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INFLUENCES ON PAUL

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Divinity
of the University of Glasgow
in fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Glasgow 1964

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CONTENTS

PREFACE		iii
ABBREVIATIONS		ix
PART I	THE INFLUENCE OF THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD	
Chapter One	From Tarsus to Rome	1
PART II	THE INFLUENCE OF JUDAISM	
Chapter Two	Paul in Relation to Contemporary Religious Groups and his Appeals to Authority	66
Chapter Three	The Influence of Judaism on Paul, Personally	117
Chapter Four	The Prophets and Paul	158
Chapter Five	The Influence of Judaism on Paul's Missionary Methods	207
Chapter Six	Jewish Influence on Paul's Understanding of God	245
Chapter Seven	Jewish Influences on Paul's Eschatology	291
PART III	THE INFLUENCE OF CHRIST	
Chapter Eight	The Conversion of Paul	387
Chapter Nine	The Relationship between Christ and Paul	421
Chapter Ten	ἈΠΌΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ	468
Chapter Eleven	The Righteousness of God	527
Chapter Twelve	Conclusion	566
BIBLIOGRAPHY		

PREFACE

This study began with the simple hope of understanding the life and thought of Paul; in the course of learning more about him, it became quite apparent that to properly understand him there were not so many simple things. For most of the first year, full attention was given the letters themselves, accepting as authentic ten of the ones associated with his name, rejecting the Pastoral letters as later and by another author. The editing of these ten is evident to a greater or lesser degree depending on the letter. The authenticity of Ephesians has been under such heavy attack that it has become presumptuous to make a dogmatic claim; at the same time, the case for an anonymous author has not been carried beyond doubt and we are inclined to believe that the document has enough authenticity to belong with the other nine. As the letters were examined it became evident that Paul must be studied against his background of the Graeco-Roman world and the traditions and life of Judaism. So valuable was this felt to be that the aim of the thesis became set: to understand Paul according to the influences on him.

The influences of the Graeco-Roman world on Paul are far less than those of the Hebraic-Judaic world. Nevertheless, his life's purpose which took him among

the gentiles and his success among them bids us look for points at which he may have been influenced. We have looked for features of the Graeco-Roman world which were preparation for Christian mission work. The life of the city of Tarsus and Jewish participation in it has proved to be a notable environment in which Paul was born and raised. Attention has been paid to Hellenistic Judaism, especially its literature. Certain tendencies in Paul, the use of common religious language and ideas, and his notice and use of common cultural customs have been the subject of enquiry. It has been necessary to take into account the Mystery Religions and their influence, especially in connection with Baptism and the Lord's Supper. We have observed Paul's broad view of the world, and his attempt to meet its needs with what the gospel could suitably provide.

The influence of Hebrew religion and Judaism is to be observed almost everywhere in his letters and the several areas examined emphasize this. Comparing Paul with contemporary Jewish movements and groups squarely sets him against a Pharisaic background. His appeals to authority - reason or intuition, conscience, experience, revelation, Scripture - reflect the influence of Judaism on him. Jewish life and habits affected him personally, indicating some psychological attachments.

It has become evident that his youth and education were influenced along traditional and Pharisaic lines. The influence of Jewish piety, the synagogue and Jewish attitudes toward suffering and chastisement are reflected in our N.T. knowledge of him. Comparing Paul with the prophets has revealed his high regard for them, especially where their insights have affected his own, in matters like the remnant, peace, criticism of the temple, the importance of man's relationship to God, human sinfulness, universalism and individualism. They appear to have affected his description of his apostleship, his sense of responsibility, perhaps his idea of his own death as well as some other matters. It has been striking too to find how much Judaism contributed to and influenced his missionary methods; among the several discussed, we may mention here his important use of the synagogue, his successful appeal to those who were around it, and his use of methods of accommodation, humility and service, and Jewish customs for the preparation of converts. Paul's understanding of God reflects many points allowing Jewish influences: Creatorship, montheism, universalism, transcendence and immanence, judge and king. The final chapter on Jewish eschatological influences is a long one, but not out of proportion to the place eschatology has in Paul's thought. Jewish influences are found in the underlying sense of sovereignty from which his

eschatology proceeds. It has become obvious that Paul inherited some of the church's realizations about the Messiah; other traditional features of Jewish eschatology he asserted independently - a new age, the inclusion of the gentiles, etc. The relationship between eschatology and faith and law has been discussed. Paul's eschatology is not all of a realized character; much of what remained to be realized is saturated with Jewish features.

Eventually we had to leave these two areas of influence in order to see Paul as he is in his letters: a man committed without reserve to Christ, whose mind, will and spirit have been captured for His service. In beginning with his conversion, a method of interpretation had to be selected in the light of several different kinds. In an attempt to find what preparation Paul had for his conversion, we have found fewer facts than is often supposed. By far the most interesting facts about his conversion are his own understanding of it, the realizations about his past and his convictions about his new position toward God and his fellowmen. When attempting to understand the relationship between Paul and Christ, the first question concerned its possible mystical character. Neither the kinds of mysticism of the Graeco-Roman world nor of Judaism offered the useful illumination, that the Jewish conception of

solidarity did. Attention was then turned to the distinctive expressions used to describe the relationship, and the place faith, baptism, and dying and rising have in it. It then became possible to describe the distinctive features of the relationship. Chapter Ten singles out Paul's conceptions of himself as an apostle and slave which describe his identity and mission. His apostleship has been illuminated against the background of general use in the N.T. and is especially reflected in the controversies which his claim aroused. Certain positive qualifications for his apostleship have been observed also. In describing himself as a slave of Christ, it has been useful to see the claim against Graeco-Roman customs and especially against the background of the O.T. references to servants of the Lord. In addition to these, the distinctive meaning of his servitude has been indicated. The last part of this study has sought to set forth Paul's understanding of theodicy - "The Righteousness of God" - not only for its own importance but also as indicative of the course which continued study should take. The subject of the vindication of God has been seen in the O.T., Judaism and the LXX, and from these vantage points Paul's distinctive contribution is to be seen in its various aspects.

We have attempted to observe British spelling

throughout the thesis, but Canadian differences have crept in unintentionally. A list of abbreviations of titles of books follows this Preface, and we hope that other abbreviations of ancient records have been the usual and accepted ones.

Appreciation must go to a host of scholars whose able minds and patient work have helped to illuminate Paul to me. Professor William Barclay challenged me by word and example to study hard and honoured me in the supervision of my studying. His personal interest in my welfare enriched our relationship. Principal John Mauchline, Professor R. Gregor Smith and Professor Ian Henderson kindly explained a few matters to me. The late Rev. J. MacIntosh, former librarian at Trinity College, was courteous and helpful to me. My wife, Jean, encouraged me especially in her willingness to check spelling and grammar, and to type the thesis.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJNT	<u>Ancient Judaism and the New Testament</u> , F.C. Grant
CASP	<u>Christianity According to St. Paul</u> , C.A. Anderson Scott
CRERE	<u>The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire</u> , T.R. Glover
CSP	<u>The Cities of St. Paul</u> , W.M. Ramsay
EGT	<u>The Expositor's Greek Testament</u>
HDAC	<u>Dictionary of the Apostolic Church</u> , Ed. J. Hastings
HDB	<u>A Dictionary of the Bible</u> , Ed. J. Hastings
HNTT	<u>A History of New Testament Times</u> , A. Hausrath
IB	<u>The Interpreter's Bible</u>
ICC	<u>International Critical Commentary</u>
JGTC	<u>Jew and Greek: Tutors unto Christ</u> , G.H.C. Mac- Gregor and A.C. Purdy
JPJC	<u>A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ</u> , E. Schurer
Judaism	<u>Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era</u> , G.F. Moore
KJV	The King James Version of <u>The Bible</u>
LXX	<u>The Septuagint</u>
MNTC	<u>The Moffat New Testament Commentary</u>
MPA	<u>The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle</u> , A. Schweitzer
NEB	<u>The New English Bible</u>
NT	New Testament
NTRJ	<u>The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism</u> , D. Daube
OT	Old Testament

- PRJ Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, W.D. Davies
- PSM Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, J. Munck
- RHNT Roman Hellenism and the New Testament, F.C. Grant
- RPCJT The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought, H. St. John Thackeray
- RSV The Revised Standard Version of The Bible, which is the English translation regularly used.
- RWS The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue,
W.O.E. Oesterley and G.H. Box
- SPCG St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, W.L. Knox

PART I

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

CHAPTER ONE

FROM TARSUS TO ROME

There were generally three influences on Paul: the influence of the Graeco-Roman world, the influence of the Jewish world, and the influence of Christ which is the most important.¹ In this chapter our concern is to examine the Graeco-Roman world, which was also Oriental in many ways, for its possible influences on Paul. The attempt is valid because every man is affected by his contemporary world. Paul did not live in a vacuum, and if we do not try to understand this influence on Paul neither can we adequately grasp his task or his message. He belongs to the Graeco-Roman world. He "stands at the centre of things, equipped for the very task he was to undertake."² "The same Providence who purposed the harvest also prepared the field, and we can never understand the growth of the Gospel unless we know something of the nature of the soil."³ Not all scholars think Paul was influenced by the Graeco-Roman world to any important degree. Ramsay defended Graeco-Roman influence, but Principal Garvie took strong issue with him claiming that the influences were very few.⁴ Today very few scholars would admit he was not in some way influenced by the Graeco-

¹ This last one is almost forgotten at times. Schoeps, Paul, p. 15ff. names the four usual approaches of the history of religions school: Hellenistic, Hellenistic-Judaistic, Palestinian-Judaic, Eschatological.

² Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 16.

³ MacGregor and Purdy, JGTC, p. 195. Deissmann, Paul, p. 70: "We see Paul as a man of the ancient world ... in every case where the civilization of the ancient great city appears as the background of his mission."

⁴ Various articles, "The Expositor", 2(1911), p. 289ff. 470ff. 481ff. This controversy is very old. Tertullian and Origen differed also. Says Tertullian, "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" MacGregor and Purdy, ibid. p. 197.

Roman world, though the influences of Judaism were greater. The problem is complex and the answers are elusive. First, the Graeco-Roman world itself was complex, a host of overlapping, interacting influences. As well, there is the problem of whether Paul was dependent on or just similar to aspects of pagan religion. Further, Paul rarely has explicit reference to the life of the Graeco-Roman world, and less to its thought. Therefore, most claims made for its influence have to be made by way of inference. There is a certain artificiality about this problem: Paul is dissected when he is a whole man, active, forceful in the daily proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ with all other concerns subordinate to this. Deissmann is the defender of such unity: "Paul at his best belongs not to Theology, but to Religion;" "... his place is rather with the herdsman of Tekoa." "Christ means more to him than Christology."¹ However, Schweitzer remarks about Deissmann that he had to leave in "obscurity the enigma of (Paul's) thought".² We must try to let Paul live and also try to grasp the foundations of his thought.

Two points need to be kept in mind for they are quite basic in any comparison of pagan and Pauline thought. The first is that Paul entered the Graeco-Roman world with a strong and real idea of one transcendent and moral God.³ This was his inheritance from Judaism.⁴ Whether he learned

1 Paul, p. 6.
 2 MPA, p. 36.
 3 Rom. 3.29, 30. I Cor. 8.4. Eph. 4.6.
 4 Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 362.

this through Hellenistic Judaism or Palestinian Judaism or simply from devout parents is secondary. His monotheism was so strong and so central that it enabled him to stand like a fortress in the midst of all the advances of pagan polytheism or pantheism.¹ For example, in reply to the Colossian Church he could fearlessly and uncompromisingly withstand the heretical, semi-gnostic challenge. Knox points out again and again that even Palestinian Judaism, which he thinks influenced Paul less than Hellenistic Judaism, was quite ready to speculate on and consider pagan thought, because the worship of the synagogue "could be trusted to preserve the transcendent omnipotence of the one God of Israel."² "As long as the unity of God (was preserved) ..., Judaism was prepared to adapt any argument and any form of thought that suited to the purpose. Naturally Paul was willing to do the same."³ A little earlier Knox says, "the essential difference between the hope of Israel and the similar hopes of their neighbours lay not in the desire for deliverance nor the language employed, but in the different conception of God and his relation to the conduct of man."⁴ Unlike pagan writers, Paul's concern over the relation of the righteousness of God and the Cross indicates the central

¹ Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 6: "It is of great significance that St. Paul was and remained an uncompromising monotheist." Nock, Conversion, p. 221.

² SPCG, p. 54. Similarly Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 153.

³ SPCG, p. 55.

⁴ Ibid. p. 25.

place occupied by the holy God of ancient Israel.¹

The most revealing contrast on this point is to compare Paul with his pagan contemporaries. There were pagans increasingly inclined philosophically toward a transcendental monotheism. Plutarch, who was like a great melting-pot of pagan thought in the first century A.D., is quoted by Glover: "But God is, we must say, and that not in time, but in the aeon that knows no motion, time or variation, where is neither former nor latter, future nor past ...; but God is one, and with one Now he has filled Always, and is alone therein the one that Is."² Yet Plutarch was so full of compromise that we may wonder what he cared for truth.³ His compromises permit him to retain myth, ritual, mystery, polytheism and obscenity. Passages from his "Isis and Osiris" exemplify that.⁴ Lucian, sceptic or satirist, mocks the popular gods, old and new, and though he is one hundred years after Paul he is part of a line of ancient thought quite divorced from Paul's transcendent monotheism.⁵ The Stoics for the most part were pantheists⁶ or believed God to be imminent Reason,⁷ or under the influence of astrology fixed God in the sphere of the stars⁸ which strengthened his

¹ Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 7. "He assumed God to be knowable, and to have character, and character which had been ascertained."

² CRERE, p. 93.

³ Ibid. p. 110.

⁴ "Isis and Osiris", Moralia V, 36.358B; 55.373C.

⁵ Glover, CRERE, p. 209.

⁶ Zeller, Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, p. 155-56.

⁷ Zeller, ibid. p. 148. Epictetus, Discourses 1.14.

⁸ Diogenes Laertius quotes Boethus in this regard; Lives, Book 7, Zeno 72.

power as that of Fate.¹ Compared with the Gnostics whose God was not of this world, God to Paul is not negative but positive in his righteous involvement in history.² Apart from these intellectualists, whose influence certainly spread to some degree, the religion of the common people was most polytheistic and they frequently allowed the gods of their neighbours.³ It is worth comparing Paul with Josephus who sometimes speaks of God abstractly.⁴ Paul's distinctive idea that God was transcendent and moral sets him off in the Graeco-Roman world from the confusion of pagan gods, especially in the sense that the most basic premise of his theology begins with different historic and theological facts than his pagan contemporaries possess.

The second point to bear in mind is that Paul assumes a historical Incarnation. It is more than likely that he told his converts the essential features of Jesus' life,⁵ though he made it quite clear that his gospel emphasized the Cross.⁶ Yet the Incarnation remained unique in the Graeco-Roman world. It was an assumption which no other religion or religious teacher could make. Isis and Osiris, Mithra, Cybele, etc. were mythical figures.⁷ The Olympian

1 Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, p. 180.

2 Corpus Hermetica, Libellus 2.13ff; 5.10a. Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 194.

3 Ramsay, CSP, p. 138. Farnell, Higher Aspects of Greek Religion, p. 106.

4 Against Apion, 2.166-67.

5 I Cor. 15.1ff.

6 I Cor. 2.2.

7 Angus, The Mystery Religions and Christianity, p. 310; Mithra never existed, nor did he ever slay a bull.

gods were as perfect as men could make them but they were always involved in intrigue, reflecting in themselves the sins which men committed.¹ Philosophy had produced no Person; the moral philosophy of the Stoics and Epicureans could come no closer than to propose the perfect Wise Man, about whom Plutarch remarked, "He is no where on earth, nor ever has been."² The Christ of Paul was a living Person, above reproach in character, known and accompanied by his friends, the One who came to him on the Damascus road. What the Graeco-Roman world only hoped for³ was to Paul a reality of experience underlaid by a larger historical event. To a mind as Jewish as Paul's, the historic revelation of Christ put this event in the company of historic events like that of Jewish liberation from Egypt and the Mosaic Covenant.

Something should be said about the preparation made for the gospel presented by the church and Paul. Those who deny that Paul was not influenced by the Graeco-Roman world or that that world was not itself prepared for the gospel must assume also that God was neither universal or cosmic or concerned about the world sufficiently enough to prepare for its reception.⁴ Paul appears to have been conscious that

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¹ Murray, Five Stages of Greek Religion, p. 99., gives them their due: "They are artists' dreams, ideals, allegories; they are symbols of something beyond themselves. They are Gods of half-rejected tradition, of unconscious make-believe, of aspiration." Also Machen, The Origin of Paul's Religion, p. 214; and MacGregor and Purdy, JGTC, p. 221

² Quoted by Angus, The Mystery Religions and Christianity, p. 311. Glover, CRERE, p. 116. For a similar Gnostic view, Nock, Conversion, p. 237.

³ Halliday, The Pagan Background of Early Christianity, p. 187, for pagan belief in a divine preacher. MacGregor and Purdy, JGTC, p. 236-37.

⁴ Nock, ibid. p. 9.

momentous events have their preparation. In particular, he says, "When the time had fully come, God sent forth his son."¹ Many of the needs and desires of the people of the pagan world were of such a character that when the gospel was preached outside Palestine, the preaching and acceptance of Christ fulfilled them. First, men were looking for a Person who would be the fulfillment of their humanity in all the heart and mind could hope for.² Plutarch said He could not be found. The Stoics conceived the picture of the good Wise Man. Secondly, men sought the assurance of one, almighty, reliable God.³ Astrology had unsettled everything. The Mystery Religions and the Gnostic way made their attempts to provide the answer. Isis spoke to Apuleius: "I am she that is the natural mother of all things, mistress and governess of all the elements, the initial progeny of worlds, chief of the powers divine, queen of all that are in hell, the principal of them that dwell in heaven, manifested alone and under one form of all the gods and goddesses."⁴ Thirdly, men sought a religion of revelation having had enough of philosophic intellectualism.⁵ Consequently, Plutarch went to Delphi and re-enforced the oracle with his priesthood.⁶ Related to this was the desire for an inspired Scripture.⁷

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¹ Gal. 4.4. This is the typical Hebraic theocratic view of history.

² Grant, RHNT, p. 49.

³ Nock, Conversion, p. 101.

⁴ The Golden Ass, ll.4.

⁵ Nock, ibid. p. 107.

⁶ Glover, CRERE, p. 82.

⁷ Nock, ibid. p. 237ff.

Fourthly, men sought to be freed from evil, cosmic and social.¹ Belief in fate had taken a terrible grip on men and from the "elemental spirits" of the world they sought to be delivered. Consequently, one man might be initiated into several mysteries, hoping to secure his salvation. The initiate heard in the mysteries of Attis:

"Take courage, initiates, the god has been saved;
For you salvation will follow the pains."²

With these and other needs, and with the wide variety of responses, pagan religion was in a state of flux.³ Grant says there was a growing sense of sin.⁴ In view of the preaching of the Cynics and Stoics for conversion to a higher morality than most practised, he is probably right. The period approximating Paul was one in which there was criticism of polytheism. The Stoics and Epicureans were moving in this direction. The consequence was that one avenue of pagan religion was moving from crude belief to the sophisticated.⁵ A vocabulary emerged which had moral depth to it. Not everything or everyone was looking for richer and more meaningful religious orientation, yet the search was widespread.

The Graeco-Roman world was preparing for the gospel brought by Paul in the establishment of certain stabilizing

¹ Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 23ff.

² Quoted by Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p. 106.

³ Nock, Conversion, p. 10.

⁴ Grant, RHNT, p. 8.

⁵ Cf. Epicurus' letter to Menaeus, Diogenes Laertius, Lives, Book 10, Epicurus 27. Grant, RHNT, p. 115.

factors. First, there was established Roman peace and organization.¹ Secondly, Greek language was the universal tongue from east to west. Thirdly, Hellenistic Judaism was spread from Alexandria to Rome and some of the pathways among the settlements of the Dispersion were probably the same pathways which Paul used as he went from one synagogue to another. It was not until after Paul's death that the pagan world began to distinguish clearly between Christians and Jews. In the meantime, the grudging acceptance of the Jewish religion assured the acceptance of Christian missionaries. The interest of the Jews in the pagans was well enough established so Paul, himself a Hellenistic Jew, found the Jew and pagan already facing one another to some degree. Paul probably inherited, or was aware of, the deliberate work done to interest pagans in Judaism. The synagogues had sought converts.² The political interests of the Jews of the Dispersion had weakened,³ first toward local authorities because of loyalty to Jerusalem, and secondly toward the national consciousness of the chosen Israel resident in Palestine because of distance; the consequence of this was greater concentration on the more purely spiritual elements of their religion, and a strong conservatism, or they became more like their neighbours. (Paul was probably among the first before his conversion.) On the other hand, national particularism tended to give way to a universalism which

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¹ Grant, RHNT, p. 114f.

² Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 519.

³ Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p. 20.

looked for the inclusion of the gentiles under the sovereignty of God. This justified proselytizing through the synagogue and caused the growth of Hellenistic Jewish literature. This literature at once appealed to the pagan and taught Jewish theology.¹ The role which Hellenistic Judaism could thus play in preparation for the gospel was its provision of a foundation. Hellenistic Judaism had been speaking already to the Graeco-Roman world, commending itself and raising the religious sights of men. Paul trespassed on the work of others, but he claimed it was in obedience to a divine act of fulfillment.

When we consider the avenues through which pagan influence may have pressed itself on Paul, the most obvious place to turn is to Tarsus, the city of his birth.² Paul does say proudly of Tarsus that he was - "a citizen of no mean city".³ He spent two periods in the city: from the time of his birth until he went to study in Jerusalem,⁴ and part of the time after his conversion (after he left the church in Damascus or Jerusalem) until Barnabus located him in Tarsus and took him to Antioch.⁵ Any other visits or residence in the city were short or unmentioned. It does not seem that Paul spent much of his mature life in Tarsus.

Tarsus was a large and prosperous city⁶ set in the midst

¹ Grant, RHNT, p. 105.

² Acts 22.3.

³ Acts 21.39.

⁴ Acts 22.3.

⁵ Acts 9.22, 26, 30; 11.25; but cf. Gal. 1.17ff.

⁶ Xenophon, Anabasis, 1.2.23; Strabo, Geography, Vol. 3, 14.5.13.

of a fertile plain,¹ a city usually well supplied with water from the Taurus mountains by the Cydnus River.² Frequently in competition in the Cilician Plain with Adana and Mallos, Tarsus was the superior of the three in Paul's day, aided by the Cilician gates to the north and a remarkable harbour in Lake Rhegma to the south.³ The harbour was connected to the Mediterranean and the city by the Cydnus River. The whole system was navigable. The impression is of a most enterprising city. For two thousand years Tarsus had been the subject of two main cultural streams: the Hellenistic and the Oriental.⁴ The western culture entered through traders, followed periodically by settlers who came by choice and compulsion. They brought their gods, their language, their political notions of freedom, their philosophers and philosophies, and their love of athletic games. The Oriental influence came with the Persians, Medians, and Assyrians. They brought to Tarsus their deification of political rulers, their gods and demons, their Aramaic tongue, their oriental dress, their veiled women, their rude manners, all this by the medium of Oriental government officers and settlers. As an educational centre, Tarsus had a fine reputation⁵ with schools of every sort: Stoics, Academicans, Epicureans, poets,

¹ Strabo, Geography, Vol. 3, 14.5.1.

² Ramsay, CSE, p. 105ff.

³ Xenophon, Anabasis, 1.2; 21; Miller, Harper's Bible Dictionary, p. 727; Strabo, ibid. Vol. 3, 14.5.10.

⁴ Ramsay, ibid. p. 110ff.

⁴ Ramsay, ibid. p. 88. "Tarsus was the city whose institutions best and most completely united the Oriental and western character."

⁵ Strabo, ibid. Vol. 3, 14.5.13.

grammarians, etc. The Stoic Athenodorus¹ was its most famous scholar, influential with Augustus and prominent in the political life of the city. He was the instrument by which good government and peace were established in Tarsus for many years.

A few words about the Jews in Tarsus: probably they came to settle in Tarsus periodically, and certainly there was a large movement of them to Tarsus during the Seleucid Empire, when Antiochus IV Epiphanes found Jews sympathetic to his Hellenizing policies.² The Jews became wealthy and numerous in Tarsus. Ramsay tells an interesting story about a certain Joseph who carried out temple collections with the city as his centre.³ These collections, and with the Jewish angry illegal treatment of him, indicate their wealth and power. Their power in city affairs is evident in their presence in Rome on behalf of the city.⁴ They may have formed their own city tribe;⁵ it was essential for citizens of a Greek city state to be a member of a tribe, and the Jews would not have joined a tribe with pagan religious ceremonials because of their monotheism. Their attachment to Jerusalem was close; they paid their temple tax, made pilgrimages, sent their young men there to be trained, and

¹ Strabo, Geography, Vol. 3, 14.5.14.

² Ramsay, OSP, p. 180ff; however, some think this large settlement was made by Antiochus III: Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, p. 174; Mahaffy, Greek Life and Thought, p. 470. This view depends chiefly on Josephus, Antiquities 12.3.3.

³ Ramsay, ibid. p. 170.

⁴ Ibid. p. 178. Ramsay records a passage from Philostratus' biography of Apollonius of Tyana (6.34) on this point.

⁵ Ibid. p. 175.

were accused of collaboration with the Maccabean revolt.¹ We can only think, however, that their hopes for an independent Jewish nation had weakened; the Tarsian Jews (like Jews of the Dispersion since the Babylonian captivity) were content to live abroad. This can only mean that Jews of the Dispersion had found a way to settle themselves among pagans, and consequently, it was impossible not to know what pagans were doing and thinking.

We really cannot know for certain when Paul's ancestors came to the city. Jerome declared that Paul had connections with Gischala in Galilee.² Nor do we know when he went to Jerusalem to study; was he in his early youth or a young man in his twenties? Scholars are divided.³ But whether we lay emphasis on short or long periods in Tarsus or Jerusalem, the result is the same: Paul was influenced by the life of the city.⁴ To say proudly that it was "no mean city" requires an evaluation of it in some sense. The influence was certainly not primarily of a theological character; it was social or cultural, whether he cared much for such influences or not. It has often been remarked that Paul has a

¹ Ramsay, CSP, p. 178. Also Hausrath, HNTT, Vol. 3, p. 8. II Macc. 4.30.

² Machen, The Origin of Paul's Religion, p. 44; but most scholars have settled for the Seleucid period for his ancestors' migration. No one has made the suggestion that the family left Palestine after the death of queen Alexandra when the Pharisees fell into disfavour.

³ So Bousset and Loisy, according to Machen, ibid. p. 47: Paul was not in Jerusalem until after his conversion. But others, Conybeare and Howson, The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, p. 62, maintain he went early in his youth, perhaps at ten years of age.

⁴ Deissmann, Paul, p. 70-1. Hausrath, ibid. Vol. 3, p. 12 though he believes the pagan influence over-emphasized, also believes that Paul is a man matured in a great pagan city.

universalistic outlook.¹ Tarsus was just the city to foster such an outlook: a cross-roads of Hellenistic and Oriental influence. The Jews were involved in this city's life. Paul was taught to make tents here,² (it was his father's duty to teach him a trade),³ and marketing them must have taken him into a cosmopolitan current, exposing him to all its variation. A universalistic outlook grew with the learning of Greek and Aramaic, languages of the market and home, languages whose idioms are in his letters.⁴ This is a social or cultural influence, but it had implications for Paul's gospel. Paul's approach and gospel took universal expression;⁵ it was a law-free gospel, offered and available to all men.⁶ This perspective is partly to be explained by his divine commission,⁷ the sometimes proselytizing universality of Judaism,⁸ and his cosmopolitan experience as a city man who had moved freely through the world. Something akin to this universalistic outlook is the ease with which Paul travelled in the Graeco-Roman world. Notice in Acts and his letters how travelling is nothing to him.⁹ Tarsus

¹ Hausrath, HNTT, p. 12. Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 5, warns against over-emphasizing this in this light of his strong Jewish racial pride. This is true in a religious sense, but not so much in a social sense. He was brought up among Jews content to live abroad. Weiss, Paul and Jesus, p. 64.

² Acts 18.3.

³ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 127. Conybeare and Howson, The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, p. 58.

⁴ Deissman, Paul, p. 41, 90.

⁵ I Cor. 9.19ff. Gal. 2.11ff; 3.28.

⁶ MacGregor and Purdy, JGTC, p. 179

⁷ Gal. 1.16.

⁸ Paul quotes Hos. 2.23 in Rom. 9.25 as an expression of the intention to include the gentiles.

⁹ Acts 16.6ff; Romans 1.10ff.

could foster this better for a Jew than could Jerusalem. If Paul had been a Palestinian Jew like Peter, he might have found it difficult to move about in the pagan world.¹ It was a world easy enough to travel in under the Roman peace.² With Tarsus being part Hellenistic, its door was open for spreading the Hellenistic inclination for friendship. Says Farnell, "No race has ever manifested a greater genius for friendship than the Hellen."³ Paul here first began to move freely among pagans; the time came when he could be one with them in order to win them to Christ.⁴ This does not mean that orthodox Jews of Tarsus were in the habit of eating with the pagans; rather Paul could well learn a kind of co-existence which he capitalised on as a missionary. Another influence was begun in Tarsus as a result of Jewish involvement in political life. Paul could not have been left ignorant of political dealings either with civic or Roman officials. His Roman citizenship must have taken on its first significance in Tarsus, and we are well aware how quickly and consciously he employed this advantage later.⁵ Paul learned in Tarsus the trade of a tent maker and it was a lucrative one; this fact coupled with his ability to hire his own house in Rome⁶ suggests that Paul was a man of some financial means. Perhaps some continuing enterprise or

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¹ Cf. Acts 10.

² Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners, Vol. 1, p. 268ff.

³ Higher Aspects of Greek Religion, p. 103.

⁴ I, Corinthians 10.21.

⁵ Acts 16.37; 25.11.

⁶ Acts 28.30.

association in Tarsus may have enabled him to provide for himself all his life.

The question repeatedly comes up: did Paul attend the philosophic schools of Tarsus? Or did he know pagan philosophy? Strabo has indicated that Tarsus was a significant centre of learning. There have been those who have argued for a philosophic training,¹ but the weight of evidence is against it. Paul does not place much value on the wisdom of this world.² He may have once employed the phrases of philosophy but the whole experience at Athens produced no results.³ Counting the testimony of Acts,⁴ his primary training was in Rabbinic Judaism, this taking place in Jerusalem at the key time of his life when he would be educated. There is little likelihood that on returning to Tarsus after his conversion he would be inclined to formally study pagan philosophy. Had he set out to study pagan philosophy and religion, he would have gone immediately to the schools in each city to preach the gospel; he went rather to the synagogues. As a youth in Tarsus it is doubtful if his orthodox parents, his Pharisee father, would have wished him to have a pagan education. But it does seem probable that beginning with Tarsus Paul became aware of pagan philosophy and religion. Later the questions of his converts,

¹ Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p. 352, ft.nt. #20.

² I Cor. 1.18ff.

³ Acts 17.28, 32-33. I Cor. 1.18ff, 2.11ff, and 4.9. may be his reactions to the Athenian effort. Knox, SPCG, p.25, 111.

⁴ Acts 22.3.

the arguments of his pagan opponents, and their persecution necessitated some comprehension of what they meant or did in their religious life. Paul, an orthodox Jewish youth, even if he hated the mockery of the chief Tarsian festival of Sandon, the Saccaea, which to the Jews was a parody of the Feast of the Tabernacles celebrated in cells, nonetheless must have known something of it.¹ In the same way, in Tarsus in his youth or in older life as a Christian, contact which bred understanding must have taken place with pagan philosophy and religion. We must reject the idea of a specific pagan education; however, in many ways and at different times, he became acquainted with pagan philosophy and religion.² We must not think that his contacts gave him a thorough grasp of pagan religion and philosophy as men of the schools knew it in his day or as we may study and know it today. His attitude to pagan idolatry, immorality and crudeness was in many ways a Jewish outlook which there was no reason to surrender.

While we cannot imagine Paul to have frequented the Stoic school in Tarsus, there are some things he learned which he later turned to his advantage in his mission task. The most obvious was his facility with Greek in its popular, common form ("koine"). How significant this is is made plain by Josephus, widely-travelled in the Graeco-Roman world and a writer himself, who says that Jews were discouraged from

¹ Hausrath, HNTT, Vol. 3, p. 7.

² Nock, St. Paul, p. 241; Conversion, p. 176. Dibelius, Paul, p. 31.

learning the language.¹ Paul knew Greek well enough to preach, teach and dictate in it. As well, he used the ancient Greek form of letter writing,² and there is no reason for thinking that this form was due to his amanuensis. We will have occasion to speak of his cosmological outlook later on, but we may say here that while some branches of Judaism had begun to think cosmologically, Paul may have found it quite natural having lived in the Graeco-Roman world much of his life to find himself thinking in these terms when many about him did the same or asked questions which could only be answered if he could understand the frame of thought from which the questions came.

In Tarsus, as in many other ancient cities of the Graeco-Roman world, religious and philosophical ideas tumbled over each other.³ Present in the city were these gods and religious movements: the native, Anatolian gods, the supreme Sandon and his active working son Tarku;⁴ they were crossed with Hellenistic religion (Heracles and Apollo superimposed);⁵ from the East came the Baals,⁶ astrology,⁷ and the Mystery religions.⁸ As we have noticed, Tarsus was a

¹ Antiquities 21.11.2.

² Dodd, Romans, p. 6.

³ Ramsay, CSP, p. 138.

⁴ Ibid. p. 146.

⁵ Ibid. p. 150.

⁶ Under Semitic influence, the Lord of Tarsus became

"Baal-Tarz"; ibid. p. 140.

⁷ Probably true; by implication of its thoroughgoing spread. Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, p. 164;

⁸ Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans, p. 79ff. Mithra: Ramsay, ibid. p. 155-56. Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra, p. 31-2.

centre of philosophical study from which emerged, for example, many famous Stoics. That Paul evaluated all these, or began to do so in Tarsus, is evident when later he gave his pagan contemporaries credit for some truth; an element of divine insight, and a conscience which they sometimes exercised.¹

Another avenue through which Graeco-Roman influence came is that of Hellenistic Judaism. However, not all scholars are agreed that the Judaism which influenced Paul was under significant pagan influence. Machen is of the opinion that such a theory is "nothing short of monstrous."² Others more recently regard it as quite certain that Graeco-Roman influences reached Paul through Hellenistic Judaism.³ Of course, Paul is a long way from Philo, the Alexandrian Jew, who knew little or no Aramaic, but was well acquainted with Greek philosophy and combined it with the Pentateuch.⁴ Any other Judaism under Hellenistic influence is difficult to assess, whether in Tarsus or in Antioch, two places where Paul might have been influenced by it. Nevertheless, the fact is that there was a widespread Hellenistic Judaism from Rome to Babylon. There is ample evidence, from the second century B.C. onward, that Palestine itself was under the in-

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¹ Rom. 2.14ff.

² The Origin of Paul's Religion, p. 255-56.

³ Knox, SPCG, p. 114. Stacey, The Pauline View of Man, p.29ff. Also Dibelius, Paul, p. 15,21 and 36: "The fact is that Saul-Paul was subjected ... to the influence of Hellenistic Judaism." Bultmann, "Paul", Existence and Faith, p.112.

⁴ Nock, St. Paul, p. 237f. Deissmann, Paul, p. 108f.

fluence of the Greeks and Romans.¹ It was a great horror to orthodox Jews when a gymnasium was built in the Holy City and some Jews sought to erase the mark of the Covenant.² There were many more things which found their entrance, some offensive and some admired enough to be established.³ The impact on Jewish religion was very much less as might be expected; yet certain Hellenistic habits found their way into the Talmud.⁴ Astrology had its impact on the apocalyptic literature which was the property of all Judaism. On the whole, however, Palestinian Judaism was more conservative than Hellenistic Judaism. Our special concern now is to discover if the Hellenistic Judaism which we know about did influence Paul, a Jew of the Dispersion. We will begin by looking at the literature of Hellenistic Judaism.

The most valuable property of Hellenistic Judaism was the Greek Old Testament, the Septuagint. Its actual production lasted over some years (from 250 B.C. onward), and is a testimony to the need of the Dispersed who were unable to read Hebrew or Aramaic and wanted the book of their religion in their adopted tongue. Tarn's observation - "it is a monument entirely of form, not of substance"⁵ - needs to be modified. Such a word as *δικαίος* undergoes

1 Stacey, The Pauline View of Man, p. 27, 30.
 2 I Macc. 1.12ff. II Macc. 4.11ff.
 3 Schurer, JPJC, 2.1, p. 29ff.
 4 Davies, PRJ, p. 5.
 5 Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, p. 178.

a change of meaning from $\rho'7\zeta$ so as to be an important preparation for Paul's use of it.¹ The problem of translation was to make the Greek words suit the original Hebrew, and the result was a compromise.² It could not wholly succeed, but about this Deissmann says that Paul regarded the Septuagint as a unity in a way not true of the Hebrew script.³ Yet Paul's mind was well enough trained to use both Hebrew and Greek texts.⁴ The LXX was Paul's Bible - the one which he usually quoted in his letters. There was this influence from the LXX on Paul: it provided him with a religious vocabulary suited to the Graeco-Roman world. Quotations in Greek from the Old Testament were already prepared. In writing of Paul's style, Nock says: "There is not a paragraph in Paul's writing which does not include subconscious recollections of the Greek Old Testament."⁵ Paul used its language. Deissmann advances the view that Paul's mystical expression "in Christ" has a connection with the LXX.⁶ He takes the view that in the LXX "in the Lord" is used in a mystical sense, and regards it as "an important Hellenization of the original," and although Paul re-invests the expression with his own meaning it is the basis of his expression "in Christ". But there is a qualifying factor: "Lord" was a name already applied to the risen Christ by the

¹ Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 16f.

² Stacey, The Pauline View of Man, p. 31.

³ Paul, p. 90, 100.

⁴ Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 11f.

⁵ St. Paul, p. 216.

⁶ Ibid., p. 146.

early church of Palestine. "Our Lord, come" in the Greek is for the Aramaic "Maranatha".¹ Add to this designation the common Christian's experience of having fellowship with Christ and the result is that language and experience were uniting before Paul's conversion. "In Christ" is a very fluid expression in Paul's letters; consequently, we can only admit cautiously a vocabulary influence on Paul.

There are many words in the LXX - *θεός, κύριος* - which were common to the Graeco-Roman world.² An analogy will take us so far: many Africans learned a good deal of English through the KJV and so gained a vocabulary to use in Britain. Paul became a passionate ambassador for Christ; Greek was his tool; it provided him with the necessary religious language, and that language itself was a contribution of the Graeco-Roman world.

It must be borne in mind at this point however, that any Hellenistic influence reaching Paul through the LXX is far outweighed by the exclusive doctrines of Judaism. Says Purdy: "Jewish resistance to Hellenism is the most striking feature of the relationship."³ The doctrines emerging from the LXX are predominantly Jewish, and the chief Hellenistic element from it that influences Paul is linguistic.

It seems to us quite clear that some Jewish literature

¹ I Cor. 16.22.

² To the Gnostics God is Mind; to Apuleius, Isis is beautiful with long, flowing, curling hair and a garland of flowers crowning her head.

³ JGTC, p. 149.

was under the influence of Hellenism, and therefore can be called the literature of Hellenistic Judaism, but the matter of selection has been a subject of discussion. Consequently, we give a selection of authors who have expressed their views. The work of Charles and Oesterley is decidedly in favour of finding Hellenistic influence in the apocalyptic literature. For example, they both find it in the Book of the Secrets of Enoch.¹ Tarn says that he speaks with some diffidence on this subject; while the Dispersion "was open to Hellenistic influence,"² he feels that the literature produced by the Jews for propaganda purposes took account of Hellenism without any great comprehension of it.³ His own selection of a Jewish book significantly affected by Hellenism is the canonical book Ecclesiastes, but only in so far as it breathes the spirit of the times.⁴ Probably Tarn's caution was due to his knowledge of what a real Hellenistic influence should amount to, and this he generally failed to find. Mahaffy⁵ and more recently Anderson⁶ have taken stock of the Epicurean and Stoic influences on this rather fatalistic book. Moore, with a great many others, has found Hellenistic influence in Ecclesiasticus, and

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¹ Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Vol. 2, p. 425. Oesterley, The Books of the Apocrypha, p. 220f.

² Hellenistic Civilization, p. 178.

³ Ibid. p. 187, Similarly Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 95.

⁴ Ibid. p. 184ff.

⁵ Greek Life and Thought, p. 484f.

⁶ Understanding the Old Testament, p. 478ff.

the Wisdom of Solomon.¹ Klausner believes that Hellenism influenced three Jewish books - the Wisdom of Solomon, IV Maccabees, and the Sibylline Oracles - and that the works of Philo are from one who was a Jew and a Greek at the same time.² Stacey is inclined to think that the first selection is the significant one, but includes the other two.³ The growing opinion therefore is that there is some literature under Hellenistic influence which may be called the literature of Hellenistic Judaism, apart from the LXX and the works of Philo. It is obvious too that there are degrees of influence.

Ecclesiastes, which appeared about the same time as the LXX, has as its dominant point of view the Hebrew conviction that all things are in "the hands of God".⁴ However, since the author finds God unfathomable and his ways mysterious, he is inclined to believe that the individual must try to find the meaning of his existence as it is set between birth and death.⁵ This individualism is his Hellenism, for the orthodox Jew found his existence in relation to the corporateness of the Covenant. He is Hellenistic in his view of history, often cyclical⁶ rather than teleological, because the ways of God are inscrutable.⁷ The author

¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 38, 120, 243. MacGregor and Purdy, JGTC, p. 153.

² From Jesus to Paul, p. 123, 137, 141, 198f.

³ The Pauline View of Man, p. 32.

⁴ Eccl. 9.1.

⁵ Eccl. 8.6ff.

⁶ Eccl. 1.10.

⁷ Eccl. 3.11.

sounds like the Epicurean when he tells man "to eat, and drink and enjoy himself."¹ Ecclesiastes was accepted into the canon, said the Rabbis, because Solomon had spoken it by the Holy Spirit,² and it concluded with an admonition to keep the law,³ although on internal ground the Rabbis were disposed to reject it.⁴

The essential reason for including Ecclesiastes in the canon had the same basis for rejecting Ecclesiasticus; it was felt that the Holy Spirit had departed from Israel before the Alexandrian composition;⁵ (it was written about 185 B.C. and translated into Hebrew about 132-130). The dominant interest of the book is with Wisdom, pre-existent,⁶ personified,⁷ but also something to be sought after.⁸ The fundamental Jewishness of the book is characterized by the first chapter:

"All wisdom comes from the Lord
and is with him for ever."⁹

or by the words "the fear of the Lord is wisdom".¹⁰ In fact the whole book as it touches on the law, ethics, creation, is Jewish. At the same time, the author has a kindly eye toward the gentiles,¹¹ and feels it incumbent that God be declared universal. His sovereignty extends

¹ Eccl. 8.15.

² Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 238.

³ Eccl. 12.13.

⁴ Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 242.

⁵ Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 243.

⁶ Ecclus. 1.4.

⁷ Ecclus. 24.1ff.

⁸ Ecclus. 51.13ff.

⁹ Ecclus. 1.1. cf. vs. 9.

¹⁰ Ecclus. 1.27.

¹¹ Ecclus. 10. 1-3.

over all the nations.¹ Sirach is, of course, in the universalistic tradition of the prophets, but the tenth chapter makes it clear that the gospel of the law is extended to all. His question about honour is partly a rhetorical device but it also has a Hellenistic ring which is united with a strong Jewish answer:

"What race is worthy of honour? The human race.
 What race is worthy of honour? Those who fear
 the Lord."²

The concern of this book with Wisdom reveals two connected points. The love of wisdom was a phenomena well known to the Greeks, Babylonians and Egyptians as ancient texts, papyri and tablets testify. Thus the interest in Wisdom was not distinctively Hebrew but something with which Israel had unavoidably been brought into contact. This external influence was easily assimilated as Ecclesiasticus indicates and was stamped with Hebrew theology; Wisdom is Torah.³ Ecclesiasticus has several Hellenistic features as a result of foreign associations, and it is sympathetic toward pagans.

Daniel may be mentioned because it is one of the earliest apocalyptic works⁴ in which God's involvement has taken an un-Hebraic turn. He is no longer involved in history but will manifest his judgement in cosmic proportions

¹ Ecclus. 10.4, 14ff.

² Ecclus. 10.19.

³ Ecclus. 39.

⁴ Passages from Ezekiel, Zechariah, Joel and Isaiah were earlier.

at the end of time with evil's destruction. God transcends and will transfigure history.¹ To the author of this apocalyptic work the kingdoms of men are virtually an evil power opposed to the kingdom of God, and evil's growing power is a sign of the approaching end.² This increasing sense of evil as a power is commonly attributed to Zoroastrian influence,³ and is the foundation of the problem of God's failure to justify the righteous. On the whole, Daniel is Jewish, faithful to the Law and certain that God still achieves his purposes, but as we can see, there has been an important foreign influence which has caused the author to envisage God's activity cosmically rather than historically. This cosmological viewpoint is maintained in later apocalyptic literature.

The Sibylline Oracles are apocalyptic compositions produced at various times after 140 B.C. The Oracles are Jewish propaganda written to call the gentiles to repentance and obedience to the Law, and to maintain the unity and sovereignty of God and the uniqueness of the Jewish people.⁴ Whereas Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus and Daniel slightly influenced by the Graeco-Roman world are directed chiefly to the Jewish communities themselves, these Oracles are partly written to win the approval of pagans. In the main they proceed theologically founded on Judaism: God is sovereign

¹ Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, p. 515ff.

² Dan. 7.23ff.

³ Anderson, ibid. p. 518.

