsus would be influenced by the presence of students from many foreign countries. There can be no doubt that it was a fit place for the apostle of the Gentiles to be born.

We do not limit the grace of God, but it is likely more and wider sympathies would be cultivated in Tarsus than in Jerusalem. We must not minimize the influence of environment on human personality. Heridity plus environment make

the curious personal equation, and these together with the grace of God were the constituent elements in the Apostle. Saul would not have been quite the same man if reared wholly in Alexandria or Jerusalem. As he grew up in Tarsus he was being unconsciously prepared to deal with all types of men and to sympathize with human nature in all its varieties. "From this wide and diversified training we may understand better Paul's suitability to develop the primitive Judaic Church into the Church of the Roman World (for beyond that he never went in practice, though in theory he recognized no limit short of universal humanity), his extraordinary versatility and adaptability...his quickness to turn the resources of civilization to his use."<sup>11</sup> There are many evidences that he was alive to, and influenced by, his Tarsus environment.

In after life he was ever a lover of cities. In this regard attention has at times been called to a contrast between Paul and Jesus. Jesus, for instance, drew his illustrations from the country. He spoke of lilies, birds, sheep and pastures, corn, and crags. On the other hand Tarsus supplied Paul with many analogies: the "wise master builder" ἀρχιτέκτων, lays the "foundation," and another builds on it;

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<sup>11</sup> W.M. Ramsay, St Paul The Traveler and The Roman Citizen, (N.Y.:G.P. Putnam's Sons. London, Hodder and Stoughton. 1904) p 34

if inferior materials are used low "wages" will be paid.<sup>12</sup>

The word "edify" is a disguised word for building, *οἰκοδομέω*.

"Edify" occurs twenty times in the New Testament and of these it is used 19 times by Paul.

On its coins Tarsus is represented as a figure seated amid bales of merchandise. Lumbering, markets, and busy streets made an impression on Paul which may be seen reflected in his writings. The dishonesty he had witnessed in the

trade of this city is reflected in "huckstering" the word of God" (*καπηλεύω*, to act as a (corrupt) vintner),<sup>13</sup>

The Apostle speaks of "redeeming the time", *ἐξαγοράζω* "buying up the opportunity," being "sealed," by the Holy Spirit, all these phrases were marketplace expressions. Paul may have borrowed the metaphor of the seal from the practice of the name and marks of the buyer being on the goods.<sup>14</sup>

There was a young men's gymnasium in Tarsus. Undoubtedly games were common events in the life of the city, and so Paul refers to foot races, to the vigorous training, keeping fit, and gaining a "fading wreath," to boxing heralds summoning the competitors, and rules being announced.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> I Cor. 3:10-15

<sup>13</sup> I Cor. 2:17

<sup>14</sup> Eph. 1:13; Eph. 4:30; Eph. 5:16., Col. 4:5.

<sup>15</sup> I Cor. 9:24-27., Phil 3:13-14., Acts. 20:24.



Soldiers on the street would be a familiar sight to Paul. This would account for his numerous military metaphors, not always obvious in the English authorized translation. For example he speaks of "instruments," ὄπλα = weapons, and "wages of sin," ὀψώνιον = a soldier's rations, or allowance. τα ὀψωνια <sup>16</sup> Lightfoot says, "Sin is regarded as a sovereign who demands the military service of his subjects, levys their quota of arms, and gives them the soldier's pay of death."<sup>17</sup> "order" τάξις = array and "steadfastness" στερέωμα = solid front, are military terms.<sup>18</sup> Paul's enforced companionship with a Roman guard may have suggested the elaborate metaphor employed in the Ephesian letter in which the apostle speaks of the Christian's armor in military language.<sup>19</sup>

Such are some of the illustrations Paul used; but he did have an eye for nature. He spoke of the rain of Heaven to the rude tribe of Lystra, of the fruitful seasons, and of the loving God who made heaven and earth. Paul must have appreciated the scenery and sunsets of his boyhood on the

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<sup>16</sup> Romans 6:3;23., Luke 3:14., I Cor. 9:7

<sup>17</sup> J. B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1924.) p. 64

<sup>18</sup> Col. 2:5

<sup>19</sup> Eph. 6.

the banks of his native Cydnus river and on the hills around his home town. His appreciation of nature is seen also in reference to a grain of wheat, the beauty of the stars, the comparison of Apollos and himself to gardeners, "creation's distressed expectant gaze, waiting the unveiling of the sons of God," at the final reconstitution of the universe, and the wild olive tree.<sup>20</sup>

Paul's environment is reflected in his ability to use language. The apostle knew Greek, as well as Hebrew and Aramaic, and we note his facility in passing from one language to the other.<sup>21</sup> At Athens he quotes from the Greek poet Aratus, and also from the Stoic poet Cleanthus. Paul quotes from Meander, the Comic poet, and from Epimenedes.<sup>22</sup> Although such quotations do not necessarily mean that Paul was a student of Greek literature, they do suggest that he was influenced by the strong academic atmosphere of Tarsus. His speech at Athens shows he was able, when he chose, to speak in a more stately style than some of his writings indicate.

The theory has been propounded that Paul owed a debt

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<sup>20</sup> I Cor. 15:37,40.; 13:6-9., Romans 8:23.; 7:17.

<sup>21</sup> Acts. 21:37., 40.

<sup>22</sup> Acts. 17:28., I Cor. 15:33., Titus 1:2b

to the Stoics, to a man like Marcus Aurelius of the second century, and Epictetus and Seneca, Paul's contemporaries. Tarsus, it must be remembered, was a center of Stoic philosophy; five distinguished Stoic teachers resided there. The deep things of the soul, such as the answer to the universal quest for happiness; the need for moral reformation, or even spiritual rebirth; the way to the victory of life over death — these were the questions on which the Stoic orators discoursed eloquently. It is to be expected that Paul heard these matters discussed on occasion.

Stoicism was pantheistic; and, when taken to its logical conclusion was a religion of despair. As A. B. Bruce contends, Stoicism preached submission to misery as inevitable, and offered the peace of despair.<sup>23</sup>

Paul, it is said, uses stoic words, or at least familiar stoic words, but what a difference such words were in the context of his language. Paul speaks of the Holy Spirit *πνεῦμα ἁγίου* but to the stoic this was "sacer spiritus." Any man who was dealing with the deep things of the soul must have used such words. But the Stoic "holy spirit" stood for a principle pervading creation and was almost a

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<sup>23</sup> Alexander Balmain Bruce, The Moral Order of the World in Ancient and Modern Thought, (Glasgow: New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.) p. 118

physical substance. This principle was believed to have the souls of men as particles; but this is worlds apart from Paul's spirit which cries "Abba Father." *ἀνάρκως* = independent of outer-circumstances, is another example. The stoics aimed at this but on the lips of a stoic it was vague and grim. Paul uses it when he says, "I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content." (independent of outer circumstances) He had learned in a school in which the best of the Stoics had never studied. The apostle immediately added these words, "I can do all things in Christ who strengthens me."<sup>24</sup> His was not self control but Christ control.

That Paul should show some acquaintance with Stoic teachers is natural, but there is no evidence for the assumption that he culled his ideas from them. Paul was not groping after the idea of the brotherhood of man, with Paul all are one in Christ Jesus.<sup>25</sup> Lightfoot says that in Paul's philosophy, the bond of coherence, the missing principle of universal brotherhood, is found "In Christ."<sup>26</sup>

In Paul's early years in Tarsus he did not glory in

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24 Phil. 4:11,13 (Revised Version)

25 Gal. 3:28., Col. 3:11

26 J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles To the Colossians and To Philemon*, (London Macmillan and Company, Ltd. New York: The Macmillan Co.,1904) p. 214

any aspect of his pagan environment; he did glory in his Jewish inheritance. This pride of Jewish inheritance remained with him after he had become a Christian. If he chose to rely on tradition, he could far surpass all others, although born in a pagan city, he was reared "an Hebrew of the Hebrews," and if his apostolic succession was questioned, if he chose, he could boast of being of the seed of Abraham.<sup>27</sup> Paul never forgot he was a Jew, an heir of a glorious heritage, and in writing his letter to the Romans he heaps up the splendors of the Jewish nation and tradition.<sup>28</sup> But even though Israel had rejected and crucified their king, Paul clings to and pleads with his people. When we read words like "For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh," we may watch the centuries falling away and see Paul standing with Moses.<sup>29</sup> A cry like that which rang from Paul's heart is a real index of what his ancestral faith meant to him.

The immediate environment of Paul in Tarsus was a thoroughly Jewish one. We do not know how many there were

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<sup>27</sup> Phil. 3:5., II Cor. 11:22

<sup>28</sup> Romans 9:4-5

<sup>29</sup> Romans 9:3., Exodus 32:32

in his family, but his father and a married sister with a son were at least part of it.<sup>30</sup>

Paul was a Roman citizen, having been born such.<sup>31</sup> Roman citizenship originally belonged only to Romans, but it was extended to the provinces conquered by Rome. As early as the first century B.C. there were thousands of Roman citizens living in Asia Minor.

A Roman citizen had certain privileges which Paul was not slow in claiming on more than one occasion, for instance, at Philippi, and in Jerusalem. Since it was a crime to scourge a Roman citizen we understand the fear of the magistrates at Philippi.<sup>32</sup> Paul also took advantage of the fact that every Roman citizen had a right to trial at Rome.

Ramsay says, that there was a colony of Jews in Tarsus from 171 B.C.<sup>33</sup> In this group Paul's father must have had a high standing, having become a Roman citizen. He may have had some wealth since he was able to send his son to Jerusalem to study. Indeed, this possession

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<sup>30</sup> Acts 23:16

<sup>31</sup> Acts 22:28

<sup>32</sup> Acts 16:37., 22:25

<sup>33</sup> Sir W. M. Ramsay, The Cities of St. Paul, (Hodder and Stoughton, New York: George. D. Doran Co., 1907) p. 180.

of Roman citizenship hints that Paul's family was distinguished and wealthy. Deissman says Paul was an artisan.<sup>34</sup> The apostle's remark in his letter to the Galatians "you see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand, " may have some connection with this, since Paul's hands might have been deformed by labor. However, his remark could emphasize the last eight verses of that letter.<sup>35</sup> Although there could be dangerous implications in the theory of Deissman, the fact remains that Paul worked at a manual trade when necessity compelled him. That perhaps Paul himself was fast becoming a man of some means prior to his conversion may be attested to by the passing allusion to the tremendous cost at which he became a Christian, and the reference to his own hired house.<sup>36</sup>

Whatever were the material circumstances of Paul's boyhood home, we know something of the spiritual atmosphere in which he was reared. (Tarsus, being cosmopolitan in the extreme, was free from the usual intense hatred of the Jews, a situation which made for a sympathetic understanding of the Jews; for prejudice between Jew and Gentile

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<sup>34</sup> Adolf Deissmann, *Light From the Ancient East*, (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1910) p. 404.

<sup>35</sup> Gal. 6:11.

<sup>36</sup> Phil. 3:8., Acts. 28:16.

would naturally be weakened in this great metropolis.) Paul's home would be strictly pharisaic. The Pharisees were unlike the other Jewish parties in that they kept themselves apart. Paul may have mingled in the life and play of Gentile boys, but it is not certain that he attended a Gentile school. His education was conducted at home rather than at school. Since Tarsus was a center of Jewish culture, the Hebrew boy would not likely be exposed to Gentile learning but would attend some school connected with the synagogue. At such a school he learned to read and write, being taken to and from school under the supervision of a schoolmaster, *παιδαγωγός*.<sup>37</sup> His first religious knowledge would come from hearing the law read in the synagogue, and from listening to the arguments and debates of the doctors. In time he himself was to become an ardent Israelite, a flame of zeal for the law, the religion of his fathers, and the coming Messiah.<sup>38</sup>

When twelve years old, probably, Paul was sent to Jerusalem with a view to his becoming a scribe, an expounder of the Jewish law, and a pleader in the Jewish courts.<sup>39</sup> Gamaliel, his teacher, was a Jewish doctor, a man of liberal and enlightened views.<sup>40</sup> Paul was drilled in the

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<sup>37</sup> Gal. 3:24

<sup>38</sup> Acts 26:4-7

<sup>39</sup> Acts 22:3

<sup>40</sup> Acts 5:34-40



law, both written and oral, and became intimate with the Old Testament scriptures. He says, "I forged ahead in Judaism."<sup>41</sup> He began to think of himself as lifted above the common rabble, and to feel that his powers promised a great future for him. On being graduated, more a Jew than ever, from "the College of Gabriel," he was satisfied that Israelism was the only answer to the world's dilemma.

Probably Paul's first contact with Christianity was at Stephen's martyrdom, when "the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul."<sup>42</sup> With his training ended, Paul very likely went back to Tarsus. It is likely that he was not in Jerusalem during our Lord's ministry. Justin Martyr says in the Dialogue that after the crucifixion the Jews sent out messengers to spread slanders among their fellow countrymen about the Christians.<sup>43</sup> It may be that such messengers reaching Tarsus inspired Paul to go at once to Jerusalem. Arriving there to find the city ringing with the words, "Jesus of Nazareth" he threw himself, keen and fanatical Jew that

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<sup>41</sup> Gal. 1:14

<sup>42</sup> Acts 7:58

<sup>43</sup> Thomas B. Falls, The Writings of Justin Martyr. (New York: Christian Heritage, Inc., 1940) p. 207

he was, into frenzied persecution of the Christians, thereby feeling he was doing God service. When we first see him in Scripture he is the fanatical Jew. The passing of time only deepened his conviction of the rightness of persecution of the Christians.<sup>44</sup> To this end he approved thoroughly Stephen's death, and bound and imprisoned both men and women.<sup>45</sup> And so he went on his mad career until suddenly stopped near Damascus.

Some recent literature attempting to explain Paul's conversion as merely a mental phenomenon, suggests that it was the result of a long psychological preparation. The usual trend of thought in this literature is that there were doubts insinuated into Paul's mind for some time previously. "What if these Christians, so blameless in life, whom he was persecuting, what if they were right?" Stephen's face is said to have come up before Paul and to have haunted him. Indeed, it is claimed that before the critical journey, Stephen haunted Paul asleep and awake, and that eventually a vision of the risen Christ, a vision of the mind, confronted him. Thus it was that the image of fancy broke the power of thought.

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<sup>44</sup> Acts 8:1.

<sup>45</sup> Acts 22:20; Acts 8:3; 9:2; 22:4.

Paul himself has no mercy on that theory. Paul in his persecution of the Christians, continually and persistently goes farther and farther from Christ. "Saul yet breathing out threatenings..." ἔτι = up to the moment, without any abatement.<sup>46</sup> In all this persecution Paul thought he was doing God's service.<sup>47</sup>

However, we need to explain the words "It is hard for thee to kick against the ox goad,"<sup>48</sup> which are part of the true text. It is suggested by some that since this was a proverbial expression used in Greek and Roman literature there may have been a similar expression among the Hebrews. It is then submitted that the meaning need not necessarily go beyond the certainty that Saul's efforts to stop the advance of Christianity would recoil on himself. But no positive proof is offered that such a proverbial phrase is to be found among the Hebrews.

The words of Jesus must mean that the pressure of the goad was known previous to the hour of Paul's conversion. Saul the Pharisee had been fighting against the scruples he had. Paul was really miserable while persecuting, for all

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<sup>46</sup> Acts 9:1

<sup>47</sup> Phil. 3:6

<sup>48</sup> Acts 26:14.(Young)

contrary activity is miserable, although the source of misery may be unknown. Thus, when we turn resolutely away from all attempts to read Paul's mind by the supposed light of subtle psychology and read Paul's own account, we find the consistent pressure and persistent conviction of the Holy Spirit operating on Paul. The apostle in one of his letters to the Corinthians remarks, "He (The Lord) was seen of me also, as one born out of due time." This seems to indicate a sudden and violent break with Paul's former thought and endeavor and a catalysmic thrust into into a new world of light and glory for which he was ill prepared.<sup>49</sup> That was Paul's New Birth, --a glorious New Birth -- and he was a living child. Turner says, "The conversion of Saul is a psychological and ethical problem, the solution of which is to be found only in the actual appearance of Jesus Christ to his senses on the the way to Damascus, as he believed this to have taken place...The Revelation took place in broad daylight, on the highway, as Saul was journeying with limbs and senses in full exercise, and his mind intent on a purpose diametrically opposed to the obedience of faith in Jesus; and some of the phenomena attending it were sensible to others besides himself."<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> I Cor. 15:8

<sup>50</sup> James Hastings, A Dictionary of the Bible, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, . Edinburgh: T&T Clark., 1908) Vol. III, p. 702

Paul was from the very moment of his conversion a dedicated spirit. His first question was, "Who art thou, Lord?" His second was, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"<sup>51</sup> And always, in retrospect, he could say, looking back on his Damascus Road experience, "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision."<sup>52</sup>

At the start of his missionary career, Barnabas and Paul sailed from Seleucia to Cyprus. In Luke's description of the labors of these two in Cyprus we have the first use of the word *διέρχομαι*, "to go through," which is one of the great missionary words.<sup>53</sup>

Perhaps the pair went to Cyprus because it was the native island of Barnabus. On this island they encountered a representative of the empire, and also a representative of an oriental religion in the person of a sorcerer. This happened at Paphos, the capital, located on the south-west coast. The city was the seat of the Roman government and the "deification of lust" in the worship of Venus. In the triumph of the Gospel under such conditions at Paphos Paul evidently was the leader in the new movement; for the record now speaks of "Paul and Barnabas;" Paul as the

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<sup>51</sup> Acts 9:3

<sup>52</sup> Acts 26:19

<sup>53</sup> Acts 10:38; 13:6

opponent of Elymas and sin; and "those around Paul," οἱ περὶ τὸν παῦλον (περὶ) sail away from Cyprus.<sup>54</sup> Paul is now the central figure in that band.

From Cyprus Paul's party went to Asia Minor. Here about the middle of the south coast is a large gulf, the gulf of Attalia, which they entered to reach Perga, the capital of Pamphilia. From Perga, which is several miles inland, the party struck into the interior.