⁴ Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Vol. 2, p. 375. Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p. 141ff.

and will accomplish his purposes,¹ and obedience to the law is what all men must eventually give,² or perish forever. The influence of Hellenism is just as apparent. The "Sibyl" is a prophetess borrowed from pagan religion, a figure fictitiously pressed into service by Hellenistic Jews. Universalism burns strongly in the Oracles,³ and it has a realism which didn't find expression among the Hebrew prophets, no doubt due to the fact that the Oracles were written abroad and there was current an increasing interest in the conversion of pagans. Universalism finds expression in a broad extension of the Messianic Age. The "holy prince" - i.e. the Messiah - will wield his sceptre over the whole world.⁴ In the Messianic Age, great fertility, joy and peace will come upon the whole world.⁵ As we noted in Daniel, evil is now a power. Gog and Magog are named in the fashion of Ezekiel as representing such powers. Evil saturates society⁶ and before the End of time will commence a great struggle of kings and rulers against God.⁷ The cosmological mind at work is definitely confirmed by descriptions of chaos in the whole firmament.⁸

We have left to the last the Wisdom of Solomon because its Hellenistic features are the ones so often compared

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- 1 Sib. Or. 3.571.
 - 2 Sib. Or. 3.580f.
 - 3 Sib. Or. 3.60,710-23.
 - 4 Sib. Or. 3.49.
 - 5 Sib. Or. 3.619-23, 750ff.
 - 6 Sib. Or. 3.184ff.
 - 7 Sib. Or. 3.663ff.
 - 8 Sib. Or. 3.83ff.

with Paul's letters and are alleged to influence him.¹

Like Ecclesiasticus, this is wisdom literature which wasn't accepted into the canon of the Old Testament. It was written sometime between 100 and 40 B.C. perhaps in Alexandria. It was written certainly for Jews² to provide consolation,³ to warn against the temptations of scepticism,⁴ materialism,⁵ and idolatry,⁶ and perhaps to assure them in the face of persecution.⁷ It seems to have been written for pagans as well⁸ as a warning and to show the truth as the author believes the Jews have it.⁹ The book turns out to be a compromise uniting "the conventional piety of orthodox Judaism with the Greek philosophical spirit current in Alexandria."¹⁰ Its fundamental basis and loyalty is to Jewish theology. It is faithful to the race's Biblical history,¹¹ and the consciousness of being the chosen people is evident.¹² Wisdom, which is also a major theme of the book, is a gift of God.¹³ However, while it has this Jewish colouring, it also has Greek features; Wisdom is personified¹⁴ under the influence of the Stoic conception of the Logos,¹⁵

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¹ Sandy and Headlam, Romans, p. 51ff. Thackeray, RPCJT, p. 223ff. Oesterley, The Books of the Apocrypha, p. 474. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 77ff.

² Oesterley, ibid. p.469ff.

³ Wis. of Sol. 3.1.

⁴ Wis. of Sol. 2.1ff.

⁵ Wis. of Sol. 2.6ff.

⁶ Wis. of Sol. 14:12f.

⁷ Wis. of Sol. 2.12ff; 10.15.

⁸ Metzger, An Introduction to the Apocrypha, p. 68.

⁹ Wis. of Sol. 6.1ff, 21f.

¹⁰ Metzger, ibid. p.66.

¹¹ Wis. of Sol. 10.15ff. and most ensuing chapters.

¹² Wis. of Sol. 15.12.

¹³ Wis. of Sol. 7.7, 25.

¹⁴ Wis. of Sol. 10.1ff.

¹⁵ Wis. of Sol. 10.22ff. Metzger, ibid. p. 73.

"a pure emanation of the glory of God." The author understands, like the Stoics, that God's existence is knowable from the unity of the world,¹ as well as from His deeds in history. It is natural therefore to find some cosmological thinking in the recreation of the world.² The world is permeated by one soul, the Spirit of God³ - another sign of Stoic philosophy. Reflecting the Stoics again, the author teaches that the world has been made out of formless matter.⁴ He has a definite universalistic outlook in his doctrine of God, on the one hand teaching God's sovereignty and judgment of rulers and nations,⁵ and on the other teaching that God cares for all men.⁶ Such universalism could easily have grown from the author's understanding of prophetic theology, but no doubt it took on a liveliness due to his Alexandrian surroundings. A Hellenistic dualism emerges in the book. The situation which in part enables this is the author's teaching that God is everything and man is of little account.⁷ In addition to this, there is a sense in which evil power stalks the world, leading men astray especially into idolatry.⁸ The origin is probably to be

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¹ Wis. of Sol. 7.17, 21ff; 13.9. Bultman, Primitive Christianity, p. 96.

² Wis. of Sol. 19.18.

³ Wis. of Sol. 1.7.

⁴ Wis. of Sol. 11.17. Oesterley, The Books of the Apocrypha, p. 85. Metzger, An Introduction to the Apocrypha, p. 73.

⁵ Wis. of Sol. 6.1ff.

⁶ Wis. of Sol. 12.13.

⁷ Wis. of Sol. 12.

⁸ Wis. of Sol. 13.6, 7; 14.11.

named the devil; he is certainly the cause of death.¹ The author is led to affirm that the body is a weight and clog to the soul,² and attitude which is characteristic of neither the Old or the New Testament. The author teaches the pre-existence³ and immortality of the soul.⁴ Lastly, we find that the book speaks of four cardinal Stoic virtues: self-control, prudence, justice and courage.⁵

The primary premise from which Hellenistic Judaism proceeded was its conviction of the sovereignty of God. Even if rational arguments for knowledge of Him were proposed as in the Wisdom of Solomon, this Hebraic fundamental was sustained. Hellenistic Judaism was faithful to its heritage in giving an essential place to the Law. In the main, the view of history was still teleological rather than cyclical as the Greeks thought. For reasons like these, Schurer says rightly that "in all essentials" Hellenistic Judaism felt itself faithful to its traditional religion.⁶ In view of the common contempt in which the Jews were held⁷ (which was due on the one hand to the isolationism which pagans saw in them and on the other hand their duty to obey the law), they were drawn close together and the sense of community with the homeland was felt to be a

¹ Wis. of Sol. 2.24.

² Wis. of Sol. 9.15. Cf. 8.19,20. Metzger, An Introduction to the Apocrypha, p. 74.

³ Wis. of Sol. 8.19,20; 15.8.

⁴ Wis. of Sol. 3.1; 6.19.

⁵ Wis. of Sol. 8.7. Oesterley, The Books of the Apocrypha, p. 87.

⁶ JPJC, 2.2. p. 282. Similarly Oesterley, ibid. p. 55.

⁷ Nock, Conversion, p. 105.

real bond.

At the same time, the Jews of the Dispersion tended to be more broad-minded¹ with a "kindly eye" toward their neighbours. This is especially so when it is recognized that Palestinian Jews were much more isolationists.² We supposed that in Tarsus Paul tended to gain a more broad-minded outlook than if he had been born and raised in Palestine.

Secondly, the Hellenistic Jew with his certainty that he was a child of a superior religion sooner or later was bound to communicate this conviction to his neighbours.³ He had something to offer. His interest to convert the pagan increased.⁴ Thirdly, Oesterley says on the basis of the Letter to Aristaeas that Hellenistic Jews tended to smooth out the Law so that it lost its rigidity.⁵ Laws concerning sacrifice certainly lost their point outside of Palestine. The problem of gentile uncleanness was intensified and this may have aggravated the situation reflected by the Wisdom of Solomon.⁶

Examples are to be found of Hellenistic Jews altering or weakening the demand of the Law, but it is far from the general rule. Fourthly, Hellenistic Jews became disposed to compose literature which first witnessed to their racial faith, and secondly reflected their enlarged knowledge of the world.

¹ Oesterley, The Books of the Apocrypha, p. 55f.

² Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 113. Cf. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 386. Cf. also Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Second Series, p. 40 with footnote.

³ Oesterley, ibid. p. 56.

⁴ Montefiore, Judaism and St. Paul, p. 62.

⁵ The Books of the Apocrypha, p. 56.

⁶ Wis. of Sol. 2.18, 19.

Hellenistic Jews were affected doctrinally by pagan religion and philosophy to some degree. First, when pagan men spoke of God, the prophetic teaching about His universalism was inevitably associated. The universality of God gained a new integrity. From this it was natural to believe that the Messiah would reign universally. Secondly, Hellenistic Jews had begun to think in cosmic categories. Several writers, notably Hatch¹ and Knox,² believe Hellenistic Jews employed cosmic categories to bear their religious convictions to pagans, and Christians unhesitatingly did the same. We believe this is true since even the author of the Wisdom of Solomon believes he is true to one God. Under Greek influence the author of the Wisdom of Solomon sees the world cosmically, something to be rationally understood.³ God could be perceived rationally.⁴ On the other hand, from exile onward, the problem of sin occupied Jewish minds increasingly, and in lieu of the activity of the heavens, the hope of redemption itself took on cosmic proportions.⁵ Thirdly, in dealing with the problem of evil, Hellenistic Jews believed in the existence of two powers: good and evil; it was commonly believed that evil ruled the present age, but

¹ The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages, p. 129.

² SPCG, p. 27ff, 146ff. For Pharisaic use of cosmological conceptions, see p. 54.

³ Wis. of Sol. 7.17.

⁴ Wis. of Sol. 13.9.

⁵ Sib. Or. 3.652ff. Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 60. Davies PRJ, p. 38. Grant AJNT, p. 14.

in the last God will triumph.¹ It should be noted however that apocalyptic literature in general, which was influential among all Jews, had this practical dualism. Rabbinic Judaism was more interested in the problem of evil from the point of view of man's two impulses, the yêtzzer hâ-râ and the yêtzzer hâ-tôb, both of which resided in man which he could choose and subject to his control. Even this view of sin which sought to protect Jewish monotheism could combine with the belief in Beliar, a power opposing God.² Where Hellenism made its real invasion of Judaism in this regard was in a dualism in which the body was regarded as evil. The Wisdom of Solomon which make this most plain³ nevertheless did not surrender human responsibility for sin.⁴ It was natural then that a fourth characteristic should emerge in Hellenistic-Judaic literature: the immortality of the soul. If the body was bad, the soul must be good and eternal. There is no doctrine of resurrection in the Wisdom of Solomon.

In comparing Paul with the literature and theology of Hellenistic Judaism, the work of Grafe, who believed Paul to be dependent on the Wisdom of Solomon, has been determinative.⁵ Thackeray followed his findings with respect to idolatry, predestination and the dualism of body and soul.⁶ Sandy and

¹ Sib. Or. 3.63ff, especially vs. 91. Wis. of Sol. 2.24.

² Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs, Asher 1.8.

³ Wis. of Sol. 9.15.

⁴ Wis. of Sol. 1.16.

⁵ Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 77ff. Klausner From Jesus to Paul, p.583, believes Paul depended on this literature.

⁶ RPCJT, p. 223.ff.

Headlam,¹ and Oesterley,² believed that Paul was influenced along Hellenistic lines by the book. Ellis has been critical of the whole attempt to prove that Paul was dependent on the literature of Hellenistic Judaism on the basis that nothing has yet been conclusively proved.³ He follows Focke and Michel in disproving that Paul was influenced by the Hellenistic theology in the Wisdom of Solomon.⁴ The arguments are weighty. No one will dispute that the common ground between the Wisdom of Solomon and Paul is the O.T. Paul regards pagan idolatry to be an act of the will;⁵ the Wisdom of Solomon regards this as an act of ignorance.⁶ Paul regards pagan idolatry steadily declining into worse evil to be under the judgement of God;⁷ the Wisdom of Solomon thinks that some pagan evils are not as bad as others and that judgement has only the character of correction.⁸ Paul's view of pagan evil has been activated by his conception of the death of Christ and work of God in that event. This, indeed, is the principle by which he views all matters now. Often he has a point of contact with Hellenistic Judaism; as often, the substance of the subject has taken shape under the influence of the Christ event.

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¹ Romans, p. 49ff. They rightly judge that Paul does not quote it, but believe he must have studied it.

² The Books of the Apocrypha, p. 477 - a formal rather than substantial influence.

³ Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 83.

⁴ Ibid. p. 78ff.

⁵ Rom. 1.20, 21

⁶ Wis. of Sol. 13.6.

⁷ Rom. 1.24, 26, 28.

⁸ Wis. of Sol. 12.25.

The universalism of God had development in the prophetic literature, the apocalyptic literature and that of Hellenistic Judaism. But now, according to Paul, Christ in whom all the fullness of God dwells¹ is the Lord of all.² Christ has died for all, and God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself.³ This is the new basis for the universalism of God. Secondly, Paul does think in cosmic categories from time to time. Hellenistic Judaism, and to a less but certain degree Palestinian and apocalyptic Judaism, used such categories.⁴ Belief in angels, demons and the spheres of heaven entered Jewish thought under Babylonian influence.⁵ Paul allows this much to a pagan man that by contemplating the order and unity of the world, he might have known God.⁶ It is evident from Colossians, however, that his involvement in missionary work forced him to relate Christ's work to cosmical questions.⁷ The "elemental spirits of the universe," "the principalities and powers," have been exposed and disarmed of their power.⁸ The Satanic powers of the universe cannot separate us from the love of God in Christ.⁹ The world as a cosmos is taken into account in so far as Paul must relate

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¹ Col. 1.19.

² Rom. 10.12.

³ II Cor. 5.19.

⁴ Oesterley and Robinson, Hebrew Religion, p. 71, 288.

⁵ Ibid. p. 280. Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p.171.

⁶ Thackeray RPCJT, p. 142. Cf. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p.401ff.

⁷ Rom. 1.20, 21; this passage may have as its background the Noachian commandments by which the Jews supposed the gentiles to know the Divine will.

⁸ Knox, SPCG, p. 149ff.

⁹ Col. 2.8, 15.

Rom. 8. 38, 39.

the gospel to the needs of his hearers and converts. More than this, if sin is promoted by a power as Paul sometimes thinks,¹ redemption in cosmic terms is not a homiletical device but a real fact to him. It is not natural for Paul to think in cosmological categories however, for he seems to prefer the idea of a new creation,² a conception distinctively more Jewish.³ It is equally true that he prefers individualistic conceptions by which to express the gospel. Thirdly, Paul has been influenced by Hellenistic dualism providing we mean that he understood evil to be a power manifest in sin and opposed to God, and not a dualism of body versus soul. Sin is a power gripping men. The tempter is always at hand.⁴ The old age is passing; "the form of this world is passing away."⁵ The body is not evil according to Paul; he has no contempt for it.⁶ Paul cannot envisage a resurrection existence without a body - a distinctively Jewish conception about the hereafter.⁷ The "body is a temple of the Holy Spirit."⁸ Because Paul does not always think in cosmic categories and often thinks individualistically, he teaches that sin is due to man's will,⁹ and not his intellect;¹⁰ thus contempt for the body does not

¹ Rom. 6.6, 12.

² II Cor. 5.17.

³ Davies, PRJ, p. 39f, 177

⁴ I Thess. 3.5. Anderson Scott, CASE, p.29.

⁵ I Cor. 7.31.

⁶ Sevenster, Paul and Seneca, p. 75ff, compares Seneca's view of the body, which to him is contemptible, with Paul's view.

⁷ I Cor. 15.35ff.

⁸ I Cor. 6.19.

⁹ Rom. 1.21, 22.

¹⁰ Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 78.

enter the discussion. Fourthly, Paul was not influenced by the Hellenistic conception of the immortality of the soul. Knox thinks he gave way to its influence under the pressure of Hellenistic Christians who were appalled at the Jewish idea of a resurrected body.¹ Davies rightly rejects this by showing that this would imply believing the body was evil itself, a point to which Paul does not come.² Rather, the clue to Paul's change of emphasis in II Cor. 5 compared with I Cor. 15 is in the Age to Come which in Jewish thought already existed unseen and was still to be made visible. Lastly, we may ask if Hellenistic Judaism was influenced by Hellenistic (Stoic) ethics, which in turn influenced Paul. Paul has no grouping like that in the Wisdom of Solomon 8.7. Klausner believes, however, that Paul's famous triad of faith, hope and love are a Greek triad, but he does not give the reference.³ Paul often speaks of truth, ἀλήθεια, but he almost always uses it in reference to the gospel, the manifestation of God in Christ which he now preaches.⁴ This truth is indeed absolute, but there is no abstract quality about it. Sometimes, of course, truth is contrasted with falsehood.⁵ Only twice does he speak of truth as having the character of an independent virtue.⁶ It appears therefore that Paul almost entirely can think of truth only in relation to what

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¹ SPCG, p. 127ff.

² PRJ, p. 313ff.

³ From Jesus to Paul, p. 127ff.

⁴ Gal. 2.5. II Thess. 2.10,12.

⁵ II Cor. 7.14.

⁶ II Cor. 12.6. Phil. 4.8.

God has revealed in Christ. The passage in Phil. 4.8-9 has led many commentators to believe that here, Paul has come under Stoic influence to speak so absolutely of truth, honour, justice, purity, etc.¹ This seems to us likely, but it should be clearly noted that the majority of Paul's ethical teachings stem from Judaism, and many which he singles out - humility, accommodation - are also under the influence of Christ's teaching or example.²

The method of interpretation of scripture known as allegory was well known among the Greeks, Hellenistic Jews, and Palestinian Rabbis.³ The Greeks used allegory to get rid of coarseness in their religion and the Jews probably inherited it.⁴ More than all the others, the Stoics capitalized on allegory,⁵ so in the Graeco-Roman world it was acceptable and well understood. There was this difference between the Greek and Jewish use of it: the Greeks penetrated right to the heart of a matter, and if they found the principle wrong, they changed it; the externals were left unless changing them was unavoidable.⁶ Jewish use of allegory was cautious to never touch the heart of their religion. Consequently "there was no attempt to reach a deeper understand-

¹ Dodd, "The Mind of Paul: II," New Testament Studies, p. 115

² Weiss, Paul and Jesus, p. 60.62.

³ Rom. 13.10; 14.13. Gal. 6.2. Phil. 2.5.

⁴ Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 51f.

⁵ Oesterly, The Books of the Apocrypha, p. 57.

⁶ Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 95. Zeller, Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, p. 354.

⁶ Murray, Five Stages of Greek Religion, p. 202: "the words can be allowed to possess all their old beauty and magic, but an inner meaning is added quite different from that which they bear on the surface."

ing of the context, to discover the ideas underlying the text itself, or the circumstances in which it took place." "New interpretations were simply recorded side by side with the old."¹ This was the typical Rabbinic approach. Philo represents the allegorizing tendency in Hellenistic Judaism; Moses was enabled to become the fountain from which all Greek philosophy drank.² In Philo's allegory on Sarah and Hagar, Abraham represented the human soul, and Sarah and Hagar represented divine wisdom and secular learning.³ Thus although Hellenistic Jews related Judaism and Hellenism through allegory, it was always in the service of Judaism; consequently the goal of Hellenistic allegory never became the goal of Judaism. Although Paul uses allegory very little, he suits it to his own purpose. Ellis asks if what is called Pauline allegory⁴ is really allegory at all.⁵ Rather, he says, what we find in Gal. 3.16ff, 4.22ff, I Cor. 9.9ff, etc. is typology. Such things were "written for our sakes." A historical event is a type of something in the Christian dispensation. While there is truth in this, Paul has only a small interest in the historical or theological meaning of the O.T. passages, and rather like Philo, allegory enables him to find a meaning to support his theological position. On the whole his allegories are more Jewish than Hellenistic.

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¹ Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 64.

² Ibid. p. 95.

³ Blunt, Galatians, p. 119.

⁴ Thackeray, RFCJT, p. 100ff, says Paul allegorized like the Rabbis; however, Paul does not pile up interpretation beside interpretation.

⁵ Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 51ff.

Another example of influence from the Graeco-Roman world on Paul may be in his tendency to reflect.¹ The influence exerting itself was the Hellenistic habit of defining and speculating about the world and life. Cumont observes that in the Graeco-Roman world "theology had passed from the fictitious to the metaphysical state."² Farnell discusses the Hellenistic desire for truth.³ Although Luke ridicules the Stoics and Epicureans,⁴ these are the persons responsible for filling the ancient world with a spirit of enquiry and for continuing the work of their philosophical predecessors, however little they cared for such pursuits. Hatch has argued that "the philosophic temper had come into existence on a large scale penetrating all classes of society and inwrought into the general intellectual fibre of the time."⁵ When the educated or semi-educated⁶ and Christianity began to work together, the speculative and defining habit of Hellenism began its work. Paul was on the doorstep of this development. He certainly does not speculate metaphysically as Weiss thought,⁷ but he constantly defines the meaning of the gospel.⁸ Free and open discussion was a

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¹ Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 21, observes the tendency to reflect and gives some credit for this to his Rabbinic training. Agreed, but his gentile converts unavoidably introduced him to the temper of pagan reflection.

² Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, p. 206.

³ Higher Aspects of Greek Religion, p. 145.

⁴ Acts 17.21

⁵ The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages, p. 184ff.

⁶ Nock, Conversion, p. 176: a great many heard some philosophy and ethics.

⁷ Paul and Jesus, p. 67-8.

⁸ Romans, Colossians.

commonplace to him.¹ Paul is between the Rabbis and the philosophic schools. The confines of Rabbinic Halakah or Haggadah no longer concern him, though emotionally he may feel the kind of limits they placed on speculation. It is worthwhile noting that defining and doctrinizing tendencies were at work among the Pharisees: their teaching of the resurrection of the dead is an example. This tendency, says Finklestein, was inherited from the Greeks,² but Schurer believes the tendency was natural to the Jewish habits of study.³ Since Paul was a Hellenistic Jew, there is every reason to believe that both worlds influenced him; he was able to discuss the gospel with people of both worlds. Paul reflects a desire that the meaning and implications of the gospel must be comprehensible to the world.⁴ "We destroy arguments and every proud obstacle to the knowledge of God, and take every thought captive to obey Christ."⁵ He defines the implications of the Cross;⁶ he defines the new ethic;⁷ in so doing he shares the temper of the times but only so far as his single-minded purpose - to declare and establish the gospel - is achieved.

We are in danger of being led astray when it is supposed that Paul had a theological system. Nothing could be further

¹ Acts 17.16ff.

² The Pharisees, Vol. 2, p. 572-3.

³ JPJC, 2.1. p. 345f.

⁴ Col. 1.19,20. Eph. 1.9,10. II Cor.5.16ff.

⁵ II Cor. 10.5.

⁶ Rom. 5.8.

⁷ I Cor. 7.15ff. 13.1ff.

from the truth;¹ he set out without such a thought; his purpose was homiletical and pastoral. It is impossible to reconcile some of the things he says. On one occasion, he says that he must go to the wise,² and at another point he scorns: "Where is the wise man?"³ Paul rejects the way of Judaism but there is a sympathy for the people who embrace it as though what he has thrown off was not quite all gone.⁴ Accidentally, in the same letter, he slips in two opposing views about the conduct of women in church services.⁵ Dibelius is right that Paul is too passionate and single-minded to have harmony in all he says.⁶ However, as Stewart insists, there still remains in Paul an "inner consistency"; it is "life ... filled and flooded with the redeeming love of God."⁷

The idea of the conscience, *συνησθησις*, is something which Paul has taken over from the Graeco-Roman world, especially from the Stoics to whom it was elementary.⁸ Judaism has no exact equivalent for it.⁹ The Stoic was to live according to Nature,¹⁰ which meant in accordance to the Mind in him which was itself God, diffused and immanent.¹¹ Fund-
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- 1 Dibelius, Paul, p. 40. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 24ff.
- 2 Rom. 1.14.
- 3 I Cor. 1.20. I Cor. 10. Paul was accused of inconsistency.
- 4 Rom. 9.1-2; 10.1ff.
- 5 I Cor. 11.5; 14.34.
- 6 Ibid. p. 41ff.
- 7 Ibid. p. 28f. I Cor. 2.2.
- 8 Nock, St. Paul, p. 239.
- 9 Sevenster, Paul and Seneca, p. 93.
- 10 Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 22. Murray, Stoic, Christian and Humanist, p. 103. Epictetus, Discourses, 1.26.1.
- 11 Diogenes Laertius, Lives, Book 7, Zeno 68.

amentally, the Stoic conscience was God in man. For Seneca, "the voice of conscience is the voice of God, because it is the voice of the divine spirit in man, which testifies to the fact that God has entered into man."¹ He says, "God is near you, he is with you, he is within you ... a holy spirit indwells within us, one who makes our good and bad deeds, and is our guardian."² By it, man gains knowledge of his actions, words and thoughts - good and bad. This sense the Stoic man of conscience has within him accusing him of wrong, confirming that he has done honourably or rightly and guarding him as he in turn respects the divine within him.³ The Epicurean seems to have had little social conscience and was unmoved by the thought of the gods, so is of little consequence.⁴ Paul and the Stoics have this much similarity about conscience that they appeal for the right thing to be done which will please men and God.⁵ Paul considers all men to possess a conscience.⁶ From his discussion in Rom. 2.14-15 it is apparent that he believes that the conscience does really in fact speak to men; moreover, like Seneca he supposes that the conscience may judge or accuse the wrong and confirm the right.⁷ Paul has this personal experience: "my

¹ Sevenster, Paul and Seneca, p. 91.

² Quoted by Sevenster, ibid. p. 90.

³ Cf. Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, p. 311, 319f.

⁴ Diogenes Laertius, Lives, Book 10, Epicurus 27, Letter of Epicurus to Menaeceus.

⁵ Cf. Cleanthes' hymn to Zeus with the Christian hymn "Lead kindly light". Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 139.

⁶ II Cor. 4.2.

⁷ Cf. I Cor. 8.7-13.

conscience bears me witness."¹ Sevenster rightly notices that for Paul there is the extra and determining fact of the Holy Spirit.² This leads us on to say that the conscience is for Paul to be controlled by love.³ His thought about the conscience is unlike the Stoics in that God and conscience are clearly distinguished; God is transcendent not immanent. Moreover, for the Stoic, conscience within him was his final judge; not so with Paul - God is the final eschatological judge.⁴ Paul has adopted this term *συνησθησις* from the Graeco-Roman world with its inner sense of capacity to judge the right and wrong; however, he places it under the power of the Spirit and moral demand of love.

Paul makes important use of the word "freedom", and in doing so we can see how he was conscious of its association in the Graeco-Roman world. In at least three ways we can see its use in that world. First it has political connotations for Greeks in their city states,⁵ for Jews in terms of their national expectations,⁶ and for any subject or oppressed people;⁷ Asia Minor (Tarsus) had experienced a good deal of oppression since the time of Alexander until the Roman conquest brought peace. Secondly, the Stoics, for an example from philosophy, turned freedom inward. "Freedom for

¹ Rom. 9.1.

² Paul and Seneca, p. 97.

³ I Cor. 10.23ff.

⁴ Sevenster, *ibid.* p. 99.

⁵ Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity*, p. 105f: "Freedom was freedom to serve the commonwealth."

⁶ MacGregor and Purdy, *JGTC*, p. 32ff, where a brief account is given of the Maccabean revolt.

⁷ II Macc. 4.30, 36 indicates Tarsian reaction to Antiochus IV Epiphanes' high-handed treatment. In addition Ramsay, *CSP*, p. 160-1.

the Stoics means independence of all reality, external to the human subject."¹ Stoic freedom is resignation to inexorable fate; his freedom is to accept life as it is and be unhindered by troubles; his freedom is the employment of his will.² A third use of freedom concerned slavery and manumission. A master could free a slave by his will; or by his savings and deposits with a temple, a slave could buy his freedom.³ Comparing all this with Paul's use of freedom, we can see that there is little connection with political or Stoic freedom, and Paul's use is more related to manumission. Paul uses the idea of a freed slave as a metaphor,⁴ and goes much further to invest it with meaning descriptive of the Christian's experience of salvation. The content of freedom is like the Stoic's freedom in as much as it is inward, but it is very different because the Christian man is regarded as a sinner. The Stoic tended to go no further than to allow failure or sin to be an error, a wrong opinion.⁵ To Paul, man - slave or free - was incapable of doing what he wished.⁶ His first master was sin, until set

¹ Epictetus, Discourses, 4.1.68ff and in several other sections. Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 143.

² Sevenster, Paul and Seneca, p. 109f, 117ff.

³ Murray, Stoic, Christian, Humanist, p. 109.

⁴ Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, p. 90.

⁴ Gal. 5.1. Rom. 6.18,20. I Cor. 7.23. Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 10.

⁵ Farnell, Higher Aspects of Greek Religion, p. 134, observes that the Greeks never came to a belief in original sin, only particular sins. The Mystery Religions, however, had given rise to a consciousness of sin; Angus, The Mystery Religions and Christianity, p. 276. Seneca, however, does express his opinion that all men have sinned and some will

⁶ all their lives, Sevenster, ibid. p. 123ff.
Rom. 7.14ff.

free from sin (or the law or the flesh) by the work of Christ¹ appropriated by faith. Paul's idea of freedom is connected with the experience of salvation. He views it in a rather back-handed way: "we have been set free from sin, ... become slaves of righteousness".² The Christian has taken on a new Master who empowers him for his new life; (it would be better and truer to say that a new Master has taken him).³ We find finally that in Paul's use of freedom a word has been taken over, connected with manumission, which he reinvests to express the Christian's experience of salvation.

When we examine the names used by Paul of Jesus, there is some evidence of deliberate attention by Paul in order to present his gospel to the gentiles. Certain names familiar to Palestinian Christians were not used by Paul. The reason is probably that they were meaningless to the pagans. The "Son of Man" is an apocalyptic term no longer used by him.⁴ Some scholars maintain that "Christ" no longer meant "Messiah" and for Paul had become a proper name.⁵ This is partly true but it needs to be modified. In the first place, Paul never loses the sense that this is the one whom God promised to redeem Israel.⁶ Paul retains the title, Messiah or Christ,

¹ Gal. 5.1.

² Rom. 6.18f.

³ II Cor. 3.17. Phil. 3.12.

⁴ Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 176. Deissman, Paul, p. 191.

⁵ Bultmann, ibid. p. 176. Deissmann, ibid. p. 191.

⁶ Rom. 1.2, 3; 9.5. Acts 9.22.

but changes it under the pressure of his conviction about Jesus' life and work, the content of redemption. "Christ" is used easily with its new content by Paul to relate history and experience. The inadequacy of Jewish Messianic associations have been left far behind and many new associations have now gathered about the name. Schoeps is inclined to go too far in his view of the "Son of God" to say it has no adequate parallel in Judaism;¹ the only comparison he allows is metaphorical. He believes Paul may have taken this name and idea from the Roman-Egyptian-Babylonian world, and in particular from Sandon, the god of the Tarsians.² There is no doubt that the idea of a son of God was well known in the Graeco-Roman world,³ and this provided a familiar channel along which Christianity could work.⁴ However, the truth is closer at hand. Jesus suggested a filial relationship between himself and God in numerous ways.⁵ Moreover, the O.T. is not barren of suggestions of Sonship.⁶ The early church probably spoke of God's Son before Paul.⁷ Paul gives to the title a content of his own under the influence of his own experience and convictions.⁸ Another

¹ Paul, p. 159. Similarly Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p.107.

² Should Schoeps not mean Tarku? Cf. Ramsay, CSP, p. 146.

³ Büttmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 176. Plutarch says that Osiris is the Son of Cronos, "Isis and Osiris", Moralia V, 355, 12.

⁴ Cheetham, The Mysteries Pagan and Christian, p. 15.

⁵ Paul's many-sided understanding of Jesus, and even as the Son of God, is so much larger than any sons of gods of paganism. For Jesus' own suggestion of his relationship to the Father: Matt. 21.33ff; 22.1ff. Mark 12.37; 14.36.

⁶ Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 257.

⁷ Psalm 2.7.

⁸ Grant, RHNT, p.25

Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 303f. Anderson Scott, ibid. p. 255ff.

name, "Saviour," is instructive. Paul only uses it twice,¹ which may indicate that he was cautious about using a title so very familiar in the Graeco-Roman world. Of course, the title itself indicates that pagan aspirations and Christian realizations were not very far apart,² but we may notice here it would be unfair to Paul to suggest that his use of this and other titles familiar to paganism make him guilty of transforming Christianity into a mystery religion.³

"Saviour" suggested to Christians and pagans an agent of redemption.⁴ We must recognize that One who saves is a very familiar idea to Judaism, and Paul did not depend on paganism for it. God is known as the Saviour of his people⁵ and it is to God that Paul attributes the work in Christ.⁶ His conversion filled the idea and name in a way which paganism could not. Among the names of Jesus, "Lord" is one quite familiar in the Graeco-Roman world,⁷ and a name which Christianity was to use a good deal with the development of Christology.⁸ This is Paul's favourite title of Jesus; it

¹ Eph. 5.23. Phil. 3.20.

² Hatch, The Influences of Greek Ideas and Usages, p. 292.

³ Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 2,280, by his whole book answers such a charge. Angus, "The Mystery Religions and Christianity", p. 206. Nock, Conversion, p.56f, notices that the initiate into a Mystery Religion had to be wealthy. We doubt if this was universally true.

⁴ Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 176.

⁵ Isa. 12.2.

⁶ II Cor. 5.19. Rom. 1.16.

⁷ Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, p. 574. Plutarch, "Isis and Osiris", Moralia V, 355 E: When Osiris was born a voice said, "The Lord of All advances to the light." Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 250.

⁸ Bultmann, ibid. p. 177. Anderson Scott, ibid. p.252.

was familiar to him from the LXX,¹ and from Palestinian Christianity.² Our conclusion is that Paul drops some of the names of Jesus known to us from the gospels; one he uses with caution, and some he uses freely though they are familiar to pagans and Christians in different ways.

Not so obvious or so frequent is Paul's association of Divine Wisdom with Jesus. We may begin with some of Knox's remarks. He believes that it was "an easy matter for Paul in writing his first letter to Corinth to transfer the person of the historical Jesus from the category of the heavenly Messiah of Palestinian Judaism and Christianity into that of the Divine Wisdom which was the centre of Hellenistic-Jewish speculation, where the Logos had not yet ousted it under the influence of Philo."³ He argues that Hellenistic Judaism had developed a concept of Divine Wisdom as a result of the challenge of the polytheistic religion of Isis and Osiris,⁴ and on the other hand, in response to the challenge of the Wise Man and cosmogony of Stoicism.⁵ The Divine Wisdom produced was "the personified figure of Wisdom" meant to be an "expression of the nature of God and the ideal character of man."⁶ Armed with this figure, Hellenistic Judaism was able to reconcile itself with Hellenistic thought. Its function was similar to the

¹ Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 96. Anderson Scott, CASP, p.252.
² Hunter, Paul and His Predecessor, p. 102. (Maranatha).
³ Knox, SPCG, p. 114.
⁴ Knox, ibid. p. 57.
⁵ Knox, ibid. p. 62ff.
⁶ Knox, ibid. p. 57.

later Logos. It was a "term" and could symbolise "anything that needs a symbolic explanation; it does not bear any serious reference to Jewish thought or religion".¹ The argument goes on further: Paul was confronted in Athens by a challenge of his preaching of the person and work of Jesus, and his old categories proved inadequate to educated classes. He was forced to think in cosmological terms. Therefore, Paul identifies Jesus with the personified, speculative Divine Wisdom. He becomes the Christ of cosmological significance.² To support the argument, I Corinthians 1.21,24, 30 and II Corinthians 2.3ff are quoted. Paul's reinterpretation goes further stamping his thought about Wisdom with the Spirit: "the purpose in creation was simply the Divine Wisdom; and that wisdom as the possession of the spiritual Christian, who possessed in the Spirit the mind of Christ, the Wisdom of God". Knox's treatment is appealing, and it is likely that the figure of Divine Wisdom lurks in the background of Paul's thought. Since this cosmological figure was well known, possibly the idea could be helpful to express Jesus' redemptive activity in terms comprehensible to Hellenistic listeners.

We have a feeling, however, that Knox's treatment of this subject, while containing truth, is also sometimes too extreme. It would be too extreme to let the "Wisdom of God" replace the person of Jesus, the first appearing at times to

¹ Knox, SPOG, p. 89.

² Ibid. p. 118.

³ Ibid. p. 116-118.

have become more fundamental than the second. Paul's movement of thought, it must be kept in mind, is that the person of Jesus incorporates or uses the Divine Wisdom for explanatory purposes.¹ It is unsatisfactory to say that this Hellenistic Jewish conception was not really taken seriously, and then to expect Paul to base a doctrine of the person and work of Jesus on it. It is rather unfortunate, too, for Knox to say at the end of his fifth chapter that the Corinthians probably didn't know what he was talking about when the "cosmic position of Jesus" was "equated with the Wisdom of God."² It is important to observe that Wisdom had taken a place in Jewish literature³ and Paul may have learned the features there: Wisdom existed before creation and had universal significance.⁴

The essential point is well taken: to speak of the Wisdom of God with mediatorial function was a useful vehicle for Paul. It was familiar to Jews and Greeks, and since he was among the Greeks there was a common ground for Paul to teach the person and work of Jesus. Especially in addressing the Colossians where an early form of gnosticism had gained some currency, Paul answered the issues by employing terms descriptive of Divine Wisdom.⁵ The issues

¹ Similarly in orthodox Judaism, Wisdom was incorporated by the Law, and the law remained the more important.

² Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 263ff.

³ Knox, SFGG, p. 124.

⁴ Job 28:23ff. Prov. 8.22ff. Davies, PRJ, p. 166ff.

⁵ Cf. with Col. 1.16 where Wisdom theology is thought to be in the background.

⁵ Col. 1.15-17. Cf. Rom. 11.36; Prov. 8.22; Eccclus. 24.3ff.

raised in that church were in terms akin to the cosmic categories of Divine Wisdom. Paul probably had good precedent for his association of Jesus with Divine Wisdom, in so far that Jesus may have had it in mind himself.¹ Anderson Scott holds this view² and Hunter may agree.³ Arthur Carr concluded that "wisdom" had its roots in the thought of Hellenistic Judaism,⁴ but allowed at the same time Jesus' use of it;⁵ his conclusion is that Jesus as Wisdom was retained by Paul because of its two associations.⁶ Whether Paul depended for his knowledge of Wisdom on the O.T. or Hellenistic Judaism is secondary to the fact that Christ is now the Wisdom of God, and the creative and universalistic features of Wisdom have been taken into the service of the gospel.

Certainly one of the clearest points where conscious influence takes place is when Paul deliberately employs metaphors taken from the Graeco-Roman world.⁷ One of his favourite and imaginative metaphors concerns the athletic games.⁸ The example in Philippians of Paul pressing on to

¹ Matt. 23.34f. Luke 11.49. Davies, PRJ, p. 155 challenges this.

² CASP, p. 263.

³ Paul and His Predecessors, p. 110.

⁴ Ecclus. 1.1, 4 and Wisdom 7.22; 9.2; 8.1.

⁵ Mark 9.19. Luke 7.25; 2.40.

⁶ "St. Paul's Attitude towards Greek Philosophy," "The Expositor", 5th Series, 9(1899), 372-78.

⁷ Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 844. Deissmann, Paul, p.71.

⁸ I Cor. 9.24 οὐκ ἔγωγε, τρέχοντες, βραβεῖν; vs. 25 ὡς ἀγωνιστὴς; vs. 26 πικτεῖν, δέρον; vs. 27 ὑποπιπλάσω. Phil. 3.13 ἵνα κενόμην; vs. 14 δώκω.

Ramsay, CSP, p. 94f. cites the location of games of Olympian character north of Tarsus; Paul may have been familiar with them. Cf. Epictetus, Discourses, 3.15.5.

his prize supports well Glover's idea¹ that Paul was an enthusiast for some of these games. In the Philippian passage Paul uses a favourite metaphor to express a very high hope: he is the eager participant in the race. A favourite picture in his mind becomes a happy vehicle to express his final ambition: an acceptable life and a unique union. There are metaphors of the building trade,² military affairs,³ the market place,⁴ the theatre,⁵ and the slave market.⁶ The list could be extended, but the conclusion is obvious. Everywhere in the Graeco-Roman world were these affairs taking place, and in the missionary's preaching and writing, they became illustrations to illumine the gospel. On this account alone, we have evidence that Paul knew what was going on in the world about him.

The two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper in Paul's letter are sometimes supposed to have been under pagan influence, especially the mystery religions.⁷ Montefiore says that in the mystery religions there was "a secret allurements" for Paul.⁸ While we will consider the possible

¹ Paul of Tarsus, p. 11.

² I. Cor. 3.10 ἀρχιτέκτων, θεμέλιον (also Rom. 15.20);

Gal. 2.18 οἰκοδομῶ, κατέλυσα.

³ I Cor. 14.8 σαλπικὴ φωνὴν δῶ, II Cor. 10.3 στρατευόμεθα; vs. 4 ὅπλα, στρατείας, δυνάτα... πρὸς καθαίρεσιν ὀχυρωμάτων, vs. 5 αἰχμαλωτίζοντες.

⁴ I Cor. 10.25 μακέλλω - though not used metaphorically.

II Cor. 2.17 καπηλεύοντες.

⁵ I Cor. 4.9 θέατρον ἔγενήθημεν.

⁶ Gal. 6.17 στίγματα could refer to the marks put by a master on his slave or to "religious tattooing".

⁷ Bultmann, "Paul", Existence and Faith, p. 126. Klausner

⁸ From Jesus to Paul, p. 113ff.

Judaism and St. Paul, p. 115.

influence, we may point out that there is no more than a linguistic similarity.¹ The conceptions giving rise to Paul's words are within the life and work of Christ or are often to be found in Judaism. MacGregor and Purdy give stern warning against arguing from the similarity of terminology to the similarity of doctrine, as though the one always carries the other.² The passing remark in I Cor. 15.29 about baptism on behalf of the dead has a parallel in Orphic religion.³ It is important also to notice in this connection that the Jews had performed acts on behalf of the dead. Judas made acts of atonement for the sins of the war dead.⁴ Robertson and Plummer remind us that Paul's reference to baptism on behalf of the dead is in the light of expectation of the general resurrection and Parousia.⁵ Paul's concern for this is small beside his other interests in baptism.

Before passing to influences on his idea of baptism, some remarks may be made generally about the influence of the mystery religions on Paul. The mystery religions were often concerned with the same things as Paul. The mysteries offered their own salvation. As the Mazdean fought evil in this world, so he would receive immortality after death.⁶

The son of a god could die in pagan religion: Asclepius was

¹ Halliday, The Pagan Background of Early Christianity, p. 315.

² JGTC, p. 344.

³ Ibid. p. 344.

⁴ II Macc. 12.39ff.

⁵ I Corinthians, p. 359.

⁶ Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, p. 199,209.

killed by the lightning of Zeus and afterward restored.¹ The mystery religions had their saviours.² In the Dionysiac religion, a votary could believe himself possessed by a deity.³ The taurobolium had the significance that descent into the pit was like dying and coming up from the pit was like rising to a new life.⁴ Initiation into the mysteries was a common necessity. The Persian mysteries (e.g. Mithraism) had baptisms to expiate sins and liturgical meals to give comfort and stimulation.⁵ The soldier votaries of Mithra had their brotherhoods, their ethics and their eschatology.⁶ There is no doubt that Paul must have been aware of pagan religious practices, at least superficially.⁷ There were Cilician pirates who were devotees to Mithra.⁸ In Cor. 8 Paul reflects his knowledge of pagan religious meals. It is strange, if he was influenced by the mystery religions, that no one else made mention of these conceptions until late in the second century, and there were many Hellenistic Christians after him.⁹ The fundamental objection to their influence on Paul is that their conceptions have an inferior quality in relation to the meaning he finds in historic Jewish and Christian events. Christ was historical and not

¹ Nock, Conversion, p. 234.

² Ibid. p. 56.

³ Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 14.

⁴ Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, p. 68.

⁵ Cumont, ibid. p. 151.

⁶ Ibid. p. 156ff.

⁷ Grant, RHNT, p. 109. Kennedy, ibid. p. 115.

⁸ Nock, ibid. p. 44.

⁹ Davies, PRJ, p. 89f.

a myth. Paul's concern, though frequently individualistic, is equally as socially-minded; the existence and establishment of the church is important and purposeful in God's divine economy of salvation. Paul's ethics were for the present and not for the future. Salvation was not dependent on rites or initiations, rather faith was primary. Kennedy's examination of the language, which is alleged to have meaning like that in the mystery religions, results in his conviction that for Paul's meanings we must look to the O.T. for their basis.¹ Paul's gospel and life ring with joy, but happiness was not dominant in the mysteries.² The net result is that the mystery religions have had very little if any impact on Paul.

Therefore, when the Christian is buried with Christ in baptism, and raised with him to walk in newness of life,³ we must not fix our attention on the similarities with the mystery religions but on the death and resurrection of Christ which are facts bearing the religious experience which Paul tries to promote. The Christian's death to sin is in lieu of Christ's death to sin.⁴ Dying and rising is an identification with man's problem of sinfulness as remedied by the crucified Redeemer. The act of God surrounding this experience is one of love and grace; man's response is faith to which his baptism was a real, objective testimony.

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¹ St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 155f, 197ff.

² Nock, Conversion, p. 13.

³ Rom. 6.4.

⁴ Kennedy, ibid. p. 244f.

In so far as there was a "mysterious uniting with deity" it must be conceived as faith in the work of a Person who redeems, and in an act which was personally appropriated.

In connection with the Lord's Supper, Paul was on guard against the invasion of pagan practices.¹ The Supper was entirely related to the saving death of Christ and the new life with God which the Spirit activated. Moreover, he believes that it is Christ who has enjoined this sacrament. The death of some in relation to the Lord's Supper is not due to any inference with the mysterious, but basically regarded as God's judgement which comes on sinfulness. It is man's unworthiness that is offensive.

There are several indications that Paul had a world view of his mission partly fostered by his Graeco-Roman environment. The primary impulse for this mission was from Christ; but at the same time, if only to see where he must go, Paul required a world view fostered by geographical and political knowledge. Paul was eager to preach the gospel in Rome,² and had hoped of going as far west as Spain.³ There are signs too that he felt anxious to hurry on while there was still time before the Parousia to preach the gospel to the whole world.⁴ The great scope of the world may easily have been born to his young mind in Tarsus, the city

¹ I Cor. 10.21; 11.29.

² Rom. 1.15.

³ Rom. 15.24,28. Some think that he may have reached Spain between the time of a first and second Roman imprisonment.

⁴ Acts 16.6,9. II Thess. 3.1. Rom. 15.18ff. I Cor. 9.19ff.

of so many interacting influences from the east and west. Paul was probably aware of the heritage, influence and spell which Alexander the Great had left to succeeding generations. Many historians have noticed how Alexander was aped by men in later years, captured by the extent and splendour of his conquests.¹ However, more pertinent and contemporary with Paul was the image or idea of the great Roman Empire.² She had brought peace to the world. All eyes were on Rome;³ she was the capital of the world; anything or anyone who mattered was connected with or went to Rome. Paul, as ambassador for Christ, could do no less. Under Rome the world had become one.⁴ With her conquest and reign of peace had come the end of the ages.⁵ These political facts must have been cognizant to any contemporary man; he could not have ignored them, nor the "new world" left in their wake. There is as well a geographical idea which Paul entered into as a missionary. He knew that certain cities were important, and his presence in them was to use them as centres from which to spread the gospel.⁶ The places to which Paul went, Deissman notices,⁷ were marked on even the smallest Roman maps, and many of these place names still survive, some as important places of call. Paul knows about the world; it is in his

¹ Mahaffy, Greek Life and Thought, p. 17f.

² Scott, The Gospel and Its Tributaries, p. 107f.

³ Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners, p. 6, 30.

⁴ Many historians mark the peace she brought. Also Epictetus, Discourses, 3.13.9.

⁵ Scott's interpretation of I Cor. 10.11, ibid. p. 107.

⁶ Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 126.

⁷ Paul, p. 228.

mind when he thinks of his mission.

One of the points where the Graeco-Roman world influenced Paul was in terms of "the person and work of Christ". Paul approached "the person and work of Christ" out of his own experience of salvation. This is to distinguish his approach from any abstract exercise of theology. When he expounds Christ to others it is as a missionary using illustrations from life to speak of an experience which he has had and invites others to share. About that experience it is interesting to note that it was very much like the pagan Hellenistic experience of individual salvation.¹ Paul's own experience binds him by its character to the soteriological expectations and realizations of pagan religion.² If anything, this sympathy was unconscious, for his task was not regarded by himself as one to fulfill the religious hopes of paganism. Moreover, the story of Jesus' death and resurrection is like pagan religious stories which were given redemptive meaning. Jesus died and rose; Osiris died and rose.³ There is an obvious similarity of concern: redemp-

¹ Angus, The Religious Quest of the Graeco-Roman World, p.101 quotes Bacon: "It is true that Christianity never would have become a world religion at all but for the inward experience of Saul of Tarsus, a typically Hellenistic experience of individual soul-redemption. We may say truly that Saul of Tarsus never would have had this experience if he had not been born and bred on Gentile soil." Also Farnell, Higher Aspects of Greek Religion, p. 141f.

² Angus, ibid. p. 43; The Mystery Religions and Christianity, p. 65. Apuleius, The Golden Age, 11.4: "Behold", says Queen Isis, "I am come to take pity on thy fortune and tribulations: behold I am present to favour and aid thee."
³ Plutarch, "Isis and Osiris", Moralia V, 355-58. Angus, ibid. p. 95f. Cf. Apuleius, ibid. 11.3ff.

tion. There is this difference: the pagan stories had no historical person, nor had they the monotheism of the Christian gospel which was immensely important to the problem of evil, nor had they the same sacrificial love which is in the death of Jesus. The similarity ends with the form, and even in this differ^s: one is mythical, the other is real. The scorn of the gentiles that the death and resurrection of Jesus was foolishness¹ is not surprising; Paul claimed that for religious and moral purposes Jesus of Nazareth had died and risen; had Paul not attached his gospel to history and sin, he might not have been ridiculed. But "Jesus was central to his religion ... Christianity was inherently a religion about Jesus."²

In the main, Paul's description of the work of Christ in the lives of men depends upon the real events themselves; the form of dying and rising comes from the events themselves. There is certainly no theological dependence on the mystery religions in his doctrine of Christ. However, there may be one exception to this. The entrance of Christ into human affairs is described in mythological terms. Phil. 2.6ff is thought to be such a passage. Beare says this passage presents us with a Christology which is not characteristic of Paul, but mythological and perhaps has been taken from a Christian song or similar piece of liturgy.³ Scott regards concern for its form to be all out of proportion to

¹ Acts 17.32. I Cor. 1.23.

² MacGregor and Purdy, JGTC, p. 339, quote E. F. Scott.

³ Philippians, p. 74f.

its theological meaning and aptness.¹ Scott, it seems to us, is right; the passage admirably suits Paul's point that humility and obedience were characterized by Jesus; moreover, Paul took as his example from the highest level of Jesus' life. But we should not overlook the similarity with mythical forms of dying gods or some of gods. There is similarity but Paul's basic reference is two-fold; God in His sovereignty acts (and has done so in Christ), and Christ's death and resurrection have been to him objective facts. Paul shows signs of the influence of mythical forms in this passage more than elsewhere, but this should not cause us to obscure his theological presuppositions as a Jew, or the historicity of Jesus, or the versatility of his mind to engage such examples as this.

The gospel of salvation which Paul preached took account of the gentile world deliberately, out of necessity, and inadvertently. Most ancient men believed that the world was peopled with demons.² Fatalistic "elemental spirits" and astrological powers had filled men with fear.³ Paul preached of Christ: "He disarmed the principalities and powers and made a public example of them, triumphing over them in him."⁴ Christ was of cosmological significance: "He is the image of the invisible God, the first born of all creation; for in him all things were created, in heaven or on

¹"Philippians," IB, Vol. 11, p. 46ff.

²Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, p. 478f.

³Angus, The Religious Quest of the Graeco-Roman World, p. 36ff.

⁴Col. 2.15.

earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities - all things were created through him and for him."¹ The gospel of salvation is universal: Christ died for all;² there is but one who "bestows his riches upon all who call upon him."³ If some thought they had superior "knowledge" or "wisdom", let that man know that the only true knowledge and wisdom were from God in Christ.⁴ If there was any "mystery", it was now open for all to see in Christ.⁵

Angus has said that "every living religion must take into account the spirit of the age."⁶ Paul does not belong with the early apologists of Christianity, nor was he guilty of Hellenizing it.⁷ He was an apostle and a servant of Christ sent to declare the gospel. Now and then Paul lets the influence of the ancient world shine through in what he says and does. The culture affecting him comes through in Tarsus, in his citizenship, in his metaphors, in the Greek language he uses, in his knowledge of political and civic affairs, in his consciousness of some of the thoughts molding pagan life, in the temperament of his opponents and converts, and so forth. This was an unavoidable cultural contact. Moreover, it is important to recognize that much of what has influenced Paul from this world was employed by

¹ Col. 1.15,16.

² II Cor. 5.14.

³ Rom. 10.12.

⁴ I Cor. 1.24,25; 4.6. Col. 2.3.

⁵ Col. 1.26; 2.2. Eph. 3.2ff.

⁶ The Mystery Religions and Christianity, p. 253-54.

⁷ Scott, The Gospel and its Tributaries, p. 132,134.

him as methods or means of presenting the gospel. For example, such is the case with the use of freedom, metaphors, his world view. By themselves these things are not of great account; yet without them an impossible situation would have existed for presenting the gospel. The gospel had to take some means by which to present itself, and the means were necessarily different than those which were satisfactory in Palestine.

The Graeco-Roman world had little doctrinal influence on Paul. There is none of the grace of God in pagan religion. It never taught him sorrow for sin, nor to renounce idolatry. It never taught him to look for an event which would manifest the righteousness of God. Paul had little to do with the great philosophic movements of this time; he did not seek their counsels; they never greatly impressed him. We recognize that his own soul-redemption and that the person and work of Jesus were in themselves suitable for comprehension in the Graeco-Roman world which increasingly was looking for salvation. We should recognize in Paul his suitability by birth and experience to be a missionary of Christ to the gentiles. Christianity was rooted in Judaism before Paul, but for its entrance into the Graeco-Roman world it needed a man suited by temperament and experience to bear the gospel.

It is natural therefore to recognize that Paul's principal roots, outside of the new element of Christ, lay in

Judaism. He is the child of Judaism when he thinks the service of his life indicates another chapter in God's plan of saving history. The chapter is written as he is an apostle of Christ.

PART II

THE INFLUENCE OF JUDAISM

CHAPTER TWO

PAUL IN RELATION TO CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS GROUPS

AND HIS APPEALS TO AUTHORITY

"The traces of Greek influence cannot be said to approximate, either in numbers or in character, to the marks of Jewish tradition." Anderson Scott goes on, "Paul remained 'au fond' a Jew, carrying into his new interpretations of life and of providence conceptions and principles which were the peculiar property of Judaism."¹ When we compare Paul and Judaism, we come to one of the richest, most productive fields for the origin of his thought and work. Presently, we will mention many of the questions and subjects with which Paul dealt to see their relationship to Judaism. At the same time as we compare Paul and Judaism, we should realise that Paul viewed all things under the primary influence of Christ; it is as though his religious and intellectual consciousness said, "The Messiah has come, God has revealed Himself beyond expectation. Now what about this matter?"

One of the primary subjects with which Paul deals is theodicy: the vindication of God who is confronted with the evil and sin among men. Romans gives Paul's distinctive treatment of theodicy, but Jewish writers long before Paul were perplexed by this matter in one way or another. In Job, the suffering of the innocent, sin and the alleged character of God are related to form the subject of the book.² In many places in the Psalms, the question is raised: "Why do the wicked prosper?"³ The humiliation and sin

¹ CASP, p. 5.

² Robinson, The Cross in the Old Testament, p. 23.

³ Ps. 42.9; 73.3-14.

of the nation and God's apparent indifference most profoundly troubled the author of the apocalyptic work II Esdras.¹ Thus for five or six hundred years, the matter was being discussed among the Jews.

On the subject of salvation, we can see that Paul's mind moves in the theology of Judaism. In the Hebraic tradition, it is only God who effects salvation.² "The history of Israel is the history of the saving activity of God in the corporate life of the people through the agency of appointed leaders."³ Most often was the saving work of God evident to Israel in His preservation of them in trouble or danger,⁴ and especially did Israel look back to their salvation from Egypt.⁵ Alongside this corporate emphasis was one with an inward and individualistic side. A psalm in Jonah says "Thou didst bring my life up from the pit, O Lord my God."⁶ Among the prophets the emphasis was certainly corporate but it shifted more and more to the inward side of God's deliverance of Israel and Israelites, and found its final formulation when upon repentance and remission of sin participation in the world to come was promised.⁷ Moore says that salvation in Judaism was collective and individualistic but it is emphasised from the side of man

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¹ II Esdras 4.23-25. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 277, 283.
² Psalm 3.8. "Deliverance belongs to the Lord."
³ Richardson, A Theological Word Book of the Bible, p. 219.
⁴ I Sam. 4.3.
⁵ Hos. 13.4.
⁶ Jon. 2.6, 9 also.
⁷ Amos 4.6-12. Jer. 31.31ff. Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 502; Vol. 2, p. 94.

rather than God; the sinner's duty (whether corporately or individualistically) was to repent. In answer, God fully and freely forgave the sinner(s).¹

There is no question that the large platform on which Paul thinks is that of salvation, and equally true that he assumed that God was still effector of salvation though now in Christ. "We entreat you not to accept the grace of God in vain ... now is the day of salvation."² Paul's emphasis of the new salvation is on the inward and individualistic side, and this began with his own experience.³ However, just as frequently is this new salvation interpreted corporately; furthermore, the corporateness of salvation was viewed by Paul in more than one way. Paul often thinks of God's saving activity reaching broadly throughout humanity: "Christ died for the ungodly"⁴ or "one has died for all."⁵ When Paul was faced with an ethical problem affecting the life of the church, the corporate significance of the new salvation could be related: "Do not let what you eat cause the ruin of one for whom Christ died."⁶ In Ephesians 5.21ff his illustration about marriage carried him on to think of the Christian fellowship as a company of people whose Saviour Christ is. Another side of the corporateness of salvation is evident in his discussion of his own rebellious nation;⁷ in the development of historical events God executes his

¹ Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 500ff.
² II Cor. 6.1-2.
³ Gal. 2.20.
⁴ Rom. 5.6.

⁵ II Cor. 5.14.
⁶ Rom. 14.15.
⁷ Rom. 9-11.

plan of salvation for gentiles and Jews.¹ Like Judaism, Paul's theology of salvation retained an eschatological character. The Pharisee of the Psalms of Solomon had only hope that the Messianic age would confirm his righteousness. Paul at once believes justification has occurred and salvation will be confirmed in the future.²

It is evident that Paul believed that Jewish Messianic expectations were fulfilled and superseded, or that his work was in a direct line from these expectations: "Paul ... set apart for the gospel of God which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures..."³ To the Jews "belong the patriarchs, and of their race, according to the flesh, is the Christ."⁴ Even so severe a critic of Paul as Klausner is of the opinion that Paul's understanding of Jesus rested on Jewish foundations. "The entire Pauline point of view rests upon the foundations of Judaism,⁵ foundations which "attained an exaggerated and unnatural intensification."⁶ Paul's view of the Parousia has been formed on the assumption that the Jewish Messiah had come.⁷ Paul's treatment of law may partly rest on this assumption: "Christ is the end of the law."⁸ Davies draws attention to another side of Paul's thought which is based on the assumption that Jesus was the Jewish Messiah. "Rabbinic Judaism of the first century would have regarded the

¹ Rom. 11.11, 25.

² I Thess. 5.9.10. Rom. 13.11.

³ Rom. 1.1-4.

⁴ Rom. 9.5.

⁵ From Jesus to Paul, p. 482.

⁶ Ibid. p. 485.

⁷ Ibid. p. 537ff.

⁸ Rom. 10.4. Cf. Schoeps, Paul, p. 171.

Messianic Age ... as the Era of the Spirit," and "in the pneumatic phenomena that marked the life of that (new) community, in its enthusiasm and power he saw proof of the advent of the Age to Come."¹ Another example of Jewish influence on his belief about Jesus is the problem of the Messiah having died under a curse. This was a real problem for a Jew: if Jesus was Messiah, how can he have been condemned to crucifixion? Paul knew well that to a Jew the Cross was "a stumbling block".² One thing not prominently expected by the Jews of the Messiah was a humiliating death.³ Davies suggests that first century Judaism had evolved the idea of a suffering and dying Messiah,⁴ but even if this might be the case, there is no evidence that Paul expected this or was influenced by it; rather, he protests his orthodoxy. What clinched Jewish judgement against Jesus as Messiah was the judgement of the law itself. The Mishnah passes its judgement on crucifixion, and quotes Deut. 21.23: "His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him the same day; for he that is hanged is a curse against God."⁵ The question and controversy continued into the second century A.D. between Jews and Christians. Trypho declared to Justin Martyr, "But whether Christ should be so shamefully crucified, this we are in doubt about. For whosoever is cruci-

¹ Davies, PRJ, p. 216.

² I Cor. 1.23. As an offence to Saul; Schoeps, Paul, p. 178.

³ Davies, ibid. p. 274f.

⁴ Ibid. p. 276ff.

⁵ Mishnah, Sanhedrin 6.4.

cified is said in the law to be accursed, so that I am exceedingly incredulous on this point."¹

Badcock thinks that Paul once shared the conflict so prominently Jewish in its character: "This was the death of the righteous, so his heart told him; but nevertheless he died under God's curse, so his pharisaism protested."² Similarly Davies writes, "We know that there was a *σκάνδαλον* for Paul in the Death of Jesus ... the chief cause of the element of *σκάνδαλον* in the Death of Jesus for Paul was not the Death itself but the form which it took; it was the death on the Cross that constituted the *σκάνδαλον*."³ Among the pagans, Paul says that the crucified Christ was regarded as "folly to the Gentiles,"⁴ and some mocked him for proposing His resurrection.⁵ When it is alleged that Paul was influenced by pagan religions whose gods died and rose (cf. the grotesque death of Osiris), it should be remembered that the death of Jesus was regarded by Paul first as a Jewish problem because of Messianic expectations and the judgement of the law.

No one would seriously consider that Paul reflects on the atonement without his Jewish background with its sense of the rebelliousness of sin. The prophets convicted Israel of sin as no others had in her history, and the sense of sin was still lively in the first century A.D. "It was believed

... that all kinds of sacrifice, public and private, pro-

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¹ Dialogue with Trypho. Ch. 89.
² The Pauline Epistles, p. 174
³ PRJ, p. 283f.

⁴ I Cor. 1.23.
⁵ Acts 17. 32.

pitiated God and worked the remission of sins."¹ According to the Gospel preached by Paul, love and sacrifice combined in the work of Christ to break the power of sin and recreate mankind. The Cross was an expiation for the sin that gripped all men.

Numerous issues about the law appear in Paul's letters. The chief occupation of the Jews was keeping the law.² Paul believed that as a means of righteousness it was abrogated by Christ.³ He was aware of what he had done: "if I build up again those things which I tore down, then I prove myself a transgressor."⁴ But the dismissal of the law was not so easy. Its advocates sought to introduce circumcision among the Galatian churches.⁵ In Jerusalem the problem arose when Paul met with the apostles.⁶ He was under pressure on that occasion to have Titus circumcised.⁷ Personally, Paul continued to observe much that was characteristic of a faithful Torah-abiding Jew.⁸

The systems of the Graeco-Roman world had nothing to compare with the religious and ethical system exemplified in Torah. Although Paul argues that the gentiles "know God"⁹ and might "do by nature what the law requires",¹⁰ he consis-

¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p.497.

² MacGregor and Purdy, JGTC, p. 74f.

³ Rom. 10.4.

⁴ Gal. 2.18.

⁵ Gal. 4.17.

⁶ Acts. 15.1ff.

⁷ Gal. 2.3ff. Cf. Timothy's case: Acts 16.3.

⁸ His Vow: Acts 18.18. Badcock, The Pauline Epistles, p. 176.

⁹ Rom. 1.21.

¹⁰ Rom. 2.14.

tently argues that the law is the Mosaic law and that to Israel it was given.¹ Although Aristotle advocated legal precepts to order society² and Josephus found Greeks attracted to the ways of Judaism,³ nevertheless Paul's concern with the law was with the highly-valued property of Judaism. Paul was no exception to what Grant says: "From the very outset, according to the N.T., their leaders criticised, or at least questioned, several of the cardinal, fundamental principles of the Jewish religion, such as the permanence and divine authority of the Mosaic Law ..."⁴

Another question confronting Paul concerned the resurrection of the dead. He echoes the Corinthians: "how can some of you say that there is no resurrection of the dead?"⁵ "But someone will ask, 'How are the dead raised?'"⁶ Among the Thessalonians,⁷ the question was less academic and was raised in an apocalyptic framework; their concern was about converts who had died before Christ's return.

When Paul appeals for proof of resurrection, he appeals to the case of Jesus's resurrection as Jewish crucified Messiah. "We testified of God that he raised Christ."⁸ This

¹ Rom. 9.4.

² Daube, NTRJ, p. 86, sees such Greek influence in "Rabbinic requirements for a proper halakha."

³ Against Apion, 1.22; 2.40: "Now, Pythagoras, that ancient sage of Samos, who for wisdom and piety is ranked above all the philosophers, evidently knew not only of our institutions, but was even in those distant ages an ardent admirer of them."

⁴ AJNT, p. ix.

⁵ I Cor. 15.12.

⁶ I Cor. 15.35.

⁷ I Thess. 4.13-18.

⁸ I Cor. 15.15.

statement has intrinsically a Jewish foundation. Moreover, when we realise Paul was a Pharisee he was among that company to whom the doctrine was orthodox and important.¹ Only groups like the Sadducees and Samaritans among the Jews held that resurrection of the dead was false.² Before and after Paul, the matter was the subject of controversy between the Pharisees and Sadducees.³ The involvement of the body in resurrection marks Paul off distinctly from the "immortality" of the pagan world. The strong dualism of evil body and good soul necessary to Hellenistic "immortality" is absent from his letters. Finally in answer to the Thessalonians, Paul writes against a modified Jewish apocalyptic background.⁴

One of the questions which arose most often and lingered the longest for Paul, and which was distinctly Jewish in its origin, was that of the relationship of the Jews to the gentiles. The matter came to Paul's attention during his ministry in many different ways.⁵ It is a curious and decisive thing that in Paul's universalistic expression of the gospel he often began by alluding to the relationship of the Jews and Greeks: "There is neither Jew nor Greek ... all are one in Christ."⁶ Because Paul asserted that the salvation of all was in Christ and the People of God had been reformed,

¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 86.

² Ibid. Vol. 1. p. 68.

³ "The fiercest of all the conflicts between Pharisee and Sadducee concerned the doctrine of the resurrection...."

L. Finkelstein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 145.

⁴ Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 237. Moore, ibid. Vol. 2, p. 379.

⁵ Gal. 2.2, 9, 11-12. I Cor. 9.21. Acts 21.28.

⁶ Gal. 3.28. Rom. 3.29; 10.12.

he was flying in the face of the Jewish conviction that they alone were the People of God. Though Paul had decided for universalism, he was certainly aware of a continuing problem.

The relationship of Jews and gentiles was a lively issue.¹ Judaism itself provided and perpetrated the elements for their separation by its predominating nationalism. While her rabbis taught that Israel was the only people of God, and that there was only one God, this very assertion necessitated an understanding of the gentile situation. This brought the Jews to see that God's larger purpose must some day be for the inclusion of all mankind.² Thus, "the doctrine of ... the wisdom of seeking proselytes to Judaism, and the policy to be pursued with relation to the Romans were subjects of discussion in the Academies of Law."³ When Paul finally followed out the admitted expectations of Judaism as he saw them fulfilled in Christ, he suddenly found himself inwardly and outwardly confronted with the still dominating influence of Ezra's exclusiveness and the prophets' cries of vengeance on the idolatrous nation which had taught Israel never to see them in the same light as a Jew by birth.⁴ Roman law toward proselytes made assimilation with the nation no easier.⁵ Submission to Christ enabled Paul to solve the Jewish problem.

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¹ Schoeps, Paul, p. 235-7.

² Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 228.

³ Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p.92.

⁴ Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p.231. Montefiore, Judaism and St. Paul, p. 64.

⁵ Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p.233f. Schurer, JPJC, 2.2. p. 326.

As a last example of Jewish matters on Paul's mind, there is his concern for a high morality among converts. He is horrified at such gross evils in the Christian fellowship as immorality and he deals with it with typical Jewish ruthlessness.¹ Underlying the first two chapters of Romans is the Jewish sense of morality, ordered by God, transgressed by men and subject to the impartial judgement of God.² Hardly a letter of Paul's was completed without some moral instruction to members of the church, many of whom had been born into a very different social and religious climate with different moral standards than the Jews. Gentile evils were well known to the Jews³ and Paul's sensitiveness to this must have prompted more earnest efforts to instruct his converts in their moral duties.⁴

Can we know where Paul once stood in relationship to the groups which in the first century composed Judaism? In a broad sense, we can. Prior to 70 A.D., there was a great variety of interests, groups and enterprises in Judaism, all of which tempered the religious life of the people. This was "the age of the Tannaim" clearly marked by its diversity.⁵ Writes Montefiore, "There must have been a great diversity

¹ I Cor. 5.1-3. I Thess. 4.3.

² Rom. 2.11. Cf. Deut. 10.12-18.

³ Badcock, *The Pauline Epistles*, p. 177. Wis. of Sol. 14.12ff.

⁴ I Cor. 5.9ff; 6.9ff. Gal. 6.9.

⁵ Grant, *AJNT*, p. 7f.

of life, of manners, of opinions." "It must be said that the supremacy of the Law in political affairs bred a good deal of fanaticism and tended to produce a certain amount of violence. On the other hand, it made heroes and martyrs, and taught men how to die unflinchingly for their ancestral religion."¹ Perhaps this is an apt description of the climate in which Paul was so zealous for the traditions of his fathers.² There were the scribes, the legal experts on the law; there were the Sadducees, the extreme conservatives in interpretation of the law. There were the Pharisees, liberal compared with the Sadducees, and split into two schools, those favouring a stricter interpretation of Torah - the school of Shammai, and those favouring a more liberal interpretation and who took more account of the actual conditions of the people - the school of Hillel.³ "More than three hundred conflicting deliverances of the two schools on matters of law and observance are reported in one connection or another in the Talmud."⁴ There were the reclusive Essenes, the aristocrats and the "Am-ha-arez", the politicians who collaborated with Rome, and political fanatics who would not - the Zealots. There was no more powerful Jewish group than the Sanhedrin: it was religiously and politically "the court of last resort" in Israel in the first century, (subject politically to the Romans of course);⁵ this was the

¹ The Synoptic Gospels, p. ci.
² Gal. 1:14.
³ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p.79f.

⁴ Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p.81.
⁵ Schurer, JPJC. 2.1. p. 319.

council which is prominent in the N.T. and which was located "in the Chamber of Hewn Stone (in the temple), whence the Law (went) forth to all Israel".¹

Paul was certainly not a Sadducee although this was clearly as much a religious party as the Pharisees.² Doctrinally they were ultra-conservatives rejecting many of the Pharisaic doctrines in defence of a single loyalty to the Pentateuch. They may almost be best distinguished by what they did not believe compared with what the Pharisees did believe. They denied angels and the resurrection of the dead;³ they denied "Fate" or the active intervention of God claiming that all was entirely by men's choice.⁴ Josephus seems to suggest they had become Hellenistic in their love of dispute.⁵ Perhaps some of them gave the impression of piety, as Finklestein suggests,⁶ because of the pressure of the Pharisees and the people, but we may be sure tended to have the character of facade. Several non-canonical documents accuse the Sadducees of sinfulness, especially gluttony: although there is bias in such charges, no doubt there is also a basis of fact.⁷ If Paul was this kind of person, we have no knowledge of it; his anxiety was not to be pre-

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¹ Mishnah, Sanhedrin 11:2.

² Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 70.

³ Mark 12:18.

⁴ Josephus, The Jewish War, 2.166.

⁵ Antiquities, 18:1:4.

⁶ The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 10, in interpreting Antiquities 18.1:4.

⁷ The Fragment of a Zadokite Work 1.4ff. Ps. of Sol. 4. Assumption of Moses 7:4.

tentious but to advance in the fulfillment of the law.¹ There is also too wide a gulf between the Sadducean doctrines and those which find expression in his letters. The Sadducees were wealthy aristocrats² and the centre of their influence was in the temple and priesthood.³ The hierarchy of the temple from time to time drew its membership and support from the tribe of Benjamin, an aristocratic and wealthy tribe.⁴ Menelaus took the office of high priest, and he was of the tribe of Benjamin.⁵ We know Paul was a Benjaminite,⁶ but in the absence of any reference to a service by him in the temple we cannot say he had any more association with the Sadducees in this respect. Although the Benjaminites had a reputation of being wealthy, it is more than likely that Paul's family's wealth was accumulated in Tarsus. This wealth, coupled with tribal pride, made him the aristocrat who was a Hebrew of Hebrews, but this does not identify him with the Sadducees. His claim to righteousness under the law is the best evidence that he had no interest in the Sadducean party.

Nor was Paul an Essene or member of the Qumran community. These two groups have striking similarities although they may not be completely identical as much as one is a

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¹ Gal. 1.14. Phil. 3.6.

² Josephus, Antiquities 13.10.6.

³ Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 81.

⁴ Finklestein, Ibid. p. 39.

⁵ II Macc. 4.27.

⁶ Phil. 3.5.

development of the other or one a branch of the other.¹ The Essenes were ascetics, Torah-abiding according to their own interpretations, critical of the temple sacrifices and priesthood and little involved during the first century A.D. in the life of the nation.² The Qumran community was in hope of a new Jerusalem, new temple and new priesthood, and placed much emphasis on ritual purifications.³ Both groups were more severe in their interpretation of the Law than were the Pharisees. Paul differs from this movement in that he was no ascetic removed from the life of the nation;⁴ nor had he cast off his associations with established religion either before or after his conversion;⁵ finally, he makes no mention of association with such groups but feels he was a part of orthodox Judaism.

Nor was Paul a pure scribe or scholar. There were some such "jurists" (νομικολοί) or "lawyers".⁶ One so academic would not likely have had the ambition to follow the Christians to Damascus. Some scribes were teachers however;⁷ as well, some Pharisees were qualified teachers of the Law. Matthew records Jesus as saying, "The scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses' seat, so practise and observe whatever they tell you...."⁸ Paul probably was a teacher. His letters

¹ Bruce, Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 119ff.

² Josephus, The Jewish War, 2.124ff.

³ Bruce, ibid. p. 94, 102.

⁴ Gal. 1.13.

⁵ Acts 9.2; 21.26.

⁶ Schurer, JFJC, 2.1. p.314.

⁷ Matt. 17.10. Daube gives some valuable explanations about the scribes, NTRJ, p. 210ff.

⁸ Matt. 23.2, 3.

give theological and ethical instruction showing competence for such a task; they show his rabbinic training in the use of exegesis, analogies and allegories. He does not show any tendency toward legalistic minutiae but this may be due chiefly to his reorientation under the influence of Jesus.

Was Paul a Rabbi? In the next *section*, we will return to this question in order to emphasize a form by which Paul may have conceived his authority. Here we are concerned in relating him to a group. It is to be observed first that "Rabbi" (רַבִּי - ῥαββι) did not emerge as a title or office until well on in the first century A.D.; previous to that it was an address of honour.¹ The gospels suggest that Jesus was spoken to respectfully in this way.² The emphasis has changed when we hear of Rabbi Joshua, Rabbi Eliezer or Rabbi Zakkai. Consequently, there is this important fact: in the time of Jesus and Paul the term was at a formative stage; the term was clearly enough understood but it was not necessary to record its meaning. It was only applied to men of extraordinary pre-eminence in learning, novelty and miracles.³ Hillel and Shammai were such men whose shadows are across the N.T. and Rabbinic literature.⁴ They promoted novel teaching. A Rabbi needed to be venerated in the manner of Gamaliel I.⁵ He was one who had unusual authority, something

¹ Schurer, JPJC, 2.1. p. 315.

² Mark 11.21. John 1.38 - so late a gospel seem to faithfully reflect the real historical situation: "Rabbi" was first a term of respect. Bernard, St. John, Vol. 1, p.54.

³ Daube, NTRJ, p. 206.

⁴ Although they are not called Rabbis, so far as we know.

⁵ Acts 5.34.

which was a testing point put to Jesus, and which separated the scribes from the Rabbis.¹ (The Mishnah calls the Rabbis of this and an earlier period "Sages".²) Although the Rabbi was an extraordinary person, this did not mean that teaching scribes and Pharisees were barely above the level of the ignorant masses. The gospels acknowledge them to be the principal teachers of the people,³ and also ones who came to Jesus with important and informed questions.⁴ The question of being Rabbinically ordained to authoritatively teach was an important issue,⁵ as questions to Jesus indicate.⁶ The notice which the Mishnah gives that one may be given "authority" at thirty years of age has dubious bearing on our question since the record is late.⁷

Grant protests that Paul was a Rabbi on the basis that Rabbis were lawyers and the title emerges too late to be applied to Paul.⁸ Davies thinks Paul was a Rabbi (become a Christian) by virtue of an education which established him in Rabbinic thought and that this is abundantly apparent in his letters.⁹ Dodd thinks too, that Paul was a Rabbi and he applies Matthew 13:52 to him as an apt description.¹⁰ Grant is wrong that "Rabbinic authority" did not precede the use of the title, but he is right in correcting our

¹ Mark 1.22.

² Mishnah, Aboth 1.5. Daube, NTRJ, p. 212.

³ Matt. 23.2,3. Mark 12.28ff.

⁴ Luke 17.20. Matt. 13.52.

⁵ Daube, ibid. p. 207ff.

⁶ Mark 1.27; 11.28.

⁷ Mishnah, Aboth 5.2.

⁸ AJNT, p. 22.

⁹ PRJ, p. 16.

¹⁰ "The Mind of Paul: I" New Testament Studies, p. 65.

view that we cannot apply "Rabbi" as a title to Paul.

This is Davies' mistake, but he is right to see many Rabbinic influences on his thought.¹ Dodd too easily identifies scribe and Rabbi.

Before his conversion, Paul was a young Jew, extremely able as his letters indicate, and very likely a teaching Pharisee trained in schools dominated by the Rabbinic thought of Hillel (or Shammai) and Gamaliel. Had Paul continued as an orthodox Jew, he might have become a famous Rabbi; his talents indicate one of extraordinary capacity. He tells us he was extremely zealous for Judaism² and his impetuosity stands in contrast to the mature counsel of Gamaliel.³ We may wonder if he was a Rabbi, ordained and authoritative, why he asked the High Priest for letters in order to track down Christians in Damascus. As a Rabbi he could have sought to persuade the Sanhedrin, but this method was bypassed.

The overlapping of one group on another in early first century Judaism was substantial. As we have noticed, some scribes were pure juristic scholars; some scribes were teachers; some were Pharisees; some were Sadducees.⁴ Some Pharisees were Rabbis inasmuch as Gamaliel was a Pharisee

¹ It is worthwhile to note that Rabbinic Judaism, as such, had not reached its maturity when Paul was a student, but it was the substance of the teaching of the schools. Cf. Weiss' criticism of calling Paul a Christian Rabbi, Paul and Jesus, p. 71.

² Gal. 1.14. Phil. 3.5, 6.

³ Acts 5.35.

⁴ Schurer, JFJC, 2.1. p. 319f.

very honoured and authoritative. Some Pharisees were not scholars, and indeed Moore says that the bulk of them were not.¹ Some Pharisees were active in the Sanhedrin, as the N.T. bears witness,² and probably were the dominating group³ partly due to the support they had from the people;⁴ no doubt some of these were aristocrats. Some Pharisees, either native or foreign-born, were missionaries;⁵ there is some indication that Paul was of this group.⁶ Whether many Pharisees became Essenes, or vice versa, is hard to determine.⁷

Without doubt, Paul was a Pharisee before his conversion: "as to the law a Pharisee."⁸ The Pharisees by their exclusiveness maintained Israel's distinctiveness from the nations and even from those within the nation who did not fulfill religious duties.⁹ Most commonly the Pharisees are understood as religious rather than political separatists. Says Schurer: "The Pharisees must have their name from a separation, which the bulk of the nation did not undergo with them; in other words, from a "separation made by them, in consequence of their stricter view of the notion of uncleanness, not only from the uncleanness of the heathen, but also from that with which, according to their view, a great

¹ Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 66.

² Acts 5.34; 23.6ff.

³ Schurer, JPJC, 2.1. p. 179.

⁴ Josephus, Antiquities 18.1.4. The Jewish War, 2.411.

⁵ Matt. 23.15.

⁶ Gal. 5.11.

⁷ Josephus, The Life, 10ff.

⁸ Phil. 3.4,5.

⁹ Cf. Grant, AJNT, p. 9ff. See Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, Vol. 1, p. 90, for the intolerant Pharisaic teaching concerning gentiles.

portion of the people were affected'."¹ A reference which Moore quotes may give the Scriptural and exegetical foundation on which they satisfied their movement; the Sifra on Lev. 11 says: "As I am holy, so be ye also holy; as I am separate, so be ye also separate."² Both from the N.T. and Josephus it is apparent that they were a fraction of the people, "a party within the nation, an 'ecclesiola in ecclesia'."³ Josephus numbers them in the last half of the first century B.C. to be about six thousand.⁴ He tells us further that they abstained from pleasures and comforts in rigorous self-discipline.⁵ On the whole, the Pharisees emerged, according to Finklestein,⁶ from the plebian class to be the middle class of the nation in the first century A.D. Spread throughout Judea, Galilee and the Dispersion, they were bound to be little affiliated with the urban aristocratic society of Jerusalem. The Pharisees are best known to us for their attention to and teaching of the Law. Says Josephus: "The Pharisees (are) a body of Jews with the reputation of excelling the rest of the nation in the observance of religion, and as exact exponents of the laws."⁷ In the Antiquities, he reports that this was also their own opinion of themselves.⁸ Some Pharisees loved the law and the keeping of it.⁹ Some felt weighed down by the fact that

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¹ Schurer, JPJC, 2.2. p.20.
² Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 61.
³ Schurer, ibid. 2.2. p.19
⁴ Antiquities 17.2.4.
⁵ Josephus ibid. 18.1.3.

⁶ The Pharisees, Vol. 2, p. 608f.
⁷ The Jewish War, 1.110.
⁸ Antiquities, 17.2.4.
⁹ Ps.119.97. Ps. of Sol. 14.2.

it did not redeem.¹ Some were observed to be hypocrites in their practice of it.² More than any other group, the Pharisees and scribes were the real teachers of the law.³ They dominated the synagogues in and out of Palestine,⁴ and it is worth noting that they had an interest in almost every aspect of life.⁵ The concentration of their decisions in the Mishnah is the best proof of this last point.

Paul says he "advanced in Judaism beyond many of my own age among my people,"⁶ and this may be understood to mean he was faithful and ardent in keeping the Law, and perhaps in the pursuit of Rabbinic training. He still knew as a Christian that a Jew who held to the covenant of circumcision was by Pharisaic principles bound to keep the whole law.⁷ He shows a wide variety of interests (though not in rules for pots and pans); he deals with sin, resurrection, eschatology and a host of ethical matters: love, marriage, immortality, quarreling, duty to rulers, the relationship of slaves and masters, etc. We may detect that as a Christian he perceived that he was able to fulfill the Pharisaic aim of renunciation of pleasures, and contentment: "I have learned ... to be content. I know how to be abased, and I know how to abound ... I can do all things in him who

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¹ II Esdras 8.35; 9.36, 37.

² Mark 7. 1ff.

³ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 281f.

⁴ Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 287f. Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 2, p. 620.

⁵ Finklestein, ibid. Vol. 2, p. 619.

⁶ Gal. 1.14.

⁷ Gal. 5.3.

strengthens me."¹

The appeals which Paul makes to authority indicate how firmly rooted he was in Judaism. Undoubtedly, the most obvious authority to which he appeals is Christ himself. In one sense, the appeal is to the revelation which God made to him in Christ.² At other times his appeal is to Jesus' teaching received by him through the church's tradition.³ However, in this chapter we will examine other appeals which he makes to authority.

Occasionally, Paul makes an appeal to the authority of knowledge gained by reason or intuition. He writes of pagan knowledge of God: "Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in all things that have been made."⁴ "When Gentiles who have not the law do by nature what the law requires...."⁵ There are other examples.⁶ The difficulty is to know whether Paul's appeal follows pagan or Jewish precedent. Various orators of the Graeco-Roman world must have made the principle of truth by intuition widely known, and Paul may easily have played on this fact.⁷ Davies

¹ Phil. 4.11-13.

² Gal. 1.11,12,16.

³ I Cor. 7.10; 9.14; 11.23. Gal. 6.2. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 29.

⁴ Rom. 1.20.

⁵ Rom. 2.14ff. Davies, PRJ, p. 115f.

⁶ I Cor. 11.14.

⁷ Epictetus, Discourses, 1.17. 1-8. Davies, ibid. p. 116.

argues that it is just as likely that Noachian commandments are in Paul's mind in the two passages in Romans.¹ The commandments, six in number, enabled the Jews to insist that all mankind had received through Adam laws explaining God's will.² Thus the Gentiles were without excuse for their sins. In the end, Davies admits that the appeal has a syncretistic character: it has a Hellenistic form but Hebraic substance. It would be only correct to see that the larger issues in Romans 1 and 2 - sin and judgement - are clearly Judaic in their basis, and this, it would seem, predisposes the whole argument to move forward from the grounds of Judaism. However, this does not need to prevent us from seeing what seems to us to be the plain sense of the passage: Paul, like the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, appeals to the pagan's capacity to see God.³ The Hebraic element enters because Paul cannot think of God except in terms of his moral demand and hatred of sin; on this basis the Noachian commandments may have come to mind but his list of evils is much larger.⁴ Undoubtedly reason or intuition was an authority of much greater consequence in the Graeco-Roman world than was Torah. The fictitious theory of the Noachian commandments is not true to Paul's directness, nor necessary since the law has lost its

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¹ Davies, FRJ, p. 115ff.

² Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 274ff.

³ Bultman, "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 128f, warns against thinking that this appeal to the stoic method of knowledge about God is fixed on the attempt to see God in nature; rather Paul looks to God beyond nature.

⁴ Of the Noachian commandments, Paul mentions all of them but robbery.

absolute authority.

Hardly to be separated from this appeal to authority is Paul's appeal to the authority of conscience. "Their conscience also bears witness and their conflicting thoughts accuse or perhaps excuse them."¹ It was held in the previous chapter that *συνειδήσις* was a Stoic term in its origin. Like Paul's appeal to reason, it had more significance as an authority in the Graeco-Roman world. However, conscience was also an acceptable guide to conduct among the Jews.

"The Jewish teachers ... recognised the distinction between acts which the common conscience of mankind condemns as morally wrong and such as are a wrong only because they are made so by statute: but the former are not the more properly sin because of their moral quality nor the latter less so because in themselves they are morally indifferent. The sin is in either case the same."² Paul places a limit on the effectiveness of conscience for he like all Jews knew it had an insufficient bearing on man's sinfulness which was religious in its meaning as well as moral. The divine involvement in man's sinful condition provided an authority of far greater significance than a man's conscience.

Paul from time to time makes an appeal to the authority of experience. This, admittedly, is an appeal repeatedly made by the whole of humanity in every period of history, and it may seem at first to show us little connection between Paul and Judaism. We wish to show that frequently when Paul

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¹ Rom. 2.15. Other examples: I Cor. 8.7; also 10.29.

² Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 462.

makes an appeal to the authority of experience it is to an experience largely tempered by Judaism. It might be argued that this appeal to authority is really to the authority of revelation, but here a difference is to be distinguished. In examining Paul's appeal to experience, it is the subjective element which is in mind, i.e. the experience of Paul himself or of his converts, or of an experience shared between Paul and the converts, or an experience entered into now, the property of the one making the appeal. The appeal to revelation is a more objective authority, i.e. something historical and decisive which was accepted or rejected as true. Paul would probably have said, rightly, that in life the two authorities are not really separated; yet, in apologetic practice the two authorities are frequently appealed to independently.

The first illustration of Paul's appeal to the authority of experience is clearly distinguishable in Galatians where it is to be seen that the religious convictions and life of these converts have been under attack.¹ Paul appeals to what they really experienced in the past. "Let me ask you only this: Did you receive the Spirit by works of the law or by hearing with faith?" "Does he who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you do so by works of the law, or by hearing with faith?"² If one could be sure of the subject of

¹ Gal. 3.1ff.

² Gal. 3.2,5. About vs.11, Schoeps, Paul, p. 176, agrees that Paul makes an appeal to experience: "Now it is evident that no man is justified before God by the law."

the last quotation, (vs. 5), whether God or Christ was meant as giver of the Spirit, excellent support might be provided for our contention that the appeal to experience carried one into the thought of Judaism. However, in the main, God gives the Spirit.¹ Therefore the movement of the argument in Galatians 3 is to be traced through the appeal to experience back to God who gives the Spirit and who is none other than the God of Israel, a point which even Paul's opponents would admit though they would disagree on the interpretation.

A second illustration of Paul's appeal to experience is to be found in his developing thought about the Christian's future life. In the very midst of his reflections on this subject we may see that the possibility of his own death² had a modifying effect on his outlook. This was a disturbing experience, the consequence of which was a reconciliation of theology to experience.³ The experience was related to his Jewish learning and was appealed to in I Cor. 15 and II Cor. 5, the passages between which the danger of his death lay. The common factor in both passages is "the body" in view of death. Charles argued that the passages stand in contradiction with each other.⁴ Davies modified this to say that they stand in juxtaposition.⁵ In I Cor. 15.35ff Paul answers questions about the resurrection as would the Rabbis: Rabbi Meir used the analogy of a wheat seed to explain the

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¹ Anderson Scott, CASP, p.257ff.

² II Cor. 1.8ff; Acts 19.23ff?

³ PRJ, p. 318-19.

⁴ Eschatology, p. 394ff.

⁵ Davies, *ibid.* p.311.

resurrection body.¹ Moreover, Davies explains about this passage that "Paul is concerned with the impending advent of the Lord when the general resurrection already in process would be consummated. His mind is centred on ... the End of all history, and he can argue eloquently, but nevertheless dispassionately, about the nature of the resurrection body."² Paul's background of thought is the Jewish Age to Come and the General Resurrection. With II Cor. 5:1-5 the emphasis has shifted though there is still concern for "the body" in view of death. The possibility of his own death before the Parousia is in his mind and he explains the future possibilities in terms of the Jewish Age to Come as it has always existed in heaven or unseen. (The two views of the Age to Come easily coexisted in Judaism.³) "His experience in Asia had made him recognise the possibility that he himself might die before the Parousia as had many Christians around him; in chapter 4 (II Cor.) he has been thinking of the strain and stress of his ministry; his outward man is perishing and thoughts of death crowd upon him; and the Apostle is led naturally to think of what lies immediately beyond death."⁴ What we have, therefore, are two passages written by Paul and divided by a critical event, which with his Jewish beliefs for a reference become an authority to which he made appeal though indirectly, in giving guidance to new Christians. We have an appeal to the authority of experience and

¹ Davies, PRJ, p. 305f.

² Ibid. p. 317.

³ Ibid. p. 315. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 378f.

⁴ Davies, ibid. p. 317

it is coloured by Judaism.

A third example of Paul's appeal to the authority of experience is to be discovered in his command "to imitate" God, Christ, or himself. The connection between what is described as "the authority of experience" and "imitation" is that the new Christian may see in the experience of another or others an example by which to pattern and conduct his own life. There are certain Jewish features about this appeal which we wish to notice. Abrahams has shown that all religions are familiar with the idea of "the imitation of God"¹ although "the ideal of the Imitation of God forms the crown of Judaism and of Christianity."²

The following passages show Paul's use of this concept:

"Therefore be imitators of God ... and walk in love, as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us."³ "Have this mind among yourselves, which you have in Christ Jesus...."⁴ "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ."⁵ "For you yourselves know how you ought to imitate us."⁶ "Brethren, join in imitating me, and mark those who live as you have an example in us";⁷ similarly, "What you have learned and received and heard and seen in me, do; and the God of peace will be with you."⁸ In these examples, it will be clearly seen that again and again the principle of imitation is appealed to;

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¹ Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Series 2,
p. 138, 155, 156.

² Ibid, p. 138. Also Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic
Theology, p. 200.

³ Eph. 5.1,2.

⁴ Phil. 2.5.

⁵ I Cor. 11.1.

⁶ II Thess. 3.7,9.

⁷ Phil. 3.17.

⁸ Phil. 4.9.

it is interesting to observe that often in the context about these quotations, there is an ascending or descending movement: i.e. God's example directs men to follow him; or if one man imitates another, it should be with an eye to the more superior example.

The really significant thing to notice is that when Paul makes an appeal to imitate, it is often to himself that he appeals as illustrator of what they should do as Christians. The authority of an experience is demonstrated in himself -- the authority of himself in character and conduct open to be viewed and copied by others. The authority here offered by Paul to be seen in himself is similar to the authority of the experience of the Spirit which the Galatians were challenged to reflect on: one is experienced externally, the other internally. Says Abrahams: "When Paul used such terms ('Imitate me as I Christ'), he not only showed profound knowledge of human nature, but was making allowance for the fact that to imitate a concrete imitator was easier than to follow in the track of an idea!"¹ More than this, Paul depends on the precedents of Judaism for the importance of imitation.

First, the imitation of God was a clear principle in Judaism similar to Paul's urging to imitate God. Paul says, "Be kind to one another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, as God in Christ forgave you."² Compare this with Rabbinic teaching: "Of this virtue God is the great exemplar. The world was created solely in loving kindness. R. Simlai

¹ Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Series 2, p. 141.
² Eph. 4.32.

observes that the Pentateuch begins with an act of loving kindness - God made garments of skin to clothe man and his wife - and ends with another - He buried Moses in the valley. It is in such gracious deeds that man can and should imitate God, who clothes the naked, visits the sick, comforts mourners, buries the dead."¹

We must admit of course that Paul deviates from Judaism by introducing Christ as his example. Abrahams claims that this pattern where Christ becomes Archetype and man is third removed has a Philonian echo.² He acknowledges that certain Jews like Abraham and Hillel were raised to be personalities worth imitating, but not with the same perfection attributed to Jesus.³ Apart from this, Judaism taught that the Jews must be an example to the nations. "Therefore you are my witnesses, saith the Lord, that I am God."⁴ Furthermore, says Abrahams, "God's divine nature is manifested and sanctified by human excellence. From the virtue of the creature you infer the virtue of the Creator - this is the moral drawn from a fine act of delicate honesty by Simeon b. Shilah."⁵ If this is a true understanding of Judaism, we can see how Paul shared with Judaism, at its best, an idea of the value of imitation of a good man to point to a holy and loving God. To imitate what one saw living and active

¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 172, p. 85 also.

² Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Series 2, p. 141.

³ Ibid, p. 142.

⁴ Isa. 43.12.

⁵ Ibid. p. 154.

in Paul was good authority, the authority of an experience; to imitate Christ was even better; to imitate God was best.¹

If the connection between the authority of experience and Judaism seems to have placed us on somewhat unsure ground, the appeal to the authority of revelation is more objective and the connection with Judaism more certain. Paul assumes, appeals to and promotes the view that what he espouses is revealed religion. Says Grant: "Christianity ... is, and normally has always claimed to be, the end and climax of a long course of preparation, the final stage in a long series of divine acts of revelation and redemption which began with the human race or even with the creation of the world."² Moore writes along the same line: "It was on the same assumption of the consistency of revelation, and with methods from our point of view as uncritical, that Christians from the beginning found the distinctive doctrines of Christianity expressed or implied in all parts of the Old Testament."³ Christianity is at one with Judaism in teaching that religion is revealed.