Something had unexpectedly changed the plans of Paul and Barnabas to hinder them from preaching in Perga on that first visit, but they did so on their return. William Ramsay is of opinion that Paul might have contracted malaria fever and that such could well have been the apostle's "thorn in the flesh."<sup>55</sup> The malaria swamps may have driven him North over the rough mountains and rivers for health reasons. If we accept the South Galatian theory,<sup>56</sup> and if the South Galatian churches were the ones Paul founded, we can understand better the apostles in his Galatian reference to the illness.<sup>57</sup> Whatever made them hurry to Antioch they found no city more congenial to bodily health or more

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<sup>54</sup> Acts 13:2; 9: 13.

<sup>55</sup> W. M. Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveler and the Roman Citizen, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949) p. 94.

<sup>56</sup> See Appendix I

<sup>57</sup> Gal. 4:13

responsive to Christian labors.

This place is called by Luke, Pisidian Antioch as the reading is in  $\mathcal{H}$ , A, B, and C. The city was not actually in Pisidia but in Phrygia; Luke later correctly speaks of Antioch outside of Pisidia.<sup>58</sup> It was known as "Antioch on Pisidia border," and was 3600 feet above sea level in a mountainous area with large lakes. Situated on one of the trade routes it was a center of commercial activity. When the Romans in 25 B.C. formed the province of Galatia they made Antioch a colony in the form of a miniature city of Rome. It was a military post with pensioned veteran soldiers for its main settlers. These constituted the ruling caste in the town.

A wild, sensuous religion prevailed in Antioch in the worship of the supreme moon god. However, the chief attraction among the gods was Cibebe, of the Diana class, whose worship involved the obscene.

Over the life of the city was a thin veneer of Greek culture. The aristocratic Romans held themselves aloof from all such. Paul's keen eye envisioned Antioch as a center for the spreading of the Gospel. Later developments in his ministry there justified his confidence.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Acts 14:24

<sup>59</sup> Acts 13:44, 48, and 49.

The Jews had a strong influence in Antioch. Ramsay thinks that Jews were likely to have exercised greater political power in this city than in any other part of the Roman world.<sup>60</sup> Their spiritual influence was as great. It seems that the Jewish religion appealed to many there. It is in point to recall that Josephus and other Jewish as well as Roman writers, speak of the attraction the Jewish faith had for Gentile women. All of this paved the way for Paul; for his presence drew almost the entire population to the synagogue.<sup>61</sup>

On the Sunday following their arrival, Paul and Barnabas attended the synagogue. Their presence generated keen interest. After the reading of the lesson, the Jewish reader, recognizing Paul and Barnabas as strangers and of education, asked them to address the congregation. The Jewish teacher sat while speaking; Paul in Greek fashion, stood up, and with that characteristic wave of his hand, held forth.<sup>62</sup>

The entire burden of Paul's address on this occasion was that the Jewish Law and, in fact, the whole history of

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<sup>60</sup> Sir W. M. Ramsay, Pauline and Other Studies, (Hodder and Stoughton, Limited, London, 1900) p.11.

<sup>61</sup> Acts 13:50

<sup>62</sup> Acts 13:26; 26:1



the Jewish people, were progressing toward a fuller development. This development climaxed finally and fully in Christ as the Messiah and Redeemer.

After making a brief tour of several other places, Paul went to the Jerusalem Council. The council having ended, the missionaries revisited Antioch and then prepared to start a second preaching mission.

However, Paul and Barnabas quarreled over whether or not John Mark should accompany them on their next itinerary. It ended by Barnabas separating himself from Paul and taking Mark with him to Cyprus; while Paul chose Silas to accompany him. It is interesting to note that in this separation, Paul and Barnabas go toward their respective homelands.<sup>63</sup>

It was at Troas that the Lord met Paul in that epoch-making vision that directed him westward to Europe. Enroute lay Philippi. The city of Philippi had been made a colony in 42 B.C. after Octavius and Anthony had there decisively defeated Brutus and Cassius. Its geographical position made it important, for it stood on the thoroughfare between Asia and Europe, the great Ignatian Way.

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<sup>63</sup> Acts 15:1-30; 36-40.

Here also the soldiers of the Cross won great victories, greater than any that the armies of Rome had ever won. Indeed, it is difficult to find any other city where Paul's testimony bore more fruit, and the accuracy of the account of his successes is well substantiated. Polycarp, and many other authorities attest to the authenticity of the record of the events connected with Paul's life at Philippi.

These events show us in a variety of circumstances the results of the grace of God. Women are shown here to have a prominent place. In the city of Thyatira with its guilds of dyers, potters, and loom makers, Lydia was evidently held in high esteem, thanks to the gospel. Then there was the baffled slave owner seeking revenge, and the tumultuous haste of the Philippian crowd, in which Paul's appeal to Roman citizenship may well have gone unheeded. There was the band of Jewish proselytes gathered by the riverside for prayer -- an effective witness of the Lord's power. Lightfoot says that Philippi and its story gives a picture of the universality of the Gospel and its powerful appeal to all types of life.<sup>64</sup> The purple dealer of Thyatira was Asiatic, the jailer was Roman, the slave girl was possibly Greek, representatives of three nationalities.

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<sup>64</sup> J.B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London:, 1927) p. 54.

Christianity ranks amongst its noblest triumphs the elevation of womanhood, and the emancipation of slaves.

From Philippi the missionaries pushed one hundred miles southwest to Thessalonica, where the Jews with a number of vagrants caused such a tumult that the missionaries were accused of turning the world upside down.<sup>65</sup> Thessalonica, the largest city of Macedonia and a much frequented seaport, had a large Jewish section in its population. When Paul preached on the kingship of Jesus these Jews accused him of treason.

From Thessalonica Paul continued forty-two miles in a southwesterly direction till he reached Berea, referred to by Cicero "the out-of-the-way town of Berea." The apostle met with greater success here, for the Jews were more open-minded and they searched the Scriptures to see if Paul was right. But, because the town was too near to Thessalonica there was trouble again. Paul, therefore, was once more on the road, this time toward Athens, one hundred miles south, by way of Macedonia and Achaia.

Luke's graphic description of this visit to Athens gives us many evidences of true-to-life accuracy; the restless curiosity of the people, their leisure time, and their over-religiousness. Athens was then the most beauti-

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<sup>65</sup> Acts 17:5

ful city in Europe, with its sea, mountains, and temples of marble. As a center of culture Alexandria was also famous, but Athens had a tradition of the past.

A Latin writer has said that it was easier to find a God than a man in Athens. Paul could say truthfully to these people, "I perceive that in all things ye are more than religious."<sup>66</sup> The comparative degree is used here, *θεοσιδωμονεστέροις*, which is *θεοσιδω* plus *μονω* = "I fear" plus "God" or "deity." In classical Greek, the word is used in a good or a bad sense, while in New Testament Greek it is used in the sense of a devil. Paul uses the word "with kindly ambiguity." The Athenians were devout without knowledge of the true God. The same word is used later in Acts, being translated "superstition" in the Authorised Version.<sup>67</sup> Festus speaking to a Jew would not likely call the Jewish religion "superstition," but he may have used the word ambiguously. Surely Paul could never have begun his address with a piece of discourtesy; it would have been most impolitic to antagonize his hearers and thus lose their attention. The word used by the apostle would carry the significance "remarkably religious." Ramsay

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<sup>66</sup> Acts 17:22

<sup>67</sup> Acts 25:19

hints that the Athenians, "more than others, were respectful of what is divine."<sup>68</sup>

The people of Athens may have been religious but their religion was of an æsthetic and dramatic variety. It called forth no moral earnestness, no deep conviction. Luke tells us that the ruling passion, of Athens was "something newer;" he seems to suggest a delicately-etched picture of the old time gossip in the old time market place perpetually hankering for "something newer."<sup>69</sup> The use of the imperfect tense *ἤνκαίρου* and the comparative degree *καλινότερου* indicate a greedy appetite for novelty. Demosthenes also noted among the Athenians this greed for newer things.

Philosophy still flourished in Athens, although it was long past the time of her supreme glory. The center for discussions was the *στοά* or porch, to the west of the market place: and since Zeno of Citium and his successors taught in this piazza, the school of philosophers was called *οἱ ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς Ἀστωικοί*, or Stoics. They taught an austere, and self-centered system of ethics. The Stoics held

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<sup>68</sup> Sir W. M. Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveler and the Roman Citizen, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949) p. 249.

<sup>69</sup> Acts 17:21

severe ideas on duty and self-denial. Outside Christianity they produced the noblest type of character to be found in that age. Seneca even shows a dim longing at times for redemption of soul and for divine help. Farrar believes that fundamentally the Stoics were seekers after God.<sup>70</sup> Close by was the garden of Epicureus whose followers proclaimed a life for men similar to that of the gods; a life of pleasure removed from passion and all ugly things. The wandering philosopher was a familiar figure in all Greek towns. He roamed in the hope of securing a permanent place in which to propound his theories. These philosophers were most frequently seen in the market place in Athens. Paul was taken by the Epicureans and Stoics to be one of these wandering philosophers.

In Acts the differing opinions of the philosophers on Mars Hill are purposely placed side by side with a touch of gentle sarcasm on their inability to agree even on Paul's teachings.<sup>71</sup> Some sneered at Paul as a *σπερμολογος*, a "picker up of seeds." This word, used by certain poets referring to a bird picking up seeds, came to signify

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<sup>70</sup> F. W. Farrar, The Life and Work of St. Paul, (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1880.) p.187.

popularly a pauper prowling about the market place picking up scraps to keep himself alive. The word would indicate a petty pilferer, a "hanger-on," or as H. V. Morton proposes, a tramp who "contrives to make a poor living by picking up cigarette-ends and by exploring dust-bins in the morning."<sup>72</sup> More specifically this word as contemptuously applied to Paul suggests that the apostle was a picker up of queer ideas, a gatherer of secondhand information from the intellectual dust-bins. This translation of *σπερμολος* is somewhat different from the "babblers" as found in the Authorised and Revised versions. The original is a specimen of Athenian slang and yet it is difficult to find a more apt word than "babblers." The Egyptian Papyri throw some light on this word with the reference to the scraps thrown away to the dogs on the street.<sup>73</sup> However considering the Greek text "babblers" is the best single word to apprehend all the meaning, a fluent and second hand talker, or an idle babblers.

The second opinion expressed about Paul was that he was "a setter forth of new gods." The Athenians accused him of preaching two deities, God and Resurrection.

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<sup>72</sup> H. V. Morton, In the Steps of St. Paul, (London: Rich and Cowan Ltd., 1936.) p. 276

<sup>73</sup> See Appendix II

Paul's Mars Hill sermon, which began with a citation of the Athenians' love of religion and desire for knowledge, discloses knowledge about the true God. It must have been somewhat startling to these men to be told that God is near, in fact, close to every man. Paul's use of the verb translated "feel" was apt; for the people were groping blindly in the dark after God.<sup>74</sup> The apostle at this point quotes from one of their own poets, "In him we live, and move, and have our being" -- perhaps from Epimenides or Aratus. But Paul goes on to say that the divine, τὸ Θεῖον, is not like any graven image, a teaching that must have been somewhat upsetting to many. He must have made a point of contact, however, when he referred to the world as the handwork of God. Some of the Stoics, at least, would be inclined to agree with him here, for Seneca himself believed that the whole world is the temple of God.

As long as Paul confined himself to philosophy and natural religion his audience listened, but when he introduced the Resurrection, a distinctive Christian and supernatural fact, and when he urged repentance, the atmosphere changed and opposition arose.

While the visit to Athens is deeply interesting it probably seemed a not-too-fruitful one to the Apostle.

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<sup>74</sup> Acts 17:27.



Some writers have intimated that Paul was almost a failure, but surely this is not so. We know that a woman with a number of others, were converted.<sup>75</sup> We know too that when Paul left Athens on the next stage of his journey he was in a weak, trembling state.<sup>76</sup>

Paul's Athens' experience gives a new light on the First Corinthian letter. To the Corinthian church he is not appealing as a philosopher to philosophers. He is a preacher of simple tidings. The philosophers of Athens had failed to grasp the meaning of the Cross and its divine power to save.<sup>77</sup> Their worldly minds were not able to penetrate the mysteries of God. It must have been a wiser Paul who could say at Corinth, "It pleased God by the sheer folly of the message to save them that believe."<sup>78</sup> The preacher had resolved to set aside all rhetoric and to concentrate on preaching "Christ and Him crucified."<sup>79</sup>

Corinth is 50 miles due west from Athens. As Athens was an intellectual capital, so Corinth was a political and commercial capital, in the province of Achaia. The geographical position of the city gave it vast importance as a port of call between the Aegean and Adriatic seas.

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<sup>75</sup> Acts. 17:34.

<sup>78</sup> I Cor 1:21.(Young)

<sup>76</sup> I Cor. 2:3.

<sup>79</sup> I Cor. 2:1-2.

<sup>77</sup> I Cor. 1:20-24.

The city was founded by the Phoenicians, a great sea-faring people. When the Romans in 44 B.C. conquered the city Julius Caesar made it the seat of government for Achaia, and established it as a Roman Colony. In its streets men from every nation in the eastern Mediterranean were to be seen. Like all cosmopolitan cities, Corinth was a hot bed of vice, all the more corrupt from the immoral worship of the goddess of love. It has been said Corinth was the "Vanity Fair" of the ancient world. Nevertheless, it was one of the chief seats of Greek culture.

At the summit of the acropolis shone the temple of Venus where all manner of debauchery was offered to the citizens and strangers. "To live like a Corinthian" meant the most dissolute kind of life. "Corinthian Banquet," and "Corinthian Drinker," were proverbial expressions of the day. There were 1,000 sacred prostitutes in the temple. Vice was raised to the level of religion. Paul fitly in his first Corinthian letter classes idolaters with fornicators and adulterers.<sup>80</sup> It was from Corinth that Paul wrote the first chapter of Romans, much of which contains a first-hand description of the filth that was in Corinth.

Paul had come to Corinth alone, depressed perhaps by the seeming failure of his preaching to the Athenian intel-

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<sup>80</sup> I Cor 6:9

lectuals. But when his former companions still at Philippi, (Silas and Timothy) rejoined him he was "constrained by the "word" as  $\zeta$  B,D,E, and several versions read.<sup>81</sup> The Authorized Version reads "spirit." Paul used the same verb, elsewhere<sup>82</sup> and the statement here probably means that all his thoughts and energies were controlled by one master idea and compressed into one channel.<sup>83</sup> Paul seems now to have preached the Cross with a new passion. The Word of the Cross wrought new wonders, with striking results in Corinth.<sup>84</sup> Paul remained eighteen months in the city.

In 1896 archaeologists discovered a fragment of the lintel of a door inscribed in Greek letters "Synagogue of the Hebrews." This fragment dates back to New Testament times and possibly was part of the Corinthian Synagogue in which Paul preached.<sup>85</sup> The inscription, poorly and cheaply executed, illustrates well the low social position of the converts mentioned by the apostle in his Corinthian epistle.<sup>86</sup>

It was in Corinth that Gallio met Paul. Gallio was the younger brother of the famous and able stoic philosopher,

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<sup>81</sup> Acts 18:5

<sup>82</sup> II Cor. 5:14

<sup>83</sup> Acts 18:5

<sup>84</sup> I Cor 6:9-11, Acts 5:18-8.

<sup>85</sup> Acts 18:4

<sup>86</sup> I Cor. 1:26

Seneca. From Seneca we have a description of Gallio as gentle, courteous, truthful, loveable, and sweet tempered. But the Jews of Corinth mistook his gentleness for weakness and seized his term of office as an opportune time for charging Paul.<sup>87</sup>

Until recently nothing was known of Gallio's pro-consulship in Achaia except some mention in a letter by Seneca that Gallio had caught a fever. But in an inscription, discovered some years ago, Gallio mentioned by his friend Claudius, was pro-consul of Achaia before August 52 A.D. It seems clear that Gallio's pro-consulship began in the previous July, so that we have a certain date as a landmark in Paul's life.

Paul probably reached Corinth towards the end of A.D. 51. He preached on Sundays in the Synagogue and worked at tent-making on week days. Thus he met another Jewish tent maker, Aquila, and his wife Priscilla. They were originally from Pontus in north Asia Minor and had been living in Rome. Priscilla was a leading Roman matron, possibly from a family of nobility and thus the couple would be leaders in Roman society. The story of Priscilla and Aquila is one of the lovely, hidden romances of the New Testament.

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<sup>87</sup> Acts 18:12-16

Priscilla and Aquila had recently come to Corinth from Rome, having fled the persecution under the Emperor Claudius, who about 50 A.D. had expelled all Jews from Rome because of riots in the Ghetto.

Paul wrote the epistles to the Thessalonians from Corinth,<sup>88</sup> and then left the city to attend the Jerusalem Passover. He was possibly ill and needed a change, so the apostle had only two stops on the way,<sup>89</sup> Ephesus and Caesarea. Priscilla and Aquila who were missionary pioneers accompanied him to Ephesus, Paul going on alone to Jerusalem.

Following his Jerusalem visit, Paul was ready to embark on a third missionary journey. This time he set forth from Antioch, possibly in the summer of 53 A.D. He was in Ephesus in the autumn of that year. Here he stayed approximately three years.<sup>90</sup>

Ephesus, in Paul's time, was one of the world's biggest seaports. It was the gate to Asia and the first port of call from farther East. It was near Corinth, with which city it had some close ties.

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<sup>88</sup> See Chapter II.

<sup>89</sup> Acts 18:18.

<sup>90</sup> Acts 19:8;(3 months) -10(2 yrs.) -22(a while)  
Acts 20:31 (3 yrs. being the total.)

Ephesus was the capital of Asia and seat of the pro-consul. Second in authority to the pro-consul was the town clerk, who served as mediator for the community between the pro-consul and the people's court. Midway between Asia and Europe, the city was the meeting place of multitudes of easterners coming to worship at Diana's shrine. Ephesus was an imperial highway of intercourse, for all nationalities met in its streets. It is not surprising that its influence on the world was far-reaching and that men everywhere sought to imitate its life.<sup>92</sup> It was this city which, with its oriental religion, Greek culture, Roman government, and widespread commerce came into contact with Christianity.