Paul declared this: "For I would have you know brethern, that the gospel which was preached by me is not man's gospel. For I did not receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came through a revelation of Jesus Christ"⁴ - "promised

¹ Examples of appeals to authority of experiences might be extended: Paul regarded it evident, certainly from his own experience, that no man would be justified by works of the law (Rom. 3.20; Phil. 3.8,9); it is evident too that

² Isreal has stumbled in her rejection of Christ (Rom. 9.32).
³ AJNT, p. 30.
⁴ Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 250.

⁴ Gal. 1.11,12.

beforehand through his (God's) prophets in the holy scriptures."¹ It is a revelation open and available to all men.² Revelation may be immediate and authoritative for Luke gives an account of divine intervention which prevented Paul from preaching in Asia.³ As well, it was often personal and instructive.⁴ Revealed religion is set forth most authoritatively and in its largest perspective when it concerns salvation: "For I am not ashamed of the gospel: it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith.... For in it the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith."⁵ Paul appeals to the authority of revelation in connection with resurrection.⁶ Humility is enjoined because it is the consequence of revelation; it is the way of Christ.⁷ The bearing of one another's burdens rests on the authority of Christ; it is his law.⁸ In finding authority for the good ordering of marriage relationships, Paul passes right back to the authority of Christ.⁹

The case for Judaism as revealed religion needs little demonstration. It is well known that Judaism made appeal to such authority. "Where it is believed that religion was given to men by revelation, and that it is a divinely ordained regulative for man's whole life, practical revelation re-
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¹ Rom. 1.2.

² Eph. 1.17-20.

³ Acts 16.6. Cf. Josephus, The Jewish War, 3.351, who declared for the instructive efficacy of divine visitations. Josephus speaks of dreams and with Paul sees these visitations as authoritative revelations.

⁴ II Cor. 12.1ff. Eph. 3.3

⁵ Rom. 1.16.17

⁶ I Cor. 9.1; 15.12.

⁷ Phil. 2.5.

⁸ Gal. 6.2.

⁹ Eph. 5.25.

solves itself to live accordingly."¹ On the subject of the atonement in Judaism, "a theory of the way in which sacrifice and other rites expiate sin is in a revealed religion a superfluous speculation."² While the subject of revelation for Paul was Christ, in Judaism it centred in the absolute and "unchangeable" law. In Judaism, "God had not only made himself known to men, but had given them in his twofold law a revelation of his will for man's whole life, and of the way of salvation through the fulfillment of his righteous and holy will."³ Both Paul and Judaism sought to give a sense of antiquity and completeness to revelation: Paul traces various matters back to God's intention, Adam, Abraham and the prophets;⁴ the Jews said Moses was the fountain head of all prophecy and law.⁵ Notice too that Paul and Judaism are at one in regarding revelation as authoritative for all men. The Jews believed that certain laws for all men were given to Adam and given again to Noah - the Noachian commandments.⁶ "Potentially, God had revealed himself to all men; actually it was only Israel who 'heard and obeyed' the divine voice."⁷ Paul makes a similar assumption: "For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them."⁸ As Paul found God's love

¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 460.

² Ibid, p. 500.

³ Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 235. Also Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 136 quoting "Rosh hashanah" 19a: "that which is of the Torah needs no confirmation"; also p. 137: "The supreme importance, however, of the Torah lies in the fact of it being the final revelation of God for all time."

⁴ Rom. 1, 2, 3; 5; 9.6. Gal. 3.6ff.

⁵ Mishnah, Aboth 1.1. Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 239, 358f.

⁶ Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 274.

⁷ Grant, AJNT, p. 60.

⁸ Rom. 1.19.

revealed in Christ,¹ so Judaism found the same love backed by the law.² Indeed, both Paul and the Jews regarded morality to be under the authority and inspiration of revelation, and they were not so far apart in what they called for. In the following statement, if Christ were dropped out, there could be substantial agreement between Paul and the Jews:

"For whatever was written in former days was written for our instruction, that by steadfastness and by the encouragement of the scriptures we might have hope. May the God of steadfastness and encouragement grant you to live in such harmony with one another, in accord with Christ Jesus, that together you may with one voice glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."³ Concord among men found its inspiration for the Jews and for Paul out of revelation from God; its achievement will bring praise to its Author.

Moore's comparison of Philo's methods with those of Judaism⁴ is helpful also in making a comparison of Paul with Philo. We have argued that Paul, like the Jews, appeals to the authority of revelation, though with a different subject of revelation. Says Moore, "Philo does not rest the obligation of conformity to the law on the authority of revelation, but endeavours to find a rational and moral excellence in the individual prescriptions which commend them to intelligence and conscience."⁵ Paul does not proceed from reason but from

¹ Rom. 5.8; 8.39.

² Lev. 19.18. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 84f, 171f.

³ Rom. 15.4-6.

⁴ Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 211ff.

⁵ Ibid. Vol. 2, p. 214.

revelation. Positively, this means Paul stands even closer to Judaism than some critics allow; and negatively, it means that he is not so much a watered-down Hellenistic Jew as Klausner and Montefiore infer.

An interesting sidelight to the appeal to the authority of revelation is the authority which Paul believes he has by revelation. God "was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles."¹ His authority was for the purpose of preaching and not for baptizing converts.² It entitled him to a course of independent action.³ He believes that this authority may be employed to discipline.⁴ An authoritativeness is evident in his dealing with immorality among the Corinthians.⁵ He feels he has been made "trustworthy" by his Lord so as to deal with other matters important for regulating the life of the church.⁶ Paul fortifies the authority of the gospel by associating it with the expectations of the prophets of scripture⁷ and interpreting the story of Abraham as an example and type of faith which the gospel arouses.⁸ If others want to claim the weight and authority of their ancestry, and their zeal, Paul could remind them that he could make the same claim.⁹ A sense of authority seems to have manifested itself in his use of the synagogue.¹⁰ Perhaps there

1 Gal. 1.16
 2 I Cor. 1.17.
 3 Gal. 1.16; 2.7.
 4 II Cor. 11.2; 13.2,3.
 5 I Cor. 5.2.

6 I Cor. 7.25.
 7 Rom. 1.2.
 8 Gal. 3.7.
 9 Phil. 3.4-7.
 10 Acts 13.15ff; 14.1ff.

was a manifestation of authority when at Lystra, he healed a cripple.¹ Luke reports Paul as appealing to the honour and value of being taught by Gamaliel.² The impression Paul left on his enemies was strong enough to cause the High Priest Ananias and some of the elders to go to Caesarea to press charges against him. This long list of examples of his authoritativeness contains elements important to the Rabbinic conception of authority.

Daube, in connection with Jesus, has made some interesting remarks about Rabbinic authority.³ It is quite evident from his study and from the Mishnah that a true and learned Rabbi stood in an exalted and much respected position.⁴ A Rabbi only became a Rabbi by ordination at the hand of his master, also a Rabbi; in doing so he conferred on him authority ("reshuth"). "The master communicated his personality, his status, to the disciple, who thus became a Rabbi with 'reshuth', 'authority', himself: henceforth he shared in that wisdom and power which, as was believed, ultimately descended from Moses."⁵ The opening sentence of Aboth⁶ confirms the importance attached to the proper passing on of tradition and authority. To compare with this feature of Judaism we would set Paul's sense of authority received from One superior and his sense of faithfulness to the religion

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¹ Acts 14.8ff.

² Acts 22.3

³ MTRJ, p:205ff.

⁴ Compare the Rabbis or "Sages" with the "sopherim". (Daube, ibid. p. 212) and the respect for Gamaliel in acts 5.34-40.

⁵ Daube, ibid. p. 207.

⁶ Mishnah, Aboth, 1.1.

of Israel as far back as Abraham. The association of Rabbinic and Pauline authority is not altogether fanciful: "After all," says Daube, "Rabbinic authority and divine right have an essential feature in common: legitimacy;" and he points out that within Judaism the two were not far apart.¹ As Gamaliel might appeal to his Rabbinic master and one who ordained him, or as the Jewish leaders asked Jesus about his authority,² so easily and in full keeping with Judaism might Paul appeal to the divine right of his authority, even though he might have Christ his Lord in his mind. Paul's sense of appealing to this kind of authority may have been laid in Judaism.

Daube notices two more things characteristic of the properly ordained Rabbi: a great Rabbi was expected to be prominent in both fields of authoritative, striking or novel teaching and the exercising of power over demons.³ We must surely recognise that Paul was a teacher, and the novelty of his teaching created a great stir wherever he went. Klisha ben Abuyah, also a heretic among the Jews, enjoyed the distinction of being quoted by his accusers;⁴ the point is that though ordained Elisha taught and deviated. Furthermore, Daube quotes Paul's Salamis miracle to point out that "'The teaching of the Lord' includes both Paul's instruction and the miracle wrought or announced by him."⁵

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¹ Daube, NTRJ, p. 218f.

² Mark 11.28.

³ Ibid. p. 206.

⁴ Ibid. p. 218. Also in Mishnah, Aboth 4.20.

⁵ Daube, ibid. p. 207.

One further interesting parallel is to be noted.

Daube notes that in the transmission of Rabbinic authority from Rabbi to disciple "the master communicated his personality"¹ and when he "leaned his hand on the candidate's head" - "semikha" - it "meant the pouring of man's wisdom and powers into another man. In a way, the man receiving authority became a new being."² One instantly sees the comparison where Paul asserts that in Christ he is a new creation. "If anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation."³ "I have been crucified with Christ, it is no longer I who live but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me."⁴ Several things however prevent us from going too far. There cannot be much more than Rabbinic precedent, for clearly if anyone gave him authority it was only Christ; his authority was vitalized in a way that the Rabbis could not achieve. It is quite impossible to know if Paul was a Rabbi or even aspired to be one. But we can see on the foregoing points that Paul may well have been thinking along the lines of Rabbinic authority as he sought to give expression to the authority he had from God through Christ. We can content ourselves by believing that he remained a Pharisee and Finklestein believes this in itself was significant in terms of authority: "Throughout Palestine,

¹ NTRJ, p. 207. Similarly Schurer, JPJC, 2.1. p.177, footnote No. 480.

² Daube, *ibid.* p.208-9.

³ II Cor. 5.17.

⁴ Gal. 2.20.

and indeed even in the diaspora.... the words of the Pharisaic scholars were accepted as authoritative interpretations of the law of Moses."¹ This may be enough to account for an earlier disposition to speak and act authoritatively which was re-enforced and enlarged by Christ.

It is quite clear that Paul believes his authority is from Jesus Christ, his Lord, the greatest of all Rabbis. He has authority to teach, to heal, to maintain that true religion intended from the first. If the Pharisees enjoyed the pleasure and honour of sitting in Moses' seat² and believed themselves the upholders of true religion, Paul was able to gather up all this and more because of his new and reforming authority. It may be possible that the intimate relationship between disciple or student and Rabbi, typical of Rabbinic Judaism, and typical of Jesus and his disciples who were compelled to follow One who astonished the people of Capernaum³ and Jerusalem⁴ with his authority in teaching and miracles, was the fruitful soil out of which the mysticism of Paul grew. There is less need for a Hellenistic explanation of Paul's mysticism if in Judaism there was already Rabbinic precedent for transference of great and personal authority from Rabbi to disciple.

Paul did not escape lightly from being challenged on the authority of revelation expounded in his gospel. He fought back against his accusers, for revelation was too big

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¹ The Pharisees, Vol. 2, p. 621.
² Matt. 23.2.

³ Mark 1.22.
⁴ Mark 12.34

a matter to tamper with as some opponents were seeking to do. The Galatian letter reflects an attack on the revelation he sees in Christ "I am astonished that you are so quickly deserting him who called you in the grace of Christ and turning to a different gospel - not that there is another gospel, but there are some who trouble you and want to pervert the gospel of Christ."¹ Paul implies that he has been accused of inventing his message for the purpose of his own glory or enhancement, to which Paul replies that his initiative is derived only from objective revelation.² He emphasizes that the revelation about which he has spoken comes solely by the grace of God. The authority of the revelation he preached is again impinged upon when someone tried to interpret or restate his gospel to favour the establishment of the Mosaic law with special reference to circumcision. Paul vehemently dissociates himself from such a restatement and misrepresentation of the gospel he preaches; "But if I, brethren, still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted? In that case the stumbling block of the cross has been removed."³ A similar example of an attack of some of his opponents appears in II Cor.11. The situation is one where he sees his work tampered with, and hence the revelation he was charged to declare. "For if someone comes and preaches another Jesus than the one we preached, or if you receive a different spirit from the one you received or you accept a

¹ Gal. 1.6,7.

² Gal. 1.10,11.

³ Gal.3.11. Burton, Galatians, p. 286.

different gospel from the one you accepted, you submit to it readily enough."¹ We have included this paragraph not because of any connection with Judaism was intended, but because by contrast and conflict the importance of revelation is heightened for Paul.

The most obvious authority to which Paul appeals is scripture.² His relationship to the O.T. is beyond full treatment by this thesis, but enough has been singled out to show how closely in appealing to scripture he was in touch with Judaism and dependent on it. In spite of his deviations from and interpretations of passages quoted, Paul knew and used quite faithfully the Hebrew scriptures.³ "The writings of the apostle Paul reveal a person immersed in the content and teachings of the O.T."⁴ Taking Gal. 3.11 and Rom. 1.17 - "He who through faith is righteous shall live" - as an example of Paul's faithfulness to the meaning of the interpretations of Hab. 2.4, both Ellis⁵ and Moore⁶ allow that Paul has interpreted the O.T. passage in a way justifiable to Judaism though אֱמוּנָה in Judaism means both "faith" as trust and "faithfulness";⁷ Paul takes hold of the first meaning and gives faith a deeper meaning. The point

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¹ II Cor. 11.4 and the whole context.

² Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 11; Ellis notes that Paul quotes the O.T. 93 times, and one-third of all the O.T. quotations in the N.T. are his.

³ Robertson, Epochs in the Life of St. Paul, p. 67.

⁴ Ellis, ibid. p. 10.

⁵ Ibid. p. 117ff.

⁶ Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 237-38; also Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 173ff.

⁷ Brown, Driver, Briggs, A Hebrew-English Lexicon of the Old Testament, p. 53.

is that he has not used "faith" entirely outside of the scope of Judaism. That Paul enjoys and employs freedom of interpretation is not cause enough to set him outside the limits of Judaism, especially in the early and middle part of the first century.¹ Daube says that the further one goes back in Rabbinic history, "the freer we find the Rabbis in their decisions" enjoying "an extraordinary degree of independence."² Finklestein takes us even closer to Paul's case by showing that the Pharisees compared with Sadducees, or plebians with patricians, frequently enjoyed a freer interpretation of scripture impelled by social or economic or religious needs:³ "The Oral Law thus became a platform of articulate, plebian protest against the Official interpretation of the Written Law."⁴ Thus Paul stood from the first in a tradition of relatively freer interpretation, which was carried into the service of Christ. The frequency, freedom and variety of Paul's quotations of scripture have often caused commentators to believe that Paul shows evidence of the Jewish tendency to memorize scripture and Rabbinic teachings extensively. The method of the Rabbinic schools" developed not only exact and retentive memory and great mental acuteness, but an exhaustive and ever-ready knowledge of every phrase and word of Scripture."⁵ Ellis is anxious to show that Paul's acquaintance with Scripture in different

¹ Montefiore, Judaism and St. Paul, p.4,5.

² NTRJ, p. 92,210.

³ The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 101-2.

⁴ Finklestein, ibid, p. 266.

⁵ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 320.

languages and versions is evidence of his training and retentive capacity, and he makes serious effort to account for differences and variations in Paul's quotations rather than as memory lapses.¹ Although he places emphasis on Paul's memory capacity, he regards the quotations too involved with many factors for a single generalisation about Paul's use of Scripture. The memory capacity remains nevertheless a factor upon which he can rely in making appeal to the authority of Scripture. Concluding these general remarks it remains to notice just how extensively Paul quotes the O.T.; notice especially Ellis' tables in this respect.² So great is his use of it that possible allusions to other works are but pale shadows. His quotations are almost entirely from the Pentateuch and prophets.³

Before considering some details about Paul's relationship to Judaism through its scriptures, some of Ellis' introductory remarks are worth quoting just to show how integral those scriptures are in his mind. "Whether he is giving a dogmatic proof (Rom. 3:10-18) and analogy (Rom. 2:24) or an illustration (Rom. 10:6-8), or merely using language with which to clothe his own thoughts (Rom. 12:20), the O.T. appears frequently throughout the Pauline epistles."⁴ Furthermore, "The Pauline use of the O.T. appears in three

¹ Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 14ff. See also Bruce's comments about different versions of the O.T. among the Jews in the first century A.D., Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 66.

² Ellis, ibid. p. 150ff.

³ Ibid. p. 10.

⁴ Ibid. p. 10-11.

distinct forms: quotations proper, intentional and casual allusion, and dialectic and theological themes."¹ The effect of this saturation of the O.T. in his mind places Paul in a position where he was much dependent on Judaism.

This is first to be tested theologically. Does he use the Hebrew scriptures in such a way to show he has been dependent for his ideas? Ellis gives a list of such ideas: "the subjects on which the apostle dwells read like an outline of Biblical theology."² One example where Paul's use of the scriptures is more than merely illustrative is in his treatment of the calling of the gentiles and the rejection of the Jews. In dealing with this subject, his argument moves over the ideas of election, remnant and true Israel described in the Hebrew scriptures and now continued in the community of Christians. The argument appearing in Rom. 9-11 runs through these ideas beginning with Abraham's election, and ends with an explanation of the cleavage between Jew and Gentile-Christians and the hope of their reconciliation. In Gal. 3, the scope of the argument is similar, but ends with a call to the way of faith rather than works.³ Paul's concern with election is similar to the prophets but he regards it as in a new dimension. Another theological concern rising from Hebrew scriptures is that events are viewed eschatologically. Paul believed that the expectations of the prophets were in present time finding their fulfillment.⁴

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¹ Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 10-11.

² Ibid. p. 116.

³ Ibid. p. 121, 124.

⁴ Rom. 16.26.

One good example, although it is an allusion to an O.T. passage, comes up in II Thess. 2.8 where the expectation of Paul is very much like that of Isa. 11.4: the common theme is the devastating character of judgement. Other passages in Paul's letters show an eschatological outlook similar to the O.T. and Paul alludes to them in this light.¹ While certain groups like the Rabbis were much restrained from futuristic speculation, on the whole "Ancient Jewish thought ... was 'eschatological' from beginning to end, for it took account of the divine over-ruling of events, and saw all history, both past and present, in the light of God's ultimate purpose."² There is abundant evidence that much of Paul's theology has roots in the O.T.

The second test of Paul's dependency on Hebrew scriptures concerns the method of interpretation used in approaching them. It is impressive to notice how thoroughly Paul is imbued with Judaism when on the one hand he appeals to the Pentateuch and the prophets and to find that his method of exegesis is sometimes Rabbinic. Many scholars judge his exegesis to be Rabbinic. Davies wishes to show that Paul "is grounded in an essentially Rabbinic world of thought ... primarily governed both in life and thought by Pharisaic concepts, which he baptized 'unto Christ'."³ Dibelius also

¹ Cf. Isa. 45.22,23 with Rom. 14.10,11 where submission to God is a large part of the background of thought, and in quoting Isa. the element of judgement is brought to the fore.

² Grant, AJNT, p. 67.

³ PRJ, p. 16.

thinks he was Rabbinic in his exegesis.¹ Ellis is strongly of the opposite opinion; he holds that the Rabbis were hair-splitters and quotes the Talmud (Sanhedrin 34a): "A verse is capable of as many interpretations as splinters of a rock crushed by a hammer, for Jer. 23.29 says, 'Like a hammer that breaketh a rock to pieces...'" "Their splinterized, purposeless, speculative musings which 'suspend dogmatic mountains on textual hairs' have not the remotest kinship with Paul's theology or hermeneutical principles."² It is difficult to maintain that all Rabbinic musings to be purposeless. It is quite true that the Rabbis often aimlessly allowed interpretation to stand beside interpretation.³ But sometimes the Rabbis did adduce interpretations according to their higher principles and regarded them as pre-eminently important.⁴ It is difficult not to see in Paul's letters examples of Rabbinic exegesis, and get what we might expect: different interpretations than those which the Rabbis got from scriptural passage. The reason is simple enough; Paul works from the standpoint of Christ first and his exegetical methods serve him only in so far as they advance the gospel; reference to the O.T. did not assist him in Colossians so there is no quotation of it. Of course, Paul does not engage in speculations about words for every mean-

¹ Dibelius, Paul, p. 39-40. Also Schoeps, Paul, p. 38-39.

² Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 75, 83.

³ Bultman, Primitive Christianity, p. 75.

⁴ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 85f. Even R. Akiba, who Ellis disparages was capable of lofty results: Mishnah, Aboth 3:14, 15. Ben 'Assai based on Gen. 5.1 the principle of reverence for the divine image in man.

ing that can be squeezed out. By our standards, Paul does not use a true interpretation of the passages he quotes, but within the methods he uses he was purposeful in bringing scripture, if he could, to bear on the significance of Christ. Paul had the Rabbinic exegetical habit of combining texts. In Rom. 3.9-20 O.T. texts from Psalms and Isaiah are combined on the subject of sinfulness in accordance, Schoeps says, with Haggadah practice.¹ Schoeps draws our attention to another Rabbinic exegetic rule employed by Paul where in Gal. 3.10-11 he sought to prove the unfulfillability of the law. Paul used the thirteenth midda exegetical principle of Rabbi Ishmael: "if two verses are contradictory, one should find a third verse in order to overcome the contradiction." "Habbakuk 2.4: 'He who through faith is righteous shall live' and Lev. 18.5: 'He who does them shall live by them' are in contradiction," says Schoeps. "Hence the question is whether works or faith yield the way to life. A Torah text and a prophetic text are here in contradiction. A further text from the Torah, which was previously quoted as a basis for the whole discussion gives the solution."² Abraham becomes the deciding case.³ Taking the example of Gal. 3.16, the point of the context is to emphasize the primacy of faith not law for righteousness. About it Ellis says, "The passage does not

¹ Paul, p. 175. Schoeps believes Paul retained this Rabbinic training, p. 38f. For a similar view, Thackeray, RPCJT, p. 183.

² Schoeps, ibid. p. 177-8.

³ Gal. 3.6; Gen. 15.6.

involve a question of grammatical accuracy but of theological interpretation, and Paul's interpretation involves no rabbinical sophistry. He notes that it is a collective and not a simple plural ... (σπέρματι for ἄγγελοι)." ¹ But Ellis notes that this verse shows an "halachic fashion". Now although Ellis does show that Paul is no sophist or "charlatan fooling his audience," he has made little allowance that Paul stands closer to Rabbinic hermeneutical laws than he does to our modern sense of historical critical exegesis. ² It is agreed that Paul has shed much Rabbinic casuistry but he still seeks new meanings without concern for the historical situation of a passage. In the case of Adam, ³ Adam is regarded as a real historical person ⁴ and Paul draws on Genesis 2 and 3 for new theological meaning as much as the Rabbis did in their search and examination of the Law. It is surely because Paul has recorded some of these interpretations, derived as he has done, that we find them of little use today. One clear advance or difference from the Rabbis Paul shows: he no longer is concerned with making scripture apply now to countless everyday situations. ⁵ Furthermore, he has departed from a static view of revelation, for with Christ a new revelation has been brought to bear on scripture. Nevertheless, Paul and the methods of the Rabbis are not so far apart as Ellis would have us believe. Difference

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¹ Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 73.
² Schoeps, Paul, p. 38.
³ I Cor. 15.22.45.
⁴ Synge, Philippians and Colossians, p. 32.
⁵ Schoeps, ibid. p. 39.

in interpretation there was, but they both believed scripture to contain God's revelation and their distinctive doctrines.¹

As a final note about the authority of scripture appealed to by Paul and related to Judaism, Ellis draws our attention to typological exegesis which is characteristic of the New Testament and other groups within Judaism.² Typology possesses three principal characteristics: as an exegesis, it "is grounded firmly in the historical significance of the 'types'"; the 'types' real significance "is revealed only in the 'anti-type' or fulfillment"; and the pattern outlines of the first type may be imposed on the second. There are two basic typological patterns used by Paul: the Adam³ and the Covenant typologies.⁴ As a method of interpretation it does not merely "involve striking resemblances or analogies but points to a correspondence which inheres in the Divine economy of redemption."⁵ Paul's predecessors in the use of the Exodus typology were at least the prophets who "came to shape their anticipation of the great eschatological salvation through the Messiah according to the pattern of the historical Exodus under Moses."⁶ The typological approach is prominent in Rom. 9-11 and aids Paul

¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 247-50.

² Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 126ff. Moore, ibid. Vol. 2, p. 343, for a typology in the apocalyptic literature.

³ I Cor. 15.22 and Rom. 5.12ff. I Cor. 5.7 and 10.2,3.

⁴ I Cor. 5.7 and 10.2,3.

⁵ Ellis, ibid. p. 128.

⁶ Ellis quotes H. Salin, ('The New Exodus of salvation according to St. Paul', The Root of the Vine), ibid. p. 131.

in his reflections on history. The events of the past foreshadowed the present.¹

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¹ schoeps, Paul, p. 233.

CHAPTER THREE

THE INFLUENCE OF JUDAISM
ON PAUL, PERSONALLY

When one looks through Acts and Paul's letters for his various statements and reactions about Jewish observances, it is apparent that Paul retained a psychological attachment to Judaism. Deissmann describes this attachment: "it may especially be taken for granted that a thorough appreciation of the outer expression of religion ran in his blood as an inheritance from his fathers. Only a religious man whose feelings were rooted in religious observances could in later times so passionately feel the problem of the law"¹ Old ways and habits persisted. It is quite likely that Paul was included among those who fasted when Barnabas and he were sent out from Antioch by the Church there.² Perhaps not much can be made from the general character of Acts 14.23 but even if it only reflects common practice to fast before appointing elders, Paul can reasonably be included. There are other neutral things which Paul did indicating his Jewishness. He marked off some of his activities and plans by the feasts of the Jewish calendar. Once he planned to stay in Ephesus until Pentecost;³ on another occasion he planned to be in Jerusalem for the same annual festival.⁴ He remained in Philippi to observe the Passover.⁵ Twice Paul was involved in the making of vows, once for himself,⁶ and on the occasion when he took four others into the temple at Jerusalem.⁷ It is curious that Paul refused to have Titus circumcised,⁸ but willingly circumcised

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¹ Paul, p. 96-7.
² Acts 13.1-4.
³ I Cor. 16.8.
⁴ Acts 20.16.

⁵ Acts 20.6.
⁶ Acts 18.18.
⁷ Acts 21.23ff.
⁸ A gentile; Gal. 2.3-5.

Timothy.¹ The explanation is probably that the case of Titus was based on the gospel principles of justification and a test case, and the case of Timothy was based on the missionary method of accommodation.

Did Paul compromise over the law?² Badcock thinks Paul compromised until the time when he wrote Ephesians, and only then did he finally let go the last vestiges of Jewish pride and scorn of gentiles which the observance of the law encouraged.³ If the question refers to the law as a necessity for salvation in Christ, Galatians gives ample proof that his mind was made up long before Ephesians was written.⁴ If the question refers to matters of piety, we have shown and will below that many things have been retained but they are influenced by Christ. If the question is one of motive, we may recall his statement to the Jews that "real circumcision is a matter of the heart, spiritual and not literal."⁵ This is an outlook like Jeremiah's,⁶ and the matter of motive was not unknown among the Rabbis.⁷ However, what Paul stresses is not typical of Judaism, wherein men were obliged to give strict obedience to the law; rather, his outlook is like that in the Sermon on the Mount where motive is often to the fore.⁸ It is not a Jewish

¹ Half Jew and half Greek: Acts 16.3.

² Davies, PRJ, p. 69ff. gives a useful review of solutions to this problem.

³ The Pauline Epistles, p. 176-80.

⁴ Gal. 3. 16,28.

⁵ Rom. 2.29.

⁶ Jer. 4.4.

⁷ Mishnah, Yoma 8.9, in connection with repentance.

⁸ Matt. 6.1.

outlook Paul reflects.

Paul shows his psychological attachment to Judaism in a continuing affection for the historic Jewish nation: "I have great sorrow and unceasing anguish in my heart. For I could wish that I myself were accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my brothers, my kinsmen by race."¹ The logic of his convictions about election and the Church forbid that they should be called the true Israel,² but strong national and emotional feeling (this much at least) prevents him from ruling the Jews out of God's divine purposes.³ Furthermore, Acts 20 and 21 are suggestive of a love for the Jewish nation and election not unlike Jesus': "it cannot be that a prophet should perish away from Jerusalem."⁴ In Acts 20.38 it may only be editorial comment that Paul's face was to be seen no more, or it may be that Luke so writes because in going to Jerusalem Paul was expecting a "show-down" as Jesus and the prophets had before him. Acts 21.13 - "I am ready not only to be imprisoned but even to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus" - and his persistence reflected in the next verse suggests that Paul was emulating Jesus' example and may have very keenly felt the estrangement from the people of Israel resulting from the work he had undertaken. At any rate, however sympathetic he was toward the Jewish nation, he was not blinded to certain realities about them. He knew from his own experience as a

¹ Rom. 9.2,3.

² Davies, PRJ, p. 75.

³ Rom. 11.25,26.

⁴ Luke 13.33.

persecutor of Christians¹ and from Judaizing opponents² how vehement and subtle the Jew could be. He knew that the Jews were responsible for Christ's death³ and that they were enemies of the gospel.⁴ He knew too that some Jews who professed to keep the law were by common consent seen to be breakers of it.⁵ Paul shows no signs of quarreling with or opposing the Jews. His view is that of fulfillment. Paul did not seek to offend his co-nationalists.⁶ He was prepared to be a Jew for the sake of their conversion.⁷ For this reason his interest in the Jews is more than emotional. His desire to have the nation converted may in part fall back on the Jewish hope for the restoration of all Israel and the fulfillment of its destiny.⁸ Abrahams remarks in a footnote: "For though God's steadfastness is often contrasted with Israel's vacillation, yet Israel's continuity is assured by God's eternity."⁹ The outlook is similar to Paul's.¹⁰ It is likely that the hopes of Israel herself fed his mind and he longed even more that his people would only open their eyes to see them fulfilled in Christ.

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¹ Phil. 3.6.

² Gal. 4.18.

³ He does not place blame on the Romans, but regards the Jews as the ones who have stumbled. Rom. 9.32.

⁴ Rom. 11.28.

⁵ Rom. 2.23,24.

⁶ Badcock, The Pauline Epistles, p.176. Cf. Grant, AJNT, p.23.

⁷ I Cor. 9.20.

⁸ Hos. 11.8. Mishnah, Sanhedrin, 10.1. For the ingathering of Israel, see Davies, PRJ, p. 79ff. Also Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 367 where some prayers with this hope are recorded. Also p. 387 where it is pointed out that one phase of Jewish eschatological hope was that in the age to come all Israel would be saved.

⁹ Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Vol. 2, p. 128.

¹⁰ Rom. 9.16,20; 11.32.

This psychological attachment is also to be noticed coming out in surprising or abrupt turns of speech or phrases. It is frequently the case that the Rabbis upon naming God in one or another of the names attributed to Him instinctively appended "blessed is he" or its equivalent.¹ The same formula is used by Paul to glorify God, the Creator.² Principal words representative of Judaism and its theology are retained by Paul: Israelite, seed of Abraham, Israel of God, forefathers, Covenant, etc.³

Paul's continuation as a tent maker is usually accounted for on the basis that he wanted to preach the gospel without payment, but it is not unreasonable to suggest that his was reinforced by the teaching of his home and the teaching of the Rabbis. It was a father's duty to teach his son a trade,⁴ and it was a recurring theme among the Rabbis that a man ought to work. "Shemaiah said: Love labour"⁵ Rabban Gamaliel said: "Excellent is the study of the law together with worldly occupation; for toil in them both puts sin out of mind."⁶

Paul had a great and continuing attachment to the synagogue. The Jewish rejection of Barnabus and Paul at Antioch Pisidia caused them to "turn to the gentiles,"⁷ but in

¹ Mishnah, Aboth 5.4. Also Berakoth 1.4. with footnote 15.
² Rom. 1.25.
³ Deissmann, Paul, p. 97.
⁴ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 127.
⁵ Mishnah, Aboth 1.10.
⁶ Ibid. Aboth 2.2.
⁷ Acts 13.46.

Iconium¹ they went straight back to the synagogue which they had vowed to leave. "He seems incapable of leaving the latter to themselves," says Davies.² Even if Paul used the synagogue as a missionary method, it is quite certain that he was attracted to it. He worshipped in the synagogue from his youth onward, learned there of God's dealings and there developed a sense of piety.

A surprising amount can reasonably be inferred about Paul's youth and education, partly from his own remarks, but also from various statements in the Mishnah and Talmud. It is not out of the way to remark that in spite of certain influences on them, the Jews of the Dispersion "felt themselves to be in all essential respects in unison with their brothers in Palestine."³ Their fidelity was increased by the contempt in which they were held.⁴ There is no reason to think this was not the case in Paul's home during his early life. Moore says⁵ that a Jewish father had certain defined obligations toward his son: "he must circumcise him, redeem him,⁶ teach him Torah, teach him a trade and get him a wife - some say, teach him to swim." Though daughters and wives tended to remain in a subject position to men, the care of and respect for them was the duty of a Jewish father and husband. Women were largely enjoined to keep to a domestic position although they had certain religious require-

¹ Acts 14.1.

² PRJ, p. 69.

³ Schurer, JPJC, 2.2, p. 282.

⁴ Schurer, ibid. 2.2, p. 297.

⁵ Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 127.

⁶ Exod. 13.15.

ments to fulfill.¹ In connection with children, Oesterley and Box quote the Midrash: "In the first three years the child is unable to speak, and therefore is exempt from every religious duty; but in the fourth year ... the father is obliged to initiate the child in religious works."² The learning of prayers and passages of scripture would fall within this period. By implication the Mishnah calls for parents to teach observance of the Sabbath: "If it was a minor that came to put (out the fire) ... they may not permit him, since they are answerable for his keeping of the Sabbath."³ Similarly in connection with the Passover, a father had the duty of teaching its significance to his son. "You shall tell your son on that day, 'It is because of what the Lord did for me when I came out of Egypt'."⁴ It is inconceivable that something so imaginative as the Festival of Booths would not get an explanation from a father. Conversely, involvement in pagan festivals was probably as sternly prohibited.⁵ With respect to fasting the Mishnah says, "They (parents) do not cause children to fast on the Day of Atonement, but they should exercise them therein one or two years before (they are of age), that they may become versed in the commandments."⁶ The training of a child was

¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 128-131

² RWS, p. 274-5.

³ Shabbath 15.6.

⁴ Exod. 13.8. The intimate and personal claim of this passage on the participants is often noticed. Also

⁵ Mishnah, Pesahim 10.4.

⁵ Mishnah, Abodah Zarah 3.1. "All images are forbidden...."

⁶ See also the connected footnote.

⁶ Yoma 8.4.

regarded as of paramount importance in a Jewish home.

"Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."¹

It is reasonable to believe that Paul was subject to this discipline and training in his own Tarsus home. He was circumcised by his father.² He was tribally connected with Benjamin, endowed with the name of the ancestral king of that same tribe - Saul.³ Finklestein informs us that traditionally the "lowlander" Benjaminites were repeatedly people of wealth.⁴ Of course, Paul was foreign-born and did not belong to the Benjaminites of Palestine. Nevertheless, there is no reason not to believe that one proud of his tribe was once proud of it because he too shared the accomplishments of his ancestors. It is not likely that Paul came from circumstances too humble or poor. It is well known that he learned the prosperous trade of a tent-maker. It is not too imaginative to believe that Paul learned to swim. His proximity to the hill town which served Tarsus as a resort and to Lake Rhegma and the sea, coupled with his survival after the shipwreck on the coast of Malta,⁵ may well suggest that he did learn to swim, perhaps at the request of his father. Paul learned to pray and to mark off the year by Jewish festivals. In I Cor. where Paul has to admonish the new Christians to leave alone the idols and festival ways of paganism,

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¹ Prov. 22.6.

² Phil. 3.5.

³ I Sam. 9.1,2.

⁴ The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 39.

⁵ Acts 27.43-28.1.

and when he begins, "Consider the practice of Israel....",¹ it is clearly evident that the Jewish abhorrence of idolatry was strongly fixed in his mind. What about later relationships with his home in Tarsus after he became a Christian? Robertson conjectures that it was out of filial love that Paul returned to visit in Tarsus from time to time.² At least this much is true, a bond remained on some basis with members of his family for once his life was saved by information provided to the Roman authorities by his sister's son.³ At the same time it is quite clear that Paul's return to Cilicia was related to his missionary work.⁴

Mention should be made of the Jewish schools attached to the synagogues.⁵ Because Alexandrian Jews and Babylonian Jews had schools for instruction in religion,⁶ it is likely that an active Jewish community like that in Tarsus had the same. The enthusiastic intellectual life of the pagan students and teachers in Tarsus may have given further impulse to would-be Jewish scholars.⁷ How long Paul remained in Tarsus to attend an elementary or advanced school simply cannot be estimated. The habit of taking a twelve or thirteen year old boy to Jerusalem at his coming of age⁸ and Paul's tutorship under Gamaliel complicate the issue. How-

¹ I Cor. 10.18ff.

² Epochs in the Life of St. Paul, p. 9.

³ Acts 23.16.

⁴ Gal. 1.21.

⁵ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 308ff.

⁶ Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 321f.

⁷ Hausrath, HNTT, Vol. 3, p. 15.

⁸ Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 276. Also Luke 2.42.

ever, assuming that at least until this age he remained in the school at Tarsus, his elementary education began with reading and writing the Hebrew of the Pentateuch, the prophets, and eventually the Hagiographa.¹ Paul was certainly familiar with schools and teachers for as an adult he casually referred to the "teacher of children".² Perhaps as his education in religion began in the schools of Tarsus, so also his training to be a Pharisee may have begun there.³

The training begun in Tarsus was prosecuted under more famous tuition in Jerusalem. Advanced or higher education went beyond the confines of scripture to the study of tradition and interpretation of a most demanding kind.⁴ Unfortunately, the most comprehensive statement in the Mishnah about educational stages is very late and rather theoretical in its impression,⁵ yet by the Age of Tannaim a fairly certain scheme for this higher education was established.⁶ It is reasonable to believe that Paul learned the traditions of Judaism (mishnah) with its three branches: a higher exegesis of scripture which derived and confirmed certain information according to set rules (midrash), precisely formulated rules

¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 318.

² Rom. 2.19. Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 272.

³ Deissmann, Paul, p. 93.

⁴ Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 319.

⁵ Judah b. Tema (second century A.D.) used to say: "At five years old (one is fit) for the Scripture, at ten years for the Mishnah, at thirteen for (the fulfilling of) the commandments, at fifteen for the Talmud, at eighteen for the bride-chamber, at twenty for pursuing (a calling), at thirty for authority, at forty for discernment, at fifty for counsel...."

⁶ Moore, ibid. p. 319.

(halakah), and non-juristic teachings, homiletical in character (haggadah).¹ Extensive studies such as these prohibited all but very able students, required a long period of study and developed extensive memory capacity. Such education under Rabbinic doctors like Gamaliel nourished mental alertness and a method of disputation. Says Schurer, "The instruction" of pupils "consisted of an indefatigable continuous exercise in memory", and this instruction took the procedure of question and answer - constant disputation.² The account of Jesus questioning the teachers in the temple is an accurate picture of the Jewish "classroom".³ Paul shows this procedure now and then when he asks a question and proceeds to answer it.⁴ What influence Gamaliel had on Paul is almost impossible to say. Perhaps as Thackeray suggests, Gamaliel's sympathy for the gentiles communicated itself to Paul,⁵ but it is more penetrating and convincing to see such sympathy coming from personal contact with the gentiles. It is also more accurate to see Paul's facility with Greek to be traceable to a Hellenistic environment than from Gamaliel's encouragement of his students to read Greek literature.⁶ Finally, Ellis has pointed out that Paul by virtue of his Rabbinic training was able to quote well from

¹ Moore in footnotes is careful to point out certain confusions which arise if what Paul learned as Midrash is compared with the present Midrash. Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 319.

² JPJC, 2.1. p. 324.

³ Luke 2.46.

⁴ Rom. 3.1-9.

⁵ RPCJT, p. 10.

⁶ Thackeray, ibid. p. 11. Cf. Dibelius, Paul, p. 30.

memory, "yet a memory which was the storehouse of more than one language, and one trained in Jewish methods of bringing together passages from different books of the Old Testament."¹ Paul's principal Biblical source was the LXX, but he probably knew other Greek texts as well.² It is inconceivable that he did not know Hebrew from the earliest days in the elementary school. Ellis furthermore believes that Aramaic texts may be behind some of Paul's quotations, but he is unwilling to say whether Paul or the Church is responsible for the form of the quotation.³ It is probable that Paul knew the scriptures in Aramaic as well.⁴ We are, in any event, left with a man very knowledgeable about the versions of scripture. This must be kept in perspective however, for the LXX by far dominates in Paul's use of scripture.

Occasionally Paul is discussed in relation to marriage. In his letters the influence of eschatological expectations so overrides all other considerations that the results are little less than ridiculous. But what concerns us here is Paul's silence about his own marriage. We noted earlier that the making of a marriage was one of the duties laid on a father in the upbringing of his son. Paul's failure to marry may undermine any claim that he was an orthodox Jew.⁵

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¹ Ellis, Paul's use of the Old Testament, p. 14.

² Ibid. p. 15.

³ Ibid. p. 16.

⁴ Thackeray, RPCJT, p. 181, 207, relies for proof on the familiar practice of using Aramaic in the synagogue services.

⁵ Dibelius, Paul, p. 34-5.

Moore points out that failure to marry was regarded as transgression of a divine commandment¹ and an invitation to divine displeasure.² The bachelor was socially dishonoured. Moore goes on further: a scholar could legitimately postpone marriage to concentrate on studies. If Paul was an orthodox Jew, zealous for the law beyond many others, it is quite conceivable that the failure to marry caused no special stir among the elders of Israel. This view may oblige us to believe that Paul's latest stages of education coincided closely with the time of his conversion, at once preventing any ordination as a Rabbi and further delaying occasion for marriage. It is quite evident that Paul's expectation of the Parousia supersedes concern for marriage,³ although in his last letters he counsels stability.⁴

Robertson holds that Paul became a member of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem.⁵ It seems to us, however, that at the most he may have appeared before it as an accuser of Stephen,⁶ and received authority from it to persecute the Church.⁷ Moreover, if Paul was still a student, not yet a Rabbi, his unfulfilled training might not have provided suitable qualification (though as a Pharisee he might have qualified).

How did Pharisaism influence Paul? A few of their doctrines he carried into the declaration of the gospel.

¹ Cf. Gen. 2.18. See also The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 8, p. 337.

² Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 119.

³ 1 Cor. 7.7, 29.

⁴ Col. 3.18ff.

⁵ Epochs in the Life of St. Paul, p. 11, 33.

⁶ Acts 6.9, 12, 13; 8.1. Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p. 318.

⁷ Acts 8.3; 9.2.

There was the belief in life after death. Says Josephus of the Pharisees: "They say, that all souls are incorruptible, but that the souls of good men are removed into other bodies, but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment."¹ Had Paul been of Sadducean stock, belief in life after death would have not only been absent from his formative training but also opposed by him.² As the Pharisees believed in angels, so did Paul. The Sadducees, on the contrary, denied such beings to exist.³ Finklestein traces the Pharisaic belief in angels not only to the prophets but to the religious pressures of Babylon on the Jewish exiles there until when returned to Palestine the plebians - to become Pharisees - were only too glad to have the consolation of angelic powers when faced with oppressive aristocrats who robbed society of justice.⁴ Thackeray shows numerous points of contact between Paul and the Pharisaic doctrine of angels.⁵ Toward eschatological ideas the Pharisees may well have had the most sane approach of any of the groups of first century Judaism.⁶ Although concerned about the resurrection and judgement, normal Pharisaism was fixed on life in the present, whereas apocalyptic visionaries were rather extraordinary. The Pharisees did not deny future hopes like the scornful Sadducees; nor did they turn to the Hellenistic belief in the immortality of the soul like the

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¹ The Jewish War, 2.14.163.

² Ibid., 2.14.165.

³ Acts 23.8.

⁴ The Pharisees, Vol. 1, 160ff. 171, 174f.

⁵ HPCJT, p. 143ff.

⁶ Davies, PRJ, p. 9, 10.

Essenes.

It was among the Pharisees that human equality found champions in Israel.¹ Three significant things about it may be noted. It was among the plebians from whom the Pharisees came that the doctrine won its greatest support. One of the more significant ways in which human equality found its expression was through the payment of a half-shekel by all the Jews of the world; few were unable to pay this much whereas many were unable to give to or make elaborate sacrifices in the Temple; such a small privilege was ardently maintained by the Pharisees. Finally, it was the prophets, especially Ezekiel,² who championed the cause of human equality. Of course, Paul whose doctrine of equality is quite prominent, has for his basis the salvation which is in Christ. The gospel is the power of salvation to Jews and Greeks.³ "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave⁴ nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus."⁵ Although Paul has transformed and enlarged the idea of equality, and (we believe) has been influenced in the same regard by Hellenism levelling the classes in the Graeco-Roman world, a

¹ Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1 gives two excellent chapters on this subject: 15 and 16.

² Ezek. 18.25. "Yet ye say, the way of the Lord is not equal ... are not your ways unequal." (KJV). Vs.30: "Therefore I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to his ways." (RSV).

³ Rom. 1.16.

⁴ Cf. Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 284, who quotes a Pharisaic attitude relating slaves and human equality: "But how can you make the master responsible for damage done by the manservant or maidservant, who have minds of their own?"

⁵ Gal. 3.28.

predisposition was given to his idea by the Pharisaic doctrine. We should not minimize the fact that Paul must have witnessed the Spirit at work among Christians,¹ nor should we dissolve his continuity with the past history of Judaism which bore certain marks of the struggle for human equality.

It was normal Jewish teaching that a youth should learn a trade and a man ^{make} his living.² The Pharisees believed that work was honourable and desirable, and this we may expect not only because *Jews* of all ages enunciated the idea, but also because the Pharisees were plebians, i.e. men not of leisure or royalty but of trade and commerce. If we keep in mind that Pharisaism was the sect of first century Judaism to triumph³ and whose theology was led by the Rabbis, two of Moore's quotations⁴ are revealing. Says Rab (R. Abba areka), "Skin the carcass of a dead beast in the market place for hire, and do not say, I am a great man, it is beneath my dignity." In contrast to this strong teaching to work there is the one who says, "I am a priest, it is beneath my dignity." The parable of the Good Samaritan reminds us also that the priests and levites were not likely to soil their hands.⁵ The tent-maker comes from a group with a different mind. Just as the Pharisees and Paul approved the dignity of work, we may likewise find a parallel interest

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¹ I Cor. 12.13 "For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body - Jews and Greeks, slaves or free - and all were made to drink of one Spirit."