Paul's work in this strategic metropolis is recorded in outline in Acts.<sup>93</sup> We note that during his first three months he reasoned in the synagogue with the Jews, and that when persecution arose from within the synagogue he withdrew with the believers and taught in the school of one Tyrannus. Paul's efforts in Ephesus were fruitful in conversions to Christianity. There was a bonfire of magical books. And Luke adds, "so mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed."<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Acts 19:27.

<sup>93</sup> Acts 19:

<sup>94</sup> Acts 19:10,20.

We may well ask whether Christianity did not become an exceedingly powerful force in Ephesus when we realized that the dabblers in magical arts must have burned more than half a million dollars worth of their books, that the shrinemaking trade caused a riot, and that Diana worship was destroyed.<sup>95</sup>

Luke's account of the apostle's experience in this city is graphic and bears the evidences of an eyewitness. "The majority knew not why they were come together."<sup>96</sup> The Jews were afraid of the fury turning on them, and made Alexander, a bronze worker, their spokesman. However his efforts against the Gospel were in vain for as soon as the mob knew that he was a Jew they "howled him down" for two hours. Thereupon the town clerk quieted them all telling them calmly that none was ignorant of the greatness of Ephesus, that the Christians were not breaking the law, that there was a proper place for such matters to be discussed, and that if the crowd did not disperse they might be charged with rioting.

Paul set out for Troas intending to go to Macedonia,<sup>97</sup> where "a door was opened to him." But distracted by bad

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95 Acts 19:

98 Acts 20:1.

96 Acts 19:32 (Raymouth)

97 See Chapter II

news from Corinth, he was prevented from proceeding thither. He then took seriously sick. On his recovery, he crossed to Macedonia to meet Titus from Corinth. Thence they traveled on to Philippi and Thessalonica.<sup>99</sup> Paul was still being troubled when in Macedonia.<sup>100</sup> Nevertheless, Luke tells that he made a missionary tour "through those parts," and preached in new places.<sup>101</sup> A few months later Paul carried the gospel from Jerusalem in the East to Illyricum in the West - the modern Yugoslavia. It is not implied that he entered this country; but he must have come close to it, making a brief tour of the Ignatian Road as far as Illyricum.<sup>102</sup> Probably about the close of 56 A.D. he went south into Hellas, that is, into ancient Greece.<sup>103</sup> This tour of three months duration in Greece ended when the sea opened to navigation in February 57 A.D., and thus ended the third great missionary journey of the apostle Paul.

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<sup>99</sup> II Cor. 1:8-9.

<sup>100</sup> II Cor. 7:5.

<sup>101</sup> Acts 20:2.

<sup>102</sup> Romans 15:19.

<sup>103</sup> Acts 20:2.



## CHAPTER II.

### PAUL'S LITERARY WORKS

If on his missionary journeys Paul carried the Gospel to much of the world of his day, the letters that he left have influenced an incalculably greater number of men and women. It is often said that these epistles are ordinary letters, but this is hardly true. Some such as Deissmann say that in style and content the letters differ from the homely Papyrian leaves only in that they are the letters of Paul.<sup>1</sup> But just here is the difference ! It is enough to say that the Apostle Paul was the penman of the Holy Ghost.

The Thessalonian Letters. As noted previously the epistles to the Thessalonians were written from Corinth.<sup>2</sup> Most critics agree that these letters are the work of Paul.

The First Letter is not extensively quoted by the early church fathers yet there is sufficient external evidence to establish its canonicity. The Muratorian Canon contains it and Irenaeus and others quote from it.

The internal evidence is indisputable. The letter claims to be Paul's<sup>3</sup> and the character of Paul is impressed on it. For instance, the writer shows his earnest desire, even anxiety, for their spiritual good;<sup>4</sup> he displays a tender-

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1 See Appendix II.

3 I Thess. 1:1; 2:8.

2 See Chapter I.

4 I Thess. 3:1-2, 8-10.

ness which is almost womanly;<sup>5</sup> he shows his joy in them;<sup>6</sup> and he gives evidence of wide sympathies.<sup>7</sup>

Some object that the letter is devoid of doctrinal statements and therefore it cannot be Paul's. But it must be remembered that the main object in writing was practical rather than doctrinal. Pauline doctrine, however, is very much implied in all the practical teaching of the epistle. Of doctrine explicitly expressed, it must be noted that the letter is by no means lacking. It speaks of the Second Advent; Jesus is called Lord no less than 25 times, and in that title there is allusion to the fact of the saving efficacy of Christ's death and to His resurrection;<sup>8</sup> there is the assurance of the glorified life beyond.<sup>9</sup>

The immediate occasion of writing the epistle was the coming of Timothy and Silas bringing a full account of the Thessalonians to Paul in Corinth.<sup>10</sup> Paul had been anxious to hear how the Thessalonians were doing. Twice he attempted to visit them but Satan hindered him.<sup>11</sup>

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5 I Thess. 2:7.

9 I Thess 4:14,17; 5:10.

6 I Thess. 3:6-7.

10 Acts 18:5; I Thess. 3:6

7 I Thess 4:13-18

11 I Thess. 2:18

8 I Thess 1:10; 4:14; 5:9-10.

The report was, on the whole, satisfactory. The believers had continued steadfast<sup>12</sup> and so they were examples of the faith to all.<sup>13</sup> But there was some not-so-pleasing information. The heathen social life,<sup>14</sup> and worldly popularity had still an attraction. False views of the Second Advent had produced idleness in some;<sup>15</sup> and disorder and contempt of authority had appeared among others.<sup>16</sup> Some had died: and the idea prevailed that these could not share in the Rapture. The opponents of the apostles, moreover, misrepresented Paul's motives in preaching at Thessalonica and false teachers broadcasted their heresies to thwart Paul's work. So phrases are found especially in the second chapter of the epistle, reflecting these problems. Paul, repudiating the base insinuations of his accusers, commands the converts to abandon their vices, and consoles them in the loss of friends.

The eschatological teaching of these two epistles is that the Second Advent is the climax of human history. But in neither epistle does Paul profess to give a complete description of the event. He selects only those points having

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12 I Thess. 3:6-7.

15 I Thess. 4:11.

13 I Thess. 1:7.

16 I Thess. 5: 12-14

14 I Thess 4:1-6 .

a bearing on the difficulties under discussion. The first epistle answers the question "What part will the deceased Christians take in the Advent?" The second epistle stills the hysterical unrest with the assurance that the event is not imminent. If the statements of the two letters have few points of contact, it is because they deal with entirely different aspects of this subject. He seeks to show that what he is saying is no dream of his own mind.<sup>17</sup> He refuses to predict times and seasons, but rather he shows that he himself and his readers are part of the Church of the future.<sup>18</sup> The church lives on through the ages and partakes of a divine unity.<sup>19</sup> In several of Paul's other epistles the apostle identifies himself with those whom God shall raise from the dead.<sup>20</sup> Some are of the opinion that Paul changed his eschatological views; but this can only be true, since they are the same in Thessalonians as in Corinthians.

The date of First Thessalonians can be fixed with a fair degree of certainty. The epistle was not written at Athens. It should be noted here that the post scripts in the Authorised Version are similar to the headings of the

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<sup>17</sup> I Thess. 4:15.

<sup>19</sup> I Thess. 5:10

<sup>18</sup> I Thess 5:1-2; 4:14-18.

<sup>20</sup> II Cor. 4:14; I Cor. 6:14.

chapters, in that they are not in the original text. Timothy and Silas were summoned to Athens to meet Paul, but we do not know that they ever reached that city.<sup>21</sup> We do know that they did come to Thessalonica and that Paul eventually received their report at Corinth concerning the Thessalonian church.<sup>22</sup> The present letter was written then, possibly in the year 52 A. D., without doubt from Corinth. The second epistle was written soon afterwards.

The external testimony in favor of the second epistle's being written by Paul is more positive than that has to do with the first letter. There is little question of Polycarp's use of the second letter. Justin Martyr in 145 A.D. gives evidence of having had it. Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and an unbroken line of witnesses are in favor of Paul as the author. The letter had a place in the Muratorian Canon and in this connection there seems to be no opposition registered at all.

The internal evidence is also strong in favor of the Pauline authorship. The character of Paul is stamped on the writing. This seems evident in the lively interest, sympathy, and praise expressed for the converts. He mentions

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<sup>21</sup> Acts 17:15-16.

<sup>22</sup> I Thess. 3:2; Acts 18:5.

himself to the converts and desires their prayers. Both at the beginning and at the end of the second epistle are definite claims to Pauline authorship.<sup>23</sup>

There would appear to be, at first sight, some difficulty in reconciling the eschatological teaching here with that of our Lord in the Gospels. The parable of the talents contain these words, "After a long time the Lord of those servants cometh."<sup>24</sup> This statement would seem to oppose the idea of His early return.

It is not known how these people in Thessalonica got the idea of His early return: we can only guess at the answer. They may have misinterpreted something Paul said. The epistle hints that someone may have sent a letter in the name of Paul, and that to guard against such forgeries Paul signed his own letters.<sup>25</sup> Some believed so strongly in an early advent that they even stopped working. In the second letter Paul condemns this attitude. In so doing he teaches that there must first be a "falling away," and that the "Man of Sin" must be revealed. He also states that those who do not work should not eat.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> II Thess. 3:1-7.

<sup>24</sup> Matt. 25:19.

<sup>25</sup> II Thess. 2:2; 3:7.

<sup>26</sup> II Thess. 2:3-3; 3:8-15.

A passage, in the second chapter of II Thessalonians, known as "The Little Apocalypse," is the most important one in the epistle; it seems also to be the most difficult one.<sup>27</sup> One verse in the passage (v.5), thought to be an echo of teaching already given by word of mouth by Paul seems fragmentary and obscure to us today. However, the readers, to whom the letter was sent must have had clues now non-extant, as to the meaning. There has been much diversity of opinion as to the interpretation of this little apocalypse. The essential meaning would appear to be that, although at present the power of evil is under restraint, before the advent of the Lord it will be unchained and it will have its final and most awful manifestation. But when the Lord Jesus comes, His breath will slay the Evil One. This defier of God, or Anti-Christ, is certain to arise.

Some interpreters, Warfield for instance, think that the Emperor worship of the times of the early church fulfilled this. By 41 A.D. the Emperor Caligula had tried to set up a statue of himself in the temple in Jerusalem. Other scholars insist that the Roman Catholic church, which is more political than spiritual, and which in many respects is the descendant of the ancient Roman Empire, is the fulfillment.

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<sup>27</sup> II Thess. 2:3-8

In support of this, they point to the blasphemous claims made by, and for, the Pope. Still others say that the meaning refers to Anti-Christian Judaism coming to a head in a false Messiah.

It is best, perhaps, to understand the passage in a general way. The Man of Sin has an immediate, a continuing, and a future significance. An immediate interpretation is warranted because Nero in the early days of Christianity tried to destroy the new religion. A continuing significance is justified because anti-Christ's have kept appearing in persons and systems, the climax to be the appearance of the Anti-Christ.

The Corinthian Letters. From the two letters to the Corinthians it may be reasonably asserted that other letters passed between Paul and the church at Corinth. A careful scrutiny of the two epistles seems to warrant certain assumptions.

First, there must have been a pre-Corinthian letter. Paul speaks of having previously urged them to refrain from fornicators company.<sup>28</sup>

Secondly, the Corinthians must have sent a letter to Paul seeking advice on the marriage problem.<sup>29</sup> Paul

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<sup>28</sup> I Cor. 5:9.

<sup>29</sup> I Cor. 7:1.



hints at this problem in the answers he furnishes in the seventh chapter of the first letter.<sup>30</sup> The letter apparently came to Paul at Ephesus.

Thirdly there is First Corinthians. The reports and the letter from Corinth showed Paul that the Corinthians needed help, therefore he wrote this letter to them. He did so at the close of his three years stay at Ephesus, that is in 56 A.D.

Fourthly, there is evidence that Paul sent the Corinthians a letter of severe rebuke.<sup>31</sup> This letter was sent possibly with Titus from Ephesus.<sup>32</sup>

Lastly, there is Second Corinthians. After Paul wrote the severe letter he left for Troas hoping to meet Titus. When Titus was not there Paul with a heavy heart went on to Macedonia. There Titus came with such a good report concerning the spiritual progress of the Corinthians that Paul's heart was filled with deep joy. As a result he wrote Second Corinthians as a letter of commendation.<sup>33</sup>

The canonicity of First Corinthians is so well attested to that there is no reason for questioning it. Clement

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<sup>30</sup> I Cor. 7:.

<sup>31</sup> II Cor 2:1-11; 7:8.

<sup>32</sup> II Cor. 8:6.

<sup>33</sup> II Cor 7:6-7.

of Rome, in 96 A.D., quotes the letter as Paul's. So likewise do Ignatius, Polycarp, Clement of Alexandria, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and others, from the last decade of the first century.

The internal witness is equally strong, for Paul reveals himself in every paragraph. The language and thoughts all clearly indicate his authorship.

The Corinthian church was a church richly endowed with spiritual gifts; yet it was a church that worried Paul with a variety of problems. These included: factions within the church, the sin of uncleanness being regarded with indifference, assemblies often confused, several prophesying at once, excess of eating and drinking at the Lord's table, parade of liberty by some Christians at heathen banquets, abuses of worship, and denial of the resurrection.<sup>34</sup> More than any other writing, this epistle refutes the notion that the Apostolic churches were models to be followed in all regards. If Galatians shows the new spiritual life in conflict with Jewish tradition, First Corinthians presents the same life in conflict with heathen license.

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<sup>34</sup> I Cor. 1:5-7; 5:.

After the introduction Paul deals with the divisions in the church of Corinth. There are factions for Paul, Peter, Apollos, and Christ. Paul tells them that all Christians are Christ's and that Christ is not divided; that Paul, Peter, and the others are only servants.<sup>35</sup> The apostle pleads for true unity of the Church. The last chapter of the epistle contains directions for the collection, plans for the future, and greetings from the brethren.

This last chapter of the letter ends with the words, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus, let him be accursed,.." and then "The Lord cometh" *μαρὰν ἀθά* Aramaic *ܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ*. This may have been a kind of watchword used amongst Christians and was a great, impressive expression, being a final summons to devoted love to the Lord. Paul's last word in the letter is "My love to all."

Paul in this epistle is both tender and severe. Nowhere does this great mind shine to greater advantage than in some of these soul-stirring passages.<sup>36</sup>

Chapter 11 records the apostle's instruction regarding the practice of the Lord's Supper. At Corinth the

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<sup>35</sup> I Cor. 3:21-22.

<sup>36</sup> I Cor. 11:; 15.

Supper seems to have been celebrated at the close of the "Love Feast." Believers met in a house and after a common meal came the Lord's Supper.

This love feast gave rise to grave abuses. Paul says, "While giving you these instructions I cannot commend you, because you are meeting together with bad, not good, results. In the first place there are divisions among you." Moffatt has, "I am told that cliques prevail and parties."<sup>37</sup> Weymouth reads "There are division among you and ...differences of opinion."<sup>38</sup> *σχίσματα* = divisions *αἰρέσεις* = heresies.

The church supper or love feast (later called the Agape) was similar to the suppers held by the guilds and friendly societies then very common among the Greeks. The origin of this custom for the Christians was a kind of large family meal in Jerusalem.<sup>39</sup> During the first century the supper may have become universal in the Church. It seems probable that by the beginning of the second century, the Lord's Supper was part of the Agape, but soon afterwards separation of the two took place. Justin, at the middle of the second century, makes it plain that the two by then were quite distinct. At the time Paul writes this

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<sup>37</sup> Moffatt's Translation. I Cor. 11:17-18

<sup>38</sup> Weymouth's Translation. I Cor. 11:17-18

<sup>39</sup> Acts 2:4-6

letter they are one.

The table at Corinth was supplied by each guest bringing contributions in kind, a practice not unknown at heathen parties. Therefore, there was an accentuation of social differences since the poor could bring little or nothing, while the rich could afford much. Fellowship suffered as a result. In time vulgarity crept in to the disgrace of the feast. Some would devour the food hungrily or drink to excess. The Lord was forgotten at His own table.

It is Paul's burden to bring the careless Corinthians to order. Patiently he instructs them. The fellowship of the believer with Christ and with fellow-believers is symbolized and sealed in the supper, as tokens of this, one loaf, and one cup are to be used.<sup>40</sup> If the Corinthians only realized the significance of the Supper surely such excesses, as are refuted among them, would be removed. Paul gives two directions: all the members of the church must gather; and to prevent hunger, food is to be eaten at home beforehand. In a final word the great apostle gives a brief exposition of the Supper in the Upper Room--no contrast could be more complete.

Turning to Second Corinthians it is to be noted

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<sup>40</sup> I Cor. 10:16.

that the external evidence for Paul's authorship seems well established. Irenaeus, Diognetus, Ignatius, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, all in the second century, quote it as Paul's.

The internal evidence is also strong. The letter claims to be Paul's and confirms it. In reading both Corinthian epistles one catches the same stylistic characteristics. There is, too, the same blending of severity and tenderness in each.<sup>41</sup>

Some scholars think that Second Corinthians is not one letter but a group of letters. One section is thought to be the Pre-Corinthian letter,<sup>42</sup> while it is held that the four chapters of the epistle comprise the "Severe Letter."<sup>43</sup> Some even separate chapters 8 and 9 into two or more letters. However such feats of division need to be carefully examined.

Many a modern letter has transitions as equally abrupt as those of the different sections in this Corinthian epistle. It is true that these parts of Second Corinthians mentioned are like what the lost letters may have been

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<sup>41</sup> II Cor. 13:2, 2:4.

<sup>42</sup> II Cor 6:14 through 7:1.

<sup>43</sup> II Cor. 10: , 13:

but one must not be rash in reaching conclusions. It need not be assumed that Paul treated only once such matters as fornication and the other Corinthians problems.

It is said that these last four chapters, submitted by some as the "Severe Letter," are so different in tone from the first nine chapters, that they can hardly belong to the same letter. Part of the argument advanced in favor of the view just noted, is as follows. Because Paul concludes an appeal for money by praising the Corinthians,<sup>44</sup> it is asserted that the apostle could not have written thus unless the trouble in Corinth had passed and his own personal authority had been restored. Yet, say the exponents of this theory, the apostle in the last four chapters of the epistle is severe in his denunciations about false prophets. Would he be likely to write in both strains, joy and severity, in the same letter?

Such arguments are insipid. The crisis in the Corinthian church had passed but there was a danger of it recurring. Paul's enemies might still plot against him, so there was an immediate need for stern words. In any case Paul is obviously severe also in the first nine chapters.

It is true that it is not always easy to follow Paul's train of thought from section to section; but we

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<sup>44</sup> II Cor. 9:

are not thereby to assume that the epistle is a compilation of different letters. It is characteristic of Paul's mind that it moves rapidly from subject to subject. The crisis of false teaching was over but Paul harps back to it from time to time to warn against it. Assuming that Second Corinthians is a unit we thereby are given psychological insight into the workings of Paul's mind. Those who divide the document into different letters lack external evidence and manuscripts; it is significant that none of the Fathers, support their theory.

The content of the second epistle is significant. The first nine chapters of the letter give the reflections of Paul's mind on the distressing experience of knowing the Corinthian Christians had prostituted their religion. Paul says that he lacked friends and even despaired of his life. At the same time he rejoices in his greater reliance on God. <sup>45</sup>

There are those who charge Paul with lack of credentials of apostleship but he claims he possesses one thing that can give authority; that is the call of God, obeyed, and with results in the lives of men and women.

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<sup>45</sup> II Cor. 4:8-10



There are many examples of the grace of God, men and women who are Paul's spiritual children, and such moral miracles in a cesspool of iniquity like Corinth are proof of his ambassadorship.<sup>46</sup>

This letter with its swift changes of subject and its paralleling swift changes of mood in Paul, is a human document, it is a window into the very emotions of Paul's heart. It is the adjudicated self-defense of a wounded soul, and contains some of the deepest verses that Paul wrote.<sup>47</sup>

The Roman Letter. Turning now from the Corinthian letters we find the book of Romans has gathered about it the strongest credentials for Paul's authorship. So far as external evidence is concerned the genuineness of Paul's penmanship is attested to by Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Clement of Alexandria, Tertulian, and fourteen other witnesses of reputation prior to the beginning of the third century.

The internal testimony of the letter has convinced even the most skeptical critics.

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<sup>46</sup> II Cor. 3:2-3; 5:20; 10-13

<sup>47</sup> II Cor. 3:18; 4:6; 5:14,19-21; 8:9 and 13:14.

Paul's mind had been set on going to Rome for some time before writing the letter. Luke records Paul as saying "I must see Rome."<sup>48</sup> Paul, however, was unable to visit the city until much later, so he decided to write the Christians a letter telling them what he considers to be the most important truths of the Christian faith. This is not merely to be just a formal letter. The epistle is the best evidence of Paul's consciousness of the phenomenal opportunity of the occasion. Paul wanted the Romans in the Imperial city well-grounded in the fundamentals of the faith, and so he writes from Corinth. Paul reached Rome eventually but he did so as a prisoner.

Because of the conditions to which Paul addressed himself, the epistle to the Romans turned out to be the richest legacy left us by the early church. Phoebe, the bearer of Paul's message to the Roman Christians, carried under her cloak the whole future of Christianity.<sup>49</sup>

The epistle itself makes fairly clear the destination, place, and time of writing of Romans. Paul near the beginning tells of his wish to go to Rome, yet he feels it necessary to go to Jerusalem.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Acts 19:21.

<sup>49</sup> Romans 16:27

<sup>50</sup> Romans 1:1-15; 15:14-33.

We date the Epistle to the Romans early in the year 57 A.D., written at Corinth, on Paul's Third Missionary Journey. Evidence for this is found in Romans the sixteenth chapter, where Paul commends Phebe, of the seaport of Corinth, and greetings are sent from Timotheus and Sosipater, who had accompanied him when he left Corinth to go to Jerusalem.<sup>51</sup> Gaius, who was baptized in Corinth,<sup>52</sup> sends greetings, as does Erastus the treasurer.<sup>53</sup> These notices will not fit Paul's visit to Corinth on the Second Missionary Journey, but they do fit exactly the Third Missionary Journey.

Some scholars think that chapter sixteen is not part of Romans but should be considered a letter of recommendation of Phebe, written from Corinth to Ephesus rather than to Rome. Because the chapter contains an unusually large number of salutations, these scholars ask how Paul could know so many people in Rome when he had never been there.

When it is remembered that there was much travel in the first century this objection need not seem insurmountable. Rome was a commercial center and many of Paul's friends may

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<sup>51</sup> Romans 16:1, 21; Acts. 20:4.

<sup>52</sup> Romans 16: 23; I Cor. 1:14.

<sup>53</sup> Romans 16:23; II Tim. 4:20.

have been in the city when he wrote the letter. It would be only natural for him to make the most of friends when writing to a strange church.

Four reasons are advanced to support the idea that chapter sixteen is addressed to Ephesus: (1) greetings to Priscilla and Aquila,<sup>54</sup> because they were supposedly in Ephesus; (2) the reference to Epaenetus, first fruits of Asia, not Achaia,<sup>55</sup> because he was apparently in Asia; (3) that Paul knew so many Christians in Rome is unlikely since he never visited the city previous to this; (4) the special description he attaches to so many of the persons mentioned in chapter sixteen indicates an intimate acquaintance with the people.

None of the objections, however, is insurmountable. It is possible that Paul knew many christians in different parts; further, some of his well-known friends were in Rome. For example he speaks of three noble women, and one Rufus, and his mother are mentioned.<sup>56</sup> The truth is that not enough is known about Paul and his friends to say that it was impossible for him to have had so many friends in

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<sup>54</sup> Romans 16:3.

<sup>55</sup> Romans 16:5 compare with I Cor. 16:15.

<sup>56</sup> Romans 16:12-13.

a place he had never seen.

Regarding the supposed presence of Priscilla and Aquila in Ephesus they had gone from Corinth to Ephesus on Paul's Second Missionary Journey. Moreover, when Paul wrote to Corinth these two were still at Ephesus.<sup>57</sup> Now here in Rome Paul sends greetings to them and to the church in their houses. It is said that it is highly improbable that in one year or so, between the writing of First Corinthians and Romans, Priscilla and Aquila should have left Ephesus, reached Rome, and established a church in their house. It may seem improbable but surely it is not impossible. Evidently they were travelers; for they had journeyed from Rome to Corinth and then on to Ephesus. It would not have been unreasonable to go back to Rome after the edict of the Emperor Claudius. This edict ordered the Jews out of Rome. Surely there must have been a strong desire in Priscilla and Aquila to revisit their home and the place of their citizenship when the way was clear. Further, Paul mentions that they had risked their lives for him.<sup>58</sup> It is almost certain he means in Ephesus, perhaps at the time of the riot.<sup>59</sup> The danger then in Ephesus, would be

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<sup>57</sup> Acts 18:18-26., I Cor. 16:19.

<sup>58</sup> Romans 16:4.

<sup>59</sup> See Chapter I.

a strong reason for quitting the city for a while at least, and it would be an opportune time to visit Rome. Thus it is quite possible for Priscilla and Aquila to have been in the Imperial city when Paul wrote the epistle to the Romans.

Paul calls Priscilla and Aquila fellow-workers in Christ.<sup>60</sup> There is no reason why he should allude thus to them when writing to Ephesus, where the christians already knew that both of these were associated with the work of the gospel. But in writing to the Romans, a church as yet not visited by Paul, he calls Priscilla and Aquila friends, and fellow-workers, thus he recommends himself to the church at Rome and also seeks to establish rapport between it and the church at Ephesus.

Regarding the objection to Romans sixteen being included in this epistle because of the mention of Epaenetus in verse five, it is to be observed that Epaenetus was from the province of Asia but the verse does not necessarily mean he was in Asia; he may have gone to Rome.

In answer to the third and fourth reasons in support of Ephesus as the destination of Romans chapter sixteen, these facts need to be noted. First, of the twenty-six christians that designated, two are unnamed, and no less

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<sup>60</sup> Romans 16:3.

than fourteen bear names found in the inscriptions of the tombs of Caesar's household, who were contemporaries of Paul. Urbane, Rufus, Tryphena, and others had been saints possibly of Caesar's household in Philippi and were now in Rome. Secondly, of these twenty-six, not more than twelve were known to Paul personally. Thirdly, when it is remembered that Paul heard concerning the Roman christians from Priscilla and Aquila, much doubt on the matter of Paul's knowledge of the church at Rome is removed.

The origin of the church at Rome cannot now be discovered. The Roman Catholics claim Peter founded it in the second year of Claudius in 42 A.D., and that he presided over it for 25 years. The claim is utterly unfounded.

Several facts oppose it. For instance, the Roman letter says not one word about Peter. If the Roman Catholic claim were true, Paul would surely have mentioned Peter. Again, why should Paul write if Peter were in Rome at the time? Peter may have visited Rome but even this is not certain from the New Testament. Not once anywhere does Paul refer to Peter's being in Rome.

The gospel did reach Rome at an early date, and we may think of Peter as the indirect founder of the church there. At Pentecost Peter was the preacher, and "strangers

of Rome, <sup>61</sup> converted there, carried the gospel to Rome.

Turning now to the divisional content of Romans, we note that the first division of the book (Chaps. 1-8) deals with Justification, Sanctification, and Glorification. Here is Paul's fullest and most systematic exposition of the central doctrines of the church. Here he lays primary emphasis on Justification by faith. In the second division, (Chaps. 9-11), the apostle treats the problem of the Jew. Israel the elect race was rejected; and now the Gospel is become universal. The third division of the epistle comprises chapters twelve to sixteen inclusive. Although it deals with practical phases of christian living this third section contains some of Paul's richest spiritual experiences.

The epistle is, in a real way, a systematic exposition of "my gospel."<sup>62</sup> It is an epistle of "grace abounding;" grace, far surpassing any force of evil. Paul was conscious that he and his fellow christians were living, in an order in which a full tide was flowing into their lives from the ocean of God's grace. Romans, the golden key to the Scriptures, is often referred to as the most profound composition written by man.

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<sup>61</sup> Acts 2:10.

<sup>62</sup> Romans 2:16; 5:



The Galatian Letter. Galatians is the earliest of Paul's epistles and it is interesting to see that it and the Roman letter are alike in doctrine but not in time of writing. It is hyper-criticism to say that both letters were written at the same time. If the internal evidence proves anything it proves they are of one mind and have one thought. Perhaps the most striking resemblance is found in the thought "we are crucified with Christ."<sup>63</sup> This idea springs straight out of one of his favorite and central thoughts, namely that the spiritual life of a child of God is nourished by communion. Paul's theme here is one of his first, and it goes right back to his conversion. Years elapsed between the writing of Galatians and Romans and we might say that Romans is the finished masterpiece while Galatians is the rough block.

It may safely be said that after the close of his first missionary journey, which occurred shortly before 50 A.D., Paul heard that there was a vehement effort to submit the converts in south Galatia to circumcision.<sup>64</sup> Wood says that the Jews who had driven Paul out off Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra were losing no time in counter-attacking, and that they enlisted the help of some Jewish

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<sup>63</sup> Gal. 2:20; 6:14; 3:27 compare to Romans 6:3-11.

<sup>64</sup> See Chapter I and Appendix I.

christians who denied Paul's apostleship.<sup>65</sup> Paul in hot indignation writes the letter which is unique in that it contains no word of praise.

After the opening salutation Paul sternly rebukes the Galatian converts for turning suddenly to a different "gospel."<sup>66</sup> They were migrating to a different spiritual climate. They were forsaking Christ. Their fanaticism for circumcision, in making it binding on Gentile converts was in effect a denial of Christ.<sup>67</sup>

The external evidence for the genuineness of the epistle is strong. Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Justin, the Muratorian Canon, all say it is Paul's.

Of all the Pauline letters this one is the most concise and vigorous, as Romans is the most systematic. It displays the apostle's powers of penetrating into the heart of things. Written in the heat of lofty emotions and under the stress of feeling, with utmost passion he teaches that if ever man is to be right with God it must be by faith.<sup>68</sup> His earnest insistence on the fruit of the Spirit, which to him proved his ideal of "practical holiness," was rather strengthened than weakened by his plea for faith as the mainspring of the Christian life.<sup>69</sup> The

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<sup>65</sup> Eleanor D. Wood, The Life Ministry of Paul the Apostle, (Chicago: The Pilgrim Press, 1912.) p.83-85

<sup>66</sup> Gal. 1:1-5. <sup>67</sup> Gal. 6:15;5:3-4. <sup>68</sup> Gal. 2:20.

<sup>69</sup> Gal. 5:22-23.

Spirit, as the source and foundation of holiness in the soul, is received, not by works, but by faith.<sup>70</sup> This Galatian letter marks an epoch in the life of Paul, for it holds the story of his spiritual emancipation.

The Prison Letters. Philippians, Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, known as the prison epistles were long taken for granted as having been written during the period while Paul was in prison in Rome.<sup>71</sup> In recent years, however, there has been an attempt to assign them either to Paul's prison experiences at Caesarea,<sup>72</sup> to a supposed imprisonment at Ephesus.<sup>73</sup>

The case for the Caesarean imprisonment is weak. The prison epistles do not seem to fit into the circumstances, for the apostles every movement at Caesarea was watched by the Jews; nor would they permit such preaching and freedom as was enjoyed during the Roman confinement.<sup>74</sup> Again, it seems unreasonable to suppose that the news of the different churches, as supplied in the prison epistles, would come via Caesarea rather than Rome. Also expectations of release from prison are more easily understood in regard to the imprisonment at Rome rather than at Caesarea.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Gal. 3:2.

<sup>73</sup> Acts. 19:

<sup>71</sup> Acts 28:30-31.

<sup>74</sup> Acts 28:30-31

<sup>72</sup> Acts 23:33; 26:32.

<sup>75</sup> Phil. 1:25; 2:23-24.

There are a few interesting arguments in favor of the claim that the prison epistles were written during Paul's imprisonment at Ephesus. One of these is that Ephesus is closer than Colosse and Philippi, than is Rome, and therefore the run-a-way slave could have reached Ephesus easily from Colosse. Another argument sometimes offered in defense of the Ephesian origin of the prison epistles is that there was a pretorian guard in Ephesus, so it might fit the conditions. Also all Paul's companions are known to have been with him at Ephesus. Then in the Philippian letter Paul sends greetings from Caesar's household and it is said the phrase "Caesar's household" could be applied to officials at Ephesus, but this is not decided, and the phrase most naturally points to Rome, and the Emperor's household.<sup>76</sup> Acts does not give any hint of an Ephesian imprisonment, and although Acts does not give all the details of Paul's travels it would be expected to mention such a big event as an imprisonment. The arguments in favor of Ephesus are not conclusive and they are not strong enough. Thus there is no serious questioning of the traditional view. Paul was imprisoned at Rome and the most natural place for the letters to be written was Rome.

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<sup>76</sup> Phil. 4:22

Here, he would have had freedom to compose the letters. The run-away slave could have easily gone to Rome to lose himself in the crowd. There would have been easy contact with Philippi, Colosse and Ephesus. Many friends who were in Ephesus with Paul may have been in Rome from time to time. Therefore it is concluded that the Roman theory is correct.

The two years of Paul's imprisonment in Rome may be dated about 59-61 A.D. These four prison letters were no doubt written between these two dates. Three letters, Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, were written at the same time and were carried to their destinations by the same person, Tychicus.<sup>77</sup> These three letters were written near the beginning of the imprisonment. There is nothing in any of them to hint the long imprisonment suggested by the series of events mentioned in Philippians.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, there is no expectation of release as there is in Philippians.<sup>79</sup> Thus the three letters, Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, were written in 59 or 60 A.D. The writing of Philippians is dated at 61 A.D., toward the close of the imprisonment.

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<sup>77</sup> Eph. 6:21; Col. 4:7

<sup>78</sup> Phil. 1:12-15; 2:25-30; 4:10.

<sup>79</sup> Phil. 1:25; 2:23-24.

The question as to whom the apostle had in mind when writing the Ephesian epistle calls for consideration. The words "in Ephesus," in the salutation,<sup>80</sup> are omitted by  $\zeta$ , B, the Chester Beattie Papyri, and Origen. We note that Origen witnesses to an earlier text than  $\zeta$  or B; he witnesses to a second century text. Origen adds a metaphysical expression to the salutation, "Saints who share the essence of the eternal." But if this suggests doubtful exegesis, it does indicate that the words "in Ephesus" were not in the text he had before him. Evidence in support of the words "in Ephesus" is weak. The reformer Beza suggests that Ephesians is a circular letter, intended to be passed to other churches, but written to Ephesus in the first instance.

It seems plausible that the true theory of the letter's destination must consider the following facts. On the one hand there is a very early variation in the reading of the salutation; on the other hand, there is the universal tradition of the early church that the destination was Ephesus and there is an absence of any rival claim. In constructing a likely theory it is useful to remember that in the book of Acts the city of Ephesus stood in closest

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<sup>80</sup> Eph 1:1.

possible relation to the province, and that Paul's work there, as it did in other capital cities may have stood for the province. It seems quite feasible that Paul addressed the epistle to the saints at Ephesus but designed it also for other churches, therefore the copies omitted the address "in Ephesus" but did not introduce others.

The Epistle to the Colossians was written about the same time as Ephesians, and each has in view something that was menacing the life of the church. Colossians is more warlike in tone; Ephesians is more constructive and positive.

The heresy which was threatening each was Gnosticism, in its initial phases. Gnostic philosophy belonged to Gentile Christianity, being a fusion of Oriental and Greek philosophy. It was natural that it should have its home in the province of Asia between the East and the West. True, many try to identify this heresy with the second century body of thought, but systems are not born in a day, and fully matured Gnosticism was no sudden growth, but was the development of ideas which were in the air for generations. Rudimentary forms of Gnosticism were disturbing the churches in Asia and in Colosse, where Judaistic elements were mingled with it as well.

These Gnostics taught that the Colossians should observe dates and moons, and that they were to avoid

certain foods as unclean.<sup>81</sup> They insisted that Christianity was only preliminary to this deeper and vaster philosophy of theirs. They claimed that their philosophy was indeed the completion of Christianity. Their disciples were supposed to be above the common herd of believers; they were the super men who knew.