² Moore, *Judaism*, Vol. 2, p. 177.

³ Grant, *AJNT*, p. 9.

⁴ Moore, *ibid.* Vol. 2, p. 177.

⁵ Luke 10.31, 32.

in frugality. Josephus says of the Pharisees that "they lived meanly and despised delicacies in diet."¹ Finklestein records the taunt of the Sadducees toward the Pharisees on just this point: "The Pharisees are bound by tradition to deny themselves the pleasures of this world; yet in the future world they will also have nothing."² The theme of frugality lingers in Paul's words: "I have learned, in whatever state I am, to be content. I know how to be abased, and I know how to abound; in any and all circumstances I have learned the secret of facing plenty and hunger, abundance and want." In the light of the next sentence - "I can do all things in him who strengthens me" - we may see how much Paul's contentment was made possible by his relationship with Christ. The Pharisees maintained a tension of free will and predestination according to Josephus.⁴ It was the Pharisee's duty to keep the law for his salvation, yet God was sure to save him for his righteousness. Man sins but there are also Satanic powers at work among men. Paul retains a sense of this tension although it is under the influence of Christ. God has predestined whom he will call;⁵ "he hardens the hearts of whomever he wills";⁶ he is the potter, not the clay.⁷ At the same time, Paul expresses the view that he must strive to be the kind

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¹ Antiquities, 18.1.3.

² The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 186.

³ Phil. 4.11,12.

⁴ The Jewish War, 2.8.162f.

⁵ Rom. 8.30. Gal. 1.15.

⁶ Rom. 9.18.

⁷ Rom. 9.21.

of person God in Christ wishes him to be.¹ Free will and determination are reflected in his belief that man sins² but is also endangered by Satan.³

In the gospels the Pharisees are often inveighed against, partly out of just criticism toward their hypocrisy, and partly out of the legacy of hostility and tension resulting from the Church's conflict with them. At the same time, the gospels and Acts give accounts of Pharisees with whom Jesus agreed and supported and who themselves joined the Christian movement. There were both good and bad Pharisees, and some may not have been so rigid as we might suppose. Paul does not attack the Pharisees as a sect; the issues are deeper than sectarian. He does attack hypocrisy in the Jew, although he does not especially name the Pharisees.⁴ Some teachers of his time may have done the same, for later Rabbis certainly did so.⁵ It would be correct to regard Paul as one who sought to be a good Pharisee, and perhaps as Grant says regarded his Pharisaic background as a "limited asset,"⁶ and it is not the least necessary to believe that he despised the movement when he saw how great was the fulfillment in Christ of all God's promise to Israel. He was more saddened that the nation had rejected Him.

Pre-eminently, the Pharisees were dedicated to living a

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¹ Phil. 3.12ff.

² Rom. 7.15.

³ II Cor. 2.11.

⁴ Rom. 2.21ff.

⁵ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 190f.

⁶ RHNT, p. 136.

life of piety,¹ to strive after righteousness. The Old Testament had raised righteousness to pre-eminent importance: so did the Pharisees, and so did Paul.² They were more interested in a life solely invaded by religion than anything else; they were more interested in piety than academic acumen or economic achievement. Said Hillel: "Let all thy deeds be for the sake of heaven."³ To give expression to and direct the life of piety there was the law, written and oral. "Pharisaism, whatever else it was, and it was much else, was a system of morality expressed as law."⁴ To direct their attention to the law was an all-embracing obligation.⁵ They studied it and loved the study of it,⁶ and became, says Josephus, "its most accurate interpreters."⁷ They formulated doctrines from their studies.⁸ For the law they were zealous and for its truths they would defend it and persecute heretics on its behalf.⁹ The point of all this attention to the law was because it was meant to deal, and did deal with every aspect of life;¹⁰ with it the Pharisees sought to bring the whole of life under the purview of re-

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¹ Grant, AJNT, p. 11.

² Rom. 3.21,22. Phil. 3.9. Deissmann, Paul, p. 95.

³ Quoted by Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 145.

⁴ Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Vol. 2, p. 113.

⁵ Dibelius, Paul, p. 22.

⁶ Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 91.

⁷ Antiquities, 18.1.2.

⁸ Finklestein, ibid. Vol. 2, p. 572, maintains this tendency was learned from the Greeks. In an earlier chapter, we maintained that Paul's capacity to reflect was somewhat under the inspiration of Hellenism.

⁹ Deissmann, ibid. p. 94, 110.

¹⁰ Finklestein, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 91; Vol. 2, p. 620.

vealed religion, and they were the largest and most prominent Jewish group of the first century A.D. to make such an attempt. The total regulation of life did not mean that every regulation was of equal importance,¹ nor did it follow from the observance of the law that all Pharisees were equally pious.

Because all life was under the purview of religion as it was defined by the law, then two important facts follow, relative to Paul. The first is that he still regarded life as something to be lived piously. He still sought to be righteous; he still prayed and fasted. Paul acknowledged love to be the foremost motive of conduct. "If I give away all that I have, and if I deliver my body to be burned, but have not love, I gain nothing."² In a similar vein, Paul exalts the humility of Christ to be the Christian's example: "Have this mind among yourselves, which you have in Christ Jesus, who ... did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself"³ Paul still believed that religion must penetrate to the very core of human existence. The second fact runs parallel to the Pharisaic belief that the norm of life was the law. The law was clearly replaced by Paul with the person and work of Christ; just as the law penetrated to mold and direct the Pharisees in the expression of life, now it was Christ who did this for him.

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¹ Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 78.

² I Cor. 13.3.

³ Phil. 2.5-7.

"I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live but Christ who lives in me...."¹ He sometimes contrasts the two motivating powers: "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set me free from the law of sin and death."² The result for piety, for living, is that Paul was no longer concerned with clean and unclean,³ nor was the distinction between Jews and gentile any longer valid.⁴ As the law had once encompassed Paul, now it was Christ who molded him, and that in new ways.

There remain certain features of Pharisaic piety of another character which Paul did retain. Characteristic is the habit and practice of prayer. It is possible to be misled by the parable in St. Luke,⁵ which illustrates the Pharisee who was a hypocrite, so that one may believe that in prayer all Pharisees were hypocrites.⁶ No doubt some Pharisees made Pharisaic piety seem a sham. Another picture of Jewish piety is drawn by Hereford and Moore⁷ in their record of some fine Pharisaic prayers and Rabbinic criticism of those who cheapen prayer life. It is unimaginable that Paul did not begin to say and make his prayers in his home and synagogue at Tarsus. This was the first cause of his prayers in order of time. A most important seed-bed for his

¹ Gal. 2.20.

² Rom. 8.2.

³ Rom. 14.14.

⁴ Gal. 2.11ff.

⁵ Luke 18.9ff. Cf. Schurer, JPJC, 2.2. p. 115ff, who believes that in regard to prayers, graces, fasting, etc. Jewish piety had been reduced to mere formalism.

⁶ Hereford, Pharisaism, p. 299f. protests against such an exaggeration.

⁷ Judaism, Vol. 2, part 6, Ch. 2.

prayer habits lies particularly in the institution of the synagogue which gave far more scope for the expression of Jewish devotional life, especially for the Jewish exile or Galilean Jew, than did the busy and sacrifice-centred temple.¹ Paul arrived in that point of history where the synagogue was already equipped to be the centre of Jewish religious life in lieu of the temple's destruction in A. D. 70. The prominence of the Pharisees in the synagogues adds force to the idea that Paul was also under the influence of its devotional life. He certainly learned the "Shema" followed by the Tefillah prayers in the synagogue. There were many more synagogue prayers as Moore² and Oesterley and Box³ show. A second cause of Paul's prayers may be traced to his later stages of education which probably caused a deepened religious consciousness. A third cause rose when as a missionary he found he had to pray and felt the necessity of the prayers of the churches.⁴ Hereford informs us that the Pharisees in their habit of prayer entertained in no way the idea of a mediator which the Christians did with Christ. "We have not only the declaration of belief in direct access to God Himself through prayer, but also the repudiation of any mediator."⁵ Schechter quotes the Rabbinic literature thus: "When a man comes to the synagogue and prays, God listens to him, for the petitioner is like a

¹ Grant, AJNT, p. 43.

² Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 291ff.

³ RWS, Ch. 17. Also Schurer, JPJC, 2.2, p. 54.

⁴ I Thess. 5.25: "Brethren, pray for us."

⁵ Pharisaism, p. 263.

man who talks into the ear of his friend."¹ Of course we would have expected a strong monotheism from Jews. Paul does not appear to have surrendered any thought of direct access to God in prayer; most of his prayers as they are recorded reflect immediate access.² There is however this important statement: "I thank my God through Jesus Christ for all of you, because your faith is proclaimed in all the world."³ This is a clear case of Christ as a mediator of prayer. In view of other references to prayer where direct access is assumed, we should understand that Paul had a positive approach, not a negative one. By this we mean that Christ was mediator not because God was unapproachable but because Christ was God's Messiah, the revelation of God, the One by whom men were reconciled to God. This means that man had not invented a mediator for his prayers, but God provided one, or so revealed Himself that men may in fact see His approachability. Because of the role occupied by Jesus, prayers could as well be addressed to him: "Three times I besought the Lord about this...; but he said to me, 'My grace is sufficient for you...'"⁴ Had the Pharisees accepted Jesus as the Anointed One of Israel, they too would have assumed him to have divine powers to which they could appeal; it was sometimes characteristic of the Messianic hopes that there was no incompatibility between the

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¹ Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 31.

² I Thess. 1.2; II Cor. 1.3,4; Phil. 1.3,4.

³ Rom. 1.8.

⁴ II Cor. 12.8,9.

Messianic king and the reign of God;¹ moreover, they would have had the life of Jesus to look back upon with its works of power. At any rate, Paul was quite Jewish and Pharisaic in praying with immediate access to God. "We always thank God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, when we pray for you."²

When Hereford rejected the idea that all Pharisees prayed in an empty way, he maintained that there were also Pharisees who prayed sincerely, simply and earnestly.³ We have no reason to believe that Paul did not know of such possibilities. Like all men he probably prayed mistakenly. It would be characteristic of him that as a Christian his prayers took on a new force of earnestness. In the intensely personal letter to Philemon Paul wrote: "I thank my God always when I remember you in my prayers, because I hear of your love and of the faith which you have toward the Lord Jesus and all the saints, and I pray that the sharing of your faith may promote the knowledge of all the good that is ours in Christ." Similarly, "I am hoping through your prayers to be granted to you".⁴ Either this is meant in real earnestness or the whole of the Pauline letters are undermined.

Just as the "Shemoneh Esreh", the Eighteen Benedictions, reveal a wide range of interests in Jewish prayers, there is

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¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 374.

² Col. 1.3.

³ Pharisaism, p. 310.

⁴ Philemon 426, 22.

enough indicated in Paul's prayers to show a wide range of interests. It reveals his well-developed religious consciousness. Prayers of thanksgiving appear most frequently at the beginning of his letters.¹ Paul interceded for others² and asks that prayers of intercession be made for himself.³ We hear of prayers of petition, and answered prayer.⁴ Like other Jews he believed that prayer was answered in various ways according to the will of God.⁵ As the Jews enjoined frequent prayers and perseverance in prayer, the same is true of Paul.⁶ We may conclude that like the best Jews, prayer was to Paul a living experience.

Lastly, we may observe that the habit of private and public prayers typical of Judaism is reflected in Paul's letters. The Synagogue was always the scene of public congregational prayers among the Jews, and the same habit of public prayer among the Christians seems to have been the case with Paul being a witness to the prayers of Epaphrus for the Colossians.⁷ Of course, the Pauline letters, because they are from one man, reflect the frequency of personal prayers. The psalms and some rabbinic prayers⁸ show how typical were individualistic prayers in Judaism. The apparent extemporaneous character of his prayers is not

¹ Phil. 1.3,4.

² Col. 1.9.10.

³ I Thess. 5.25. II Thess. 3.1.

⁴ II Cor. 12.8,9. Phil. 4.6.

⁵ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 231ff. The guidance from and efficacy of prayers is attested by the Mishnah, Berakoth 5.5.

⁶ Moore, ibid. Vol. 2, p.230. I Cor. 1.5. Eph. 6.18.

⁷ Col. 4.12.

⁸ Hereford, Pharisaism, p. 306ff.

only in keeping with the vitality of early church life but also quite in keeping with the advice of R. Simeon, "When thou prayest make not thy prayer a fixed form, but (a plea for) mercies and supplications before God...."¹

Characteristic of Pharisaic piety was the habit of fasting.² Suffice it to say here that this feature was continued by Paul and other Christians. The accounts of this in Acts are connected with launching the Christian enterprise and seeking divine guidance, so we must not see in Paul's participation an act of superior piety.³ Paul no longer made claims in this respect upon God, as some Pharisaic piety tended to. The point here is simply that Paul fasted, probably with rather different motives as a Christian than as a Pharisee under the law.

Faith - confidence in or faithfulness to God - was an aspect of Jewish piety.⁴ Hereford explains the Jewish position quite clearly: "In regard to his relation to God and his worship of Him, the thoughts and feelings of the Pharisee, the sincere and devout utterance of his spiritual being, would flow, naturally and with no sense of completion, in the channels provided by the Torah, in such forms of belief and such expressions of aspiration as were in harmony therewith."⁵ "It is not that the Pharisee was without the essentials of a spiritual experience, real faith in God, real communion with Him, real devotion to his service; for these

¹ Mishnah, Aboth 2.13.

² Luke 5.33.

³ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 260.

⁴ Ibid. Vol. 2, p. 237f.

⁵ Pharisaism, p. 315.

he certainly had. It was that these were realised by him only when expressed in terms of Torah."¹ Like contemporary Jews, Paul sometimes thinks of faith in the sense of confidence in or faithfulness to God.² The case of Abraham which Paul cites is the best example of the use of in O.T. and Judaic practice.³ However, the distinctive feature Paul attached to faith was its relationship now to the salvation won in Christ; faith comes to belong to the area of salvation rather than piety.⁴ Faith, in fact, takes the place very largely of the repentance necessary, with the law, to salvation as interpreted by Judaism. The place of faith as a part of Jewish piety may still remain in Paul's experience especially if we keep in mind his probable attitude toward God in his prayers and in the forward thrust of his missionary endeavours under divine guidance, but faith has far greater significance to Paul now as a Christian than solely a phase of the pious life. In this sense he has passed beyond the boundaries of Pharisaic piety. The same may be said about Paul's understanding of peace. It is unlikely that we would find a Pharisee to say that now "we have peace with God."⁵ More than this, peace in Judaism laid almost all its stress on relationships among men and nations, the end of wars and strife and the establishment

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¹ Hereford, Pharisaism, p. 317.

² Rom. 3.3.

³ Rom. 3.5, 9, 19ff.

⁴ Schoeps, Paul, p. 204f.

⁵ Rom. 5.1.

of prosperity.¹ Though foreshadowed by the prophets who related peace to salvation,² Paul expanded this relationship to be a major consequence of accepting the gospel.

Let us look now for influence which the synagogue had on Paul, as an institution mainly controlled by the Pharisees. There are several things to notice about the Pharisees and their relationship to the synagogue. They had emerged in the first century A.D. as the strongest group in Judaism, and the group most instrumental in establishing Jewish beliefs.³ More or less one hundred years before Paul's conversion,⁴ the Pharisees had wielded considerable political authority under the favour of Queen Alexandra,⁵ but in the first century A.D. it was a religious and educational authority they exercised. Josephus credited them as the most accurate interpreters of the law, and in the synagogues of Palestine and the Dispersion, the Pharisaic scholars were accepted as authoritative interpreters of the law.⁶ It is to their credit that with the passage of time they made the synagogue become a meeting-place in which men sought God,⁷ until with the Temple's destruction it was able to meet many religious needs of the people. Perhaps part of the ex-

¹ Richardson, A Theological Word Book of the Bible, p. 165.

² Isa. 57.19: "Peace, peace to the far and to the near, says the Lord; and I will heal him."

³ Grant, AJNT, p. 9,10. Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 2, p. 619ff.

⁴ 76-67 B.C.

⁵ Josephus, The Jewish War, 1.5,2. Antiquities 13.16.2; cf. 13.10.5 and Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 287.

⁶ Finklestein, ibid. Vol. 2, p. 621.

⁷ Grant, ibid. p. 41.

planation of the Pharisees' presence in the synagogues is to be explained by Finklestein's belief that although the Pharisees loved the temple, they were in social conflict with the priests there.¹ He detects a plebian's attack on the Temple in Psalm 51.17-19.² One thing is certain, the Pharisees by Paul's lifetime were well-established in control of the synagogues, sometimes for political or social reasons, but mostly for religious ones. It is certain of these religious facts which bear now on Paul.

First, the individualizing of religion which is so prominent in Paul's letters has had part of its birth in the tendency to individualize religion in the synagogue. We believe that Paul was a Jew born of the synagogue and its life. Psalm 51 indicates not only reaction against temple sacrifices but an emphasis on individual worthiness and contrition. In conjunction with this, Moore observes that the ritual on the Day of Atonement was in the temple performed by the priest for all the people, whereas in the synagogues the significance was to be appropriated more by the members individually.³ Compare this inwardness typical of the synagogue with the inward religious import of Paul's words: "Cleanse out the old leaven that you may be fresh dough, as you really are unleavened. For Christ, our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed. Let us, therefore, celebrate the festival, not with the old leaven, the leaven of

¹ The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. xviii.

² Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 245.

³ Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 60.

malice and evil, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."¹ In spite of Moore's reference to a fast and Paul's to a feast, the inward side is the prominent note of both. We may argue further that since the temple worship was distinctly corporate in its character, and the synagogue worship was in contrast more individualistic, and attendance numerically smaller and possessing an important familiarity among its members especially among Jews of the Dispersion,² Paul as a Pharisee of the synagogues was certainly predisposed to a religious life of an individualistic nature.

There is an additional point which developed individualism. The Mishnah informs us that prayers might be said in words other than Hebrew³ - a necessity but also a concession which encouraged individualistic expression of piety. In addition to this is the far more significant fact that Judaism was advancing in Paul's time to the view that prayer could take the place of sacrifice.⁴ It may be possible too that such individualistic expressions of release and restoration as found in Psalms 22, 30, 31, 35 and 59 may have begun to have some place in the worship of those connected with the synagogue.⁵ Emphasis on the use of vernacular tongue, the displacement of sacrifice and the piety of the psalms - all

¹ I Cor. 5.7,8.

² Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 287.

³ Sotah 7.1. Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 329-30.

⁴ Moore, ibid. Vol. 2, p. 218.

⁵ Grant, AJNT, p. 51-2. Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 296; Vol. 2, p. 226. The Psalms of Solomon are a good example of individualism in religion.

characteristic of the synagogue - are features which favoured individualism in religion. Paul who was always closely affiliated with the synagogues was bound to be influenced, and undoubtedly personally.

There was another influence on Paul from the synagogue as a Pharisaic institution: in it the Pharisaic teachers exalted the inspiration of scripture and prompted an alertness or spirit of enquiry toward it. That this took place under Pharisaic direction is almost certain, since in contrast the Sadducees were men of the temple¹ and perfectly content with the Written Law to guide them.² We must remember that the Pharisees were the most prominent group in Israel to be engaged in the expansion, interpretation and application of the unwritten law. Motivated by a desire that all Jews should keep and do the law "the Pharisaic party in New Testament times not only took pains to instruct the masses in the proper observance of the law but strove to impose on them the 'tradition of the elders', and to induce individuals voluntarily to pledge themselves to be scrupulous in certain matters about which there was general laxity."³ Moore's account of the service makes us familiar with the fact that the reading of scripture was of the greatest importance to the synagogue services.⁴ Its prominence is attested repeatedly in the gospel accounts.⁵ Grant draws

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¹ Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 2, p. 608.

² Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 67.

³ Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 282.

⁴ Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 296ff.

⁵ Luke 4.17. Acts 13.15.

our attention to Josephus' and Philo's description of the synagogue as a "house of study";¹ they so described it in order to explain it to the Greeks for whom they wrote. Thus nowhere among the institutions of Judaism did the Scriptures and law get greater attention. That they should mold Paul's language and thought, and cause him to quote them as no other New Testament writer, can only have adequate explanation if we believe that this emphasis of the Pharisees in the synagogue did inspire in Paul a love and alertness toward the sacred literature and learning.

As a last example of the influence of the synagogue on Paul, we wish to draw attention to his very deep sense of sin. Deissmann makes the suggestion that an important part of this consciousness is to be traced to Paul's youth.

"Law, Sin and Death already in early life cast their gloomy shadows in the soul of the gifted boy."² Deissmann seems too extreme. It is true, however, that the Rabbis saw sin to be something crouching at the door even in youth: "From the moment man is born, the Evil Yeser cleaves to him."³

In any case, allowance must be made for more mature realizations about sin and that maturity is reflected in the language he used to describe any event; moreover, this development or maturity must in part be traced to the influence of

¹ Grant, AJNT, p. 39. Josephus, Against Apion, 2.175. Philo, Life of Moses, 2.216. Schurer, JFJC, 2.2, p.54, expands on the view that the synagogue was primarily a place of instruction.

² Paul, p. 93.

³ Schechter quotes this Rabbinic saying with other similar ones, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 254-5.

the synagogue, (and partly no doubt also to the great act of confession and atonement made corporately in the temple at Jerusalem). Because we believe that Paul's pre-Christian years were spent among the Pharisees and that he was more a synagogue Jew than a temple Jew, we may justly look for some influence on him as a result of such great days of Judaism as when the nation made atonement. To quote Moore in this regard: "In the synagogue the day" of atonement "was one long act of penitence on the part of the congregation, and pre-eminently of its members individually. The confession of sins, which in the temple was an incident of the rite, was here the substance of it, and all the circumstance was of a kind to deepen the sense of sin in the apprehension of judgement, to give poignancy to sorrow for sin, to fortify the resolve of amendment, and to add urgency to the prayer for forgiveness - in a word, to cultivate the spirit of genuine and sincere repentance. From ceremonies of expiation and riddance, which at the most might be made symbolical of purification of heart and annulment of guilt, the service became a spiritual exercise."¹ This feature of the synagogue was an important one and most determinative for Paul. First then, the significance of the fasts in the synagogue was more penetrating than in the temple. Second, we should be reminded of the character of prayer in the synagogue. Earlier it was noted that some of the psalms slowly taking their place in the synagogue services were marked by their

¹ Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 60-61.

spirit of release and restoration, thus having a basic sense of sin. In addition we must note that Judaism, which was best represented by the Pharisees, among all other religions, was conspicuous for its sense of sin.¹ It is no wonder that among the prayers of the Jews the element of confession and restoration was so prominent.² This is reinforced by a third fact: the synagogue was the place where men were most exposed, through the reading and study of scripture, to the prophetic indictments against the sin of Israel. Thus on three counts we can see the emphasis on man's sinfulness to be characteristic of and prominent in the synagogue. It would seem beyond question that the synagogue influenced Paul in this respect. The seriousness and disruptive character of sin which is so pronounced in his writings, and from which he found such release and freedom, can well be explained by the provocative worship of the synagogue and the great salvation he found in Christ.

Another place for us to look for the influence of Judaism on Paul as it personally affected him is in the sufferings or chastisements which he had to endure. The Jews of the synagogue administered legal disciplinary action by lashing Paul. "Five times I have received at the hands of the Jews the forty lashes less one."³ The Mishnah draws the picture quite clearly. "How many stripes do they inflict on a man? Forty save one.... How do they scourge him?

¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 214.

² Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 51ff. for many examples of such prayers.

³ II Cor. 11.25.

They bind his two hands to a pillar on either side, and the minister of the synagogue lays hold of his garments - if they are torn they are torn - so that he bares his chest.... He gives one-third of the stripes in front and two-thirds behind.... And he that smites, smites with his one hand with all his might. And the reader reads 'If thou wilt not observe to do...the Lord will make thy stripes wonderful and the stripes of thy Seed...' and he returns again to the beginning of the passage."¹ Deissmann interprets these five lashings to be possible on the grounds that Paul worked within the synagogue and so was still subject to its authority.² At any rate, the authority was still very much exercised over him whether or not he submitted himself to its discipline. He may have been taken in hand by the Jews to be lashed or stoned, as easily as the Romans hastily imprisoned him. Paul suffered lashings, it would seem, not because it was an aspect of Judaism he wished to preserve for its usefulness, but because the circumstances in which he worked permitted the long arm of the law to chastise him. To be lashed by the Jews was a consequence of the past and present he could not escape.

Apart from this phase of his troubles, we are especially interested in how Paul regarded suffering or chastisement. The value of suffering is a recurring theme in Judaism. The expiatory value of suffering was intrinsic to the sacrific-

¹ Makkoth 3:10-14, quoting Deut. 28.58f.
² Paul, p.238.

ial system.¹ "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that makes atonement, by reason of the life."² The prose sections of Job exalt Job's righteousness even when he is suffering, and the merit of his character through suffering is regarded as vicarious.³ The vicarious suffering of the Servant of Isaiah 53 is familiar. II Maccabees gives an account of the cruel death of martyred brothers and sees in it vicarious suffering and great faithfulness to the law. "I, like my brothers, give up body and life for the laws of our fathers, appealing to God to show mercy soon to our nations and by afflictions and plagues to make you confess that he alone is God, and through me and my brothers to bring to an end the wrath of the Almighty which has justly fallen on our whole nation."⁴ The suffering of such martyrs was highly regarded by the Jews.⁵ In the apocalyptic Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs Joseph views his suffering thus:

"But in all these things doth he give protection,
And in divers ways doth he comfort,
(Though) for a little space He departeth to try
the inclination of the soul."⁶

The Psalms of Solomon which appear to have been written in very troublesome times declare that God uses oppression to

¹ Schoeps, Paul, p. 130. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 497f.

² Lev. 17.11.

³ Job 1.8; 42.8

⁴ II Macc. 7.37, 38.

⁵ Metzger, An Introduction to the Apocrypha, p. 139ff.

⁶ Nock, Conversion, p. 193.

⁶ Joseph 2.6. Cf. Benjamin 3.8.

chastise and discipline:

"Happy is the man whom the Lord remembereth with
reproving,
And whom he restraineth from the way of evil
with strokes,
That he may be cleansed from sin, that it may
not be multiplied.

He that maketh ready his back for strokes shall
be cleansed,
For the Lord is good to them that endure
chastening.

For he makes straight the ways of the righteous,¹
And does not pervert (them) by his chastening."¹

Thus although chastening may be of God, it is tempered by his compassion and mercy to the extent that it will not tax the sufferer too far. Among the Rabbis the subject of suffering and chastisement received many different expressions: God inflicts it; it causes self-examination; it is evidence of God's love; it aids in bringing men to the World to Come.²

With suffering and chastisement standing out so prominently in Judaism, it is not surprising to find it important to Paul. We have his own record of his many sufferings.³ There are some statements from Paul which rather remind us of Jewish reactions to suffering and chastisement. "We rejoice in our sufferings, knowing that suffering produces endurance, and endurance produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not disappoint us"⁴ Compare this with the attitude of the author of II Maccabees:
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¹ Ps. of Sol. 10.1-3.

² Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 248ff. Daube, NTRJ, p. 117f, points out that the prospect of suffering was clearly held out before a would-be convert to Judaism.

³ II Cor. 4.8ff; 6.4ff; 11.23ff; 12.10.

⁴ Rom. 5.3.

"For we have hope in God that he will soon have mercy upon us ... for he has rescued us from great evils...."¹ Both sufferers have an expectant hope in God. In connection with the rejoicing of Rom. 5.3, there is a Rabbinic parallel; R. Akiba declared that "a man should rejoice in his tribulations."² Deissmann believes that behind I Cor. 13.3 there was in Paul's mind a memory of Maccabean martyrs, and that Paul may have entertained the possibility that martyrdom by fire was to be his own lot:³ "if I deliver my body to be burned, but have not love, I am nothing."⁴ The thought of suffering may have flickered across his mind in Romans: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?"⁵ A passage in Phillipians is quite clear in indicating the thought of vicarious suffering: "Even if I am to be poured as a libation upon the sacrificial offering of your faith, I am glad and rejoice with you all."⁶ In the same letter, Paul viewed his imprisonment to have efficacious character for the extension of God's purpose in the gospel.⁷ Though it is difficult to find in so many words that God enables the faithful to endure suffering, nevertheless the idea was in Paul's mind: he certainly found His help in his own experiences. God

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¹ II Macc. 2.18.

² Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 253.

³ Paul, p. 95f, including footnote.

⁴ I Cor. 13.3.

⁵ Rom. 8.35.

⁶ Phil. 2.17.

⁷ Phil. 1.12ff.

enables man to endure: "God is faithful, and he will not let you be tempted beyond your strength, but with temptation will also provide the way of escape, that you may be able to endure it."¹ There is little distance between this reference to the temptation to immorality and the temptation to acquiesce under suffering. In II Cor. among the many references to suffering and danger, Paul often acknowledges God who enables men to persevere: "We felt that we had received the sentence of death; but that was to make us rely not on ourselves but on God who raises the dead: he delivered us from such a deadly peril, and he will deliver us."² Concerned about his own weakness and getting no relief from it, Paul learned that Christ made his weakness strong: "For the sake of Christ, then, I am content with weaknesses, insults, hardships, persecutions and calamities, for when I am weak, then I am strong."³

However many points may be gathered up to illustrate that features of the Jewish emphasis on suffering or chastisement are lurking in Paul's words, it is of paramount importance to realise that suffering as viewed by Paul has been transformed by Christ. Because Christ occupied first place with him, anyone else's sufferings were no more than a shadow compared with Christ's.⁴ The combination of the love of Christ and the threat of dangers in Rom. 8:35ff.

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¹ I Cor. 10.13.

² II Cor. 1.9,10.

³ II Cor. 12.10.

⁴ I Thess. 5.10. I Cor. 15.3. II Cor. 1.5. Rom. 5.6,8.

makes it quite clear that Paul believed that any suffering or chastisement could be endured because of Christ. Paul glories in an additional fact - a mysticism in suffering. He was united with Christ in suffering,¹ and Christ suffered for him,² and Christians were in suffering united with one another and with Christ.³ So encompassing and penetrating a view carries us beyond Judaism, although the parallels suggest that Paul was familiar with suffering as it was meditated upon by the Jews.

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¹ Col. 1.24. Phil. 3.10.
² Gal. 2.20. Rom. 6.6.
³ II Cor. 1.5; Rom. 6.5.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PROPHETS AND PAUL

"Saul of Tarsus was nothing if he was not one of the greatest of the prophets - he was 'a Hebrew of the Hebrews'."¹ A number of times we have had occasion to mention Paul's relationship to the Hebrew prophets. In this chapter we will elaborate on his dependence on them. Not only did Paul take up some of their doctrines, he may have felt that in some way the prophetic mantle had again fallen and on his shoulders. There are enough features of Paul's life and ministry to suggest that he shared some of the spirit of the ancient movement in Israel though now set in new circumstances.

However, first we must record a general picture of ancient Jewish prophecy in terms of its character and function. The prophets of Israel predominantly, did not hold offices; they performed a function. They spoke for God; their duty was to communicate God's message.² The apostleship was of the same character.³ In conjunction with this function, there was a certain mystical element about the prophet's election, and in the performing of his ministry he enjoyed "supra sensual revelations of God."⁴ Ezekiel and Elijah are examples of these two characteristics.⁵ What emerged from the encounter was a message and duty, to deliver

¹ Anderson, "The Call of Saul of Tarsus", "Expository Times", 42 (1930-31), p. 90ff.

² Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, p. 184.

³ Scott, The Relevance of the Prophets, p. 84.

⁴ Hanson, Leaney and Posen, A Guide to the Scrolls, p. 66.

⁵ Muller, History of Jewish Mysticism, p. 20.

⁵ Ezek. 1, 2. 1 Kings 19.

and perform, on behalf of God alone. Within the movement were two lines of development, never wholly separated, but with one line emerging as predominant and of most lasting influence. Early in Jewish history, companies of ecstatic prophets were numerous. It was not solely emotional rapture that made them ecstatic, but it was "from the spirit (ruach) of Yahweh which falls upon a person, takes control of the centre of the self, and makes him an instrument of the divine will."¹ This group enterprise, however, never had the same lasting significance as the individual prophet. It was this second type which increasingly emerged and which was no less under the inspiration of the spirit of Yahweh.² Certain particular functions were characteristic of them. The prophets spoke their message to the nation,³ or to the nation's representative.⁴ Frequently they had a message of divine judgement for Israel⁵ or the nations.⁶ Often the message was a call to repentance.⁷ Whatever "words" the prophets had to declare, it had immediate reference.⁸ "His task was to communicate God's message for 'now', and to summon the people to respond 'today'."⁹ To do so he had "to interpret the meaning of events and to proclaim the will of

¹ Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, p. 185.

² Ibid. p. 187.

³ Jer. 25.2. Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 233.

⁴ Isa. 7.3, 4.

⁵ I Kings 17.1.

⁶ Isa. 14.24, 25. Anderson, ibid. p. 461.

⁷ Hos. 12.6. Jonah 3.2, 8. Schoeps, Paul, p. 188.

⁸ Scott, The Relevance of the Prophets, p. 84.

⁹ Anderson, ibid. p. 184.

God in concrete terms."¹ The prophets were "the spokesmen of Yahweh in the arena of history" and more particularly in political crises.² Whatever the individual messages of the prophets, they thought within a teleological framework; they perceived God's covenantal purpose or the divine will working itself out through history.³ The prophetic method was to grasp the full significance of present events and remember the covenanting purpose of God, and so speak the truth to which they had been newly awakened. In contrast, the priests had a different perspective: "The priestly tendency to view history in static terms reflects a one-sided emphasis upon revelation as something objectively given to the neglect of man as the subjective recipient. In the priestly view, revelation is not so much as an event that happens 'between' God and man - a dialogue between 'I and thou' - as it is something given 'to' man in the form of laws and institutions." Clearly the priestly outlook differs from Paul's and the prophets' who were much concerned with man's reaction and response.

Chronologically, between this prophetic movement and the work of Paul, stood two important developments: the cessation of prophecy of the kind just described, and the rise of the apocalyptic movement. The cessation of prophecy was anticipated by Zechariah, who with Haggai and Malachi

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¹ Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, p. 187.

² Ibid. p. 187.

³ Jer. 11.1ff.

⁴ Ibid. p. 390.

were the last of this ancient line of prophets: "every prophet will be ashamed of his vision when he prophesies; he will not put on a hairy mantle...."¹ I Maccabees reflects the national awareness that there were no prophets in Israel: "And the Jews and their priests decided that Simon should be their leader and high priest forever, until a trustworthy prophet should arise."² Josephus records that the latest Hebrew books were not under prophetic inspiration because it was believed that the holy spirit of inspiration was no longer active.³ Abrahams gives four reasons why the prophetic movement had ceased: "(1) the intrusion of false prophets, an old abuse, which must throw discredit even on genuine inspirations; (2) the natural quality of Prophecy that necessarily makes it intermittent; (3) the degradation of Prophecy that makes it into mere prediction; and (4) the fixation of the Scriptural Canon."⁴ Finklestein adds the social factor that with the inclusion of the plebians (from which so many prophets sprang) in the Great Court (Ruling Council or Sanhedrin of Israel), a prophetic opposition was made superfluous.⁵ Undoubtedly the most significant reason for the cessation of prophecy was the rising supremacy of the law from Ezra onward. "Pre-occupation with the Law seemed to stifle the spirit of

¹ Zech. 13.4. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 240.

² I Macc. 14.41; 4.46.

³ Against Apion, 1.41.

⁴ Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Vol. 2, p. 121.

⁵ The Pharisees, Vol. 2, p. 577.

prophecy,"¹ Abrahams agrees that the work of the old prophetic movement was over but believes that the religion of law took over many of the prophetic movement's best features.² In any event, charismatic prophecy was finished, and no longer did the Jews believe the spirit was active in the old prophetic way. The age was too sinful the Rabbis believed for the spirit to dwell on any man, and the nation had to wait until the dawn of the Messianic Age.³

The rise of the apocalyptic movement⁴ might in one sense be regarded as the continuation of the prophetic movement; they were interested in many similar themes. The place of the charismatic prophet was taken by the literary apocalypticist. The significant feature of the change was in the idiom. Much of the literature came from periods of cruel suffering when the message had to be suitably disguised, "cast in a new style of bizarre visions and weird symbolism."⁵ That the apocalyptic writers were eager students of the prophets⁶ is true when common themes were explored. The most prominent of these is the teleological outlook. "From the very first, Israel's faith had been oriented toward the future - toward the fulfillment of the

¹ Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, p. 462-63.

² Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Vol. 2, p. 120, 123.

³ Cf. Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 70.

⁴ Davies, PRJ, p. 207, 213.

⁵ Beginning with Ezek. 37-39 (587-350 B.C.) there are five or six probable apocalyptic writings in the O.T. But the main writings of the movement come from the second century B.C. onward to the first century A.D.

⁶ Anderson, ibid. p. 518.

⁶ Cesterley and Box, RWS, p. 216. II Esdras 7.130.

promise that Yahweh had given his people."¹ Both believed that God was about to act in judgement and mercy in the fulfillment of his purpose. The prophets were more restrained dealing with present events and unlike the apocalyptic writers did not engage in drawing an elaborate diagram of the New Age. They contented themselves in believing that "God would work within men: the new heart, the new covenant, the new people."² The apocalyptic literature shifts "the prophetic emphasis upon God's judgement in the present through historical agencies to a final judgement portrayed in extravagant language."³ Jeremiah is typical of the great prophets acting out a parable of God's judgement on Israel in present historical events when the prophet placed thongs and yoke bars about his neck.⁴ Toward the future, Jeremiah goes no further than to declare, "Behold the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah."⁵ The themes of judgement and restoration are constantly repeated in the Similitudes of Enoch (37-71)⁶ but in contrast to Jeremiah the scene is not historical. "And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, 'These instruments, for whom are they preparing them?' And he said to me 'They are for the

¹ Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, p. 516.

² Ibid. p. 517.

³ Ibid. p. 518.

⁴ Jer. 27.2; 28.13.

⁵ Jer. 31.31.

⁶ Written sometime between 94-64 B.C. when the Hasmonean hand was heavy.

kings and the mighty of the earth, that they may thereby be destroyed."¹ "And on that day I will cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them, and I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light. And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing and cause mine elect ones to dwell upon it; but sinners and evildoers will not set foot thereon."² Characteristic of apocalyptic literature is to see history in terms of epochs or aeons.³ Accordingly to both prophets and apocalyptists, the coming conflict will expose evil. The prophets viewed God's battle with evil in the historical arena with flesh and blood enemies,⁴ but the apocalyptic writers made the contest between spiritual powers: God stands opposed to the kingdom of evil.⁵ The theme of the salvation of the gentiles runs through the literature of both movements. Examples of this might be drawn from Isaiah⁶ or the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.⁷ The essential points of unity between the two movements may be summarised under three points: Yahweh is King; His kingdom is near; men are called to be faithful. In their own way the apocalyptists moved forward Jewish thought especially in developing the idea of Messiah, new heaven and new earth, aeons and the possibilities of future

¹ Enoch 53.4, 5.

² Enoch 45.4, 5.

³ Enoch 91-108.

⁴ Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, p. 518. Jer. 32.42.

⁵ Enoch 40.7; 53.3; 54.6.

⁶ Isa. 49. 6b; 60.3.

⁷ Levi. 4.4.

life; to these Paul is a debtor.

There are a few superficial points of contact between the prophets and Paul. The first is that the Pharisees were regarded as successors of the prophets. Abrahams quotes the Talmud: "R. Abdimi of Haifa said, From the day whereon the temple was laid waste, Prophecy was taken from the prophets and given to the Sages."¹ The assumptions necessary to make this relevant to Paul were absent. Paul rejects the idea of the reception of the Spirit based on racial or ecclesiastical exclusiveness, and finds it given to every man who has faith in Christ. A more pertinent point of contact between the prophets and the Pharisees relative to Paul was that the latter were very much influenced by the prophets theologically and regarded them as authoritative spokesmen of God. We are familiar with Paul's extensive use of the synagogue from Acts; the prophets apparently had used the synagogues² but probably out of the necessity of getting an audience, and hopefully one predisposed to hear their message. Another point of contact is that the prophets and Paul both tried and often did arrest the trends of religion. This was the purpose and desired result of the prophetic message. "Prophecy could not flourish unless the Synagogue and the Church were prepared to reconsider their attitude toward the immutability of the older revelations."³

¹ Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Vol. 2, p. 126.
The same view is often noticed; thus Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p.xvi, enlarges: "Pharisaism was prophecy in action."

² Ibid. Vol. 2, p. 564ff.

³ Abrahams, *ibid.* Vol. 2, p. 124.

This is just what the prophets and Paul did - examine the old in conjunction with searching out the meaning of present events; but it is almost impossible to go further than this for the historical revelations were different.

There is a resemblance between the ecstasy of the bands of ancient prophets and the "prophetic" enthusiasm among the early Christians.¹ "I thank God that I speak in tongues more than all of you," wrote Paul;² but such high enthusiasm Paul was inclined to put to the side in order that an intelligible communication might be made quite likely, as Grant says, due to Pharisaic sobriety and rational piety;³ this decision caused him to be rather dissociated with ecstatic prophecy of any period. Paul's withdrawal into the wilderness of Arabia⁴ reminds us of Jesus' withdrawal,⁵ of the Qumran community, the Essenes, and certain prophets like Elijah,⁶ John the Baptist's wilderness retreat and preaching, and the period of Israel's long sojourn in the wilderness of which the Old Testament so often speaks. It would be inadequate to conclude that Paul withdrew merely to imitate any of his predecessors. More likely Paul's withdrawal was prompted by a real developing religious and missionary consciousness. We can only guess his reason, and we can go no further than to see a parallel with the

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¹ Acts 2.1ff.
² I Cor. 14.18,19.
³ RHNT, p. 138.
⁴ Gal. 1.17.
⁵ Mark 1. 12,13.
⁶ I Kings 19.4ff.

withdrawals to the wilderness characteristic of many Hebrews.

When we come to doctrines of the prophets and compare them with Paul's we can see several clear points of influence. It should be noticed first that Paul's frequent quotation of the prophets is a sign that he regarded them and their words as authoritative. Ellis' tables show just how often Paul quotes them.¹ Καθὼς γέγραπται² was an authoritative introductory formula in the Hellenistic world and meant an unalterable agreement;³ its Hebraic equivalent is frequently found in the Mishnah;⁴ Paul uses it in the sense of undisputed divine authority for the quotation following. The formulas such as καθὼς προείρηκεν Ἠσαΐας⁵ καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεός,⁶ ἡ γραφή λέγει⁷ or simply γέγραπται which are followed by prophetic quotations, all have the effect in his letters of introducing authoritative statements, and no doubt Paul would regard his understanding of the Scriptures now to be illuminated by τὸ πνεῦμα.⁸ A second type of phrase may indicate by its use that Paul and his associates sometimes thought of themselves as prophets of the new era: λέγει κύριος.⁹ Four times this phrase

¹ Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 150ff.

² Rom. 2.24 which quotes Isa. 52.5.

³ Deissmann, Paul, p. 101.

⁴ Berakoth 7.3; 9.5.

⁵ Rom. 9.25 which quotes Isa. 1.9.

⁶ II Cor. 6.16 which is followed by a composite quotation from Isa. and Hosea.

⁷ Rom. 10.17 which quotes Isa. 28.16.

⁸ Ellis, ibid. p. 27f.

⁹ Ellis, ibid. p. 107ff.

appears in Paul's letters,¹ and three of them are a part of quotations from Isaiah. The phrase does not belong to the group of introductory formula just mentioned; one would have mere repetition. It has been suggested that the use of the phrase is a hint of a new "testimonia" of O.T. paraphrases, and the new era prophets copied the ancient prophets whose use of the phrase is so common in order to signify the revelation of God. This may be so, and so far as Paul was concerned the practice of this innovation may occur in these four places. It seems equally possible that Paul uses the phrase, λέγει κύριος, conscious that it was the prophets' words, who spoke for God, that he was using.

Paul's inheritance from the prophets was more than proof texts. Some of their ideas he took as well. Prominent among them was the idea of the remnant which he now applied to the Church. The remnant predicted and promised was now fulfilled in the community of Christians.² Isaiah expressed the idea of a remnant: "A remnant will return, the remnant of Jacob, to the mighty God. For though your people Israel be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them will return"³ Paul quotes this in Rom. 9.27f. though

¹ Rom. 12.19; 14.11. I Cor. 14.21. II Cor. 6.17.

² Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 120. Schoeps, Paul, p. 238, says that this development had the effect of "sundering an eschatological Israel of the promise from the empiric-historical Israel." This is true, but according to Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 51, the process was already begun in the time of the prophets.

³ Isa. 10.21f. Cf. isa. 11.11 for the same theme of God retaining a remnant.

it is at variance with the LXX and Hebrew.¹ Other prophets reflect the remnant idea,² and it is carried into the apocalyptic³ and Rabbinic literature.⁴ The idea of the remnant comes out very clearly in Rom. 9-11 and in Gal.3. In these passages two facts emerge in Paul's handling of the remnant idea which make him at one with the ancient prophets. First, he struggles in trying to grasp the idea of a true and faithful Israel.⁵ Like Hosea,⁶ Paul was confronted with the rejection by Israel of God's love. "They have stumbled over the stumbling stone."⁷ Paul's conclusion is that the remnant or the true Israel or the real sons of Abraham are really those who have faith in what God has done in the Christ event.⁸ Paul's second affinity with the prophets is that he believes God began his purpose of election with the patriarchs of Israel.⁹ It was the view of the prophets that God chose Israel,¹⁰ in contrast with the primitive Hebrew view that Yahweh was Israel's God.¹¹ In the light of the covenant-making God who in ancient times began his purpose to elect Israel, the prophets saw the apostasy of their

¹ Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 151.

² Jer. 31.27ff. Ezek. 36.22ff; 37.1ff.

³ Ezek. 37. Zech. 8.6,12. Dab. 12.1 where they are described as the ones whose names are written in the book. Enoch 58.3 where the elect are praised. Also II Esdras 7.60; 14.15.

⁴ Schoeps, Paul, p. 238.

⁵ Davies, PRJ, p. 78.

⁶ Hos. 3.1ff.

⁷ Rom. 9.32.

⁸ Gal. 3.7. Rom. 4.13.

⁹ Ellis, ibid. p. 124.

¹⁰ Hos. 11.1.

¹¹ Davies, ibid. p. 78f, 85.

nation.¹ The apocalyptic literature echoes the same attitude.² When Paul turns back on the patriarchs (Rom. 5,9-11 and Gal. 3) it is to see God's purpose initiated in calling a people to be his own. Paul's appeal to Abraham is to the traditional father of Israel as far back as the patriarchs are to be traced. In the light of Christ and the sin of the world, Paul was wrestling with the problem of God's dealing with man from His primary intention, as the prophets had in the light of their perception of revelation and the sin of the nation.