The basic tenet of Gnosticism was the inherent and essential evil of matter. This presented the problem of the mode of creation and the relation of God to the world. If the world be God's direct creation out of nothing, then God is the author of Evil. On the other hand, if God be perfect goodness and purity it is impossible for Him to have contact with impure matter. How could this gulf be bridged? The Gnostics answered the problem with their doctrine of a series of emanations. These were aeons who constituted a hierarchy of mysterious shadowy beings or entities, each rising rank upon rank to the throne of God.

Paul combats this philosophy by stating more fully the true doctrine of Christ as one mediator in Whom all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt.<sup>82</sup> The poison of the

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<sup>81</sup> Col. 2:16.

<sup>82</sup> Col. 2:9.



heresy lay in its dualism which wrought mischief both theologically and ethically.

Theologically the false ideas struck at the very foundation of faith, since there could be no incarnation if matter were essentially evil. Christ could not have been embodied in flesh; He could be only an angelic aeon. This particular phase of Gnosticism was already prevalent in Paul's day; it was developed later by Cirenthis. The ethical consequences of this teaching must have been most disturbing to Paul. The mischief stemmed from the dualistic presupposition of the theory. The argument being that since matter and spirit occupied distinct domains, the things of sense were far removed from the things of the spirit. Man could thus be free to indulge his carnal appetites; his spirit would remain untarnished.

This doctrine was already evident in the Corinthian church, and was there reprovved by Paul.<sup>83</sup> Bearing these facts in mind one can understand Paul's strong appeal to the churches at Ephesus and Colosse for consecration of the body to the Lord.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> I Cor. 6:

<sup>84</sup> Eph. 4:; Col. 3:

This same perverse theory bore an unlooked for result; some of the christians began to inhibit normal bodily urges by resorting to a life of asceticism, believing that since the body was evil, it must be punished.<sup>85</sup>

Too many, however, embraced the license which the teaching implied, and lived in wantonness. The words of Paul laden with sorrow were probably written with this kind of licentiousness in mind, "For many walk...whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is their shame, who mind earthly things."<sup>86</sup>

Few other books of the New Testament have stronger external witness to their authenticity than has Ephesians. Clement of Rome ( 96 A.D.) and the epistle of Barnabas ( 107 A.D. ) presents such coincidence of language as to show their use of Ephesians. Ignatius ( 110 A.D. ) in his, "Letter to the Ephesians" has a passage which reads like an allusion to certain words in Paul's epistle, thereby implying that Ignatius believed the letter to have been written to the Ephesians. The external witness also includes the Muratorian Canon, Irenaeus, Tertullian and

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<sup>85</sup> Col. 12:

<sup>86</sup> Phil. 3:18-19.

Clement of Alexandria.

Concerning the authorship of Ephesians, internal evidence reveals it as Paul's. It has typical Pauline expressions such as, "the exceeding greatness of his power," and "the exceeding riches of his grace."<sup>87</sup>

But it is argued, there is a style in this epistle unlike that of Paul's. Moffat, for example, suggests that Paul always writes in a cascade of language while Ephesians is a slow bright stream which "brims" its banks, and that there are here some long sentences with entangled clauses.<sup>88</sup> But surely the nature of the content needs to be considered. For instances, the first three chapters of Ephesians is almost a prayer. Paul is not here the father, nor the fiery combatant; here he is contemplating the mystery of God's purpose for the World, and the style befits his high mood of contemplation.

Coming to the Colossian letter we note that here too external evidence of its canonicity is strong. Witnesses to it include Clement of Rome, Ignatius, the Muratorian Canon, Clement of Alexandria, Tertulian, and Irenaeus.

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<sup>87</sup> Eph. 1:19; 2:7.

<sup>88</sup> James Moffatt, Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.) pp. 385-389.

Internal evidence here is weighty; for the epistle claims to be Paul's. Marks of Paul's temperament, moreover, are here also, as for example his anxiety for the Colossian christian's growth in grace, his gratitude for their response to the gospel, his earnest desire for their spiritual fruitfulness, and his request for prayers in his behalf.<sup>89</sup>

There are some who feel that the language, style, and content are hardly in the Pauline tradition. They assert too that the letter combats the Gnostic heresy, which had not arisen until after Paul's day. To counter this last statement, it could be advanced that already some Gnostic influences were seeping into the Colossian church.

Others object to the Pauline authorship because of the large number of "hapax legomena." But the peculiar object of the epistle called many of these words into use by Paul, since he was combating a peculiar heresy. It is noteworthy that not until the fourth decade of the last century was the epistle called in question. Even Renān supports Paul as its author.

There are similarities between the Ephesian and

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<sup>89</sup> Col. 1:1; 4:18; Col 1:9-11; 2:5; 1:3-5.

Colossian epistles in the doctrinal and practical sections of each. These likenesses indicate that both were written at the time when Paul was reflecting upon "the body of Christ." It must be said, however, that Ephesians is not a mere expansion of Colossians. The two epistles are similar and yet they are distinct.

They are distinct in design and doctrinal treatment. Colossians is polemical, aiming at the refutation of heresy, while Ephesians is dogmatic and serves to establish the truth. One is special, and deals with the errors of rudimentary Gnosticism; the other is general, and is designed for edification. Colossians is an apology, while Ephesians is an exposition of grace. The central idea of Colossians is "Christ the head" from whom the body derives nourishment, while in Ephesians the theme is "Christ the fulness." The two epistles are in accord with one another, the second being suggested by the first.

Of the founding of the church at Ephesus there is ample information in Acts; but of the founding of the church at Colosse we are left to conjecture. Colosse was at one time an important city; Heroditus and Xenophon mention it. But Hierapolis and Laodicea, neighboring cities, had outstripped it in the race for supremacy. By the time of the

apostles, therefore, Colosse had lost much of its glory.<sup>90</sup> The city was in the province of Phrygia in the valley of the Lycus river, a tributary of the Meander river. Today the exact spot of Colosse is conjecture. Lightfoot says, "Not a single event in Christian history is connected with its name."<sup>91</sup> Earthquakes were very prevalent in the area and chalk deposits from the river have obliterated the ruins of the city. The church at Colosse was perhaps one of the very least of the churches, and yet the letter to it is one of the greatest. The church itself was not established by Paul.<sup>92</sup> On his second and third missionary journeys the apostle went north of Colosse and Laodicea and up till the time of writing this letter he had not visited the city. During his three years at Ephesus, however, he brought great blessing to the church there.<sup>93</sup> Epaphras, who founded the church at Colosse, very likely had been saved through Paul's ministry at Ephesus.<sup>94</sup> Epaphras, a Colossian himself, had been a fellow prisoner with Paul in Rome,<sup>95</sup> where he was held for two years.

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<sup>90</sup> Col. 4:13.

<sup>91</sup> J.B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon. (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1904) p. 68.

<sup>92</sup> Col. 2:1      <sup>93</sup> Acts 19:26.      <sup>94</sup> Col. 1:7.

<sup>95</sup> Acts 19:10; Col. 4:2; 1:7; 4:13.

He is credited with founding the churches at Laodicea and Hierapolis.

Considering the brevity and the nature of Paul's letter to Philemon it need not be surprising to learn that few quotations or references to it are found in early Christian writings. Since this is a short, personal letter there is little quotation of it in the early church fathers. The witnesses to its authenticity, however, include the Muratorian Canon, Syriac versions, 'old Latin version, Tertullian, and Marcion.

Origen introduces one verse (14) from this epistle in one of his homilies almost verbatim with these words, "what Paul said in his epistle to Philemon and about Onesimus." Two more verses (7 and 9) are similarly quoted in his commentary on Matthew.

In the fourth century Jerome said that some would not receive the letter as Paul's on the ground that it contained no admonition or edification, a lack which is the distinctive feature of the letter. In support of its genuineness Jerome himself and Chrysostom argue effectively for Paul's authorship. The latter says that such a letter ought to have been written about such homely matters. He voices regret that some biographer did not so record details of the lives of the apostles.

There are numerous commendations of the epistle. Calvin says, "while he (Paul) handles a subject otherwise low and mean, he rises to God with his wonted elevation."<sup>96</sup>

Bengel writes:

A familiar and exceedingly courteous epistle, concerning a private affair is inserted in the New Testament books, intended to afford a specimen of the highest wisdom as to how christians should manage civil affairs on loftier principles.<sup>97</sup>

An article in Hasting's Dictionary of the Apostolic Church points out that "Philemon illustrates the refining influence of christianity."<sup>98</sup> Paul, it may be assumed, was not without some roughness in his nature. Perhaps we have a hint of this when we read that he "outraged the church" or "made havoc of the church."<sup>99</sup> The verb *λυμαίνωμαι* is used of an army ravaging a country. In the LXX the word is used in the Psalms of a boar in a vineyard.<sup>100</sup> It is the glory of the Gospel that it refines, in the truest

<sup>96</sup> John Calvin, Commentaries on the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. (Michigan: W.M.B. Erdman, 1948.) p. 347.

<sup>97</sup> John A. Bengel, Gnomon of the New Testament. A New Translation. (New York: Sheldon and Company, 1862) p.566 Vol. III.

<sup>98</sup> James Hastings, Dictionary of the Apostolic Church. (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1918) p. 213, Vol. II.

<sup>99</sup> Acts 8:3.

<sup>100</sup> Ps. 80:13.



sense, a man's nature, making him a considerate and a courteous gentleman. Evidence of this fact is found in Paul's epistle to Philemon.

Onesimus had run away from his master at Colosse and had either robbed him or had in some way caused loss to him, (18) and Paul offers to make good this loss. Even in the Roman metropolis, whither slaves were wont to seek anonymity, Paul's gospel net caught Onesimus in its meshes. It is only conjecture how Paul found him. The meeting may have been accidental in the streets of Rome, or pressure of want may have induced the slave to seek help from one who was known in his master's family for his generosity. Perhaps the memory of some solemn words, which he had heard in the upper chamber at Colosse, haunted him in his loneliness until he sought Paul. At any rate through the apostle the slave of Philemon became the freeman of Christ.

Slaves were a class of degraded men. They owned no property; their very persons were not their own. They had no legal status, and were invariably tortured under examination. Often for the amusement of the on-lookers slaves were compelled to fight in the arena with gladiators and wild beasts. If the slaves multiplied they were slaughtered. Even in Greece indiscriminate and bloody slaughter of slaves was a pastime. On one occasion four hundred men and women were slaughtered by the senate

simply because a master had been killed by one of his household. There were some kinder masters in the ancient world and no doubt Philemon of Colosse was one of them. To be sure the Gospel at any rate made him a changed man. Paul must now face at first hand the question of slavery. But how? A frontal attack on slavery would have been unwise. Slavery was part of the warp and woof of the Roman Empire. It would have been foolish for one man to try to withstand it. Here is Paul's strategy. He instructs the slaves to recognize and be obedient to their masters. He is careful to avoid identifying the church with the revolt of slaves. At the same time Paul preaches the truth of universal Christian brotherhood. It is by the patient-preaching of this truth that the leaven of the Gospel is to destroy this evil.<sup>101</sup> When masters are regenerated by the Gospel they will voluntarily free their slaves. This approach goes to the root of the evil. It speaks to the heart of man and when the heart of the master is stirred by divine grace, and warmed by divine love, he can no longer hold his fellow-men in servility.

The result of the letter was to issue in a more enlightened conscience as to the treatment of slaves,

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<sup>101</sup> Col. 3:23-24.

a situation which was eventually to lead to the ultimate emancipation of all slaves held by Christian masters.

"Free Onesimus!" -- the words seem to tremble on Paul's lips, but Philemon must do the emancipating. Paul looks to the day when every Onesimus will be treated by every Philemon as a beloved brother. This letter is the "Divine Emancipation Act."

Philippians completes the number of the prison epistles. The external evidence for this letter is strong. Clement of Rome and Ignatius depend on it. The first direct reference to it occurs in Polycarp's letter to the Philippian church, in which he says, "For neither I nor another like me can attain to the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul; who coming among you taught... and wrote letters to you." *καὶ ἀπὸν ἑμὲν ἐγράψεν ἐπιστολὰς*. That Polycarp knew well this letter, is beyond doubt.<sup>102</sup>

The difficulty is to account for the plural usage in "letters," since there is only one Philippian letter in the New Testament Canon. Lightfoot says that the plural is used sometimes of a letter of importance, but others say that here the plural is a real plural.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*. (London MacMillan and Co, Ltd., 1927.) p. 138

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

Accordingly, some of the latter regard First and Second Thessalonians and Philippians as forming a Macedonian group. Tertullian and Zahn so regarded them, and probably Polycarp also.<sup>104</sup> Others explained the use of the plural by Polycarp by saying that it is not unlikely that many letters may now be lost which were probably sent to the Philippians.

Diognetus (117 A.D.), Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria quote from the Philippian epistle; the last three refer to it as Paul's.

The ideas and feelings of the epistle seem unquestionably Pauline, as for example the expression of intense devotion,<sup>105</sup> the strong affection, and his prayer for the spiritual welfare of the church.<sup>106</sup>

In view of the strength of the external and internal evidence few and weak have been the attacks on the canonicity of the epistle. The nature of the attacks suggest the extremity of hyper-criticism.

Questions have been raised regarding the unity of the letter. The third chapter begins, "Finally," as though

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<sup>104</sup> Theodor Zahn, Introduction to the New Testament. (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1953.) pp. 535-536, Vol. I.

<sup>105</sup> Phil. 1:20.

<sup>106</sup> Phil. 1:7-8; 4:1.

Paul were about to finish immediately.<sup>107</sup> Another passage is soon introduced however, which continues into the fourth chapter.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, it is pointed out that the passage beginning with the eighteenth verse of the third chapter differs in tone from the rest of the letters. It seems to refer to some danger (possibly that of false teachers), while the greater part of the epistle is sunny in atmosphere.

Two possible explanations are suggested. First, Paul was **interrupted** in the writing of the letter when he heard of some fresh interference of the Judaizing brethren; consequently, he voiced his fears for the Philippian converts. Second, it is suggested that this change of theme in the letter is a fragment of another epistle combined with this one when a collection of Paul's letters was being made. (N.B. Polycarp's "letters," above.)

In favor of the first suggestion certain facts are to be noted: (1) There is no manuscript authority to support the theory of a break at this point (3:1) in the epistle. (2) Those who suggest that there is a fragment of another letter inserted are not agreed as to

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<sup>107</sup> Phil. 3:1.

<sup>108</sup> Phil. 3:18-4:4.

where the interpolation ends.<sup>109</sup> (5) The epistle presents the impression of unity; it does not generally suggest a patch-work effect but rather a unity. Dods writes, "The fresh beginning and continuance of the letter, even in a different tone needs no further explanation than it finds in the ardour and rapidity of Paul's mind."<sup>110</sup> There would then seem to be no sound reason for breaking the epistle into two letters.

Paul was obliged to write to the Philippian church because it had need to put right some things. The apostle exhorts the people to unity in the face of pagans,<sup>111</sup> and he admonishes them to show the mind of Christ to one another.<sup>112</sup> It would appear that the parties in the Philippian church were not like those among the Corinthians. Here there was no division caused by false teachers and there was no moral laxity as in Corinth. But there were murmurings, and two women were causing friction.<sup>113</sup> This mention of the women in Philippians is remarkably in harmony with the account of the founding of the church at Philippi in Acts 16.

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<sup>109</sup> Some say Phil. 3:19; others chp. 4:1, and yet others chp. 4:3.

<sup>110</sup> Marcus Dods, An Introduction to the New Testament, (New York: Thomas Whittaker, Bible House, 1909) p. 132.

<sup>111</sup> Phil. 1:27-30;      <sup>112</sup> Phil. 2:3,5-14.

<sup>113</sup> Phil. 4:2.

Bengel says the sum of the epistle is, "I rejoice, rejoice ye."<sup>114</sup> The theme is the joy of the Christian and this pervades the whole letter. The ground of joy is the Lord, not circumstances.<sup>115</sup> Paul bids these believers realize the greatness of their heritage in Jesus. Philippi prided itself on being a Roman colony -- a miniature of the Imperial City on the Tiber.<sup>116</sup> In the epistle Paul reminds these Christians that "they are a colony of Heaven," and that they must observe the customs and laws of their true fatherland on high, not those of a corrupt world.<sup>117</sup> He draws a contrast between the traditions and laws of this colony of Rome and those of Heaven and has some things to say about the joy of waiting for the Savior from Glory. Surely, he writes, since christians are in fellowship with the glorified Lord, they ought to be joyful.<sup>118</sup>

The Pastoral Letters. There are three letters in the New Testament known as the pastoral epistles, two to Timothy and one to Titus. There are a few seeming discrepancies apparent in the chronology of the events

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<sup>114</sup> Bengel, Gnomon of the New Testament. (New York: Sheldon & Co., 1862.) p. 425, Vol. II.

<sup>115</sup> Phil 3:1; 4:4.      <sup>116</sup> Acts 16:20-21.

<sup>117</sup> Phil. 3:20, Moffat.

<sup>118</sup> Phil. 3:8

recorded in these letters, and these problems deserve our attention. Implied in First Timothy is the idea that Paul left Timothy in Ephesus to go to Macedonia, intending to return to Ephesus shortly. This Macedonian visit cannot be placed in the Third Missionary Journey because during that journey Timothy had gone to Macedonia before Paul left Ephesus.<sup>119</sup> A second instance is that in the Epistle to Titus, Paul has recently sailed from Crete from whence, it seems, he has Titus go to the Greek mainland to spend the winter. Again, it is difficult to find room in the Third missionary Journey for such a visit to Crete, since the only visit in Acts is the voyage to Rome, and at that time Paul did not land.<sup>120</sup> Other discrepancies appearing in Second Timothy are in regard to Paul's recent missionary work in the East; his imprisonment, in which he calmly faces martyrdom; and Trophimus, who on the Third Missionary Journey had accompanied Paul to Jerusalem, has now been left behind in Miletus. Here it is impossible to harmonize the epistle with the first imprisonment at Rome. The conclusion seems inevitable that Paul was acquitted on the first trial at Rome and was set free.<sup>121</sup>

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119 I Tim. 1:3; 3:14; Acts 19:22.