Another doctrinal point at which Paul is influenced by the prophets is in the idea of peace. $\text{D}\text{I}\text{S}\text{W}$ is the Hebrew word and it is translated in the LXX and in Paul's letters as $\epsilon\text{i}\rho\acute{\eta}\nu\eta$. The fundamental meaning of $\text{D}\text{I}\text{S}\text{W}$ is 'totality', 'well-being', 'harmony', with stress on material prosperity untouched by violence or misfortune."³ Rarely is peace in the Old Testament not connected with interpersonal relationships. With this the prophets were concerned also, but in their development of a doctrine of peace⁴ they relate peace to salvation. Isaiah transforms the idea from an antipathy to war to a positive doctrine of peace.⁵ Jeremiah speaks of

¹ Jer. 11.

² The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs throughout makes appeal to the character of Israel's forebearers. There is merit in Joseph's obedience; Benjamin 3.1. Enoch the righteous one throws evil into relief; Benjamin 9.1.

³ Richardson, A Theological Word Book of the Bible, p. 165.

⁴ Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, Chapters 16, 17.

⁵ Isa. 7.4. Finklestein, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 416

Israel's reconciliation to God as the restoration of Israel's well-being, harmony, and righteousness.¹ Ezekiel believes that God will make a covenant of peace with the restored community.² Deutero-Isaiah understands the promise of deliverance from Babylon as a gospel of peace,³ and sees that this will end in the restoration of the people to divine favour:

"Peace, peace, to the far and to the near,
says the Lord;
and I will heal him."⁴

εἰρήνη is common in the vocabulary of Paul. It occupies a place very often at the beginning of his letters, perhaps as a prayer,⁵ and at the end of his letters in a prayer or benediction.⁶ The most prominent and significant place of its usage is in connection with salvation, and thereby Paul takes up the relationship of peace and salvation established by the prophets. This appears most conspicuously in Romans where Paul, on launching a new phase of the discussion, says, "Therefore, since we are justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."⁷ The possibility of salvation is the possibility of peace. Peace is understood in a rather different way in Ephesians: "For he is our peace, who has made us both one, and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility ...; might reconcile us both

¹ Jer. 33.8ff.

² Ezek. 34.25f. Also Isa. 54.10.

³ Isa. 52.7. Richardson, A Theological Word Book of the Bible, p. 165.

⁴ Isa. 57.19.

⁵ Rom. 1.7, 15.13.

⁶ Rom. 15.33.

⁷ Rom. 5.1.

to God in one body through the cross, thereby bringing the hostility to an end."¹ Hostility between Jew and Greek is abolished by Christ's work, but it is only possible because the salvation wrought by Christ was one making peace; it was the reconciling factor. Correspondingly, the gospel itself becomes a gospel of peace.² Although the prophets set the stage by relating peace and salvation, Paul reflects a sense of discovery: his tone, his frequent use of it, its association with joy and grace all suggest that peace in his own spirit was a discovery as a result of Christ's work for him. Paul regarded peace as something one had by dwelling with the Spirit,³ and it was something possible by the work of the Spirit, a fruit of the Spirit.⁴ Peace therefore was a past realisation and a present possibility. There was no difficulty in declaring that God was the giver of peace.⁵ It was at once the gift of God and made possible by the presence of the Spirit on appropriation of Christ's work to reconcile men to God. Peace is the accompaniment of salvation therefore to both the prophets and Paul, and they are especially united in seeing peace to be characteristic of the ensuing relationship between man and God, even though they arrive at this view from the different perspectives of historic revelations. Moreover, according to Paul and the prophets, peace

¹ Eph. 2.14-16, 17 also.

² Eph. 6.15. Col. 1.20.

³ Rom. 8.6.

⁴ Gal. 5.

⁵ "Peace from God our Father" is frequent in the introductions to most of his letters. Rom. 1.7. I Cor. 1.3. Gal. 1.3, etc.

ought also to be characteristic of human relationships. In the passage in Romans about scrupulousness, Paul admonishes: "Let us then pursue what makes for peace and for mutual up-building." Interestingly he adds, "Do not, for the sake of food, destroy the work of God."¹ Clearly, the peace of the God-man relationship is essentially related to human relationships. Peace among men is part of the divine intention. Specifically, Paul says this over marriage problems: "God has called us to peace."² Frequently, peace among men was to the prophets the cessation of national hostilities, but the establishment of peace among the Jews themselves was hopefully expressed by the prophets as well.³

There is some similarity between Paul and the prophets in their attitudes toward the temple, first in respect to its sacrifices. At one point in the prophetic period the prophets were highly critical of the cult and its sacrifice.

Says Amos:

"I hate, I despise your feasts,
and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies."⁴

Similarly Hosea:

"I desire steadfast love and not sacrifice,
the knowledge of God, rather than burnt offerings."⁵

Primarily, the prophets sought to lay emphasis on man's reformed intention rather than value from the sacrifices of

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¹ Rom. 14.19.
² I Cor. 7.15.
³ Zech. 8.19.
⁴ Amos. 5.21.
⁵ Hosea 6.6.

the cult. Isaiah calls:

"Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean;
remove the evil of your doings from before my eyes;
cease to do evil,
learn to do good;
seek justice,
correct oppression;
defend the fatherless,
plead for the widow."¹

Negatively, he expresses the same attitude:

"... their hearts are far from me,
and their fear of me is a commandment of
men learned by rote."²

A new set of circumstances had arisen by Paul's day. He was schooled by the synagogue which was conspicuous for the absence of the sacrificial system. Jewish theology was preparing itself for a time when temple sacrifices would end, so that R. Johana ben Zakkai could answer his despondent pupil who had seen the ruined temple: "Do not grieve, my son, for we have an atonement which is just as good, namely, deeds of mercy, as the Scripture says, 'For I desire mercy and not sacrifice.'"³ The Judaism of Paul's day was weighed by ritual observances and commands, fidelity to which almost caused Paul to miss the salvation offered in Christ.⁴ His subsequent criticism of the way of the law has a similarity to the prophetic criticism of the temple and its sacrifices. Both saw something more deeply involved in the divine will. The prophets applied the conditions of sacrifice - entire

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¹ Isa. 1.16,17.

² Isa. 29.13b.

³ Quoted by Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 503.

⁴ Gal. 1.13-15.

and unblemished - to the Hebrew himself.¹ They called for inward repentance. Paul also calls for repentance: "Do you not know that God's kindness is meant to lead you to repentance!"² Hosea could have said that. Paul became united with and was influenced by the prophets, negatively, in declaring that the divine-human relationship was more than the observing of forms. Positively, he was united with and influenced by them in the reapplication of sacrifice. Micah, after asking if man should come to God with a burnt offering, answers:

"He has shown you, O man, what is good;
and what does the Lord require of you
but to do justice, and to love kindness,
and to walk humbly with your God?"³

If a sacrifice was to have relevancy, it had first to be accompanied by a man's real reformed intention. Unlike the author of Hebrews, Paul was not especially concerned about finding a parallel with the temple cult. He could describe Jesus' death in ritual language,⁴ but it was its relevancy which was most significant. Paul was not confined to one description of Jesus' death, but for him there was only one fundamental meaning: "The death he died he died to sin."⁵ Paul had been a sinner, unrighteous and disobedient to the truth that was in the Christ event. He was guilty of sin.⁵
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¹ Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 58.

² Rom. 2.4b.

³ Micah 6.6-8.

⁴ "Christ, our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed." I Cor.5.7.

⁵ Rom. 6.10a.

⁶ Rom. 7.13ff. Davies, PRJ, p. 256 believes the sacrificial system did not offer to Paul a remedy for his sin.

Spiritually and figuratively, he was dead.¹ The relevancy of Christ's death for him was the freedom and life he now had been given, confirmed by the Spirit's presence.² Sacrifice though His death might be, the connection was not toward cult and satisfaction but toward reconciliation of man with God. Paul stands with the prophets in an assertion of the importance of intention and inward transformation that reconciled relations with God must typify. Of course, the significance of sacrifice is transformed for him since Christ's death was a once-for-all sacrifice.

Paul stands in a tradition of the prophets which was concerned with intention, negatively in the criticism of cult and form, and positively in the insistence of inner reformation and reconciliation with God. He was able to see and appreciate this outlook in the prophets³ because he had been exposed like them to a revelation bearing on reformation and reconciliation. "The great prophets were possessed by the mind and will of Yahweh."⁴ So was Paul possessed by the mind and will of God revealed in Jesus Christ. Both the prophets and Paul were summoned to obey and keep company with God; in the Judaic-Christian tradition relationship with God was foremost and man's inner intention in response to the will of God was determinative.

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¹ Rom. 6.23. "The wages of sin is death."

² Rom. 8.2.

³ See many of his quotations; for e.g. Rom. 10.20,21 (Isa. 65.1; 65.2). Rom. 11.8 (Isa. 29.10).

⁴ Scott, The Relevance of the Prophets, p. 86.

The temple came under attack in another way. As an important part of the cult, it represented established, dogmatic and relatively impersonal religion led by the priests, whereas in comparison the prophetic movement was new and radical. The prophets and Paul belong to the latter group, vitalized and impelled by revelation in a way the officiants of a cult were not. "By the term prophet we mean a man who experiences a sudden and profound dissatisfaction with things as they are, is fired with a new idea, and launches out on a new path in sincere conviction that he has been led by something external and objective."¹ Nock's definition is descriptive of a type of religion of which the prophets and Paul were a part, and it does not describe the priestly type contemporary with either of them. Paul's fellow Jews knew that this was the character and role of the prophet. The decision in the Maccabean period to make temporary arrangements until a prophet arose² was in the knowledge that a prophet had divine and decisive guidance to give to the people. This same role fell upon Paul, and he believed he had been chosen to declare a crucial message. The questions directed to John the Baptist,³ the popular opinion that John was a prophet,⁴ and the popular talk about Jesus⁵ indicate that the unusual, passionate authoritative religious leader was held to occupy the prophetic role. Paul probably knew

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¹ Nock, Conversion, p. 2-3.

² I Macc. 4.46; 14.41.

³ Luke 3.15.

⁴ Mark 11.32.

⁵ Mark 8.27ff.

this popular idea and was conscious that he had entered into such a role with his unique message and destination. Awakened by God in Christ and sensitive to the prophets' unique vocation, Paul closed the door to cult and law and turned solely to reformed relationship with God as the essence of religion.

To both the prophets and Paul sin was of the greatest concern. He stands as an heir to the prophetic denunciations of Israel's disobedience and turning away from God. "Largely because of the prophetic preaching concerning divine judgement, Judaism was deeply sensitive to the persistence of sin that contaminated the health of the community."¹ Ezekiel boldly announced that God had let Israel go: "As for you, O house of Israel, thus says the Lord God: Go serve everyone of you his idols, now and hereafter, if you will not listen to me, but my holy name you shall no more profane with your gifts and your idols."² Amos emphasized that Israel was making for herself a life of sinfulness which God could not accept:

"Woe to those who are at ease in Zion
and to those who feel secure on the mountain of
Samarina."³

"Woe to those who lie upon beds of ivory,
and stretch themselves upon their couches,
. . . .
who sing idle songs . . .
who drink wine in bowls,
and anoint themselves with the finest oils,
but are not grieved over the ruin of Joseph!"⁴

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1 Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, p. 461
2 Ezek. 20.39.
3 Amos 6.1.
4 Amos 6.4-6.

It was the prophetic view, says Scott, that "man reveled in the material and sensual satisfactions of life." "By his strength, his cunning and his acquisitiveness man exalted himself in the world, became vain of his self-sufficiency and measured life by his desires."¹ Paul universalizes his concept of sin, but his opinion is the same as the prophets that man became a sinner. "Therefore, God gave them up in the lusts of their hearts to impurity, to the dishonouring of their bodies among themselves, because they exchanged the truth of God for a lie and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator."² The principal point for both the prophets and Paul was that sin was an offence against God, his nature, and his will. The fellowship intended between God and man, and man and man, was made impossible by man's actions and attitudes.³ As both recognized the real nature of sin, the prophets and Paul believed that God would vindicate Himself and deal with sin. Says Isaiah:

"And the haughtiness of man shall be humbled,
and the pride of men shall be brought low;
and the Lord alone will be exalted in that day."⁴

In the new situation, Paul speaks the same theme: "This was to show God's righteousness, because in his divine forbearance he passed over former sins; it was to prove at the present time that he himself is righteous...."⁵ These two themes

¹ The Relevance of the Prophets, p. 113.

² Rom. 1.24, 25.

³ Ibid. p. 123f.

⁴ Isa. 2.17.

⁵ Rom. 3.25, 26.

run onward from the prophets through all Hebraic-Judaic theology. In contrast to most of what Paul says, the prophets usually conceive of sin in its national proportions.¹ Evil looms up as a national apostasy, less as individualistic. With the development of prophetic thought, individual responsibility for sin became more emphasized; says Ezekiel: "Therefore, I will judge you, O house of Israel, everyone according to his ways, says the Lord God."² Perhaps Paul had less reason to emphasize national sin with the dissolution of national sovereignty after 63 B.C., and after the periodic settlement of large numbers of Jews in the Dispersion. Nevertheless, he clothed the idea of solidarity in relation to sin's effect in teaching the transmission of sin from Adam: "For ... by one man's disobedience many were made sinners."³ National sin is displaced by a concept of sin's universality (Rom. 1-3), but a universality of individual responsibility, a view no doubt reinforced by the knowledge of his own disobedience to God. The prophets and Paul were separated in their doctrines of sin by the areas where retribution took place and in the character of its application (for the prophets, judgement is historical, for Paul, it is ^{very often} supernatural), and they were separated by their concepts of the solidarity of sin. Yet very clearly Paul was influenced by the prophetic teaching. He could not have come to feel so deeply man's offence against God in Christ

¹ Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 233.
² Ezek. 18.30.
³ Rom. 5.19.

had he not known the stern judgements of the prophets and the affectionate and moving appeals of Hosea or Deutero-Isaiah. The prophets' descriptions of man's waywardness influenced each succeeding generation, until the lifetime of Paul, and indeed to the present.

We noticed earlier that one of the features of prophetic thought was its teleological outlook; the prophetic message was oriented toward the fulfillment of God's purposes. On the one hand, the prophets anticipated an imminent, historical judgement, and at the same time they looked forward to the time when God would enjoy exclusive dominion among his people. Typical of the teleological outlook are Jeremiah's words: "Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant....."¹ Ezekiel hopes for fulfillment: "I will give them one heart, and put a new spirit within them."² The same view is carried through the apocalyptic literature: "The heart of the earth's inhabitants shall be changed and converted to a different spirit."³ The teleological outlook is transformed in the apocalyptic literature and the N.T. into the eschatological with a similar fundamental meaning: says the author of II Esdras, "Measure carefully in your mind, and when you see that a certain part of the predicted signs are passed, then you will know that it is the very time when the Most High is about to visit

¹ Jer. 31.31.

² Ezek. 11.19.

³ II Esdras 6.26.

the world which he has made."¹ It is quite evident that Paul inherits from the prophets this outlook, which really in fact was the dominating view of history characteristic of both Judaism and Christianity. Paul sees in Christ God's purposes, anticipated by the prophets: what was a mystery "is now disclosed and through the prophetic writings is made known to all the nations."² In terms of final salvation and judgement his eschatological view with an apocalyptic colouring is that "salvation is nearer to us now than when we first believed; the night is far gone, the day is at hand."³ So much was Paul concerned with God's activity in Christ, and what could be imminently expected, that an eschatological understanding of Paul is essential and unavoidable. The view influences among other things his understanding of Christ, salvation, judgement, resurrection and to some degree his ethics.

Certain prophetic expectations were formative in Paul's theology. It is a wonder that Paul did not go far astray on such matters, for conflict with the Sadducees (to which the Psalms of Solomon bear witness) and the variety of apocalyptic visions, created a number of subjects about which agreement and clarity were lacking. Eschatological hopes in his time were both wildly proposed and denied, and compared with the apocalyptic writers Paul was remarkably restrained.

¹ II Esdars 9.1. Cf. Grant's definition, AJNT, p. 88; "God is working out his purposes, and if one looks deeply enough into the present he can see even now the signs of God's activity."

² Rom. 16.26.

³ Rom. 13.11b-12a.

As Paul viewed the present time, he believed some hopes had been realized; some matters he regarded as still to come. For example, Paul believed the Kingdom of God had come and was still to come.¹ He reminds the Thessalonians that they have already been called into it.² The sense of present realization is evident in Phil. 3.20. He writes to the Colossians that they have already been "transferred ... to the Kingdom of his beloved Son."³ But by speaking of the reign of Christ and his warning to sinners that they will not inherit the kingdom, Paul shows that the final reign of God is still to come. Farther back from the apocalyptic modification of the concept of God's reign there lies the prophetic expectation that God alone will rule his people, an expectation constantly transmitted. Prophets like Samuel opposed the establishment of the monarchy in the belief that God alone should be king.⁴ Isaiah declares that he has "seen the King the Lord of Hosts."⁵ Deutero-Isaiah expects this kingship to be renewed,⁶ and Zephaniah expects a similar reign.⁷ The expectation continues unabated in the face of many calamities and judgements and appears in the Pharisaic Psalms of Solomon:

"The Lord himself is his King,
the hope of him that is mighty through (his)
hope in God."⁸

.....
1 Cf. Isa. 65.17,22; 66.22,23 with I Cor. 15-25,27,28.

2 I Thess. 2.12.

3 Col. 1.13

4 I Sam. 8.6,7.

5 Isa. 6.5.

6 Isa. 44.6.

7 Zeph. 3.15b.

8 Ps. of Sol. 17.38.

Among the Rabbis, the kingship of God was a familiar and important theme.¹ Paul inherited the hope, and following Jesus' teaching² and the leading of his own insights into the Christ event, believed the kingdom of God had come and was coming.

There were two expectations of Judaism contemporary with Paul which were connected with the prophets and which Paul saw realized in his own time. One was the restoration of the prophetic ministry: the other was that the Age of the Spirit had come. Contemporary Judaism was of the opinion that ancient prophecy had ceased from the time of Ezra onward.³ Prophecy was regarded as dead when I Maccabees was written.⁴ The Pharisees and Rabbis believed that prophecy would be restored in the Age to Come, or in the Messianic Age.⁵ Similarly they believed that the Spirit was no longer active in the present times, and with the realization of the Age to Come, the Spirit would return.⁶ Davies quotes the Rabbinic literature: "Five things which existed in the first temple were lacking in the second. These were: (a) Fire from on high, (b) Anointing oil, (c) The Ark, (d) The Holy Spirit, (e) Urim and Thummin."⁷ For the restoration of prophecy both Paul and his Jewish contemporaries looked

1 Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 63, 65ff. 82.

2 Mark 1.15.

3 Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, p. 463.

4 Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, p. 121. 104-100 B.C. I Macc. 4.46.

5 Abrahams, ibid. p. 126.

6 Davies, PRJ, p. 216.

7 Ibid. p. 208.

back to the predictions of the prophets. Of course, we find little about prophecy's restoration from the great prophets since prophecy was active among them, but we do find them expressing the hope that all Israelites be prophets. Jeremiah says: "And no longer shall each man teach his neighbour and each his brother, saying 'Know the Lord', for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest, says the Lord."¹ The inspiration here described is akin to that which invested Yahweh's prophets. Ezekiel envisages an enlargement of the Spirit's influence: "I will put my Spirit within you, and you shall live."² Joel, though of a more apocalyptic character, declares the same theme:

"And it shall come to pass afterward,
 that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh;
 your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,
 your old men shall dream dreams,
 and your young men shall see visions.
 Even upon the menservants and maidservants
 in those days, I will pour out my Spirit."³

Such passages were interpreted in Judaism and the early church as predictions of the Age when Prophecy and the Spirit would be restored. To Paul these expectations were realized. To him the prophets in the Corinthian church were inspired by the Spirit. "All these" gifts "are inspired by one and the same Spirit, who apportions to each one individually as he wills."⁴ In contrast to ecstatic explosions of those who spoke in tongues, the prophets of the early church

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¹ Jer. 31.34
² Ezek. 37.14

³ Joel 2.28. Cf. Acts 2.17-21.
⁴ I Cor. 12.11.

had a creative function of leadership in the regular intercourse of the church's life.¹ It was more pastoral (*οἰκοδομήν, παράκλησιν, παραμυθίαν*) than that of the ancient prophets who were to proclaim revelation and judgement. Aside from the restoration of prophecy with its altered character, Paul believed that the church was in the age of the Spirit. "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set me free from the law of sin and death."² "We ourselves ... have the first fruits of the Spirit."³ "God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which has been given to us."⁴ To him the Spirit was the mark of the new age in which all believers lived; it was the inspiration of the new life; it dwelt with all believers; it was the fulfillment of what was anticipated by the prophets.

In the chapter on the influence of the Graeco-Roman world, we noticed some social causes of Paul's universalism. Theologically, the foundations for his universalism were laid by the prophets and were part of the thought of first century Judaism.⁵ The foundation for universalism among the prophets was based on the conviction of one God - monotheism. It was the prophets who firmly established this in the Hebraic-Judaic tradition. This meant that God

¹ I Cor. 14.3,4.

² Rom. 8.2.

³ Rom. 8.23.

⁴ Rom. 5.5.

⁵ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 226ff.

acted in the whole world to accomplish his purposes.¹ Prophet after prophet perceived his universal activity,² and thereafter this was the prevailing view.³ The consequences were two-fold. On the one hand, it was seen that God's historical and universal activity was evident in terms of judgement. Jeremiah declared: "I have put upon the neck of all the nations an iron yoke of servitude to Nebucadnezzar king of Babylon."⁴ On the other hand, while Ezekiel's reorganization of the future was exclusive and just for Israel⁵ and thus indicated the narrow nationalism to which Judaism ultimately succumbed, monotheism in soteriological categories brought concern for the salvation of the gentiles. Deutero-Isaiah is typical of this tradition in which Paul came to stand:

"I will give you as a light to the nations,
that my salvation may reach
to the end of the earth."⁶

"Behold, you shall call nations that you know not,
and nations that knew you not shall run to you,
because of the Lord your God, and of the holy
one of Israel,
for he has glorified you."⁷

Jeremiah had expressed similar expectations,⁸ and much later Jonah did.⁹ The prophetic insights spelled out a

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¹ Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 22.
² Jer. 1.15. Ezek. 11.16.
³ Ps. of Sol. 2.7, 33-36.
⁴ Jer. 28.14.
⁵ Ezek. 47,48. Davies, PRJ, p. 60.
⁶ Isa. 49.6.
⁷ Isa. 55.5.
⁸ Jer. 12.17.
⁹ Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, p. 504.

universalism of the religion of Yahweh and Israel, but clung to a brand of exclusiveness which shut out and condemned the nations.

A universalism of salvation is carried through as a theme in the apocalyptic literature, and the tension provided by exclusiveness remained.¹ One of the earliest passages of Enoch symbolically expected the "homage" of the nations.² The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs mentions the theme quite often: "And the twelve tribes shall be gathered together there, and all the Gentiles, until the Most High shall send forth His salvation."³ The Similitudes of Enoch took up the theme: "He will be a staff to the righteous on which they will support themselves and not fall, and he will be the light of the Gentiles and the hope of those who are troubled in heart."⁴ Close to the beginning of the first century A.D. came the Sibylline Oracles with the same theme.⁵ In contrast the apocalyptic passage of Ezekiel is exclusive,⁶ a theme running right through to II Esdras late in the first century A.D.: "As for the other nations which have descended from Adam, thou has said that they are nothing, and that they are like spittle, and thou has compared their abundance to a drop from a bucket."⁷

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¹ Tobit 13.11, though not apocalyptic, written 190-170 B.C., speaks of the nations coming from afar.

² Enoch 90.30.

³ Benjamin 9.2. Asther 7.3b.

⁴ Enoch 48.4.

⁵ Sib. Or. 3.772,773.

⁶ Ezek. 39.7.

⁷ II Esdras 6.56. Cf. 13.33.

Among some of the Rabbinic schools universalism was taught.¹

About Isaiah 26.2 -

"Open the gates,
that the righteous nation which keeps faith
may enter in" -

Schoeps says, "This was understood right up to the fourth century as a word of vigorous inspiration of the mission to the heathen."² R. Meir was known for being liberally minded toward proselytes. Schechter has made a collection of Rabbinic sayings of universalistic importance.³ The universalistic musings of the prophets would not rest, even though as Moore tells us, the nationalistic emphasis was to triumph in the age of the Tannaim,⁴ the lead for exclusiveness taken from Ezekiel and Ezra. For several reasons Paul appears as the inheritor of the prophetic movement toward universalism. Davies remarks that the prophets were struggling to enunciate what was the "true" or "ideal" Israel that responded to God, and Paul "like them was re-discovering the meaning of the term 'Israel'" as a people chosen by the grace of God.⁵ Schoeps also recognizes Paul's dependence of the prophetic expectations: "... after Damascus, in the light of his doctrinal convictions, the urgency of the mission to the heathen pressed even more sharply on his mind. For the Messianic Age had now dawned,

¹ Schoeps, Paul, p. 220.

² Ibid. p. 221.

³ Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 133.

⁴ Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 225.

⁵ PRJ, p. 78.

and it was therefore appropriate that those prophetic promises which had not yet found fulfillment should do so in the shortest possible time."¹ Paul's concern for the salvation of the gentiles may have already been stimulated by the Jewish mission to the heathen which had for its inspiration the prophetic expectations such as those in the book of Isaiah. Paul shared with the Rabbis the prophetic belief in the universality of God. Subsequently, his charge against gentile sinners² rested on grounds that they, like the Jews, were accountable to one God. The prophetic vision of Israel as a "light to the nations" was on the surface discarded by Paul; the church was now the elect, some of whom were to be apostles. Yet Paul saw a holy root,³ a true Israel which always existed which if focused temporarily had been a failure, branches broken off. Even in her failure Paul believed that Israel performed a function in keeping with her universal charges: "Through their trespass salvation has come to the Gentiles."⁴ Paul's universal concern was partly inherited from the prophets; the immediate stimulus, distinctiveness and zeal were from Christ.

As the prophets had awakened to a concept of universal religion, it was accompanied by the deeper thought that Israel herself could only by individual and heartfelt obedience keep the Covenant. This notion of personal obedience

¹ Davies, PRJ, p. 230.

² Rom. 1.18ff.

³ Rom. 11.16.

⁴ Rom. 11.11.

opened the door to any man who would answer God's summons with his obedience. Without surrendering national hopes, the Jewish mission proselytized individual gentiles summoning their obedience.¹ The Pharisees taught everywhere that every man must keep the law.² The apocalyptic literature individualized religion in terms of reward and retribution.³ Thus individual obedience was common enough to first century Judaism as an outgrowth of prophetic teaching. It was an important emphasis for Paul to inherit. Deissmann says in connection with Paul's conversion: "The positive preparation for the conversion came, on the one hand, through the prophetic inwardness of the Old Revelation which had influenced Paul even as a Jew."⁴ Individual responsibility had a firm grip on Paul's consciousness:⁵ "He is a Jew who is one inwardly."⁶ Had Paul not been taught in the Jewish synagogue with its intimate contact with individuals and not heard each week the prophets read with their penetrating admonitions, the summons by Christ to serve and declare the gospel would have struck less responsive chords. As it was, much was ready for an individual appropriation and presentation of the gospel.

The last thing in relating the prophets and Paul is to see if Paul's concept of his apostleship has been influenced by the prophets. First let us recognize that the

¹ Acts 8.27.

² Mark 10.17-20.

³ Enoch 62.13ff. II Esdras 8.53-54.

⁴ Paul, p. 131.

⁵ Rom. 3.9,23; 7.8ff.

⁶ Rom. 2.29a.

vitality which characterized his ministry in its several aspects reminds one of the vitality of the prophets. This has caused a number of scholars to make related comments. Says Badcock: "The Epistle to the Ephesians is that of a prophet fired with a glowing fervour which overlaps the bounds of logical sequence; in the sheer splendour of spiritual insight."¹ Anderson sees a parallel of vitality: "we should remember that Christianity burst with prophetic power out of the heart of Judaism."² Dibelius says that Paul makes a "direct prophetic witness."³ However, these generalizations have their limit; Abrahams says: "But only in metaphor can we speak of the continued wearing of the same 'prophetic' mantle. For the form in which the new messages express themselves cannot remain constant."⁴ "In all ages" God "imparts of his grace to men, but not in all ages by the same means."⁵ However, the door for a comparison is still open, for as Abrahams allows: "Prophecy returns with the return of the creative impulse"⁶ It is our conviction that a comparison is valid and profitable. Munck⁷ also believes that the prophets left their mark on the ministry of Paul as he conceived it. Characteristic of Munck's understanding of the relationship is this statement: "God's calling of Paul near Damascus has been narrated, both by himself and by

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¹ The Pauline Epistles, p. 180.

² Understanding the Old Testament, p. 463.

³ Paul, p. 103.

⁴ Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Vol. 2, p. 123.

⁵ Abrahams, ibid. Vol. 2, p. 128. Similarly Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 41.

⁶ Abrahams, ibid. Vol. 2, p. 124.

⁷ PSM, especially Ch. 1 and 2.

others, like that of one of the Old Testament figures in God's plan of salvation."¹ "For Paul his own time and therefore his own task is of greater importance than those figures of the Old Covenant." "We should ... speak of characteristics of Old Testament figures used to express the new and higher reality."²

We are concerned with the extent to which Paul has thought of his ministry to be like the prophets. In regard to our source of information two statements from his letters are suggestive. "He who had set me apart before I was born, and had called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles."³ "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures."⁴ The three accounts of Paul's conversion in Acts are helpful, and although they are secondary source material, they can be used to supplement our knowledge of Paul's understanding of his ministry.⁵ Although there is some contradiction among these accounts, there are several significant points of agreement: Paul appears to have been taken by surprise as he travelled and the ensuing confusion of his mind suggests his surprise.⁶ There is a certain un-

¹ Munck, PSM, p. 36.

² Ibid. p. 58.

³ Gal. 1.15, 16.

⁴ Rom. 1.1, 2.

⁵ Acts 9.1ff; 22.6ff; 26.12ff.

⁶ Acts 9.3; 22.6.

expected character to the call of Moses,¹ although Moses is certainly not the opponent of the divine will as Paul was. Suffice it to say that numerous examples from the O.T. bear out the unexpected coming of the divine call, and until the coming of these calls the leaders and prophets elected had acquiesced to the current interpretations of religion; so Paul believed he was defending orthodoxy. Munck's challenge to the theory of Paul's preparedness for this call makes the theory less certain, and serves to emphasize the idea that the dramatic character of Paul's call is reminiscent of similar calls in the O.T.² A second feature of the call common to the accounts is the blaze of light.³ Ezekiel's vision and call were attended by flashing fire.⁴ A further common feature concerns either a vision or a communication. What we must keep in mind here is the certainty of an encounter. Paul in the first letter to Corinth says: "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?"⁵ "Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me."⁶ Although the passage in Acts 22 concerning Paul's trance in the temple has several difficulties, the idea of a visual appearance of Jesus is present again.⁷ The account of his conversion in Acts 26 in its use of ὄραω (ὤψθη) also suggests an appearance but the account is much expanded. Another characteristic of this moment of

1 Exod. 3.1ff.

2 PSM, p. 11ff.

3 Acts 9.3; 22.6; 26.13.

4 Ezek. 1.4, 27.

5 I Cor. 9.1.

6 I Cor. 15.8.

7 Acts 22.17, 18.

encounter, and all three accounts agree in this, is that Paul was addressed.¹ This with the probability of an appearance has parallels in the O.T. Ezekiel received a vision and was addressed;² Jeremiah was addressed and witnessed instructive visions.³ Paul's trance in the temple is certainly like Isaiah's vision in the temple when at the same time he was addressed.⁴ Another feature in common with the prophets is that at the time of the encounter, the man fell to the ground. All three accounts in Acts record this.⁵ This has its parallels among the prophets at the time of their election.⁶ In all three accounts in Acts, Paul is commanded to rise, to which is added a command to proceed to do something, hinting at or specifically announcing the forthcoming mission to the gentiles.⁷ Ezekiel too was commanded to rise.⁸ Attending all the encounters with God in the O.T. is an indication of the purpose of the confrontation. God's purpose is to send Moses to call out Israel in Egypt. The prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries are sent to call to repentance the wayward nation.⁹ The purpose of the call is paramount to

¹ Acts 9.4; 22.7; 26.14. The possibility of a divine voice was much discussed by the Rabbis; Bath Qöl was the mysterious voice of God. In the gospels there are several instances of the voice from heaven speaking. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p.421f.

² Ezek. 1.44ff; 2.1ff.

³ Jer. 1.4ff.

⁴ Isa. 6.1ff.

⁵ Acts 9.4; 22.7; 26.14.

⁶ Ezek. 1.28b.

⁷ Acts 9.6; 22.10; 26.16ff.

⁸ Ezek. 2.1.

⁹ Cf. Amos 7.14.

both Paul and the prophets. Thus it is not surprising to find Acts which is so biographical laying less emphasis on the interpretation of the call, which is just what Paul does. Where features of the call are referred to by Paul, it is with passing interest. Paul is far more interested in the interpretation of the event, and his two most important statements are his conclusions about God's purpose in the call.

Before we pass to this line of inquiry, however, conclusions about the foregoing comparisons can be made. First, there are striking similarities between the descriptions of the calls of Paul and the prophets and one is inclined to think that Paul's call has been described in a way similar to the prophets', the initiative probably coming from Paul himself and being incorporated more or less accurately by Luke in the three accounts he gives. We cannot say that the prophetic calls were the source of his inspiration, but as a child of his time, and student of the O.T. he was molded by its language and ideas. Perhaps, as Nock says, Paul knew much more about the prophets than most Christians.¹ The forms of the O.T., says Munck, help to interpret the occurrence.²

A second conclusion is this: the striking form of description of Paul's call similar to the prophets' was possible only if it was conceived by him (or understood by Luke) to

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¹ St. Paul, p. 65, 80.
² PSM, p. 33.

be in a salvation framework, and this framework in itself was something to which Paul was partly predisposed by the prophets. The prophets understood their call, and its form was integral to it, to be in a salvation framework. For example, one purpose of Hosea's call was to declare the Lord's salvation.¹ Other prophets were sent to summon the nation to repentance and to declare the salvation offered them by God, and their calls to do this were perceived in this framework. The prophets left this framework for Judaism to inherit so that Israel in Paul's time was looking for salvation:

"But we hope in God, our deliverer:

For the might of our God is for ever with mercy..."

"And he shall gather together a holy people whom he shall lead in righteousness,

And he shall judge the tribes of the people that has been sanctified by the Lord his God."²

The prophets had taught Israel that God was a deliverer.

Paul interpreted his call in that light.

Now we must see how Paul worked out his call in the salvation framework, or in what way his interpretation of his call was like the prophets'. First, he believed that he had been set apart before he was born for this time and purpose.³ This sense of predestination or pre-ordination is fully Jewish, and its presence in the prophets quite conspicuous.⁴ Jeremiah says,

.....
¹ Hosea 13.4. Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, p.241 says that his message was an "optimism of grace".

² Ps. of Sol. 17.3,28.

³ Gal. 1.15.

⁴ Scott, The Relevance of the Prophets, p. 88f.

"Before I formed you in the womb I knew you,
and before you were born I consecrated you,
I appointed you as a prophet to the nations."¹

Paul believed that his call was due to God's initiative and with the prophets believed that their immense task was possible only if God ordained and supported it. Moses, who Josephus says was the prophet of Israel without equal,² was assured of God's support in his election.³ Jeremiah and Ezekiel have the same understanding.⁴ The theme of God's support appears in the Psalms of Solomon:

"For the Lord is good to them that call upon him in
patience,
Doing according to his mercy to His pious ones,
Establishing (them) at all times before Him in
strength."⁵

N.T. writers apply the doctrine of predestination to John the Baptist.⁶ Pharisaic theology contemporary with Paul maintained that although man had free will⁷ God could very much accomplish what He chose to implement.⁸ All this had the effect of preparing from the prophets onward an idea of predestination which Paul believed and employed in interpreting his call.

With the sense of predestination came a sense of compulsion. "For necessity is laid upon me", says Paul. "Woe
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¹ Jer. 1.5. Cf. Samson's dedication, Judges 16.17, and the prophet's interpretation of his call in Isa. 49.1.
² Antiquities, 4.8.49.
³ Exod. 3.12.
⁴ Jer. 1.8. Ezek. 2.1ff.
⁵ Ps. of Sol. 2.40.
⁶ Luke 1.15-17.
⁷ Ps. of Sol. 9.7.
⁸ Ps. of Sol. 6.3. II Esdras 8.22.

to me if I do not preach the gospel!" "I am entrusted with a commission."¹ The prophets similarly believed they had been the subjects of an irresistible divine command.²

Hosea's domestic troubles were living visions by which he saw the God he must declare.³ Although reluctant, Jeremiah was sent forth.⁴ No doubt Paul's sense of compulsion was largely orientated by present events rather than by historical records or the theological force of them.

Paul and the prophets had a similar concept of revelation: what they had to speak rose out of their understanding of the present, and of the past newly comprehended.

Jeremiah perceived in the downfall of Assyria and Egypt and the rise of Babylon Israel's error in involving herself in the political whirlpool: her covenant ought to be with God alone as from the first - only a new Israel and a new Covenant would suffice. Paul's concentration was on the entrance of Jesus Christ into human affairs, the new creation emerging, the faith demanded like that of Abraham's - ideas which reached for their formulation into well-known Hebrew literature and theology. Says Manson, "When the Scriptures rightly coincided with the event rightly understood, then you had the argument from prophecy."⁵ What Paul and the prophets perceived became revelation opened to them as never

¹ I Cor. 9.16,17.

² Scott, The Relevance of the Prophets, p. 88.

³ Hosea 3.1.

⁴ Jer. 1.6ff.

⁵ Quoted by Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 135, from Manson, The Argument from Prophecy, p. 129.

before known as in the present, and such a truth that they felt compelled to declare it. Paul shares with the prophets not only a method for perceiving revelation, but is like them a recipient of revelation.

The opening sentences of Paul's reflections on Israel's destiny (Rom. 9-11) have a pathos so akin to that of Hosea's (Ch. 11.), that one is tempted to think Paul had been influenced by Hosea (or Jeremiah) in some way. Says Paul, "I am speaking the truth in Christ, I am not lying; my conscience bears me witness in the Holy Spirit, that I have great sorrow and unceasing anguish in my heart. For I wish that I myself were accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my brethren, my kinsmen by race."¹ Then he follows with a record of all Israel's glories.² Perhaps typical of Hosea's feelings are these words:

"How can I give you up, O Ephraim!
How can I hand you over, O Israel!

...
My heart recoils within me,
my compassion grows warm and tender."³

With Jeremiah too there is a striking parallel. He is forbidden several times from praying for the welfare of Israel,⁴ but elsewhere he says:

"O Jerusalem, wash your heart from wickedness,
that you may be saved."
.....

¹ Rom. 9.1-3.

² Schoeps, Paul, p. 241, believes that in the formula, "To the Jew first and also to the Greeks" Paul betrays a national pathos which he ultimately dissolved.

³ Hosea 11.8.

⁴ Jer. 11.14; 14.11.

"My anguish, my anguish! I writhe in pain!
 Oh, the walls of my heart!
 My heart is beating wildly;
 I cannot keep silent;
 for I hear the sound of the trumpet,
 the alarm of war."¹

(It is interesting that pathos and love for Israel by man, and God, was continued as a subject of the Rabbinic literature.)² However it is more likely that Paul's depth of feeling is too immediate and real to be much influenced. Probably he was aware of the cries of the prophets and the intercessions made by them for the nation,³ but he did not need them to give vent to his own feelings. Moreover, it is far more likely that his desire for Israel's salvation was born out of the peace which salvation through Christ brought,⁴ and from the strong hopes then being entertained in Israel herself for the ingathering of all Jews and the coming of the Messianic Age.⁵

Was Paul influenced by the prophetic sense of responsibility? At first sight, and as in so many matters, the demand for responsibility had as its immediate reference the command of God in that the idea of responsibility was latent in the election of any representative or ministrant of God in the religious life of Israel. It is not difficult to find examples in Israel's history of election which was attended by responsibility. Moses was made responsible for

¹ Jer. 4.14, 19.

² Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 51ff.

³ Jer. 14. 19-22.

⁴ Rom. 5.1.

⁵ Davies, PRJ, p. 79f. Ps. of Sol. 8.34.

the leadership of Israel to bring them out of Egypt.¹ The political monarch of Israel was held responsible for his leadership of the nation, and this is especially evident when an evil king was said to have caused Israel to sin.² Responsibility for the nation was clearly thrown on the shoulders of the prophets;³ thus Ezekiel was charged to deliver his message of warning for the sake of the life of Israel and his own.⁴ Amos exercised responsibility in interceding for Israel.⁵ The Mishnah shows the continuation of the idea of responsibility in declaring that the Law was transmitted to men of special office whose duty it was "to be deliberate in judgement, raise up many disciples, and make a fence around the Law."⁶ Jesus' notice that the scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses' seat suggests that they had responsibility to fulfill toward the people though it was not always executed.⁷ It appears therefore that responsibility, not only to God but also to the nation, was characteristic of Jewish theology in reference to men of special office. Such responsibility was seriously taken by Paul.⁸ First, he had been made responsible to God. "Necessity is laid upon me. Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel!"⁹

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¹ Exodus 3.

² II Kings 13.2.

³ Scott, The Relevance of the Prophets, p. 90f.

⁴ Ezek. 3.16ff.

⁵ Amos 7.2.

⁶ Aboth 1.1.

⁷ Matt. 23.2, 3.

⁸ Kirk, Romans, p. 125f.

⁹ I Cor. 9.16.

A passage in Romans 10 suggests that Paul knew that the messenger of God had a responsibility for the nation or mankind: "How are they to hear without a preacher?"¹ In the previous chapter, Romans 9, the pathos which he shows reflecting on Israel's disbelief, and his willingness to be excluded from Christ, suggest a deep feeling of responsibility for the nation. His passionate defence of Titus' right not to be circumcised and the predominance of the gospel of grace and faith show Paul's exercise of responsibility toward his charge from God and toward the maintenance and security of a man's fellowship with God in Christ by faith. The whole of Galatians reflects this two-fold responsibility to his calling, and to the security of his convert's faith: "We did not yield submission even for a moment, that the truth of the gospel might be preserved for you."² There is an immediacy and passionateness about Paul's religion, gospel and responsibilities that will not admit primacy of historical influence; nevertheless, as the idea of revelation given by God to Israel through the prophets gave a substratum of authority to all Jewish religion, so was there a belief that responsibility attended the election of a minister of God.³ It is inconceivable that Paul did not feel the weight of responsibility in the knowledge that God had again spoken to mankind, this time through Jesus Christ,

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¹ Rom. 10.14.
² Gal. 2.5.
³ I Macc. 14.41ff.

and Paul was his apostle.

If there were more and consistent information about Paul's own conception of his death we might find a more certain relationship with the death of the prophets. Jesus' words that "it cannot be that a prophet should perish away from Jerusalem,"¹ suggest a popular belief about the deaths of the prophets: that time and again the prophets were appointed to die in Jerusalem, and Jerusalem was the proper place for such events.² The Thessalonian letters suggest that Paul expected to be living at the Parousia.³ Munck offers a re-interpretation of II Thess. 2.7 suggesting that Paul is the one holding back the "lawless one" until his own death, and then his death would be decisive in releasing the Antichrist.⁴ It may be that only after real danger of death in Ephesus or before II Cor. 1.8 was written, did Paul change his mind from the belief that he would be living at the Parousia. In Rom. 9.3, Paul envisages his death in a manner like Moses who said that he was willing to be removed from the chosen people in order that they might be saved.⁵ Paul's determination to go fearlessly to Jerusalem - Luke's report is probably faithful - may be in the knowledge that his death was imminent. "What are you doing weeping and breaking my heart? For I am ready not only to

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¹ Luke 13.33.

² Plummer, St. Luke, p. 350-1.

³ I Thess. 4.17.

⁴ Munck, PSM, p. 36ff.

⁵ Exod. 32.32.

be imprisoned but even to die at Jerusalem for the Lord Jesus."¹ His friends expected his life to be endangered.² To add to this picture, Acts 23 reflects another change in Paul's belief: that he will go to Rome.³ It would appear therefore that Paul's understanding of his death changed from circumstance to circumstance. At one point it is conceivable that he saw hints that his end would be like theirs: out of faithfulness to his election he would die, though certain enough that God was the one who raised men from the dead.

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¹ Acts 21.13, 14.
² Acts 21.11.
³ Acts 23.11.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INFLUENCE OF JUDAISM ON PAUL'S
MISSIONARY METHODS

It is not surprising to find that in Paul's pursuance of his mission he employed methods characteristic of Judaism in its proselytizing. Klausner is right in saying that "Paul almost always built his new structure upon the foundations of the old structure of Judaism"¹ as he found it in the Dispersion. But Klausner is probably wrong in saying that the Jews of the Dispersion had become so rootless that Paul's task became much easier.² In fact Klausner contradicts this by saying that Paul was repeatedly rejected by the Jews and forced to go to the gentiles. This would suggest that the Jews of the Dispersion were quite faithful to their ancient ways. Josephus remarks that the Jews of the Dispersion feared the law more than any king or ruler.³ Oesterley's view is that these Jews were in the main remarkably loyal to their law;⁴ Purdy agrees.⁵ Perhaps Paul did not make the progress in the Dispersion he wished to; he was often rejected and attacked by the Jews⁶ which would seem to counter the notion that he exploited their rootlessness. Similarly, Klausner is wrong in his understanding of Paul's approach to circumcision as it bore on his missionary methods. He believes that Paul thought that circumcision was too hard an observance to fulfill, so he contented himself with the requirement of baptism.⁷ This is not borne

1 From Jesus to Paul, p. 353.

2 Ibid. p. 24f, 49.

3 Against Apion, 2. 277.

4 The Books of the Apocrypha, p. 55.

5 MacGregor and Purdy, Jew and Greek, p. 144, 146, 149.

6 Acts 17.5, 13.

7 Ibid. p. 39, 48f. He overlooks the fact that Judaism itself occasionally did not require the circumcision of a convert; cf. Schurer, JPJC, 2.2.p.313.

out in Paul's letters. Circumcision, he argued with the Galatians, he no longer preached;¹ but this is very clearly said within the contrast of "works of the law" and "hearing with faith."² Circumcision was only one feature of the way of the law, just as were the laws of purity. To Paul the way of the law was abrogated, not as a missionary expedient, but because the way of faith was pre-eminent and superior. We must admit that Paul sought to accommodate the interested, but this was no different than Hillel's effort to make conversion as easy as reasonably possible.³

Paul probably began his mission in most cities in the synagogue, as Acts suggests,⁴ and probably in an authoritative manner. Part of this authoritativeness must be due to his commission by Christ and his belief that he declares the extension of the "true Israel". In addition to this, we need to recognize that the Pharisees were accustomed to approach and use the synagogue in this manner; although, indeed, any competent person might speak therein.⁵ Earlier we noted that the Pharisees by and large controlled the synagogues, and according to Finklestein were held in "popular respect" and "their words ... were accepted as authori-

¹ Gal. 5.11.

² Gal. 3.2.

³ "Hillel", Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 6, p. 398. Daube, NTRJ, p. 109.