120 Titus 1:5; 3:12; Acts 27:7-13.

121 II Tim. 4:13-20; 7:8; Acts 21:29.



What evidence is there for Paul's release and for his seeing further missionary work? Mention is made of a Macedonian and Cretan visit in the Pastoral Epistles, and even if these letters should be proved to be the work of another writer than Paul, it witnesses to an early tradition in the apostolic church that Paul did revisit the Macedonian church and Crete. If the Pastoral Epistles did not exist and if it were left to independent speculation, the supposition of Paul's release would be more probable than the contrary.

Paul was expecting release when he wrote the Philippian letter. Since the Imperial authorities had not yet begun their persecution of the Christians no doubt Paul's appeal would have proved successful.<sup>122</sup> Roman tribunals were usually just and they would not condemn any man, and especially a Roman citizen, unless he were proved criminal. They had previously always been fair to Paul.

But by August of 64 A.D. persecution was not only in action; it was violent. It was then that the Emperor Nero, looking for a scapegoat to carry the stigma of his own misdeeds, caused a large part of Rome to burn up and

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<sup>122</sup> Phil. 1:25-26; 2:24; Phil. 22:

then blamed the Christians, who were of course without influential friends. Tradition holds that both Peter and Paul were martyred at Rome during Nero's reign. Eusebius (67 A.D.) and Jerome, (68 A.D.) seem to support this idea.<sup>123</sup> It appears highly probable, therefore, that Paul was executed between August 64 A.D. and 68 A.D. But the two years' imprisonment at Rome, mentioned at the end of Acts, will not carry his life beyond 61 or 62 A.D.<sup>124</sup> Thus it seems credible that Paul was released from the imprisonment mentioned at the end of Acts and that he engaged in further mission work.

Independent of the Pastoral Epistles, there was a tradition of Paul's release in the early church. Eusebius says that after Paul had made his defense in Rome the apostle went again to the ministry of preaching and that on his coming a second time to Rome he was martyred. Clement of Rome (96 A.D.) says regarding Paul, "Having taught the whole world righteousness and for that end having traveled even to the utmost bounds of the West, he at last suffered

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<sup>123</sup> The Hibbert Lectures, (London: Williams Norgate, 1880.) p. 90.

<sup>124</sup> See Prison Epistles above.

martyrdom." Since Clement was writing from Rome he surely must have known the facts of the case. "Utmost bounds of the West" can hardly mean Rome itself. If this be interpreted as the Atlantic coast it harmonizes with Paul's definite intention to visit Spain following his sojourn in Italy.<sup>125</sup> Lightfoot, Harnack, Ramsay, Zahn, and many others agree that Spain is intended.<sup>126</sup> There seems to be ample room, then, for the Pastoral Epistles in the life of Paul, though not in that part of his life recorded in the book of Acts.

When an attempt is made to reconstruct the story of Paul's closing years and his martyrdom, it seems plausible then that the apostle to the Gentiles was released from Rome and that he started soon after this on a missionary journey to Spain, when he was about sixty years of age. All the details of Paul's movements in the Pastoral Epistles seem to belong to the closing year of his life. After this trip to Spain he went to Macedonia, and to Crete where perhaps he found a church. He had intended spending the winter on the Greek mainland; perhaps he did before going again to Rome in the spring. At all events it is probable that it was in Rome that his arrest took place. There is

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<sup>125</sup> Romans 15:24.

<sup>126</sup> W.M. Ramsay, Saint Paul the Traveler and Roman Citizen. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904.) p. 255

another possibility less likely, that he was arrested at  
Troas.<sup>127</sup>

His second imprisonment left him, without mercy in the hands of Nero. Paul, like all other prominent Christians, was a marked man. Christianity was forbidden, Christians deserved death, and now there was "no safe place for Paul on earth." He seems to have been incarcerated in a miserable prison; and tradition says that he was beheaded about two miles outside the Ostian Gate -- which statements find some support from Clement of Rome and from History.

Paul in that damp dismal cell longs for his warm cloak.<sup>128</sup> This is one of those intimate touches which no forger would be likely to call to mind. Indeed, many scholars who object to Paul's authorship of the Pastoral Epistles admit these fragments as genuine. Who but Paul would stigmatize himself formerly as a "huckstering Bully," and "the chief of sinners?"<sup>129</sup> Renān says that some passages in the Epistles in question are so beautiful that the forger must have had some of Paul's notes.<sup>130</sup> Such an admission

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<sup>127</sup> II Tim. 4:7

<sup>128</sup> II Tim. 4:13:

<sup>129</sup> I Tim. 1:11-17; 5:23; II Tim 1:8-12; 2:1-15; Titus 2:11-14; 3:1-7,12.

<sup>130</sup> The Hibbert Lectures, (London: Williams Norgate, 1898.) p. 103.

ought to give pause to those sceptically inclined. It is impossible to break the Epistles into Pauline and non-Pauline sections. Nor is there any break in the unity within each of the three. That the writer was familiar with Paul's epistles seems perfectly clear. That he was quoting seems probable, but he could be quoting himself.<sup>131</sup>

There is a fair amount of external evidence to the canonicity of these epistles in the literature of the second century. In letters from the last quarter of the second century there are direct references to I Timothy (3:15 and 4:30), while in the Epistle of Clement of Rome there are echoes of I Timothy (2:8) and Titus (2:4-5). Ignatius also refers to First and Second Timothy. The word for "refresh" in II Timothy (1:16), found nowhere else in the New Testament, occurs twice in the writings of Ignatius. Polycarp, besides showing echoes of the Pastoral Epistles, has a distinct quotation from I Timothy (6:10): "That the love of money is the beginning of all evil." It must not be forgotten that in the Didache we find words characteristic of the Pastoral Epistles. In the Epistle of Diognetus we have a variety of quotation of a verse in I Timothy (3:16): "For which cause he sent forth the word, that he

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<sup>131</sup> II Tim. 2:21; I Tim. 5:18; I Cor. 9:9-14.

might appear unto the world..." After the middle of the second century these Pastoral Epistles were recognized as Paul's and were freely quoted as such. The external evidence, therefore, comes early and is abundant. It is remarkable that in an elaborate attack on the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles, Moffat makes little or no reference to this external evidence.<sup>132</sup>

R. J. Knowling, in referring to the internal evidence in support of Paul's authorship of this Epistle, says that the large number of personal names in them is very striking.<sup>133</sup> Many of the persons named are not met in Acts, or in other Pauline letters, and a man who was concocting a letter in the second century would have taken names that were known.

As to internal evidence for Paul's authorship four difficulties present themselves. The first has already been resolved, namely the historical situation cannot be fitted into the story in Acts. A second objection raised is that the epistles imply a church organization considerably in advance of the Pauline age. But in the

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<sup>132</sup> Cheyne and Black, Encyclopedia Biblica. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903.) Vol. IV. pp. 5079-5096.

<sup>133</sup> R. J. Knowling, The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.) p. 129-135.

light of these letters this objection seems unfounded. The truth is, we find in the Pastoral Epistles a precise characteristic of Paul's time, that is the plurality and equality of presbyters in each church. There is no trace whatever of an episcopacy, which is a much later development in church government. Paul addressing the presbyters calls them bishops when emphasizing their ruling functions.<sup>134</sup> Bishop and presbyter are two words for the same officer. Again, in writing to the Philippians he speaks of "bishops and deacons;" so that in Greece and Macedonia, as late as 60 A.D., there were two orders in the local ministry just as there were in Ephesus three years later.<sup>135</sup> Paul appointed presbyters to take charge of the local church;<sup>136</sup> yet the word "presbyter" never occurs outside the Pastoral Epistles, only the word "bishop," which means the same. We find the same inference in Clement of Rome, and also in the Didachē, in the early years of the second century. The first sign of a threefold order comes with Ignatius (115 A.D.). With characteristic dogmatism, and fanaticism, Ignatius insists that three orders are necessary to a church. Other references might be mention-

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<sup>134</sup> Acts 20:28.

<sup>135</sup> Phil. 1:1.

<sup>136</sup> Titus 1:5.

ed. But it seems to this writer that there is no reasonable doubt that the Pastoral Epistles are first century documents.

The third difficulty raised against the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles is that a more developed form of heresy is portrayed in them than was prevalent in Paul's time. It is said that these Epistles are the work of a combatant of Gnosticism of the second century. But is that the case? Just what is the nature of the heresy attacked here? The author has frequent allusions to teachings which he regards as a waste of time and dangerous to spiritual life, and often speaks of them as opposed to "healthy" doctrine.<sup>137</sup>

The false teachers were admirers of the Jewish Law, and they probably laid claim to special "knowledge" as opposed to the common herd of teachers.<sup>138</sup> Timothy is urged to turn away from their contradictions.

The heretical teachers also believed that matter was evil and on this belief they based a code of asceticism which forbade marriage, and certain foods.<sup>139</sup> But human nature is apt to express itself against any form of extreme aceticism (as was observed among the Colossian Christians)

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<sup>137</sup> II Tim. 2:23, 17; I Tim. 1:10; 6:3. <sup>139</sup> I Tim. 4:3.

<sup>138</sup> I Tim. 1:4-7; Titus 1:14; 3:9; I Tim. 6:20.



by outbursts of violent living and so some of these ascetics "creep into families and lay captive silly women burdened with sins and strange lusts."<sup>140</sup>

Another heretical doctrine was that the Resurrection was past.<sup>141</sup> This was based on the view that the body is wholly evil. If this were so, the personality of a man would be tainted and incapable of existing in the absolute perfection of Heaven. These people probably regarded the Resurrection as the Second Birth of the Spirit on Earth.

In all this there appears to be certain elements which seem to reappear in Gnosticism. But the condition described in the Pastoral Epistles would suggest a soil prepared for Gnosticism rather than a developed heresy. Indeed the conditions to which the Pastoral Epistles are addressed seem to have some of the characteristics of the situations in the Colossian church.

The apostle has no greater contrast than that between the complicated endless talk of these false teachers and the dignified simplicity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.<sup>142</sup> In opposition to this nonsense which occupied their minds

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<sup>140</sup> II Tim. 3:6.

<sup>141</sup> II Tim. 2:18.

<sup>142</sup> I Tim. 1:11.

to the exclusion of sound doctrine, Paul gives a simple statement of his creed, "God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory."<sup>143</sup>

The fourth difficulty with respect to Paul's authorship of the Pastoral Epistles has to do with vocabulary. The three letters are related by the use of a certain common vocabulary; for example, "godliness," and its cognates; "teaching," often used with sound, pure, good; and other distinctive words. On the other hand, some critics point to the large number of words peculiar to the three epistles. Though they contain many of Paul's favorite expressions, of the 897 different words used, 304 are not found elsewhere in Paul's writings; that is, one in three words.<sup>144</sup>

It should be remembered, however, that a man's private letters might be expected to employ their own peculiar vocabulary. It had, too, been five years since the Prison Epistles were written. The kind of theme being discussed

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<sup>143</sup> I Tim. 3:16

<sup>144</sup> J. A. Bengel, Glosson of the New Testament. (New York: Sheldon and Co., 1862.) p. 497, Vol. II.

would also warrant some departure from the norm. Be that as it may, there is danger in over-stressing this factor of vocabulary. Diction is but one phase of the whole.

The style in these epistles under consideration is less vigorous than that of Paul's previous letters. The writings to Timothy and Titus are of apostolic quality, yet the exuberant vigor and reserved strength of the earlier letters are missing. The explanation is very probably that Paul was rapidly approaching old age. The intensity of his life without doubt enacted heavy toll in his last few years. It should not require a stretch of the imagination to say that the Pastoral Epistles are the work of Paul the aged.

Summary. It would seem then that the evidence would lead us to believe that the epistles of Paul came early to hold a position of authority in the church. The apostle was the witness to and interpreter of Christian doctrine. Even those epistles originating in some passing or personal incident, acquired a peculiar value not only because of Paul's position of leadership in the Christian community, but also from recognizing that he spoke as the oracle of God.

In the apostolic fathers numerous traces of the use of Paul's epistles were noted. The only two direct

quotations from the New Testament found in the Fathers are taken from Paul's epistles. The first found in Clement of Rome is taken from Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians; and the Second, in Polycarp, is from the Epistle to the Philippians. In each case the epistle is mentioned by name as the writer addresses the same church as Paul did; and in each case the writer is confident that the readers will be well acquainted with Paul's epistles.

Although these are the only two direct quotations, evidence has been presented that these writers were familiar with the epistles. Clement of Rome uses Romans, I Corinthians, and Ephesians. Ignatius uses I Corinthians and Ephesians. Polycarp makes use of eight of Paul's epistles; Romans, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Ephesians, and I and II Timothy. Clement, in his letter to Corinth, gives a list of thirteen sins, eight of which occur in Romans (1:29-32), in the same order, and he adds a remark similar to Paul's.

These references, together with the others which were studied, testify to the fact that certain New Testament books were in existence at the beginning of the second century. But this evidence also suggests that church leaders of East and West and church people generally were well familiar with Paul's apostolic language. Attention must now be given to the content of that language.

## CHAPTER III

### SUBJECTS OF PAUL'S TEACHING

Just as the central theme of the Bible is the representation of Christ, so it is in all of Paul's teachings. One of the later epistles from his pen, Colossians, was written when he had been a Christian for thirty years. And in this epistle Christ is as central as He is in Paul's earlier writings. But how could it be otherwise? For surely never was a man's conversion experience more charged with the presence of Deity. Out of the excellent glory Jesus spoke to Paul. And now Paul had a problem with which to grapple during the three days of blindness and during the years in Arabia. Now he gives the answer to these perplexities, and that answer, he had from Christ Himself.

In the light of his new experience in Christ Paul had to re-think all his ideas on God, man, and the universe. As Galileo led men to a right perspective of the physical heavens, so Paul was to enlarge men's conception of the spiritual heavens.

Paul's teaching concerning the deity and lordship of Christ is very present in all his epistles. We recall that even in Galatians, written 48 or 49 A.D. and no doubt the earliest epistle, this great teacher begins by setting

Christ sharply over against men by bracketing Him with God, "Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father."<sup>1</sup> From the start then the apostle quietly affirms Jesus as divine; His lordship is accepted by him without question. Expression such as, "God sent forth his Son..." are to be found generally in the letters,<sup>2</sup> showing not only the fact of Christ's pre-existence but also that he shared in the essential nature of the Father.

In I Thessalonians, (52 A.D.) Paul, the monotheist who is very jealous of the rights of Jehovah, regards Jesus with God as the source of divine power. He with the Father is the source of peace, grace, and all other spiritual blessing. Further, the church of Thessalonica is in God and in Christ.<sup>3</sup> The Thessalonian Christians are in the Lord Jesus Christ as they are in the Father. Their life accomplished in Him. They are as one in peril and suffering with the far-flung churches in Judea, but they are all in Christ."<sup>4</sup>

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1 Gal. 1:1.

2 Gal. 4:4: Romans 8:3,32.

3 I Thess. 1:1.

4 I Thess. 2:14.

In this first short epistle to the Thessalonians Paul calls Jesus "Lord" more than twenty times. In all Paul's epistles the title "Lord" is used at least two hundred and fifty times, of which it occurs one hundred times in the expression "Lord Jesus." The term "Lord" in the New Testament epistles equates absolute deity. In the LXX Lord is the translation for Jehovah. When the New Testament quotes an Old Testament passage containing the word "Jehovah," the designation is frequently applied to Jesus.<sup>5</sup> Warfield says when Jesus is called Lord, "It is the definite ascription to Him of universal absolute dominion not only over men, but over the whole universe of created beings."<sup>6</sup>

Occasionally a verb number furnishes help in interpretation. For instance in I Thessalonians (3:11) we read, "Now God himself and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ direct our way to you." A key to understanding this verse is in the Greek verb, *κατεβύναι*, which is in the singular number. Hence, Christ is one with the Father in the prerogative of hearing and answering prayer. The

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<sup>5</sup> Romans 10:11-13; Is. 45:23; Romans 14:11; Phil. 2:10.

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin B. Warfield, The Lord of Glory. (New York: American Tract Society, 1946.) p 223.

same observation may be made regarding the use of the verb *ἀγαπήσας, δούς, παρακαλέσαι, στηρίξαι* . In II Thessalonians (2:16-17) "Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God even our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation...comfort your hearts and establish you..." Christ is placed first in this instance and is represented as equal to the Father as the source of love and wellbeing.

These are the early epistles. Between these and the later prison epistles stand Corinthians and Romans. I Corinthians sets forth God as the father of all nature and especially of the redeemed.<sup>7</sup> The eight chapter of II Corinthians (v.9) holds a meaningful concept. "Though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich." The advent of the Son of God in this world meant impoverishment--such as men can never quite understand. The pre-existent One, became poor in becoming man. An interesting commentary on these words comes in Philippians (2:6-11) where it is said that Christ existed originally "in the form of God."

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<sup>7</sup> I Cor 8:6



The word "form" (μορφή) denotes reality as well as appearance. Our Lord is revealed not only as He seemed to be but as He was in reality. The ninth chapter of Romans likewise speaks of Jesus as God: "Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever."<sup>8</sup> An attempt has been made to construe the last phrase of the quotation as a doxology. But sound exegesis surely requires that it be applied directly to Jesus. Thus the A.V. and the R.V. versions and others apply it. Had it not been for the historic controversy concerning the deity of Christ probably no other rendering of this verse would have been suggested. If a doxology were intended would it not be likely that the word "blessed" would stand as first word? In 30 places in the LXX, when a doxology is intended such an order occurs: that is, "blessed" stands first. Furthermore, a doxology here would be flat and pointless. If the words be taken as referring to Christ then there is a contrast between the human and divine and the passage flows smoothly. A similar contrast occurs in the first chapter of Romans.<sup>9</sup> Why should there be objection to

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<sup>8</sup> Romans 9:5.

<sup>9</sup> Romans 1:3-4.

Jesus as God in this verse in the ninth of Romans when in the following chapter, Paul definitely gives Jesus a place which Jehovah alone, according to the Old Testament text, has a right to occupy?<sup>10</sup> It is significant to note here the view of the German scholar Meyer who says that Paul never uses the expression Θεός<sup>11</sup> of Christ; "Surely he must have overlooked the fifth verse of Romans chapter nine."<sup>12</sup> Paul's remark to Titus<sup>13</sup> is relevant in this regard. The R.V. Marginal reading says, "our great God and Saviour "Jesus Christ," To predicate Θεός of Christ is not inconsistent in the writer of Colossians,<sup>14</sup> "For in him (Christ) dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." If Paul thinks of Christ as God it is natural that he should call Him God in passages like Romans chapter nine. Thus Meyer's position can hardly be said to be sustained.

There are three more passages on this: First, in I Corinthians Christ is spoken of as "Lord of Glory."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Romans 10:11-13.

<sup>11</sup> H. A. F. Meyer, Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Romans. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, Publishers, 1884.) p. 361.

<sup>12</sup> Romans 9:5. "of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever."

<sup>13</sup> Titus 2:13.    <sup>14</sup> Col. 2:9.    <sup>15</sup> I Cor. 2:8.

Secondly, in Philippians, Paul says, "God also hath highly exalted him (Christ) and given him a name which is above every name."<sup>16</sup> Thirdly, in Romans it is stated that "God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."<sup>17</sup> How can the death of Christ prove the love of God unless Christ be one with God? The fact of God's love manifested in the death of Christ is strong evidence of the divine unity.

But the Pauline doctrine of the divinity of Christ does not depend on individual passages. One need not search for it; on the contrary, one cannot get away from it.<sup>18</sup>

Paul in the Colossians letter,<sup>19</sup> sets forth Christ as the image of the invisible God, as the Creator, and as having pre-eminence in all things. The Son appears as the antecedent to the created universe and therefore belongs to the eternal order of being.

Christ, in His relation to the Church, is pictured as the head of the body. He has first place in all things.

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<sup>16</sup> Phil. 2:9; Is. 45:23; 18:42:8.

<sup>17</sup> Romans 5:8.

<sup>18</sup> J. Gresham Machen, The Origin of Paul's Religion. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Erdmans Pub. Co., 1947.) p. 25.

<sup>19</sup> Col. 1:15-19.

As the Son is the head of the physical creation, so is He the head of the new spiritual creation; and He is so because of His death and resurrection. It pleased the Father that in Jesus all the fulness, that is the total Divinity, should take up lasting abode.<sup>20</sup>

We have seen that the deity of Christ is a major doctrine with Paul, we shall now discover that the cross of Christ receives equal emphasis. Paul considers the meaning of Christ's death as among the first truths of Christianity.<sup>21</sup> Jesus is a Divine Being, why then, did He die? What brought such a One from the glories of Heaven to the shameful tree? There must have been a dreadful need. Christ's death must have been bound up in God and man, and it must be of cosmic significance.

Light on the answers to the question is found in Paul's conversion experience. To a Pharisee the death of Jesus put His Messianic claim out of court. Though Isaiah had spoken of the suffering Messiah yet the Jewish teachers and rabbis were strangely blind to this aspect of Old Testament teaching; and the Pharisees shared in this blindness. A suffering Messiah, especially by shameful

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<sup>20</sup> Col. 1:15, 18-19.

<sup>21</sup> I Cor. 15:3.

death on a cross, was an idea unthinkable to the Jews: but one day Paul was to write, "Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumblingblock, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but ...Christ the power...and the wisdom of God."<sup>22</sup> No one was so deeply conscious of the scandal of a crucifixion as Saul, in his pre-Christian days. How could the would-be-Messiah who ended in crucifixion be anything but a pretender? But when the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ shone on him and in him, things became different for Saul. The new man, Paul, saw the Cross no longer as disaster and defeat. When he looked up to the glory of God that day, he saw a smitten face in the very heart of God, a love that had been mocked, spat on, and crucified. What a revelation! Then, the light of the Resurrection had shown the Crucifixion as the working out of the divine purpose for man. This Jesus was at the very heart of the Universe! Paul knew now what his Gospel was! Thus it was that Paul could exclaim, "The preaching of the cross...unto us which are saved, it is the power of God."<sup>23</sup>

What Paul means by being saved is undoubtedly saved

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<sup>22</sup> I Cor. 1:23-24.

<sup>23</sup> I Cor. 1:18.

from the guilt, penalty, and the power of sin. Full and free forgiveness of sins through the grace and merit of the Crucified One was Paul's in the moment of his conversion. And he is writing out of his own deep heart-experience when he pens Romans, "While we were yet sinners, Christ died for us,"<sup>24</sup> or when he writes in I Timothy "I was before a blasphemer...but I obtained mercy."<sup>25</sup> Paul is at one with the teaching of the primitive church in ascribing salvation from sin to the Cross of Christ.<sup>26</sup> What Stephen<sup>27</sup> and Philip<sup>28</sup> preach, so Ananias<sup>29</sup> says to Paul, that sins can be washed away now, since atonement has been made. Forgiveness of sins through the Cross was a truth that was to be forever imprinted on Paul's mind and the recurring theme of the apostle's preaching, "Christ died for our sins."<sup>30</sup>

It is here in point to enquire into the meaning of the declaration "Christ died for our sins." Writing in II Corinthians<sup>31</sup> Paul says, "The love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all,

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<sup>24</sup> Romans 5:8.      <sup>26</sup> Acts 3:13-19.    <sup>28</sup> Acts 8:35.

<sup>25</sup> I Tim. 1:13.    <sup>27</sup> Acts 7:52.      <sup>29</sup> Acts 22:12-16.

<sup>30</sup> I Cor. 15:3.

<sup>31</sup> II Cor. 5:14.

then were all dead." Battles have been fought over the statement "one died for all" (*ὑπὲρ* i.e., on behalf of or for ; not *ἀντὶ* instead of or for.) In Romans the same preposition is used. "Christ died for us."<sup>32</sup> There are other passages in which Paul says "Christ died for us."<sup>33</sup> In all these cases the preposition is *ὑπὲρ*. Paul never uses *ἀντὶ* in reference to this subject.

In his book "The Atonement" Taylor points out these facts concerning Paul's use of *ὑπὲρ* and then dogmatically asserts that the work of Christ "is far from being that of a substitute."<sup>34</sup> Another example of a similar sweeping assertion is in Hastings Dictionary, which says that the Scriptures never state that Christ died *ἀντὶ* but *ὑπὲρ* and that this latter is opposed to Biblical theology which teaches legal substitution.<sup>35</sup>

But legal substitution is clearly taught by our Lord,<sup>36</sup> "The Son of man came...to give his life a ransom for many" (*ἀντὶ πολλῶν*). His death was a ransom; that is "instead of man." In any case, does *ὑπὲρ* shut out all

36 Matt. 20:28.

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32 Romans 5:8

33 As for example Romans 8:32; Eph. 5:2; 5:25; Gal. 3:13; Titus 2:14; I Cor. 15:3.

34 Vincent Taylor, The Atonement in New Testament Teaching. (London: The Epworth Press, 1940.) p 125.

35 James Hastings, Dictionary of The Bible. (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons; Edinburgh:, 1911.) pp. 218-311, Vol.III.

idea of substitution? A.T. Robertson in The Minister and His Greek New Testament<sup>37</sup> comments on the use of ὑπέρ in business documents in the Egyptian Papyri.<sup>38</sup> In a number of these documents ὑπέρ bears undoubtedly the sense of "instead of." For example, there is the sentence, "I have written this on behalf of someone else," that is "instead of," "in place of;" ὑπέρ could be used also in popular speech in the sense "instead of." There are two New Testament passages where ὑπέρ carries the sense of "instead of." One is, "One man should die 'for' all the people;"<sup>39</sup> the other is "Christ...being made a curse 'for' us" (or "in our room instead," as the preachers of a past day termed it).

The objective examination then of the phrase in II Corinthians "one died for all"<sup>41</sup> would seem to show clearly that substitution is the very heart of the meaning of the death of Christ.

But yet another doctrine was of paramount importance in the teaching of the great apostle. The death of Christ,

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<sup>37</sup> A. T. Robertson, The Minister and His Greek New Testament. (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1923.) p.35.

<sup>38</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>39</sup> St. John 11:50.

<sup>40</sup> Gal. 3:13.

<sup>41</sup> II Cor. 5:14



Paul feels, can never be separated from the resurrection of Christ. The two for Paul constitute one great event. Together they form the complete Gospel.<sup>42</sup> The apostle, in his well known Corinthian chapter,<sup>43</sup> shows deep concern for this theme, the Resurrection.

In the twelfth verse of this chapter some are mentioned who deny the resurrection, not of Jesus in particular, but of the dead generally. These maintained that there was no resurrection of the dead. The phrase in verse twenty nine, οὐκ ὅλως (not at all), asserts a universal negative. But to deny the resurrection of the dead is by implication, says Paul, to deny the resurrection of Christ.

Paul begins this great chapter by marshaling witnesses of the resurrection of Christ, witnesses both to the fact of His burial and His resurrection. Thus there is implied that Paul bases much on the physical resurrection. Harnack has drawn a now-famous distinction between the Easter Message and Easter Faith. "The Easter message," Harnack says, "tells of that wonderful event in Joseph of Arimathaea's garden, which however no eye saw; it tells us of the empty grave into which a few

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<sup>42</sup> Romans 8:34.

<sup>43</sup> I Cor. 15:

women and disciples looked; of the appearance of the Lord ...so glorified that His own could not immediately recognize him... Easter Faith is the conviction that the crucified one gained a victory over death; that God is just and powerful; Jesus still lives... Whatever may have happened at the grave and the matter of appearances, one thing is certain... This grave was the birthplace of the indestructable belief that death is vanguard..."

One may retain faith even though one may not believe in the physical resurrection of Christ, or even if one is not sure.<sup>44</sup>

The Corinthian chapter in point is totally antagonistic to Harnack. For here Paul registers unequivocally his faith in Christ's bodily resurrection. Some recent writers insist that for the modern mind the solution of the resurrection must be psychological and subjective. Belief in the resurrection of Jesus was created, they say, not by an objective experience of the disciples; rather it came subjectively from the impact of His personality on His immediate followers. These modern writers are of the opinion that the disciples were convinced that Jesus, with

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<sup>44</sup> Adolf Harnack, What is Christianity? (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons; London: Williams and Norgate, 1903.) pp. 173-176.

so vital, transcendent, and divine a personality, could not be conquered by death and an objective experience was not needed to prove their belief.

When allowed to speak for themselves, however, these disciples deal a shattering blow to all such notions. The first disciples were led to believe in the resurrection of Christ because of the empty tomb on the third day, and also because Christ appeared to them in person.

In sorting out the witnesses in I Corinthians chapter fifteen Paul mentions that He was seen first of the disciples of the Lord and of "above five hundred brethren;" then he adds, "last of all he was seen of me."<sup>45</sup> Paul continues by saying, "If Christ be not risen then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God."<sup>46</sup> Thereupon this apostle to the Gentiles writes that passage in which he allows his soul to think for a few brief shuddering moments of a universe with no resurrection, a universe with a "Black Friday" but without an Easter morning. For a moment he peers into an eternal night, and he trembles at what he sees.

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<sup>45</sup> I Cor. 15:5-8.

<sup>46</sup> I Cor. 15:15

Paul in that empty blackness becomes aware of three things. First, it has no message. "Our preaching is vain"<sup>47</sup> (*κενός*), empty; *κήρυγμα*--that is not the mechanical act of preaching but the content of what is preached, the message itself is worthless. There is nothing worthwhile to say, only an empty shell is left. These are strong and emphatic words Paul uses.

Some liberals would disagree with Paul by asserting that they themselves have a good deal to talk about; for example, the teachings of Jesus and His peerless example. Such topics Paul by no means ignored, but they did not constitute the heart of his message. If that were all he had to proclaim, Paul felt that he had no Gospel to preach to a world sunk in sin. The peculiarly saving virtue of Christ is in these two facts: He is very God, and being such, He died and rose again for our salvation. If there be no resurrection, not only is the apostle terribly deluded, but Christ himself is the world's greatest imposter. Those who deny the resurrection of Christ must reckon with consequences of the greatest moment.

We have said that the apostle trembled as he considered for a moment a world with no resurrection. For one thing, as we have seen, it would be a world void of the message of salvation. The second thing he is driven to see

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<sup>47</sup> I Cor. 15:14.

is simply this: with the resurrection stands or falls the faith of the Christian.<sup>48</sup> The word *κενὸς*, (empty) is used again in regard to faith. In a universe with no resurrection of Christ faith "operates in the void," and there is nothing on which to lay hold. "But if he (Christ) lie dead in the grave your faith is vain," says Maclaren, "because it grasps nothing but a shadow, and it is vain, as being purposeless; ye are yet in your sins."<sup>49</sup> A dead Christ means a faith that is, *μάταιος*, that is futile, vain.<sup>50</sup> Such a faith effects nothing; it makes no difference in the lives of sinful men--"Ye are yet in your sins." There is no atonement for guilt, and no deliverance from the power of sin. All of which of course is contrary to the experience of the Christian.

Paul makes a third discovery in this fleeting moment when he considers a resurrectionless universe: this is, that those who "have fallen asleep in Christ" must needs have perished.<sup>51</sup> And such is the inevitable conclusion of all who refuse to see the resurrection as a glorious reality. This must be the dirge of such: "And all our

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<sup>48</sup> I Cor. 15:14.

<sup>49</sup> Alexander Maclaren, Expositions of Holy Scripture. St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. (N.Y.:A.C. Armstrong & Sons, 1910.) p. 245.

<sup>50</sup> I Cor. 15:17.

<sup>51</sup> I Cor. 15:18

yesterdays have lighted us to dusty death."

But after the shudder, the shout of victory! It will not keep! Convinced that things are otherwise Paul exclaims, "But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the firstfruits of them that slept."<sup>52</sup> The expression, ἀπαρχή (firstfruit) alludes to the firstfruit which was the first harvest sheaf presented in the sanctuary on the Passover Sabbath.<sup>53</sup> The first ripe sheaf was always consecrated to God in anticipation of the great harvest to follow. It was on the day commemorating the Passover that Christ rose from the dead. And so Christ in his glorious resurrection is the "firstfruit" of our final resurrection.<sup>54</sup> The resurrection begun will be consummated in the final harvest-gathering at the Lord's coming.<sup>55</sup>

This word, παρουσία (coming) occurs in the papyri to indicate a royal visit. This Second Coming will indeed be a royal visit for final Salvation and Glorification.<sup>56</sup> Paul looks forward to that time when, the last trumpet having sounded, the last day will fade into eternal dawn.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> I Cor. 15:20

<sup>56</sup> Matt. 24:

<sup>53</sup> Lev. 23:10.

<sup>57</sup> I Cor. 15:52; II Cor. 5:8;  
Phil. 1:23

<sup>54</sup> Col. 1:18; Rev. 1:15.

<sup>55</sup> I Cor. 15:23

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**APPENDIXES**

## APPENDIX I

### The Question Concerning the Identity of the Galatians

A question pertinent to this study is, "Who are these Galatians to whom Paul wrote?" Does the term refer to those who were Galatians by blood or was it a political name for all the inhabitants of the Roman province of Galatia?

We note that the country of Galatia proper had a curious history. In the fourth and third centuries B.C., a great wave of wandering tribes of Gauls moved west across Europe. In 390 B.C. a horde of these attacked Rome, but failing to conquer it they settled in large numbers on the Atlantic coast. So it was that southern France became known as Gaul. Others of these tribes moved east again, more than 20,000 of them crossing the Hellespont into Asia Minor about 275 B.C. For the next forty years they were to carry all before them. In 230 B.C., Atlas I, king of Pergamus, drove them out from the rich cities of the western coast of Asia Minor into the high plateau of the interior. Here they settled into an agricultural way of life, giving their name to the country -- Galatia.

From south west to north east the province was about two hundred miles in length, the southern boundary being

about the middle of Asia Minor. The Galatians were always known as a distinctly rural people, possessing few towns. Their chief city was Ancyra, the modern Ankara, the center of the Turkish government. When the Romans took over the province the Galatians withdrew to the interior. In 25 B.C., Augustus made Galatia a Roman province. Using this country as a nucleus, he added on the north east, part of Pontus, known as Pontus Galatius; on the south west he added part of Phrygia, known as Phrygian Galatia; and on the south he added most of Lyconia. On account of their good roads these two southern regions became politically and commercially the most important parts of the province.

This question that never has been satisfactorily settled is, "Does the Galatia of the New Testament refer to the comparatively small region in the north, the original Galatian settlement, or to the more important southern annexations to the Roman province of Galatia?"

In support of the "Northern Galatian Theory," we have such scholars as Lightfoot, Salmon, Chase, Moffat, and G. G. Findlay. The other theory, advocated by Ramsay and others, seems to the writer the sounder view.

In I Peter "Galatia" beyond doubt refers to the Roman province comprised of Pontus and the other addition-

al regions.<sup>1</sup> Is it not likely that Paul with his keen sense of Roman citizenship would also use the word "Galatia" with the same meaning? Ramsay, Zahn, and others, say that Paul always thinks and speaks with an eye on the Roman divisions of the Empire, that is the provinces. Because of his Roman citizenship he adopts the imperial standpoint and writes like a Roman. In his references to Judea and Arabia, he is consistently imperial in outlook and so it is most likely that this is the case with Galatia.

To further substantiate the claim that the term Galatia refers to Southern Galatia it is significant to note some facts in connection with Paul's reference to the Roman provinces' collection for the poor at Jerusalem. In I Corinthians<sup>2</sup> he asks the churches at Corinth to choose representatives to bring their contribution to Jerusalem. In Romans<sup>3</sup> he speaks of the fund made for the saints at Jerusalem, by the churches of Macedonia and Achaia, two of the provinces. Galatia is mentioned in I Corinthians.<sup>4</sup> Paul elsewhere<sup>5</sup> gives the list of delegates: (1) one representative of the province of Asia; (2) two represent-

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1 I Peter 1:1.