⁴ Acts 13.5, 14; 14.1; 17.1,2; 18.4. Nock, Conversion, p. 191.

⁵ Schurer, JPJC, 2.2. p. 82.

tative interpretations of the Laws of Moses." ¹ This fact suggests that Paul was psychologically predisposed to enter the synagogue in an authoritative manner, and his hearers to accept him in the same way, at least until the import of his message became clear. There need be no inconsistency in this old manner and assumption asserting itself, especially if Paul believed that he preached a gospel which was connected with Israel's ancient and revered past: what was hoped for he now declared to be fulfilled in Christ. Thus as a first method, we have his authoritativeness, early fostered in him as a Pharisee, asserting itself in his synagogue preaching. There is a complementary possibility: before his conversion Paul may have been a missionary of Judaism, a preacher of circumcision. ² It is certain that there were Pharisees engaged in proselytizing. ³ Paul's Tarsus associations provide such possibilities, and some have supposed that he was a familiar figure in Jerusalem's Hellenistic synagogue. ⁴ From Paul himself, Gal. 5.11 is the most suggestive text: "If I, brethren, still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted?" Paul may very well mean no more than the contrast of two ways represented by circumcision

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¹ The Pharisees, Vol. 2, p. 621. Ryle and James, The Psalms of Solomon, lvii, express the view that it was the religious hope of a restored monarchy and moral excellence, espoused by the Pharisees, as typified in the Messianic hopes of the Psalms of Solomon, that gave the Pharisees such great influence. This is probably true. See also Josephus, Antiquities 13.6.2.

² Schoeps, Paul, p. 219. Bultmann, "Paul", Existence and Faith, p. 113.

³ Matt. 23.15. Schoeps, ibid. p. 226ff.

⁴ Knox. Acts 6.9,10. It is at least probable in the Dispersion synagogues.

and faith. The verse is usually thought to refer to a mis-interpretation of Paul's gospel to which Paul asks why he is yet persecuted for the very way his accusers desire to teach and who say he really means to teach.¹ But "the use of εἶπε with κηρύσσω implies that there was a time when he preached circumcision."² This involvement in proselytizing may be supported by the occasion when he received authority from the Sanhedrin to discipline the Christians; the Sanhedrin took authority on itself to discipline Jews of the Dispersion.³ Paul's desire for this authority in his pre-Christian days, and the Sanhedrin's interest in the affairs of the Dispersion suggest much larger concerns than just that of discipline of heretics.⁴ Paul's zeal, his association with the Dispersion through birth and religious practice, and the hint in Galatians make it really quite possible that Paul already knew the rigours of missionary work though enjoying the protection of being a believing Jew. This serves only to strengthen the point of his authoritativeness.⁵

Paul was not confined to the use of the synagogue in his missionary labours however. Indeed, sometimes it appears that he was excluded from it or at least found it most unsuitable.⁵ Consequently, Paul went to various Gentile places where he could speak, teach and argue.⁶ This is not

¹ Barton, Galatians, p. 286.

² Ibid. p. 286.

³ Acts 9.1,2.

⁴ Montefiore, Judaism and St. Paul, p. 62.

⁵ Acts 17.5; 18.6,7. II cor.11.24.

⁶ Beare, St. Paul and His Letters, p. 136.

to say he became a soap-box orator or random preacher,¹ and the episode at Lystra is not an exception.² He sat on the river bank in Philippi;³ he was invited to the Aeropagus in Athens.⁴ He settled for a time in a home in Corinth;⁵ in Ephesus he made use of the hall of Tyrannus.⁶ In Rome, he made considerable use of the quarters to which he was confined.⁷ It is evident, furthermore, that he attracted more than proselytes and Jews to the message he proclaimed; in I Cor. 6. 9-11 there is a list of the most iniquitous pagans. It is apparent that the numerous places he used were the means by which he attracted as many different people.

What practical attitude did Paul show toward the gentiles? What manner of personal conduct characterised his work as a missionary toward the gentiles? The letter to the Galatians indicates that he regarded table fellowship to be significant of the bond uniting all believing in Christ.⁸ Table fellowship was indicative that in terms of salvation there was "neither Jew nor Greek."⁹ Nor should it be forgotten that two of the very closest of his fellow-workers were the Greek, Titus, and the half-Greek, Timothy.¹⁰ However, in terms of priority of election, there remained in Paul a favouratism towards the Jews, and an attitude that the gentiles ought

¹ Nock, Conversion, p. 192.

² Acts 14.14ff.

³ Acts 16.13.

⁴ Acts 17.19.

⁵ Acts 18.7.

⁶ Acts 19.9.

⁷ Acts 28.16, 17, 30.

⁸ Gal. 2.11ff.

⁹ Gal. 3.28.

¹⁰ Gal. 2.3. 11 Cor. 12.18. Phil. 1.1. Col. 1.1.

to properly recognise their indebtedness to Israel. Paul says to the gentile Christians of Rome: "If you do boast remember it is not you that support the root, but the root that supports you."¹ So however much Paul granted equality of salvation to all men, as he certainly declared, there lingered in his mind that the gentiles were only now being called. Deissmann calls attention to this emotional cleavage in Paul,² but it is doubtful if Paul was "contemptuous" towards τὰ ἔθνη at least not in the passages cited by Deissmann (Col. 3.11; Rom. 1.14).³ The cleavage is to be explained not because of contempt for the gentiles, but because of anguished love for a disobedient Israel, under which lay this Jewish view: "if all peoples united in seeking to snap the bond of love that exists between Jehovah and Israel, they would not be able to succeed."⁴ Thus in terms of Jew-gentile relationships, Paul was prepared to dissolve the distinction altogether, but out of affection for the chosen people, he did not seem to quite let the matter rest; the Jews had a long-standing priority which he found hard to share with the gentiles.⁵

Lying behind any or all of Paul's missionary methods, several factors probably motivate him. First, he believed he was under divine commission: he was sent by revelation;⁶

¹ Rom. 11.18.

² Paul, p. 98.

³ Nor do the words "Gentile sinners" (Gal. 2.15) adequately by themselves represent Paul's attitude. Cf. his whole review in Rom. 1-3 that all men are sinners.

⁴ Quoted by Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 165, from the Rabbinic literature.

⁵ Cf. Kirk, Romans p. 79f.

⁶ Gal. 1.16

he was ambassador for Christ;¹ his weakness and persecution were interpreted as divine favours and chastisements.² God had commissioned him, and sealed that commission with his Spirit.³ Behind all methods there lay his divine commission. Secondly, he was prompted by eschatological expectations. To him, the End, Judgement, and Final Resurrection were near, and he had to expedite his work. The enormous geographical scope of his work, and its concentration in the largest cities rather indicate the haste and imagination of his mind. "How are men to call upon him in whom they have not believed? And how are they to believe in him of whom they have never heard?"⁴ Says Schoeps, "The urgency of the mission to the heathen pressed ... sharply on his mind." "The event of the Parousia is bound up, for Paul, with the Gentile mission, before the realization of that event the name of Christ must resound to the four corners of the earth."⁵ His third motive may be expressed as the "ingathering of the nations." The time has come for the gentiles to be part and parcel of the Kingdom of God:⁶ "How are they to believe in him of whom they have never heard?"⁷ Paul is motivated in his mission, therefore, by Whom he is sent, to whom he is sent and in ex-

¹ II Cor. 5.20. Eph. 6.20.

² II Cor. 12.9,10. Rom. 5.3,4. II Cor. 2.14-17.

³ II Cor. 1.21,22.

⁴ Rom. 10.14.

⁵ Paul, p. 230.

⁶ Their "ingathering" is an extension of the contemporary nationalist hope for the ingathering of the Jewish nation. Cf. Davies, PRJ, p. 79ff. Also the "Shemoneh Esreh", prayer 10. Perhaps as Munck, PSM, p. 49ff. suggests, Paul's work among the nations is a priestly work, that all the nations may be represented.

⁷ Rom. 10.14.

pectation of what is soon to come.

As Paul methodically went to the synagogues of each city, he found associated with them proselytes and God-fearers. It is quite reasonable to believe that from among these people already disposed towards Judaism he won converts.¹ Because these people had become familiar with the tenets of Judaism, there was already provided a framework in which he could work out his message before them. Incidentally, their familiarity with the law about which there followed so much controversy bears out the fact that his converts were at least partly established in Judaism. Proselytes were numerous enough, and their conversion and obedience sufficiently valid as to cause a prayer to be said for them in the synagogue service.² In Antioch of Pisidia, Luke indicates that both God-fearers and proselytes (*οἱ φοβούμενοι τοῦ Θεοῦ*³ and *τῶν σεβομένων προσηλύτων*⁴) who were gentiles having first attached themselves to the synagogues now followed Paul. Numerous examples⁵ might be drawn from Acts of such people who now turned to the way preached by Paul.

Paul was able to make use of the knowledge which the God-fearers and proselytes had of the O.T. scriptures. The reading and illumination of the scriptures was integral to and prominent in the synagogue services, both in Palestine and in the Diaspora.⁶ Paul's visit to Antioch of Pisidia is re-
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¹ Schoeps, Paul, p. 227, and Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p. 40ff.

² The Shemoneh Esreh.

³ Acts 13.16.

⁴ Acts 13.43.

⁵ Acts 16.14; 17.4; 18.7.

⁶ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 289, 296ff.

corded in Acts in a way reflecting that in this gentile community where some of its citizens were attached to the synagogue the law and the prophets were, as usual, read during the service.¹ Thus the God-fearers and proselytes became familiar with the O.T. and its interpretation.² With justice Paul was able to appeal to it in the knowledge that his converts or converts-to-be knew what he referred to when he sought proof, or illustration, or typological phenomena. However, Ellis points out an interesting qualification³ that most of the quotations of the O.T. are confined to the four main letters: Romans, I and II Corinthians, and Galatians. Although all the letters except Philemon have reminiscences of the O.T., only Ephesians, other than the four "Hauptbriefe", has direct quotations. It is probably the case therefore that the three communities to which these letters are written were more distinctly composed of converts whose knowledge of the O.T. made appeal to it useful and suitable. In the case of the other churches, other means were as useful. However, it is evident from the four great letters that appeal to the O.T. was a useful missionary lever, and this is heightened by the absence of quotations in other letters. Thus again, the heritage of Judaism comes to Paul's help in his missionary enterprise.

With respect to the use of literature, we may take up and expand M. Etienne Trocome's suggestion that Romans may have

¹ Acts 13.15.

² Grant, RHNT, p. 105.

³ Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 11.

been written to give a sense of election and moral fibre to the Roman church which had been made to feel excluded from the Chosen People and were uncertain of what should be their moral conduct as Christians. "S'ils continuaient, comme cela devait être le cas pour beaucoup, à considérer Israël comme le Peuple élu, ils acquerraient une mentalité d'excommuniés, figés dans le regret du passé et incapables de reconstruire, surtout quand les anciens sympathisants d'origine païenne, habitués à se confiner dans un rôle effacé, formaient la majorité parmi eux."¹ Consequently, Romans was written to establish the church, and especially to set at ease the minds of Jewish Christians. This explanation fits in well with the contents of the letter to the end of chapter 15. Other letters also served Paul as a means of advancing the gospel and establishing Christians in their belief. Galatians is a passionate defence and appeal on behalf of the gospel. Colossians becomes a written sermon to establish the cosmic Christ in the face of a challenge which would alter the essential nature of salvation. Judaism, especially in the Dispersion, was familiar with literary work employed to present the claims of Judaism. The Sibylline Oracles is such a work. Josephus writes to explain and give a history of his ancient religion to the pagans; the work of Philo has a somewhat similar purpose. Beyond these examples, there are others closer to the experience of Paul. He had him-

¹ "L'Épître aux Romains et la méthode missionnaire de l'apôtre Paul", "New Testament Studies", 7(1961), 2, p. 152.

self secured letters of authorization from the High Priest to harass the Christians of Damascus; hence, they were a tool in his work as a persecutor of the church. A similar phenomenon complicated the church's life in Corinth, for it would appear that letters of recommendation were brought or asked for by some missionaries, perhaps Judaizers, by which to be authenticated.¹ In any event, the usefulness of letters by which to achieve a given purpose was well known to Paul from the Jewish and the Graeco-Roman world in which he worked.

Josephus in answer to Apion declares that "our actions are our invariable testimonials, plainer than any documents."² Mankind has probably always drawn conclusions from what they have seen others say and do, and thus the Jews probably witnessed as much as the devotees of Mithra. In any event, Paul and members of the early church also knew that when something was publicly exposed it was demonstrated and obvious to all. One of Paul's acknowledged methods was to make a public witness, or one open to the view of others. So Paul says he has publicly declared the crucifixion of Christ: "Who has bewitched you before whose eyes Jesus Christ was publicly declared (προεγράφη) as crucified?"³ A similar situation occurred in Athens where Paul went to the Aeropagus and there openly declared the crucified Christ.⁴ In prison Paul believes and is glad that his imprisonment makes a public witness: "I want you to know, brethren, that what has happened

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¹ I Cor. 3.1.

² Against Apion, 2.292.

³ Gal. 3.1b.

⁴ Acts 17.19ff.

to me has really served to advance the gospel, so that it has become known throughout the whole praetorian guard and to all the rest that my imprisonment is for Christ."¹

Paul's heated argument with Peter, although we have only one side of it, is based on the efficacy and impression of public action. Paul was alive to the danger when he said: "And with him the rest of the Jews acted insincerely ... even Barnabus."² Paul was especially conscious that, in declaring the gospel, one's behaviour was open to the closest scrutiny. For this reason, Paul "opposed him to his face." It is quite evident that Paul consciously employed the means of making a public witness to declare the gospel.

Another method which Paul professes to use is that of jealousy, although in this case it is primarily directed against his fellow Jews.³ He says to the Romans: "I magnify my ministry in order to make my fellow Jews jealous, and thus save some of them."⁴ As early as Deutero-Isaiah, jealousy is suggested as a lever to bring men to God:

"...nations that knew you not shall run to you, because of the Lord your God, and the holy One of Israel, for he has glorified you."⁵

Of course, Paul has or finds reversed what was expected: through the transgression of the Jews "salvation has come to the gentiles, so as to make Israel jealous."⁶

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¹ Phil. 1.12,13.

² Gal. 2.13.

³ Munck, PSM, p. 45.

⁴ Rom. 11.13b, 14.

⁵ Isa. 55.5.

⁶ Rom. 11.11.

How can Paul have arrived at this conclusion? The envy which Judaism expected of the gentiles can do no more than bring the idea of *τὸ παραζηλώσαι* to his mind. As in other features of the gospel, the opposite of what was expected is now true.¹ Paul thus can do little more than contrast. As for an effective missionary method, Paul may have sprung upon the method of jealousy because he tried to foster it, as he says, to win some or because he believed he saw the Jews becoming jealous of his work anyway, or simply as the divine purpose God has set forth for him to execute. Clearly, the pertinent passage in Rom. 11 is full of Paul's own interpretation. Paul believes God has initiated the method of jealousy and Paul is called to execute it; this is his premise. He may have believed that the Jews were jealous of him and not merely antagonistic as Acts would tend to make out.² From neither his letters nor from Acts do we see him pursuing a policy deliberately set to cause jealousy among the Jews. We do see him trying to convert them by preaching in the synagogue.³ Indeed, it is more the case to see that Paul exercised a positive ministry toward Jews, rather than a negative one as jealousy is, when he sought to be accommodating toward them - "I became as a Jew, in order to win the Jews."⁴ Moreover, Romans, which is a missionary document which may have been sent to make the Christians more receptive to his approaching visit to them,

1 "My power is made perfect in weakness." II Cor. 12.8.

2 Acts 13.50.

3 Acts 14. 1,2.

4 I Cor. 9.20.

sets forth his belief that the gospel is a message of salvation to be delivered first to the Jews.¹ The Jewishness of this letter is against a policy of promoting jealousy. However, it would appear from this distance that Paul's attempt to interpret has taken him into speculation which is much affected by the hope of Israel's restoration and the Jewish belief in the permanency of God's election of Israel as His chosen people. However, we are justified in listing jealousy as one of Paul's declared methods, even though it is difficult to test and illustrate.

David Daube brings to our attention two "missionary maxims" which Paul took from contemporary Judaism and applied to his own work.² The first is the idea of accommodation made by the evangelist or devotee to predispose unbelievers to be sympathetic to the gospel. Paul says in I Cor. : "to those under the law, I became as one under the law - though not being myself under the law - that I might win those under the law. To those outside the law I became as one outside the law... that I might win those outside the law. To the weak I became weak that I might win the weak. I have become all thing to all men, that I might by all means save some."³ The principle of accommodation is quite evident in this passage. Klausner rather disparages Paul's attempt to accommodate

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¹ Rom. 1.16.

² NTRJ, p. 336ff.

³ I Cor. 9. 20-22.

to would-be converts and calls it "clever schemes", the work of the "politician,"¹ Klausner leaves the impression of considerable bias, and he is very clear in believing that Paul had broken from Palestinian Judaism in more than one way.²

In the matter of accommodation, Daube makes the supported suggestion that the principle was "a living element in Jewish religion." Only toward the close of the first century A.D. did Judaism begin to close its ranks and make the entrance of converts more difficult. Before this, there was keen proselytizing by the Jews, and Hillel once seems to have admitted a convert with the greatest accommodation.³

The Tosephta records a saying which requests accommodation of outsiders: "Do not appear naked, do not appear dressed, do not appear laughing, do not appear weeping - as it is said, a time to weep and a time to laugh, a time to embrace and a time to refrain from embracing."⁴ Perhaps there is a suggestion of accommodation to local circumstances in Jesus' advice to his disciples that "where you enter a house, stay there until you leave the place."⁵ R. Meir quotes the proverb which may be much earlier than himself (mid second century A.D.): "If you come into a city, do according to

¹ From Jesus to Paul, p. 355-56.

² Ibid. p. 591.

³ Daube, NTRJ, p. 336ff.

⁴ Ibid. p. 337 with a quotation from Eccl. 3.4 included. It seems to me doubtful if Daube's examples of doing good among the heathen are to the point he principally emphasizes, p. 338.

⁵ Mark 6.9. Accommodation seems to be typical of Jesus himself who made no demand to have his feet washed. Cf. Luke 7.44ff.

their customs."¹ The "Derekh Eretz" literature (mid second century A.D.) has passages advising accommodation to converts: "Accommodate yourself to any type of people in order to convert them."² Daube thinks this sentiment has a long transmission perhaps out of a missionary setting. He fully expands the possibilities involved in a Jewish maxim of accommodation toward outsiders, but selecting some of the illustrations as we have done above, we hope they have been enough to show that the Jewish missionary cause practised accommodation at a time contemporary with Paul. It remains only to add it is clearly a principle for Paul, and he does not regard it as weakness. For example, in Rome some made an issue out of their vegetarian habits.³ Paul asks those who haven't scruples about food as the vegetarians have to take the stronger position and accommodate the weaker. This suggests that accommodation to Paul is a justifiable and effective standpoint. Earlier in the letter,⁴ accommodation is to the fore, not as in Chapter 14 which we quoted only to show that Paul makes no apology for accommodation, and not as an internal church matter, but in Chapter 12 accommodation is toward those outside the church.⁵ The ensuing discussion after verse 14 is clearly toward the non-believer, and the call to live in harmony ought not to be taken from the context. Had this passage been directed toward a church's

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¹ Daube, NTRJ, p. 339.

² Ibid. p. 340.

³ Rom. 14.1ff.

⁴ Rom. 12.14ff.

⁵ Daube, ibid. p. 341ff.

inner troubles, it is hard to conceive that Paul would have dealt so mildly with the problems. Rather Paul would have stressed the mending of the fences as he did with the quarreling women at Philippi.¹ The passage in Rom. 12 is concerned with consideration, accommodation, forgiveness, a lack of vengeance toward those outside the Christian community. Not always was Israel accommodating to the nations, but in the time of Paul, proselytizing among them had inevitably made Jewish allowance for gentile feelings and Paul shows signs of making a ready application of it. Moreover, like the Jews, accommodation was clearly made to serve a larger purpose. We should not forget the probable influence of the accommodation of Jews (Matt. 5.38ff). It can be said finally that in the expansion of any movement accommodation is very typical but when the time for consolidation occurs, the principle is easily discarded. So methods fluctuate.

Daube admits that the secondary missionary maxim drawn by Paul from Rabbinic Judaism - humility and service - is not really to be separated from accommodation. In the larger sense of service, accommodation consequently follows.² In Rom. 12.15,16 accommodation is followed by a call to "associate with the lowly." In I Cor. 9.19ff. the opposite is the sequence: humility followed by accommodation. Hillel called for a humility of service that was influential on

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¹ Phil. 4.2, 3.
² NTRJ, p. 346.

others. His converts said: "The meekness of Hillel brought us under the wings of the Shekhina."¹ He was more specific in saying, "Stoop to conquer unbelievers."² Daube records the humility of Gamaliel II in serving his fellow-scholars;³ it is most interesting that one of the guests, R. Zadok, "reminded the company that God himself served the creatures, good and bad, and even the worshippers of idols."⁴ This emphasis - the divine humility which gives universal service and which is of God's character - is parallel in some respects to the account in Philippians 2 where Paul expresses the belief that Christ humbled himself, became obedient, was justified in his service, and in consequence men are brought to acknowledge God. Now of course the passage exists primarily to call Christians to humility. The example is Christ's humility, and it is admittedly not for the purpose of enunciating a missionary maxim. But what Paul sees, he sees like R. Zadok does later, that men must imitate divine humility. In so rich a passage, Paul must have known that Christ's humility could be efficacious in and through Christian lives; Christ's humility bore meaning for all men. The humility of Rom. 12.16 - "associate with lowly; never be conceited" - and I Cor. 9.19 - "I have made myself as slave to all, that I might win the more" - set as they are in context with a missionary reference, have parallels with

¹ NTRJ, p. 346.

² Ibid. p. 347. R. Meir said: "Walk before every man in modesty and humility. Not only before your co-religionists, but before every man." H. Polano, The Talmud, p. 216.

³ Ibid. p. 347f. Late first century A.D.

⁴ Ibid. p. 348.

contemporary Judaism as we have shown. Further support is adduced by Daube¹ in showing that *κερδαίνω* (I Cor. 18.19) is related to the verb "histakker", a term used by the Rabbis in the sense of "to win over unbelievers or sinners". If this is so, as Daube shows,² then Paul uses a word familiar to the Rabbis where in it the idea of making oneself a servant to win others is present. He notices further that the use of *κερδαίνω* in the N.T.³ as "to win over" always has associated with it the sense of "humility as an instrument of conversion". This being so, the word is very familiar to the early church as indicative of the humility of service that wins others. Paul borrows this method from his Jewish contemporaries but has the more excellent inspiration of Christ's humility.

It may be stretching the scope of this section too far to include anything about baptism and Paul's relation to it. However, in the Christian enterprise the baptism of converts was very closely related to the event of conversion. The one merged into the other.⁴ Moreover, as P. Carrington, Davies, and Daube have shown, the features of Christian baptism are clearly dependent on current Jewish practices of proselytizing and baptizing converts. However, we are held back by Paul's conviction that to baptize was not part of his call.⁵ True as this appears to be, he was not prevented from referring to and reminding the converts what they

¹ NTRJ, p. 348.

² Ibid. p. 356.

³ I Peter 3.1, Matt. 18.15.

⁴ Acts 2.41; 8.13, 31-38.

⁵ I Cor. 1.14-17.

had learned: "Paul's manner of referring ... to baptism in order to enforce the ethical implications of dying and rising with Christ implies... that the Christian at baptism had been made aware of the moral nature of the new life upon which he was entering."¹ Of necessity Paul was engaged in baptismal instruction as part of the progress and stabilization of the mission. Certain preliminary matters are behind the following statement of his, a statement which strongly suggests his participation in baptismal instruction. "But I, brethren, could not address you as spiritual men, but as men of the flesh, as babes in Christ I fed you with milk, not solid food, for you were not ready for it; and even yet you are not ready, for you are still in the flesh."² There is in this an allusion to the elementary and beginning of the Christian life which was typified by baptism. Daube carries this discussion further³ to the extent that much which was characteristic of N.T. baptismal instruction was taken from Jewish instruction of proselytes. His discussion illumines some of Paul's words to show a similar foundation. The points showing a relationship with Judaism so as to suggest dependency are as follows. First, the convert came already disposed toward the tenets of the new religion. Before instruction, "Christian catechists, like the Tannaites, expected their pupils to be acquainted with the essence of the creed."⁴ Gentiles were drawn to the synagogues throughout the Graeco-

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¹ Davies, PRJ, p. 122, in reference to Rom. 6.3.

² I Cor. 3.1-3a. ³ NTRJ, p. 106ff. ⁴ Ibid. p. 116.

Roman world by its monotheism and high ethical standards, and to a unique degree by a religion of revelation and consequent authority.¹ After his growing acquaintance with the faith, a man came to seek circumcision, immersion or baptism and to make an offering in the temple.² As Daube and Moore record from Talmud and Midrash, he was then "tested" and taught. It is clear from Acts that numerous Christian converts came to be baptized already acquainted with some of the beliefs and equipment which Christianity inherited from Judaism and never discarded. We might expect such familiarity from the Jews.³ As well, Acts shows the sympathy and familiarity of the gentiles toward Paul's preaching dependent first upon connections with Judaism through the synagogue. Thus Paul received sympathetic reception from Titius Justus: "And he left" the synagogue "and went to the house of a man named Titius Justus: a worshipper of God; his house was next door to the synagogue."⁴ Paul's letters to the mixed churches of Galatia and Corinth indicate that the converts came into the Christian way partly knowledgeable, otherwise extensive O.T. quotation and proof would lack force. Apart from this evidence, a passage in Ephesians shows clearly that acquaintance was followed by instruction. There is a rebuke and warning against the sins of the gentiles, and then follows: "You did not so learn Christ - assuming that you heard (*ἤκούσατε*) about him and were taught (*ἐδιδάχθητε*) in him, as the truth is

Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1. p. 324.

Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 331. Daube, NTRJ, p. 106.

Acts 14.1; 18.8, 24.

Acts. 18.7.

in Jesus."¹ In view of what Paul says in the first four verses of Rom. 6, what follows in Eph. 4.22-24 to "put off the old nature" and "put on the new nature", baptism is the background of thought which the convert has been led up to through hearing and instruction. In summary, Paul like contemporary Jewish missionaries expected new converts to have already some acquaintance with the faith as they came to be baptized.

Secondly, Daube draws to our attention that a would-be proselyte was "tested" or asked a penetrating question before his instruction: "The person wishing to become a Jew 'at this time' should be asked whether he does not know that 'Israel at this time is broken down, pushed about, driven about and tossed about, and that sufferings befall them'. If he replies 'I know and am not worthy', no further tests are needed, but he should at once be admitted as a candidate and be taught."² This Rabbinic approach was for the purpose of testing the motive of the convert, and his attitude to Israel's suffering was indicative of his grasp of the special sense in which Israel saw God's treatment of her through suffering, and the unique relationship between God and Israel. Daube and Carrington are of the view that some such reference to "affliction and temptation" to the would-be Christian was part of the Christian catechism,³ in the knowledge that suffering and temptation fell on such very soon after conversion and it was a sign of a special relationship with the

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¹ Eph. 4.20-21.

² NTRJ, p. 113.

³ Ibid. p. 117.

divine. This is the direction of Paul's thought in Romans: "We rejoice in our sufferings, knowing that suffering produces endurance, and endurance produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not disappoint us, because God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which has been given to us."¹ I Thessalonians is more explicit. Acts informs us that the mission in Thessalonica was beset after three weeks by persecution of Paul and new converts.² Against this background Paul wrote: "You received the word in much affliction, with joy inspired by the Holy Spirit; so that you became an example to all believers in Macedonia and Achaia";³ and later "you suffered the same things from your own countrymen" as the Judean Christians did from the Jews.⁴ At first it seems then that commitment is made in the acknowledgment that suffering might be expected. In the question to the would-be Jew, emphasis was laid upon "at this time." The Rabbis, says Daube,⁵ meant by this expression the period of Israel's oppression (David to the "Messianic" era); "in the face of persecution; or at least, if they have no opportunity of documenting their faith in this way, their motives ought to be as sincere as if they were converts 'at this time', i.e. as if there were persecution." What the Rabbis were calling for then is right motivation and immediate loyalty.

(Hillel's attitude seems to bear this out in that his liberal

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¹ Rom. 5.3-5.
² Acts 17. 5ff.
³ I Thess. 1.6.
⁴ I. Thess. 2.14.
⁵ NTRJ, p. 118.

tendencies were to admit a convert desirous of affiliation and lead him forward to greater loyalty; but it is clear he attached conversion to a great principle and implied certain things from there.)¹ Now quite apart from the reference to persecution, we can see that the struggles in the Jewish mission enterprise was something to indicate immediate commitment and loyalty. This concern became also a part of Paul's mission, partly to distinguish the re-interpretation of the saving events as centred in Jesus as distinct from the saving events as Israel understood them, and more positively to distinguish the stand which the would-be Christian was now ready to take. Jewish missionaries wanted a profession of faith to open the gate for further instruction; so did the Christian missionary. This proximity was possible because the Christian mission sprang out of Judaism to a large degree. Thus Paul says, concerned about the primary motive: " 'The word is near you, on your lips and in your heart' (that is, the word of faith which we preach); because if you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved. For man believes with his heart and so is justified, and confesses with his lips and so is saved."² The admission that "Jesus is Lord",³ which is commonly recognized to be a key formula, is a profession of faith in the same spirit as that which the Rabbis sought even though a different subject

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¹ NTRJ, p. 109.

² Rom. 10.8-10.

³ Rom. 10.9. Phil. 2.11.

matter. Paul's inclusion of the formula shows he is less concerned about it as it is related to the event of baptism, but far more concerned that in point of religious development and conversion it be acknowledged that "Christ is Lord" as an immediate witness of a man's faith. If he can so profess his faith, he witnesses the Spirit's occupation of him.¹ Moreover, such a profession of faith is indicative that he has "heard", and his belief is manifest. The individual religious development which the Rabbis sought, Paul likewise enunciates if with different subject matter, so that on the basis of some acceptable profession of faith, steps might now be taken for further religious initiation and growth.

Possibly a third line of thought typical of Jewish baptism lies at the root of one of Paul's utterances: baptism is figuratively like rising from the dead. Daube gives examples from Rabbinic literature of how conversion was understood by the Hillel school:² conversion was like one "who separates himself from the uncircumcision", "who separates himself from the dead." "Proselytes are people who have risen from their graves." Positively, the Rabbis meant "a passage from death to life." Daube points out an additional Rabbinic teaching:³ on the emergence of the proselyte from baptism - "his coming up" - "a convert - even a female one, received by baptism alone - had the status of a new-born child."⁴ On the basis of subsequent legal decisions, this

¹ I Cor. 12.3.

² NTRJ, p. 109ff.

³ Ibid., p. 111ff.

⁴ Davies, PRJ, p. 119, quotes the following Rabbinic description: "whoever brings a heathen near to God and converts him is as though he had created him."

new status was not merely a whim but in fact taken very seriously. There are three things to note: the language had a figurative character pivoting on the thought of death-life; the objective sign was that the convert had become one of the circumcised, assuming that he was circumcised as well as baptized; the convert was regarded as truly a new being. The related passage from Paul is in Rom. 6: "Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life."¹ First of all it should be noted that "Did you not know" is a reminder suggesting that at a prior and elementary stage what follows in his words was clearly made known to converts to the Christian way. It is not unlikely with the immediate mention of baptism that the principle about to be enunciated in Rom. 6 was clearly and well known as part of baptismal instruction. As in the Rabbinic example, death and dying are used by Paul: verse 2 - ἀποθνήσκω; verse 4 - συνθάπτω περιπατέω. Thus far we can see a striking similarity between religious development of the convert and language used to describe it. However, in terms of objective reference, baptism is not related to life in the covenant of circumcision but to fellowship with Christ. Finally, in both Judaism and Paul's letters the convert has been described as entering a new state. The Rabbis called it new birth; Paul

¹ Rom. 6.3,4. A similar thought is in Col. 2.12: "You were buried with him in baptism."

is more cautious with "newness of life" or "new creation"; in any event, they recognize a new person upon baptism. It is essential to realize that "dying and rising" in Rom. 6 was an experience related to Christian baptism, and probably beyond this to proselyte conversion and baptism. Paul assents to the imagery although it has its own relation to Christ's death with meaning quite different from the Rabbis. Possibly Paul may no longer have the Jewish pattern in mind, but has instead, first and over-poweringly, the pattern of Jesus' death and resurrection in mind. "He who has been baptized into Christ", says Nygen, "has thereby been received into a real fellowship of death and life with him."¹ Nonetheless, the Rabbinic pattern is similar enough to be part of the baptismal milieu of thought in the mind of the early church and of Paul.

Paul's ethics or moral teaching formed part of his missionary plan, and this is partly so out of practical necessity² compared with the fact that in Judaism proper a high morality was taken for granted. This was not always so in the churches which Paul founded among the gentiles. There was the recurring danger of antinomianism.³ After vividly enumerating the works of the flesh, Paul gave a warning to the Galatians which he had found necessary to give before, perhaps in the initial period of instruction: "I warn you, as I warned you before, that those who do such

¹ Romans, p. 232.

² Beare, St. Paul and His Letters, p. 141ff.

³ Davies, PRJ, p. 111f.

things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God."¹ In the strictest language, Paul had to warn the Christians of the licentious city of Corinth to "shun immorality."² Having received a gospel of freedom, some Corinthian converts supposed they could eat food offered to idols without regard to the feelings and weakness of others, so Paul warned: "Only take care lest this liberty of yours somehow become a stumbling block to the weak."³ Like so much else, Paul's ethics were molded by several influences: the ethical teaching of Jesus,⁴ the present events and eschatological expectations of the Parousia,⁵ and very prominently the ethics of Judaism⁶ in which we are most interested.

From I Cor. 13 it is evident that Paul regarded love as the supreme virtue or ethic; it is the greatest attribute of the *Christian* life. It is the gift or possession or quality which outlasts all others. It is to be the most desired of all the gifts the Spirit can endow. If the law is to be reduced to single comprehensive thought, "he who loves his neighbour has fulfilled the law"; all the commandments may be "summed up in this sentence, 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself.' Love does no wrong to a neighbour; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law."⁷ Because Paul saw

1 Gal. 5.21.

2 I Cor. 6.18.

3 I Cor. 8.9.

4 Rom. 12.4. Davies, PRJ, p. 136. Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 157, 214.

5 I Cor. 7.8, 26. Schoeps, Paul, p. 230.

6 Davies, ibid. p. 112ff. Schoeps, ibid. p. 210. Deissmann, Paul, p. 207.

7 Rom. 13.8-10.

love as the fulfilling of the law which is "holy and just and good,"¹ and because he regarded love as a gift of the Spirit,² because love is something taught by God,³ because love is what God has poured out in Christ,⁴ and because Christ's love becomes the example for interpersonal relations,⁵ love is not a maxim of moral philosophy but a general principle of revelation. It is commanded of or given to man by divine authority. Because Paul believed that love is God's character,⁶ so the character of conduct is set for men. He has not departed from contemporary Judaism which held love to be the fundamental ethical principle of revealed religion. The Rabbis sought a single comprehensive statement of religion, so Simeon the Righteous had this motto: "By three things is the world sustained: by the law, by the (temple) service, and by deeds of loving-kindness."⁷ Moore translates the last words as charity, and explains, "Charity is personal service and helpfulness to fellowmen, the active expression of the love enjoined in Lev. 19.18. The great exemplar is God himself,"⁸ Hillel called the loving of mankind a cardinal rule.⁹ R. Akiba said that to love one's neighbour was the most comprehensive rule in the law;¹⁰ he recognized further that this was God's disposition toward

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¹ Rom. 7.12.

² I Cor. 12.31 - 13.13.

³ I Thess. 4.9.

⁴ Rom. 8.35, 39.

⁵ Eph. 5.25.

⁶ Rom. 8.

⁷ Mishnah, Aboth 1.2.

⁸ Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 85.

⁹ Mishnah, Aboth 1.12.

¹⁰ Moore, ibid. Vol. 2, p.85.

man.¹ Paul reasserted the principle in a new way, but he did not depart from Judaism which had long been familiar with the same admonition.

To Paul, a manifestation of Christian love found expression in the proposed gift to the stricken church in Jerusalem.² Of the several ways in which Paul interpreted the giving of contributions to the Christian poor of Jerusalem, he assured the Corinthians that their contribution would be a manifestation of their love; "So give proof, before the churches, of your love..."³ In relating charity to love, Paul was quite in keeping with Judaism. Moore quotes the Rabbinic literature: "Almsgiving and deeds of loving-kindness are equal to all the commandments of the law. Almsgiving is exercised to the poor, deeds of loving-kindness to the poor and rich: almsgiving is done with a man's money, deeds of loving-kindness either with his money or personality." Moore adds, "In all these the superiority of deeds of loving-kindness is affirmed. Almsgiving itself is requited (by God) only in proportion to the love that there is in it."⁴ Apart from the motivation of love in charity, both Judaism and Paul acknowledged God's pleasure with the giver. Says Paul, "God loves a cheerful giver. And God is able to provide you with every blessing in abundance, so that you may always have enough of everything and may provide in abundance for every good work."⁵ In this Paul is clearly related to Deut. 15.10

¹ Mishnah, Aboth 3.15.

² II Cor. 8, 9. Rom. 15.25-27. Acts 24.17.

³ II Cor. 8.24.

⁴ Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 171ff.

⁵ II. Cor. 9.7b, 8.

where it is declared that God's blessing comes on the giver and makes generosity more possible. The Rabbis expanded on the theme.¹ A third emphasis in Paul's promotion of this gift for the Jerusalem poor is its communal aspect; he called on several churches to give generously.² That it is an organized effort is evident from the assignment of Titus to make the collections or some of them,³ and in addition some others are engaged in the effort.⁴ Moore informs us that contemporary Judaism had a system of public charity, thus it was not left solely to individual responsibility.⁵ The Sanhedrin had some interest at least in providing burial place for people of various types.⁶ The temple authorities made collections for the poor.

In speaking of Paul's attitude toward marriage, at first sight his approach is really quite incredible. This is largely due to his expectation that the Parousia would dissolve the state of marriage,⁷ and men and women would neither be taken nor be given in marriage,⁸ and the celibate state was best able to withstand the "impending distress."⁹ The seventh chapter of I Cor. reflects Paul quite possessed by his eschatological expectations, but time and time again he

1 Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 168. Polano, The Talmud, p.293-4.

2 II Cor. 8.3.

3 II Cor. 8.6.

4 II Cor. 8.18ff.

5 Ibid. Vol. 2, p.164, 174. For the efforts of the synagogues, see Schurer, JPJC, 2. 2: p. 66.

6 Matt. 27.7,8. Robinson, St. Matthew, p. 225.

7 Which will confirm that such a state as circumcision, slave and marriage will be abolished. I Cor. 7.17-24.

8 The forms of this world will pass away. I Cor. 7.31. Cf. Mark 12.25.

9 I Cor. 7.1,8,26.

was almost jerked back to reason and sanity. Paul is clearly "all over the place at once". He was unable to go so far as to say that marriage didn't matter, but he asked the Corinthians to act and pretend as though it didn't exist. He was held back by the view of Jesus and the Rabbis who declared that marriage was a divine ordinance.¹ His belief that the marriage bond was sacred, and immorality and adultery were an infringement of it, probably rested on similar ground. Paul and Josephus were in agreement about the authority of a husband over his wife and the seriousness of any kind of violation of the sanctity of marriage.² Paul retained the severity of the Jewish courts in handling cases of immorality.³ In connection with divorce, in I Cor. 7.10,11 Paul shows his familiarity with and employment of Jewish practice.⁴ He uses the intransitive $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ of the wife who may "separate" herself from her husband but cannot be the party to actually divorce the other; and he uses $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$ which is transitive of the husband who can divorce his wife. Josephus acknowledged this to be the law: a man may divorce his wife, but a woman can do no more, strictly speaking, than separate herself;⁵ however, under certain circumstances, a woman can take proceedings to effect divorce although it is then ruled that the man (even if unwilling) has made the divorce.

Moore's description of Jewish divorce permits us to say that

1 Mark 10.2-9. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 119.

2 Against Apion, 2.199-203.

3 I Cor. 5.1,2. Cf. Mishnah, Sanhedrin, 7.4.

4 Daube, NTRJ, p. 362ff.

5 Antiquities 15.7.10.

again Paul had instructed his converts along Jewish lines.¹ It is evident at the same time that Paul had converts who were under Roman or Greek law concerning divorce; consequently he took some account of the woman's right to make divorce.² Finally, his sensibility and maturity come to the fore in Colossians and Ephesians where he seeks to strengthen family life.³

We observed earlier that Paul was taught a trade in his youth. Years later, in writing to the Thessalonians, he admonished them to continue to work. Part of the "tradition" or "instruction" (παράδοσις) which Paul gave first to them he implies was not one which encouraged idleness, but encouraged working in such a manner to deserve a living. Judaism considered, like Paul, that work was essential and noble. Paul himself set an example. The Rabbis often combined their studies with manual work.⁴ The Pharisees were commonly traders, craftsmen, etc. who combined work with piety and obedience to the law. Shemaiah's advice was "Love labour and hate mastery and seek not acquaintance with the buling power."⁵ It would appear that Paul's eschatology never took him so far from the practicalities which, as Moore observes,⁶ were characteristic of Judaism in attempting to make the law applicable in a reasonable sense. Paul remained with Judaism in the knowledge that daily work was valuable for several reasons.

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1 Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 122ff.
 2 I Cor. 7.13. Daube, NTRJ, p. 364.
 3 Col. 3.18ff.. Eph. 5.21ff.
 4 Mishnah, Aboth 2.2. 5 Ibid. Aboth 1.10. 6 Ibid. p.31.

In connection with slavery, Paul appears to maintain the "status quo". In particular he does not advocate its abolition. In advice to the Colossians, he asks for the single-minded obedience of the slaves,¹ and for masters to show just treatment toward their slaves.² The element which Paul introduces to this discussion is the same as governs marriage: if a slave, be content with your station, in fact it is your relationship with Christ which counts; this relationship diminishes the importance of the station of slavery altogether.³ Faith in Christ and the ensuing relationship is of primary importance, and Paul applies this to the social order. Toward pagan slaves such consideration was shown by Judaism so that there were several rules for their inclusion into Israel.⁴ This was complemented by the Pharisaic "tendency to make the slave's personality equal with that of the free man's,"⁵ this opinion having arisen out of controversy with the Sadducees over the implications of a doctrine of human equality. Examples of good relations between a Jew and his slave are not wanting.⁶ In the letter to Philemon, the Jewish and Christian elements concerning slavery emerge. Paul knows and seeks to observe the recognized rules of ownership; practically, it was impossible to ignore Philemon's right over Onesimus and a doctrine of

1 Col. 3.22.

2 Col. 4.1.

3 Gal. 3.28: "There is neither slave nor free."

4 Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 136.

5 Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 283.

6 "Gamaliel II" Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 5, p. 561:

Gamaliel II showed great consideration for his slaves. Berakoth 2.7 records this of him that he said on Tabi's death: "My slave Tabi was not like other slaves; he was a worthy man."

equality was not easily worked out in the existing social order. Thus the letter was marked with reserve. From both Jewish and Christian standpoints consideration toward Onesimus as a slave could be counselled, because both valued the man as God (in Christ) valued him. But whatever may motivate an appeal for consideration and however Paul may declare the principle of human equality, he knows that Philemon retained the right to discipline Onesimus. Thus he tactfully suggests he be forgiven,¹ and in a spirit of accommodation offers to be charged with the sum of the theft.² Discipline of slaves was familiar in the Graeco-Roman world, and the sage of Sirach openly counselled punishment when the slave disobeyed.³ Thus although Paul approaches Philemon tactfully, without presumption and in appeal to his spiritual debts, he cannot have been ignorant of the duties of slaves and the rights of masters, especially as they are so clearly evident in the accompanying letter to Colossae.

As a last example of Paul's ethics, which have clear Jewish influence, we select his attitude to rulers. Rom. 13.1ff. is the principal passage. It contains the principal Pharisaic or Rabbinic attitudes. As with the latter so with Paul; "Fidelity to their religion and the authority of the interpreters of the law" (or in Paul's case, the authority of Christ and his apostles) "had completely displaced political loyalty and the sense of civic duty."⁴ Like the

¹ Philemon 15-17.

² Philemon 18.

³ Ecclus. 33.28.

⁴ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 113.

Pharisees, Paul counselled submission to the ruling power.¹ The ruler was under the appointment and authority of God;² to him was given the heavy hand of authority to measure out and execute justice.³ One must fulfill the demands of the state.⁴ There is no question or discussion about the bad or persecuting ruler. The passage gives the impression of standard, uncontroversial, ethical instructions, commonly dispensed among new converts. Its basis is in the enunciation of one Jewish solution to the problem of foreign domination of Israel. Characteristic of the Jewish political struggle was the desire from Saul onward to be politically as well as religiously independent. The Maccabean revolt whetted the Jewish appetite for independence but adventurism and intrigue disillusioned the Pharisaic movement into a withdrawal of its support of the militaristic movement. Accompanying the political hope was the prophetic interpretation of events of which the Pharisees were the heirs. Jeremiah, in a moment of Judah's great crisis, counselled submission to Nebuchadnezzar,⁵ and in writing to the exiles said "Seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare."⁶ The theme of submission is common in the Wisdom literature: says the sage of the Wisdom of Solomon to the rulers: "Your dominion was

1 Rom. 13.1.
 2 Rom. 13.1.
 3 Rom. 13.2-5.
 4 Rom. 13.6,7.
 5 Jer. 27.6,7.
 6 Jer. 29.7.

given you from the Lord, and your sovereignty from the Most High, who will search out your works and inquire into your plans."¹ Josephus informs us that the Essene view was that rulers had their authority from God.² Typical of the Rabbinic attitude is R. Hanina's (A.D. 66) words: "Pray for the welfare of the government, for if it were not for the fear of it, men would swallow one another up alive."³ The Talmud accords to R. Judah that he gave credit to the Romans for their work.⁴ "Pray for the peace of the ruling power," reports the Mishnah.⁵ In the time of Hadrian, R. Jose ben Kisma was of the opinion that once again God was favouring the foreign power.⁶ So prominent is the view that God had appointed rulers, even in times of persecution of the faithful, that it is clear enough that Paul shared a common Pharisaic view. Probably on the basis of verses 6 and 7 he was aware of Jesus' decision⁷ about the payment of taxes and believed it in keeping with Pharisaic belief and practice; there was no problem in Jesus' decision.

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¹ Wis. of Sol. 6.3. Cf. Prov. 8.15. Eccl. 10.4.

² The Jewish War, 2.8.140.

³ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 114.

⁴ Polano, The Talmud, p. 276.

⁵ Aboth 3.2.

⁶ Moore, ibid. Vol. 2, p. 114.

⁷ Mark 12.13ff.