5 Acts 20:4.

2 I Cor. 16:3-4.

3 Romans 15:26.

4 I Cor. 16:1.



atives of Macedonia, (Thessalonica); (3) two from Asia and, (4) Gaius of Derbe and Timotheus of Lystra. These last two presumably acted also as representatives of a province -- Galatia. Since I Corinthians<sup>6</sup> shows that Galatia contributed, and since Derbe and Lystra, the only contributing cities mentioned, are in southern Galatia, it is not unreasonable to believe that in Paul's thinking Galatia means southern Galatia.

The important point is that if Paul were ever in north Galatia the first time he would possibly have reached it must have been on his second missionary journey; that is, after the Jerusalem Council in 50 A.D.<sup>7</sup> We are told that Paul had the decrees of the Council with him, so if the Galatians, to whom the epistle is written, were in north Galatia, then when Paul preached he would have had the authority of the Council to support him. Thus the Judaizing teachers, insisting on Circumcision, would never have made such an impression on the Galatians as they had done, evidently from the epistle. So the

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<sup>6</sup> I Cor. 16:1.

<sup>7</sup> Acts 16:6.

epistle must have been written before the Council of Jerusalem and the Galatian churches were also evangelized on the first missionary journey through south Galatia.

A couple of minor points are to be noted. Barnabas was well known in the churches of Galatia. He was with Paul only on the apostle's first missionary journey, when the churches in south Galatia were founded.<sup>8</sup> The disturbing activities of the Jews within the church gives evidence of Christian Jews being in the Galatian churches. There is evidence of such Jews being in south Galatia.<sup>9</sup> In a list which Philo gives he does not mention the north Galatians.

It is also important to note that there is no mention in Acts of churches established in North Galatia. Even if the statement, "they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia,"<sup>10</sup> means Paul went to north Galatia (and it can hardly mean that), it does not prove that the epistle was written to the churches there. There is no mention in this statement of the founding of churches, but simply the story of the apostle's rapidly passing through the region to accomplish the work of the Holy Ghost else-

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<sup>8</sup> Gal. 2:13.

<sup>9</sup> Acts 14:16.

<sup>10</sup> Acts 16:6

where. The most that we may take from the statement is that on his second missionary journey Paul may have passed through the western edge of old Galatia, there making a few disciples but founding no churches.

The north Galatian theorists restrict the field of Paul's activity to Galatia proper. But the more the sphere of operation is restricted the more difficult does it become to believe that the churches of Galatia are to be sought in this small and hypothetical field. And it becomes increasingly hard to understand why the churches of south Galatia, which have so many references in Acts, are heard of no more. To make the North Galatian theory possible we must suppose the north Galatians entered Christian history for eight or nine words in Acts, had an epistle, and then disappeared.<sup>11</sup> We note that if the Galatian churches do not refer to the churches of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derby, they are left without correspondence of Paul's, although they were the firstfruits of his labors among the Gentiles and were frequently visited by him. Paul must have been going north, as he would be according to the South Galatian theory, and not west, as the North Galatian theory would have it.

And again on his third missionary journey Paul set

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<sup>11</sup> Acts 16:6.

out from Syrian Antioch probably traveling over south Galatia into Phrygia, part of Asia.<sup>12</sup> If the North Galatian theory is correct Paul's journey becomes incredibly complex.

Taking all these factors together, and weighing the meaning of the text, presents a strong convergence of probabilities pointing to the identification of the Galatians as the converts of the first missionary journey.

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<sup>12</sup> Acts 18:23.

## APPENDIX II

### The Egyptian Papyri

Papyrus is an Egyptian plant which now grows only in the southern parts of the country. In ancient times it grew in the northern regions, especially in the swamps of the Nile River. It resembles sedge or bulrush and is about eight to ten feet-high. The ark which Jochabed made for the baby Moses was constructed from papyrus. Legend claims that this plant is as important for the growth of man's mind as wheat is for his body.

Primitive paper (papyrus) was made from the white pith of the plant. This pith was cut into long strips, soaked in clay water, and laid side by side on a table with short strips placed across them. All the strips were then cemented with Nile mud, or other sticky substance, rolled with heavy rollers, beaten, and dried in the sun. Afterwards they were scraped with shell or bone and thus (brown) paper was made. It proved durable. Some, which we have today is thought to be four thousand to five thousand years old. The earliest papyri which we possess go back to three thousand years B.C., that is one thousand years before Abraham.

During recent years papyri from about 300 B.C. to 600 A.D., have been discovered in very large quantities

in Egypt. These include wills, accounts, and letters; and they are of concern for anyone interested in the era when Christianity was first taking root.

Excavations made in the sands of Egypt have brought these documents to light by the hundred thousand. They have usually been found in rubbish heaps. It seems to have been the custom in Egypt not to burn waste paper, but to put it outside the town and let the sand cover it. Some heaps which have been unearthed were twenty feet high.<sup>1</sup>

Sand has a preserving influence, but sometimes the papyri are found in pieces and prove difficult to piece together. Great aptitude is needed to be able to read them, but highly skilled men can sometimes fill in omissions accurately.

Not only the rubbish dumps, but tombs also are rich in these papers. Since the Egyptians believed in the continued existence of the soul they put copies of the deceased's best loved books with him in his tomb.

In two respects these papyri possess interest for us, namely, for the light which they sometimes throw on meanings of New Testament words and the light which they cast on New Testament times.

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<sup>1</sup> N.B. Deut. 33:19, "treasures hid in the sands."

Scholars in the mid-nineteenth century said that if we could only obtain a large number of private letters belonging to the beginning of the Christian era, and written by persons who did not think that their writings would be read in ages later, we would have a unique way of learning New Testament Greek. New Testament Greek is different from Classical Greek, and for ages scholars did not know how the difference came about.

Some said that we have in the New Testament the language of the Holy Ghost; a sacred language, one not in common use. Granted it is inspired by the Holy Ghost, the question remains what language did the Holy Ghost use. It is a remarkable discovery that these papyri should be, by and large, written in the language of the common people. It is not the language of great literature, nor of the great Greek writers generally, but it is the language of the fireside, the *κοινὴ*, common usage.

The letters from the sands of Egypt, dated from the time the New Testament was written, show that with the exception of one or two books all the New Testament was written by working men to working men. The Bible even uses colloquial (market) expressions. This meant that Wycliffe only did for England what Matthew, Mark, and Paul did for the whole world.

Classical Greek at that time was an artistic language which no one spoke. New Testament Greek was the language of the social and business intercourse of colonists, soldiers, and merchants, and was used in writing and speech all over the world. Alexander the Great by his conquests spread a variety of Greek as a kind of a world language. It was in this language, *Κοινή*, that the New Testament was written. Paul, Luke, and the author of Hebrews<sup>2</sup> however, sometimes use a literary style much higher than that found in the papyri. Conservative scholars maintain that it is a radical error to suppose that because the New Testament was written in this period its language is cheap and vulgar. The New Testament writers used common speech but in a very uncommon way. Even Paul, genius as he was and educated as he must have been, wrote in the common Greek of his day, lifting it at times to a grand loftiness and occasionally coining a new word to fit his noble thinking.

We note some varieties in grammar in both the papyri and the New Testament as compared with Classical Greek. In the New Testament, for instance the neuter plural is used with either a singular or plural verb, the use of the personal pronoun is more frequent but the possessive pronoun is used less frequently. The optative tense of

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix III



the verb is in the New Testament Greek disappearing, for example, *μη γενοιτο*, the optative, meaning may that not be, or God forbid. The future participle occurs less frequently. The growth of the passive voice over the middle voice is marked. The interchange of *ἐν* and *εἰς* is to be noted, and only the context can decide sometimes whether *εἰς* means into, in, on, or upon. This does not mean that the prepositions are synonymous, but theological conclusions must be drawn with care.

We now turn to the light which the papyri throw on the meaning of words. There are words we can explain in the New Testament by comparing the Classical Greek usage. But when we come to the Egyptian papyri we sometimes find a suggestion of a more vivid interpretation. The papyri throw no light on the deep truths of the New Testament but they sometimes do reveal the meaning of word.

For example a word, the meaning of which was known long ago, but on which the papyri revealed further light, is *παιδαγωγος* (school master or child leader). The word indicates a well-known individual in rich families of ancient times. Usually he was a faithful slave whose duty was to bring the master's sons to and from school, guarding them from danger. In one letter (papyrus) a father writes to his son to say that he regrets his old teacher

has left him but is glad that his old παιδαγωγος will find him a new teacher. Paul compares the law to the παιδαγωγος which is to bring us to Christ.<sup>3</sup>

In one of the great passages in the third chapter of Philippians the apostle says that all the things he had to renounce for Christ he counted as σκύβαλα (dung); that is, refuse or bits of meat flung out to the dogs. (From κύων βάλλω)

Another word used by Paul -- ζημια -- and translated "loss" is in the papyri. The meaning suggests, bones thrown out to the dogs in the street, and the word is also used as "dung," "refuse," "scraps." Compared with the feast of ~~eat~~ things everything else is refuse. In an earlier part of this third chapter (Philippians), the apostle refers to "dogs." He is saying in effect that those who know not Christ live a life on the streets seeking to pick up scraps from the musty dust bins. Those in Christ are at home in the Father's house.

There are of course New Testament words not found in Classical Greek, the meaning of which is uncertain. There used to be a list of hundreds of such words but now they have been reduced to fifty. The papyri are responsible for helping to fix their meanings. An example of one such word is the verb "to turn upside down."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Gal. 3:24.

<sup>4</sup> Acts 17:6; 21:38; Gal. 5:12.

(ἀναστᾶτω ) This verb which cannot be found in Classical Greek is found in a remarkable letter among the papyri. This letter from the second century, seems to have been written by a schoolboy, and it is an interesting human document. It is an impertinent letter written by a spoiled child. Little did he think that he would be read by people the world over some eighteen hundred years later. This letter shows that the word ἀναστᾶτω (upset), referring to the child's mother, was in popular use and as such it adds a vivid touch to its use in the New Testament.<sup>5</sup> It would be the natural word for the loafers in the market place of Thessalonica to use, "These (apostles) have turned the world upside down."<sup>6</sup>

These papyri are significant, too, for the light they throw on the life, thought, and religion of the times. They are indeed a treasure house of information, being as varied as life itself. For example, in A.D. 29 a man complains of his wife theiving, and leaving him. Even school exercise books are among these papers.

The most startling letter of all those found is dated June, 17 in the year 1.B.C. It was written in

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<sup>5</sup> George Milligan, Selections From the Greek Papyri. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1910.) pp. 103-105.

<sup>6</sup> Acts 17:6.

Alexandria by an Egyptian workman to his wife. He speaks of a child whom he loved and of an expected child.

"Hilarion to Alis...greetings,...I beg and beseech of you to take care of the little child, ...If....you bear offspring, if it be a male, let it live; if it is a female ( $\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ ) expose it."<sup>7</sup> This throws a lurid light on the age in which Christ came.

Much information is available on the cruel habits of the heathen world. When a child was born it was laid at the feet of the father and if he wished, he picked it up, that is, he kept it. If he preferred, however, he left the child in a public place to be collected by traders in children, who took them to rear for evil gain. Even Plato and Aristotle countenanced such debauchery if the children happened to be defective in some way. It took Christianity to put an end to it.

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<sup>7</sup> George Milligan, Selections From the Greek Papyri. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1910.) pp32-33.

### APPENDIX III.

#### The Authorship of Hebrews

The authorship of the book of Hebrews has been a much discussed problem. We note at the outset that to deny the epistle to Paul can be scarcely be regarded as heretical since men like Luther, Calvin, Salmon, and Machen felt that it was the work of another.

A difference of opinion on the matter prevailed in the early church, which difference formed a mark of cleavage between the Western and Eastern Churches. The former was against the idea of Pauline authorship. The Epistle of Clement of Rome, 96, the earliest of the non-Christian letters, quotes Hebrews freely, and in so doing shows that Hebrews had canonical and apostolic authority; but Clement does not name its author.<sup>1</sup> The Muratorian Canon, 170 A.D., reckons that there were thirteen epistles by Paul but Hebrews is not included among them. This negative tradition of the Western Church becomes, in the African branch of that church, a positive denial of Pauline authorship. Tertullian<sup>2</sup> says that Hebrews was written by Barnabus,

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<sup>1</sup> George Salmon, An Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament. (London: Joan Murray, Albemarle Street, 1904.) p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.414.

a man recognized by Paul as his equal.<sup>3</sup> From the way in which Tertullian refers to the epistle we gather this was not his own private opinion but the opinion of the church he represented. We have no means of knowing how that opinion arose.

In the Eastern Church the popular belief was that Paul was the author. Yet that view was held with some reservations by scholars like Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. These men believed that the epistle came indirectly from Paul. Such a view arose from certain peculiarities of the epistle which seemed to indicate at least the possibility of Paul's authorship. At the end of the second century Clement of Alexandria says that Paul wrote the epistle in Hebrew and that Luke carefully translated it into Greek. Origen says that the thoughts are Paul's, but the language and composition belong to someone else who recorded what the apostle said. Clement's theory, that Hebrews is a translation has little support. Eusebius, in the fourth century, admits that the Roman church does not recognize the Pauline authorship of Hebrews yet he insists that this theory is reasonable on the ground of antiquity. It is significant that neither Clement of Alexandria nor

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<sup>3</sup> I Cor. 9:6.

Origen nor Eusebius regarded it as Paul's in the full sense.

But as time passed, Alexandria subscribed more and more to the view of Paul's literal authorship. From the fifth century to the Reformation the epistle was accepted, with rare exceptions, as Paul's. This was due largely to the influence of Jerome and Augustine.

This diversity of opinion excites inquiry and leads us to examine the epistle very carefully. It is not impossible that Paul wrote the letter, but it is less likely that he did. We cannot go farther than that.

In favor of Paul's authorship it should be said that a number of parallel expressions can be found between Hebrews and those letters which are unquestionably from Paul's pen. For example there is in II Timothy (1:10) the expression *καταργέω*, undoubtedly a Pauline verb: "Jesus Christ who hath abolished death." In I Corinthians (15:26) occurs the same verb; it is seen again in Hebrews (2:14) in the same sense. Paley says that Paul's style is to ring the changes on a word in the same sentence.<sup>4</sup> For instance, in I Corinthians (15:27-28) the changes are rung

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<sup>4</sup> George Salmon, An Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament. (London: Joan Murray, Albemarle Street, 1904.) p. 420.

on the verb ὑποτάσσω six times in five lines; and a verse in Hebrews (2:8) in which the same verb occurs is an example of a similar usage. The quotation from Deuteronomy (32:35) in Hebrews (10:30) is not in verbal agreement with the LXX but is in verbal agreement with a verse in Romans (12:19) we also note that the expression "the just shall live by faith," in Hebrews (10:38) is found in Romans (1:17) and also in Galatians (3:11). These and similar coincidences are surely more than accidental. If Paul is not the author then the writer must have read Paul's letters.

On the other hand some things are to be said against Paul's authorship of Hebrews. For example, many of Paul's characteristic phrases are altogether wanting in the book. The apostle's favorite expression for our Lord, "Christ Jesus," is missing; moreover, the simple name "Jesus," which Paul rarely uses alone, occurs nine times. The great Pauline expression "Our Lord Jesus Christ" does not occur; only "Our Lord Jesus" (Hebrews 13:20). "In Christ," a phrase peculiar to Paul is also wanting. Neither do we find the expression "Revelation of God in Christ" which is one of Paul's usual phrases for describing the Gospel, as it occurs in all of Paul's epistles except the one to Titus. Other words fairly common to Paul, and which are wanting are, "mystery," "to fulfill," "to edify," and "to justify."



There are, of course, some fundamental agreements between Hebrews and Paul's epistles. Both display the universality of the Gospel, Israel as the people of God, and the same trust in the atoning work of Christ. But there are differences in the presentation of the truth. We must acknowledge the presence of such while not exaggerating them.

The priestly function of Christ is not given in Paul's letters the dominating place it is accorded in Hebrews. It is the kingly state of the risen Christ that dominates the mind of Paul. Again, Paul's verb "to justify" is equated in this epistle with "to sanctify" or "to purify."

But we are to note the contrasting style of Hebrews with Paul's letters. Here is the stumbling stone. With Salmon and others this is the strongest argument against Paul's authorship.<sup>5</sup> The allegation that the theology of Hebrews is different from Paul's is hypercriticism. But the style, polish, and finish are different from Paul's. Concerning the style of Hebrews, Salmon says, "It reveals a calm composition, exhibiting sonorous words and well-balanced sentences,"<sup>6</sup> showing unusual literary felicity.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 424.

<sup>6</sup> Loc. cit.

The writer is master of his words and understands perfectly how to arrange each clause so that every word shall play its full part in conveying with precision the meaning intended. He knows how to build sentences into concise paragraphs, each carrying the argument a stage further. Earnestness of purpose never overshadows language. In all of this the style of the letter differs widely from the tempestuous style of Paul, who often shows an imperial disregard for niceties of construction.

This difference of style between the two in point was felt in the early church by men who used the Greek language themselves. Origen writes, "The verbal style of the epistle has not that rudeness of speech which belongs to the apostle, who confesses himself rude in speech, that is in diction. But the epistle is purer Greek...as everyone will allow who is able to discern differences of diction,"<sup>7</sup> This is a strong argument.

Salmon, in considering the greeting at the end of the letter, "They of Italy salute you," (Hebrews 13:24)<sup>8</sup> says, "This vague greeting is only intelligible on the supposition that the letter was written either from or to Italy." That is, the writer is sending home salutations from his fellow-countrymen in a foreign land or from natives

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 416.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 420

of the country at home to others on foreign soil. Thus there is a connection between the letter and Italy and therefore we must consider with respect the Italian tradition as to the authorship. We noted above that Luther, Calvin, and others agreed with this opinion that Paul did not write the letter.

One of the strongest arguments against Paul's writing Hebrews is the verse in the epistle, "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him...?" (Hebrews 2:3) This sounds like the language of Christians who were two generations away from Christ and who made no pretence to being original witnesses. This language contrasts with the language of Paul, who disclaims learning the Gospel from men or through a man, "For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." (Galatians 1:11-12) The apostle places himself on absolute equality with the first disciples when he writes in I Corinthians (9:1) "Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?" This would seem strong evidence.

We conclude with our previous statement that it is not impossible that Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, but the balance of evidence is against the Pauline authors ip.