CHAPTER SIX

JEWISH INFLUENCES ON PAUL'S
UNDERSTANDING OF GOD

Like the Rabbis,¹ there was for Paul no question of the existence of God. The only place where he might have mentioned such a question is in the introductory verses of Romans, and even there his discussion moves away from any such consideration. Speaking of gentiles, he says, "For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them. Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made. So they are without excuse."² It is quite inconceivable that Paul's theology could have proceeded from a basis which might have been troubled by doubt of God's existence. Such a consideration may have been an unfamiliar one; at any rate, it was far too small a category. A difficulty does occur, however, when we try to find out what Paul does believe about God. There is no separate or uniform statement about his belief.³ Some of this lack of doctrinaire statement may be partly due to the Jewish neglect or disinterest in formal doctrines; it is absent chiefly because what remains of Paul's thought is enclosed in letter form, not treatise, and the frequent pastoral occasion of these letters has left little room for dissertations. This does not mean we cannot know what Paul understood about God. Klausner is misleading

¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 359.

² Rom. 1.19,20. Cf. the Sib. Or. 4.10ff. which in a similar manner to Paul's declare to the Hellenistic world God's holiness (invisibility and deity) and power, and then go on to inveigh against idolatry.

³ Deissmann, Paul, p. 187. Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 216ff.

in saying that Paul blurred the role and unity of God when he described the nature of Jesus Christ, as though God were lost in Christ.¹ Paul's basic concern in Romans was to expound on the righteousness of God revealed in Christ - a kind of vindication of God. His message was that God had declared his righteousness through Christ in relation to the law and sin. Far from having robbed God, Paul's largest framework of thought has been to consider what God had done in the Christ event. "The head of Christ is God."² "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself."³ From this Paul was compelled to direct his attention to the significance of Christ, and make his thought Christologically centred.

Paul presupposes the importance of a knowledge of God. It is almost the case that whether men acknowledge it or not, human affairs are essentially God-oriented. Every area of life and thought - history, the supernatural, ethics, sin - in the end have reference to God, knowledge of whom rests on Paul's faith that God was revealed in Jesus Christ. The possibility of revelation itself rests on Hebraic-Judaic foundations, but at the same time, we see Paul's sensitiveness to the Hellenistic mind which sought to know God by deduction and inference. Paul argues that the gentiles might have perceived God through the natural order of things,

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¹ Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p. 469.
² I Cor. 11.3.
³ II Cor. 5.19.

so they are without excuse.¹ This spirit of accommodation also comes out in Galatians: "You have come to know God..."; in the same sentence he corrects himself in such a way to show the dominance of his Hebraic thinking: "rather to be known by God."² With a typical Hebrew mind, he believes that God participates in human affairs to reveal that to which men are to respond and correspond. In the early chapters of Romans, Paul speaks like a Jew who would make the assumption that God had made Himself known.³ The Rabbis taught that God had revealed Himself.⁴ It is possible, as Schechter suggests, that in advancing the pre-existence of the Torah revelation had become a necessity to the Rabbinic mind;⁵ yet the prophets long before knew that revelation brought knowledge. To the Jew and to Paul, a revelation of God was an act of grace.⁶ Revelation was always embodied for them: the Jew knew God through Scripture⁷ and Torah;⁸ for Paul the embodiment of revelation was not only in Scripture, but especially in Christ.⁹ The point we wish to emphasize is that Paul and the Jews believed that knowledge of God was through embodied revelation.

Glover goes too far in saying that "God became unthinkable for Paul except as revealed in Christ."¹⁰ The context

1 Rom. 1.20.
 2 Gal. 4.9.
 3 Dodd, Romans, xxx.
 4 Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 249, 359.
 5 Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 128.
 6 Schechter, ibid. p. 133. Gal. 1.15, 16.
 7 Moore, ibid., Vol. 1, p. 115, 359.
 8 Schechter, ibid. p. 127f.
 9 Gal. 1.16.
 10 Paul of Tarsus, p. 89.

of what Glover writes is an attempt to grasp the immensity of the work of God in Christ; the Cross was immensely revealing about God. We will agree that "there was no truer or more essential revelation of God." However, in so perceiving God at the Cross, Paul did not also have to drop everything which he had learned about God by other means than Christ. The love of God in Christ had not abrogated His love for Israel. This truth Paul already believed - it may have been in his mind when he sought to defend Israel by persecution - and the love manifest through Christ made him feel assured that God still loved Israel, and would love her again. The love of God in Christ confirmed in a dynamic way what Israel dogmatically believed. "God has the power to graft them in again."¹ "All Israel will be saved."²

Paul did not arrive at such views of God by first and solely meditating on Christ. Similarly, the righteousness of God or His vindication were subjects with which Paul was probably acquainted. The entrance of Christ into human affairs complemented a doctrine of God in a most magnificent and decisive way. Paul's past knowledge of God was now brought by the Christ event into an immediate and decisive situation.

Deissmann is probably right that piety and "other living elements of Jewish religion" contributed to Paul's knowledge of God.³ Piety in its largest sense meant the invasion of religion into the whole of life; in the narrowest

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¹ Rom. 11.23.
² Rom. 11.26.
³ Paul, p. 188.

sense it meant religion in private life: prayer, fasts, faith and chastisement. Depending as piety often did on the worship of the synagogue, it is likely that Paul learned about God in its religious practices. The instruction in and practise of prayer in the synagogue must have created a knowledge of what kind of prayer was acceptable. Thus he learned thanksgiving,¹ supplication² and intercession.³ Experience brought a knowledge of God. Apparently on a visit to Corinth, Paul was humiliated during a controversy within the Church, and the possibility of the same happening again⁴ prompted him to observe that the experience of humiliation was instructive. "Seeing that humiliation is wholesome for him, he accepts it as coming from God's hand."⁵ Thus he grasped God's dealing with him. The Pharisee of the Psalms of Solomon has a similar perspective: the experience of the times, its suffering and humiliation, were a sign of God's displeasure and chastisement. For both, then, experience was regarded as a teacher of God's dealings. God sought man's obedience and love; He disciplined; He acted justly.

It remains to be pointed out that Paul perceived God as he was revealed in Scripture. His extensive quotation of the Old Testament was on the assumption that God had spoken

¹ Rom. 1.8.

² Phil. 4.6.

³ "Pray for us."

⁴ II Cor. 12.21.

⁵ Plumer, II Corinthians, p. 369.

and revealed Himself authoritatively in it. The Rabbis had the same view.¹ Paul was probably fully orthodox in confining his quotations to the recognized canon of Pentateuch, Prophets and Hagiographa. He "assumed God to be knowable, and to have character, and character which had been ascertained. And that character ... was no other than that which had been made known through the prophetic schools of Israel." "He was justified in the conviction that the Christian message with which he was entrusted was the fulfillment of an age-long process, the outline of which had been disclosed in the Old Testament; it was indeed ultimately the outcome of the character of God as it had been revealed to Paul's Jewish forefathers."² Accidentally, Paul on one occasion defined part of his knowledge of God; he spoke of Him as Creator, and in doing so indicated his Jewish theological foundation. "They exchanged the truth about God for a lie and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever! Amen."³ Teachers of the Graeco-Roman world approached such consideration metaphysically, quite unlike the Jews who saw the world as a religious work, and especially as the result of the work of One who was a moral agent. "When God was spoken of as maker of heaven and earth, difficulty would be caused for men of philosophic education, for they commonly held that matter

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¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 236.

² Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 7-8.

³ Rom. 1.25. The context implies that the Creator had also made his moral will known.

was pre-existent; but they could in practice interpret this as 'shaper of matter into heaven and earth'."¹ Thus although some link might be found between Jews and pagans, for the Jews God the Creator was an independent, moral agent, and this in turn was fundamentally an article of faith, not a philosophic proposition. The prophets declared their belief that God was Creator.² The Rabbis found the doctrine in Genesis, as we might expect,³ and the apocalyptic literature repeated the theme.⁴ To a student like Paul, Scripture must have made familiar the idea that God was sole Creator and was moral in this activity.

Of course, it is true that Paul perceived God through Christ. No one denies this, nor that it had become the most prominent means. Through Christ, God was One loving, forgiving, pleading through the gospel. Says Luther interpreting Paul: "For in Christ we see that God is not a cruel exactor, or judge, but a most favourable, loving, and merciful Father, who, to the end that He might bless us, that is, deliver us from the law, sin, death, and all evils, and might endue us with grace, righteousness, and everlasting life, 'spared not his own Son, but gave Him up for us all' (Rom. 8.32). This is a true knowledge of God, and a divine persuasion, which deceiveth us not."⁵ For Paul, Christ had boldly set forth

¹ Nock, Conversion, p. 232.

² Isa. 40. 21ff.

³ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 380. And also from the prophets:

⁴ Mishnah, Aboth 6.11.

⁵ Enoch 69. 16ff.

Galatians, p. 255.

the nature of God. History and training had provided him with certain facts about God, which were now remoulded under the influence of Christ. Paul could quite easily have loved Torah before his conversion, and had much joy in seeking to fulfill it, and thus felt his response to God complete. Now, through Christ, God showed an unimagined relevance to mankind. From a real encounter his understanding of God was re-formed. In Christ, knowledge of God was made concrete. "For I am sure that 'nothing' will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord."¹ Paul had a religious quest; he was the object of a divine awakening, and through Christ he knew the living God.

It might be helpful to remember that confusion is often created by relating God and Christ in the wrong way. Klausner misunderstands Paul by suggesting that in relating Christ to deity God was blurred. Similarly Lightfoot may mislead us in his discussion of Col. 1.15ff, a passage where confusion may easily arise; he says: "The Person of Christ is described first in relation more especially to Deity as εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου,"² In fact, the relationship to deity here is not the primary concern. Paul's mind worked along the lines of functionary fulfillment: Christ was, in fact, fulfilling the work of God in several ways, variously expressed. This passage provides a good example of terms usually applied to God; when applied to

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¹ Rom. 8.38-39.

² St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon,
p. 144.

Christ they have no purpose of emptying the character or function of God, but rather show how God in Christ has been at work in His creation. The polemic background to the passage caused Paul to insist that the fulness of God was in Christ. In the Colossian church, it was heretically held by some that certain spirits were "organized in a celestial hierarchy, with titles to denote their several ranks - 'thrones...dominions...principalities...authorities' (1.16). They are taken to have important functions as mediators between man and the highest divinity, which is, as it were, unfolded in them; in their totality they constitute the pleroma ('fulness', 1.19; 2.9) - the full complement of divine activities and attributes."¹ Peake says the angel powers have had assigned to them "a false position in the work of redemption and a false relation to the Church."² Against this Paul had to contend since the work and person of Christ was thereby undermined. Thus "the passage does not deal with the eternal relations of the Son to the Father, but with the son's relations to the universe and the Church."³ A true understanding of the polemic factors undermines any claim that God has been replaced by Christ. The same perspective is observable when Christ is related to the created universe. Paul says of Jesus: "in him all things were created, ... all things were created through him and for him."⁴ On the one

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 Beare, IB, Vol. 11, "Colossians," p. 138.

Peake, The Expositor's Greek Testament, Vol. 3, p. 506.

Ibid, p. 502. Beare, ibid. p. 163, 167.

Col. 1.16.

hand, Paul believes the totality of all things created find their significance of being created in Christ, or since Christ expressed the mind of God, the totality of all things created find their significance of being created in God. On the other hand, it is from Christ that we may know the end of creation. As expressing the mind of God, Christ is the beginning and the end. Half the difficulty, as Beare says about this verse, is that we are obsessed by a mechanical view of the universe. Paul dealt with a whole or complete world of material and spiritual, and in his view Christ was by the power of God brought into relation with it. In relation to the created world, Paul believed that Christ indicated God's intention, mediation and completion. In relation to humanity, Christ was "the nucleus of a redeemed humanity - the Christian church."¹ In summary, Paul says *πάν το πλήρωμα* of God was pleased to dwell in Christ,² and with this general expression he moved on to the particular subject of his answer, and indeed to express the foremost content of his gospel: that through Christ, God acted and in him dwelt to reconcile earth and heaven to Himself. Again to quote Beare: "The thought is not of his universal immanence, but of his living presence in a personal relationship of love and trust: where God 'dwells', he manifests himself as God, bringing salvation."³ Peake travels along the same line of

¹ Col. 1.18. Beare, IB, p. 167.

² Col. 1.19.

³ Ibid. Vol. 11, p. 171.

Paul's monotheism - the polytheism of the Graeco-Roman world similarly setting it off. Moreover, even in giving reason for his monotheism, Paul stood on Jewish ground. "Jewish monotheism was reached through the belief that the will of God for righteousness is supreme in the history of the world; one will rules it all to one end - the world as it ought to be."¹ This view is implicit in Rom. 1-3: Paul could only describe man's sinfulness on the condition that what man ought to be and to do was revealed by God and known by man. Righteousness was the character God had shown: sinfulness was what man had shown. Historically, Paul shared a monotheism traceable to God's past involvement with Israel: ethical monotheism was a part of and a consequence of the prophetic messages.² In Paul's time, this had developed into the doctrine that one God had given the law through Moses for all Israel to keep. Such were Paul's first lessons in monotheism.³ It was his conversion that gave additional force to his belief in moral monotheism;⁴ it was an experiential fact that "the righteousness of God had been manifested" in Christ⁵ who at the same time was made "our righteousness".⁶

How far can we speak of Paul being concerned with the unity of God as a tenet of his belief? Furthermore, what

¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 361.
² Scott, The Relevance of the Prophets, p. 106.
³ Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 34-5.
⁴ Dibelius, Paul, p. 60.
⁵ Rom. 3.21.
⁶ I Cor. 1.30.

is meant by this expression? It appears as though the phrase means often the equivalent of monotheism. If any distinction is to be made it probably must be made along the lines that "the unity of God" suggests the divine being in a metaphysical sense; while monotheism is more often associated with the religious, non-intellectual development of the idea of deity in Israel. However, Guignebert,¹ Knox² and Beare³ all speak of the unity of God as a matter of concern in Judaism. In the literature of Hellenistic Judaism the unity of God was a suitable phrase to describe the understanding of God found there. There is little of Rabbinic personalization in this quotation from *Ecclus.*:

"Though we speak much we cannot reach the end,
and the sum of our words is: 'He is all.'"⁴

The apocalyptic Sibylline Oracles maintain the unity of God with a Hellenistic touch of the abstract: "There is one sovereign God, ineffable, whose dwelling is in heaven, self sprung, unseen yet seeing all himself alone."⁵ Moore quotes Philo who more clearly stresses the unity of God in metaphysical terms: "God is sole, and one, not composite, a simple nature, while everyone of us, and of all other created things, is many."⁶ As we have said before, the Rabbinic

¹ The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus, p. 89ff.

² SFCG, p. 52f.

³ "The Canadian Journal of Theology", Vol. 8, No. 3, July 1962, p. 199. See also Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 64.

⁴ Ecclus. 43.27.

⁵ Sib. Or. 3.11,12. Similarly, although of a late date, is 4.6ff. which is a contrast with idolatry.

⁶ Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 361.

perception of God was not in speculative or metaphysical terms,¹ and this is so whether we speak of the unity of God or monotheism. The predominant feature was to think of Him personally and anthropomorphically. Moreover, his moral will for men dissuaded metaphysical consideration, and this factor is that to which Hellenistic Jewish writers repeatedly come back. Müller may be right in expressing the view that apocalyptic thought weakened the strict monotheism of Judaism.² It may seem that the activity of the divine court of competing, fallen and supporting "angelic" powers divide the activity of God. Actually, such creations were allowed to exist alongside of other divine phenomena like the Presence, Memra, etc., but only in the sense of subordination to God who was One, alone, and absolutely supreme. Whatever or whoever belonged to the divine court or was a messenger of God had existence only because God created it. Paul's allowance for angels³ was in keeping with the allowance made by his Jewish contemporaries. His discussion in Colossians reflects his subordination of spiritual hosts. If strict monotheism was weakened by apocalyptic influence, this was the case for Paul and his Palestinian contemporaries, except perhaps for the Sadducees. Paul's view of God was too personal and unspeculative to admit the use of the phrase "the unity of God." Nevertheless, his exposition of

¹ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 361. Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 178ff.

² A History of Jewish Mysticism, p. 39.

³ Gal. 3. 19, 20.

the gospel - his suggestion of Father, Son and Spirit - tended to open the field, especially for Greek Christians, for later ideas of the unity of the Godhead.¹ Since Paul was principally interested in God's act of reconciliation he was not concerned about the issue of God's unity. If he had been, he would probably have argued that his God was the same One who in former times revealed Himself to Israel through the prophets, was the present God of Israel, the same Father who had revealed Himself now in Christ.

It was unavoidable that the Greek vocabulary used by Paul would sooner or later be seen to have slightly different meanings than Hebrew vocabulary. The problem of translation beset not only the work behind the Septuagint but probably the problem of communication in Paul's missionary work. The language of the Greeks which clothed Jewish religion in the LXX slightly altered meanings represented by the Hebrew. Paul used such distinctly Greek words as these: *ἀόρατα*,² *ἀϊδιος*,³ *ἀφθάρτων*,⁴ *μορφῆς*.⁵ Not only were these words in abundant use in Greek literature and in popular speech, they were fairly commonly used in the literature of Hellenistic Judaism: the LXX, the Wisdom of Solomon, Maccabees, and the Sibylline Oracles. His use of them, however, lacks the speculative interest of one who might attempt to rationally

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¹ As an example, Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho.

² Rom. 1.20.

³ Rom. 1.20.

⁴ Rom. 1.23.

⁵ Phil. 2.6,7.

know the character of God. We have a good example in Rom. 1.20ff. of how he passed quickly to consider the moral implications of the God who had revealed Himself. God had meaning because He defined man's situation. This passage moves along on the Jewish assumption that all men, pagans included, have known what was the moral will of God. Whatever world of thought, therefore, these words come from, they were conditioned by Hebraic-Judaic religious thought.

A phase of Paul's monotheism is that the God who is One and alone is also universal. This is implied in Rom. 1 and 2 where the one, true God has made known to all men his will for righteousness.¹ God's universality is evident in the reminder to the Thessalonians that they "turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God."² Paul applied God's universalism to resolve the problem of eating food offered to idols, in which he said that "although there may be so-called gods in heaven or on earth - as indeed there are many 'gods' and many 'lords' - yet for us there is one God"³ The universalism of God he found in Christ resolved for him the Jewish conflict with the gentiles: "there is neither Jew nor Greek."⁴ There is "one God and Father of us all."⁵ Universalism implied in monotheism was familiar and axiomatic to Judaism, a clear parent to Paul in this. Schechter quotes a Rabbinic interpretation of Deut. 6.4

(The Shema): "He is our God by making his name particularly

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¹ Rom. 1.18-20.
² I Thess. 1.9.
³ I Cor. 8.5-6.

⁴ Gal. 3.28.
⁵ Eph. 4.6.

attached to us; but He is also the one God of all mankind."¹ Theologically, the Rabbis had received the view of God's universalism from the teaching of the prophets of whom Zechariah can be taken as an example: "And the Lord will become king over all the earth: on that day the Lord will be one and his name one."² Part of Paul's view of God's universality was born out of his Jewish heritage of monotheism.

At the beginning of this study of the origins of Paul's thought, it was said that Paul's belief about God distinguished him from his Graeco-Roman contemporaries. In particular, God was transcendent, a view which had some of its origin in contemporary Judaism. The transcendence of God is a term of philosophic theology suggesting at its minimal God's otherness, his distinctiveness from man. It suggests God apart from the world and yet as He can only be perceived in relation to man and the world. Let us see the different ways of arriving at the idea, and how the idea itself varies. Writes Richardson, "At the outset it is essential to realize that according to the Bible the knowledge of God is not reached by abstract speculation, as in Greek philosophy, but in the actual everyday business of living, of social relationships and of current historical events. God is known not by thinking out ideas about him, but by seeking and doing his will as made known to us by prophetic men"³ Two different ways of gaining knowledge of God are illustrated by

¹ Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 63-4.

² Zech. 14.9.

³ A Theological Word Book of the Bible, p. 89.

the Greek-Hellenistic and Hebraic-Judaic religious systems; the one by reason, the other by revelation and response. Typical of Greek thought is Hatch's quotations of the ways the Platonists understood transcendence: "God therefore is Mind, a form separate from all matter, that is to say, out of contact with it, and not involved with anything that is capable of being acted on."¹ Aristotle remained largely in the realm of God as an Idea: "He is the unmoved Mover, who creates by thought, not by act or deed; and since he is supreme and his own thought is creative, his contemplation centres upon himself, i.e. his thought, his perfect mind."² For Aristotle, God remained above and apart from the material world of change. The Stoics and Epicureans continued in this tradition, and the latter removed God (or the gods) completely to a realm where he did not influence mankind. The significant feature of the Greek-Hellenistic view of transcendence was reflected in the contrast of soul and matter: God was unrelated to mortality, body or human frailty.³ God was absolute being unrelated to the world of sense, but had affinity with the world of thought. The transcendence of God therefore was abstract. This remained true for Gnosticism as well, transcendence being conceived ontologically.⁴

On the other hand, if we are to imagine transcendence as an applicable term in Hebraic-Judaic thought we must move

¹ The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages, p. 241.

² Grant, Roman Hellenism and the New Testament, p. 63.

³ Bultman, Primitive Christianity, p. 156.

⁴ Bultman, ibid., p. 230.

along quite different lines, at least initially. There is no thought of God in terms of Idea, the Good, Abstract or Absolute Being. Rather, while God was believed to be distinct from man and the world, he was at the same time near. In Hebraic thought the transcendence of God emerged because of an encounter between God and man, initiated by God. Thus in the O.T. Isaiah in his vision was made aware of God who was high, holy, glorious, other than man the creature, but One who had come to set the limits of the life of man in all its aspects, and to act with justice or in forgiveness. "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up." One called to another and said,

"Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts,
the whole earth is full of his glory."

"Woe is me! For I am lost; for I am a man of unclean lips,
and I dwell in the midst of a people with unclean lips."

Confession is followed by forgiveness: "Your guilt is taken away, and your sin is forgiven."¹ The majesty and supremacy shown and demand made upon men by God also appear in Isa. 40. There is quite a difference between Abstract Being and the holy God of the O.T. who in coming to Israel stressed the present time and laid a claim on the objects of his love. Transcendence was not abstract because the holy God encountered and claimed.

With the rise of the apocalyptic literature, the meaning of transcendence as we have found it in the O.T. changed.

¹ Isa. 6.1-7.

God was pushed further and further away from the world to become the absolute ruler of the universe and contact was only through a host of intermediaries.¹ "In the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, far above all holiness. In (the heaven next to) it are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of the ignorance of the righteous."² God was made remote, cosmic and universal. To say that this view was heretical does not alter the fact that it had widespread influence appearing in literature prior to and contemporary with Paul and in the N.T.³ Apocalyptic ideas, including this remoteness of God, were part of the milieu of first century Judaism until after A. D. 70 when the Rabbis reacted against it.⁴ The 17th Psalm of Solomon, strongly Pharisaic, shows how some apocalyptic thought affected the most zealous observers of the law. Here messianic expectations are prominent. The judicial work of God is executed by the Davidic Messiah who may or may not be a divine person.⁵ God who also acts as judge stands omnisciently over men.⁶ As far as the present time was concerned, man's duty was to obey the law⁷ and wait for God's rule to be reasserted⁸ in the dramatic future. The effect of the apocalyptic exercises on the traditional knowledge of God was the

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Enoch 63, 84. Grant, AJNT, p. 89.

Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs, Levi 3.4, 5.

McGregor and Purdy, Jew and Greek, p. 139ff.

Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 162.

Ps. of Sol. 17.31ff.

Ps. of Sol. 9.4-6.

Ps. of Sol. 14.1.

Ps. of Sol. 17.23.

loss of urgency. The consequences of God's demands were delayed until the Age to Come. As Bultmann says, the new transcendence cut God and his people adrift from history, in the sense of the present and her responsibility for it.¹

Moore reacts strongly to the view that Judaism of the first century A.D. had made God transcendent in the sense of being remote and inaccessible. "In the endeavour to exalt God uniquely above the world, Judaism, it is said, had in fact exiled him from the world in lonely majesty, thus sacrificing the intimacy of the religious relation, the intimate communion of the soul with God."² Again he says, writers see in this period evidence that "God occupied a remote supramundane sphere, too great to be immediately active in the world, and too exalted in majesty and holiness to be immediately accessible to humble piety, and that religion suffered the consequences of having to do with an absentee God."³ It is true that the Rabbis reacted strongly against any suggestion of remoteness, and there are numerous Rabbinic quotations relating to God's accessibility. Yet the Rabbis did not surrender the view that God was lofty, holy and majestic. The Shemoneh Esreh indicates by the terms of address that even in piety the Jews were not ready to surrender a sense of their creatureliness: "Most High God, Maker of Heaven and Earth"; "Holy art thou and terrible is thy Name";

¹ Primitive Christianity, p. 70f.
² Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 423.
³ Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 429.

"the Holy God." ¹ It appears likely that $\eta\eta\eta$ ' was dropped from use in deference to the exalted God of Israel, to be said only periodically by the High Priest in performing his sacred duties. The Rabbis were able to maintain God's loftiness, majesty and accessibility easily with their interpretation of the scriptures, and no doubt because of some real religious experiences emphasizing such beliefs. But in Paul's time the urgency of obedience rising out of such a God who encountered men judging their conduct, offering forgiveness and pardoning their guilt - this urgency was absent chiefly because the law turned men to the past and inward to their own moral striving, rather than to a religious exercise of expectancy and trust in the grace of God.

The character of Hellenistic Judaism as we can determine it does not alter our view that Paul's view of God - transcendent in holiness, loftiness, and majesty, cosmic and universal - could be founded on Palestinian Jewish theology. There is a little of the abstract in Josephus when he describes Moses as teaching that God was "One, uncreated and immutable to all eternity; in beauty surpassing all moral thought (or form), made known to us by his power, although the nature of his real being ($\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ = essence) passes knowledge."² Philo is accorded views of God far more abstract.³ Several factors control or modify the views which

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¹ Grant, AJNT, p. 46ff.

² Against Apion, 2. 167, 190ff. also.

³ Such views are quoted by Davies, PRJ, p. 11ff.

such men had. One of them is that they were involved in a syncretism which was not yet condemned by orthodox Rabbinic Judaism. This came later, and at least as far as Philo was concerned, circumstances in Palestine were not of a character to expel such religious thinkers.¹ He had not violated the unity of God by his syncretism. Moreover, Philo was fully able to speak of God's fatherhood and his nearness;² this was as true in a different way for Josephus whose sensitivity to God's close watchfulness is part of the passages referred to.³ In addition, Philo and Josephus exhibit a certain apologetic character in their work; it fell on them to try to make clear to their pagan contemporaries in language familiar to them the nature of the Jewish religion. They were particularly suited to make this attempt by virtue of their knowledge of Greek literature and ideas; in so doing they showed considerable fidelity to their own ancient religion. Finally, as Davies pertinently remarks, it is one thing to discover Hellenistic influence in Philo; it is another thing to find it in Paul who makes no reference to Greek or Hellenistic thought as such, and of whom it was reported that he was taught in Jerusalem,⁴ and who protests his own orthodoxy.⁵ The presence of the idea of the transcendence of God in apocalyptic literature and the influence

¹ Knox, SPCG, p. 55.

² Davies, PRJ, p. 12.

³ Against Apion, 2. 160, 197.

⁴ Acts 22.3.

⁵ Phil. 3.2ff.

of that literature is the most conclusive evidence that Palestinian Judaism of the first century A.D. was aware of tendencies to make God remote. The fact of the same emphasis appearing in Hellenistic Judaism rather than being a difficulty creates a convenient bridge for Paul to pass from one circle to the other.¹ It may be that the synagogues of Tarsus were thinking along lines similar to Philo but we have no evidence of this.

Bultmann says that Jesus, in his preaching and teaching "brought God out of the false transcendence to which he had been relegated by Judaism and made him near at hand again. God is transcendent, but in the sense that he is always the coming God. He defines the present, embracing us all, delimiting us and making demands upon us."² Paul, under the influence of Jesus, accepts this reinterpretation of the transcendence of God: by the entrance of the one holy God into history through Jesus Christ the human situation is redefined. God who is other than sinful man has made his demand on humanity in Christ. It is doubtful, therefore, if Kirk can be right in claiming that Paul passes back and forth between two views of God in relation to the world; remote having temporarily let the powers of evil control, and actively present always reacting to man's acting.³ Paul perceives by the death of Christ that God always did

¹ Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages, p. 128.

² Primitive Christianity, p. 91.

³ Romans, p. 42.

take sin seriously,¹ and the powers of evil are shown to be exposed for their worth and defeat.² Perhaps at one time before his conversion, Paul fluctuated between a sense of the remoteness of God and his active participation in affairs after the fashion of the Pharisee of the Psalms of Solomon,³ but there is no fluctuation in his reinterpretation of the holy God's relationship to the world through Christ.

It was necessary that Paul should have a transcendent view of God because of the position he attributed to Jesus. Jesus was the Christ, the Messiah,⁴ and although Jesus was a man he stood as mediator between God and men. He was God's anointed,⁵ especially endowed to act as mediator,⁶ dying for men's sins,⁷ revealing the love of God,⁸ reconciling man to God⁹ and demonstrating God's grace.¹⁰ In addition to mediatorial and saving work, the idea of Jesus acting as judge who will turn over the kingdom to God¹¹ suggests that a lofty view of God was axiomatic for Paul. This concept of judgement has its particular form in the apocalyptic literature. We must be clear, however, that Paul did not approach the transcendence of God so much as something required but as something which accompanied his realization

¹ Rom. 1.18,24; 5.8.

² Col. 1.13; 2.15.

³ Note the future tense of Ps. of Sol. 15.15, and compare it with the reading of events in 2.24.

⁴ Rom. 1.2.

⁵ This is the meaning of *Χριστός*. Cf. Rom. 1.1-4.

⁶ Rom. 1.5-*δ' οὖν*. Phil. 2.11.

⁷ Rom. 5.6,8.

⁸ Rom. 8.39.

⁹ II Cor. 5.19.

¹⁰ Gal. 2.21.

¹¹ I Cor. 15.24.

that Jesus was the Messiah, that He was the one who died for sins and was raised in glory.

In true Jewish fashion, Paul maintained that God had an "invisible nature" (ἀόρατα).¹ God was eternal (αἰδώς) in his power - omnipotent.² He was immortal (ἀφθάρτος);³ this word, found a few times in the N.T. and more often in the Hellenistic-Judaic literature,⁴ could mean to a Jew that God was never faced with death as man is, but to people of the Graeco-Roman world to say that God was immortal took Him out of the class of perishing, quarrelling or weak men or gods that were so numerous in order to claim there was One God who was undying. Paul used this word with no thought of controversy; he believed dogmatically that God was immortal. To Paul, God was omniscient; He had all wisdom and knowledge; he was perfect in judgement and His ways unfathomable.⁵

To Paul, God was lofty, holy and majestic. "God is not mocked," he counselled the Galatians⁶ when they were thinking the course of their own lives was unnoticed by God's apparent restraint; free will did not imply God's indifference but it did have reference to a lofty God who would come among men to judge their deeds. Paul's belief in "one God, the Father from whom are all things and for whom we

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¹ Rom. 1.20. Cf. Josephus, The Jewish Wars, 7.8.346. Exodus 33.20.
² Rom. 1.20.
³ Rom. 1.23.
⁴ Wis. of Sol. 12.1. Sib. Or. 3.17.
⁵ Rom. 11.33.
⁶ Gal. 6.7.

exist"¹ suggests a God who as the Creator stands in supreme relationship to his creation or creatures. The lofty otherness of God is reflected in these words: "O the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgements and how inscrutable his ways!

'For who has known the mind of the Lord,
or who has been his counsellor?'
'Or who has given him a gift to him
that he might be repaid?'

For from him and through him and to him are all things. To him be glory forever. Amen."² Paul thought of God as holy: an unprofaned and separated nature. Consequently, the law was holy;³ it was something given by God⁴ even if for a purpose of less importance than supposed. Paul has a fully Jewish attitude in regarding the Scriptures as holy⁵ for the Jews believed the Scriptures had the authority of God;⁶ hence they were holy for God was holy. God's otherness or transcendence was also his majesty, a term belonging to the idea of sovereignty. Majestic supremacy attends the assertion that God is above all gods and lords, so-called.⁷ His majestic supremacy was believed by Paul when he declared that there was no political authority unless God granted it;⁸ probably Jesus and the Rabbis held the same view.⁹ The

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1 I Cor. 8.6.
2 Rom. 11.33-36.
3 Rom. 7.12.
4 Rom. 7.22.
5 Rom. 1.2.
6 Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 239f.
7 I Cor. 8.5.
8 Rom. 13.1.
9 Mark 12.17. Moore, ibid. Vol. 2, p. 114.

majesty of God is evidenced by ascribing glory to him.¹

The transcendence of God is reflected in the claim that God is universal Creator. This is reflected in the contrast Paul sets up in describing pagan sinfulness; the creature tries to usurp the place of the Creator. Paul may partly have in mind God as the first cause; he definitely has in mind that God who created man - an article of faith, not deduction - also charged men with moral obedience. The Creator is morally or religiously oriented Himself. The deepest insight Paul has on this subject is his belief - "if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold the new has come. All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself and gave us the ministry of reconciliation."² Paul believes that the re-creating work of God has begun to manifest itself in all the world.³ The transcendence of God suggested by the Creator-creature relationship is in this connection shown to be newly relevant.

On the other side of God's transcendence, there is His nearness or immanence. On the one hand, Paul viewed a holy and majestic God who had revealed his righteousness and set the moral limits for men, but God was also very near, but not in the sense that He permeated matter. He was not immanent reason as the Stoics conceived of God.⁴ In the

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¹ I Thess. 2.12. Rom. 3.23. I Cor. 10.31.

² II Cor. 5.17,18.

³ Rom. 8.19-21. Col. 1.16.

⁴ Glover, CREERE, p. 56ff.

Pentateuch, prophets and Psalter there is ample evidence of the belief that God was near. God is recorded as saying to Moses, "My presence will go with you, and I will give you rest."¹ Even in the apocalyptic literature there is this strain of thought:

"I was alone, and God comforted me;
I was sick, and the Lord visited me;
I was in prison and my God showed
favour unto me;
In bonds, and he released me;..."²

In the Rabbinic literature God's nearness is well attested.³ "If two sit together and the words of the Law (are spoken) between them, the Divine Presence rests between them."⁴ The consequence of experience was that God was near and accessible,⁵ a point regularly taught.

Several things indicate that Paul believed God was near. He repeatedly calls him "Father";⁶ compare the opening addresses of his letters: "Grace to you and peace from God our Father...."⁷ In prayer, Paul spoke to the Romans of "my God"⁸ suggesting not remoteness but the personal claim of God and interest of One who was near. In a statement to the Corinthians Paul makes an almost credal affirmation about God who although supreme is also Father: "For there is one God,
....."

Exod. 33.14. Cf. Hos. 5.15. Ezek. 3.22. Ps. 23.4.

Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs, Joseph 1.6.

Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 30, 46ff.

Mishnah, Aboth 3.2. This has an obvious N.T. parallel.

Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 423ff, 440f.

A common designation in the O.T. Ps. 68.5. Mal. 1.6. Also in the Rabbinic literature quoted by Schechter, ibid., p. 54,

"Forgive us, O our Father, for we have sinned." Cf. Weiss,

Paul and Jesus, p. 96ff.

Rom. 1.7. 1 Cor. 1.3. Col. 1.2.

Rom. 1.8.

the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist
"¹ How personal and near God is/^{is} attested in a declara-
 tion of faith and hope: "For I am persuaded that neither
 death, nor life... nor anything else in all creation, will
 be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus
 our Lord."² Thus in prayer, affirmation of hope and faith,
 or declaration of belief, Paul exhibits consciousness of
 the nearness of God even though it is mediated in Christ.
 Although Paul's gospel and religion remained Christologic-
 ally centred, ultimately they were founded on a God of holi-
 ness, righteousness and majesty, on a God of grace who par-
 dons, reconciles and claims men in the present time. God
 was at once transcendent and immanent, lofty and near.

Paul's view that God is a judge, or that he acts justly
 in judgement is a view closely related to Jewish religion
 and appears in different periods of their religious history.
 The judgement of God is a clearly attested theme among the
 prophets. Amos speaks of the judgement which God has a
 right to execute:

"You only have I known
 of all the families of the earth;
 therefore I will punish you,
 for all your iniquities."³

However, there is frequently an accompanying theme of God's
 mercy, as Moore says: these two attributes of God "run
 through the Bible like a cord of two colours intertwined."⁴

¹ I Cor. 8.6.
² Rom. 8.38, 39.

³ Amos 3.2.
⁴ Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 387.

Hosea indicates the restraint of God in his mercy:

"My heart recoils within me,
my compassion grows warm and tender.
I will not execute my fierce anger,
I will not again destroy Ephraim."¹

In the apocalyptic literature, the book of Enoch illustrates that God exercises judgement;² sometimes it is the Messiah who judges: "And the Lord of spirits seated him (the Messiah) on the throne of His glory and the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him, and the word of his mouth slew all the sinners....."³ Mercy like that reflected in Hosea is not evident; the glory of the future to be enjoyed by the righteous and elect⁴ does not raise in the writer the same sense of gratitude that Hosea felt. In contrast, both attributes of God are emphasized in the Psalms of Solomon, even though the author waits for a final justification of the righteous.

"God is a righteous judge
and he is no respecter of persons."⁵

"For God is good to them that call upon him in patience,
Doing according to his mercy to his pious ones,
Establishing (them) at all times before him in
strength."⁶

The Hellenistic-Jewish literature, such as the Wisdom of Solomon, indicates that God who acts in judgements also acts in mercy:

"And when we are judged we may expect mercy."⁷

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1 Hos. 11.8b, 9a.
2 Enoch 63.9.
3 Enoch 62.2.
4 Enoch 53.3.

5 Ps. of Sol. 2.19.
6 Ps. of Sol. 2.40.
7 Wis. of Sol. 12.22.

It is hardly surprising to find the Rabbis enunciating the same themes they found so clearly stated by the prophets. Moore quotes R. Meir: "Repent while he is standing in the attitude of mercy; if you do not, he will be 'your God'; repent, that is, before the advocate becomes the accuser."¹ Moore explains that to the Rabbis, justice was the undertone of meaning when they used the name God, $\square' \eta \dot{\iota} \zeta \zeta$, but when they spoke of the Lord, $\eta \dot{\iota} \eta \zeta$, it was with his mercy and graciousness in mind.² Rabbinic expansions on God's justice and mercy were kept in careful balance. Romans 1-3 shows traces of the typical balance: God's wrath is against all wickedness;³ God has a restraining kindness meant to lead men to repent.⁴

Linguistically, Paul employs many words pertaining to God's justice and judgement. $\Delta \iota \kappa \alpha \dot{\iota} \omega \mu \alpha$ ⁵ is the degree or requirement issued by God, the observance or non-observance of which is subject to God's judgement. $\text{K} \rho \dot{\iota} \mu \alpha$ ⁶ is the judgement of God in an unfavourable sense of condemnation. $\text{O} \rho \eta$, anger or wrath, familiar in the O.T. is the expression of God's judgement which men bring on themselves. $\Delta \iota \kappa \alpha \dot{\iota} \omega \mu \epsilon \nu \alpha$ ⁷ has a primary meaning acquittal by One acting as judge. $\text{A} \delta \iota \kappa \epsilon \sigma$ ⁸ is used of God as though he might act unjustly, when the opposite is really the case. It is apparent from the first three chapters of Romans that God acts in justice.

Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 387
 Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 387
 Rom. 1.18.
 Rom. 2.4,5.

5 Rom. 1.32.
 6 Rom. 2.2
 7 Rom. 3.24.
 8 Rom. 3.5.

There are limits to what God will allow man to do: "Do you suppose, O man, that when you judge those who do such things and yet do them yourself, you will escape the judgement of God."¹ God's justice is an attribute of moral quality. His justice is an aspect of his righteousness; the righteousness of God manifest in Jesus Christ, and part of that righteousness was an indication that He is righteous, i.e. just.² God has set the norm, and man must conform. When he fails to do so, he is "storing up wrath" for himself "on the day of wrath when God's righteous judgement will be revealed. He will render to everyman according to his works."³ Moreover, the justice of God is impartial: "God shows no partiality";⁴ He fixes on what man does. We may now observe that although Paul saw the norm of the justice of God in Christ, he remained concerned like a Jew with the exercise of that justice. Paul did not neglect to emphasize the mercy of God. "Or do you presume upon the riches of his kindness and forbearance and patience? Do you not know that God's kindness is meant to lead you to repentance?"⁵ It is probable that Paul, like the Rabbis, understood this kind of mercy to be founded on God's love; there are a number of Rabbinic parallels.⁶ Paul saw an element of the mercy of God in regarding the election of Israel as

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¹ Rom. 2.3.

² Rom. 3.26.

³ Rom. 2.5.

⁴ Rom. 2.11.

⁵ Rom. 2.4.

⁶ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 390.

irrevocable: "they are beloved for the sake of their forefathers."¹ This is much like the Rabbinic attitude in which God tries to find reason to forgive and accommodate Israel.² God's mercy, Paul believes, has been extended in his act of justification or acquittal performed in Christ. It is an act solely due to the grace of God. "They are justified by his grace as a gift."³ The Rabbis also understood God's desire to acquit men of their sins as an act of his mercy.⁴ Forgiveness is to both Paul and the Rabbis part of God's mercy. Anderson Scott emphasizes a distinction between the two however.⁵ Forgiveness to the Rabbis was the cancellation of sin; to Paul it was related to reconciliation: "And you, ... God made alive together with him, having forgiven us all our trespasses."⁶ In Ephesians the mercy of God is prominent: "Be kind to one another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, as God in Christ forgave you."⁷ It is certain, however, in both cases of Paul and the Rabbis that forgiveness was an aspect of God's mercy. Finally it may be noted that in one place Paul couples together the two attributes of justice and mercy.

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¹ Rom. 11.28. Cf. Rom. 9.16. God's act of election "depends not upon man's will or exertion, but upon God's mercy."
² Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 179, reports this Rabbinic saying; "For the Lord, thy God, is a merciful God; he will not forsake thee, neither will he destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers which he sware unto them." Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p.536f.
³ Rom. 3.24.
⁴ Moore, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 391.
⁵ CASP, p. 78f.
⁶ Col. 2.13.
⁷ Eph. 4.32.

"Note then the kindness and severity of God: severity toward those who have fallen, but kindness to you, provided you continue in his kindness."¹ This is a fine example of the two attributes attributed to God by the Jews, except that for the Jews the norm was the law, and for Paul it was Christ.

According to Paul, the judgement of God is exercised now and in the future. There is a judgement on the sins of men when "God gave them up to the lusts of their hearts to impurity ... because they exchanged the truth about God for a lie....."² It is Paul's view that God has already exercised judgement in the temporary rejection of Israel.³ The Hebraic-Judaic tradition was familiar with present judgement from the prophets⁴ to the Psalms of Solomon.⁵ At the same time the execution of God's justice could be delayed until the future; Paul often speaks of the judgement of God which is still to come. Sometimes it is viewed in terms of man's future and individual acts on the basis of a principal of the divine order.⁶ More often the "day of wrath" is only postponed until the Parousia,⁷ at which time judgement will be effected by Christ. Passages in Paul's letters suggest that at one time Christ acts as

¹ Rom. 11.22.

² Rom. 1.24, 25.

³ Rom. 9.22; 11.15.

⁴ Hos. 1.6-10.

⁵ Ps. of Sol. 2.7, 18.

⁶ Rom. 2.3.

⁷ Rom. 2.5.16. I Thess. 1.10.

judge;¹ at another time God is judge in the final act of the drama.² A final judgement, whoever executes it, is according to divine authority and is an idea which rose with much intensity in the apocalyptic literature, but also spread through much of Jewish literature until final judgement was as characteristic of Rabbinic teaching as any other.³

It is sometimes said that Paul was so much concerned about the role of God as judge and legal exactor that he neglected His mercy. It is true that legal images colour his theology, but this is partly due to the help found in using legal metaphors, and perhaps partly due to the calculating mind of a Pharisee. We tried to point out above that the mercy of God was not a forgotten matter to Paul. The most important evidence of God's mercy to Paul is the Christ event. God's mercy is the justification and reconciliation in Christ. "God showed his love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us."⁴ The election of the gentiles through Christ was due to the mercy of God.⁵ Paul says that Christ became a servant "in order that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy."⁶ Ephesians expresses a similar thought that God acted in Christ, relative to our sinfulness, out of His mercy.⁷

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1 Rom. 2.16. I Cor. 4.5. I Thess. 5.2,3.
 2 Rom. 2.16; 2.5. I Thess. 5.9. II Thess. 1.5ff.
 3 Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 280, 389ff.
 4 Rom. 5.8.
 5 Rom. 9.16.
 6 Rom. 15.8,9.
 7 Eph. 2.4f.

The idea that God is king, or its corollary - the kingdom of God, does not occupy a very large place in Paul's theology. Knox and Davies think that this was not a very suitable expression by which to give form in the gospel in the Graeco-Roman world.¹ The possibilities of political misunderstanding by the Romans would have created a needless obstruction for the gospel's proclamation. Hence the idea of a "new creation" could be more suitably developed. However, Paul did think in this context to some extent; this is quite natural and inevitable in view of the fact that the sovereignty of God occupied such a prominent place in the Jewish religious heritage. It remained a very basic concept to Paul especially in its individualistic, moral and eschatological application, to the considerable neglect of nationalistic ideas of that sovereignty. The national-political emphasis in the sovereignty of God is prominent in the O.T.² and this is an emphasis never fully lost sight of by the Jews, as the Psalms of Solomon indicate.³ The apocalyptic literature in its own extravagant way gave the idea of sovereignty of God eschatological colouring; the belief came to belong to a sudden future intervention. In spite of the fact that God's sovereignty was somewhat universalized in this literature, it remained bound up with the chosen and righteous people of Israel.⁴ The patriotic annotations

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¹ Davies, PRJ, p. 36f.

² Isa. 33.20-22.

³ Ps. of Sol. 17.5. Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p. 528ff.

⁴ Oesterly and Box, RWS, p. 212f. Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 105.

were not dismissed. Thus in the eleventh prayer of the Shemoneh Esreh were said these words:

"Restore our judges as in former days,
And our counsellors as at the beginning,
And be thou alone Ruler over us.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who lovest judgement."¹

This emphasis of the national sovereignty of God Paul did not take up. It was not necessary, nor did it get any encouragement from the revelation in Christ; instead the sovereignty of God was conceived individualistically, morally and eschatologically.

The line in Judaism which Paul takes up is the moral or religious claim which the sovereignty of God made on Jews and gentiles alike.² This line of thought is at the basis of his references to the kingdom of God or His reign. The sovereignty of God with its moral deliniation is part of the theology of Deutero-Isaiah:

"I am the Lord, your Holy One,
the Creator of Israel, your King."³

"I, I am He
who blots out your transgressions for my own sake,
and I will not remember your sins."⁴

"Thus says the Lord, the King of Israel
and his Redeemer, and the Lord of hosts:"⁵

"By myself I have sworn
from my mouth has gone forth in righteousness
a word that shall not return:

'To me every knee shall bow
every tongue shall swear.'

'Only in the Lord, it shall be said of me,
are righteousness and strength.'"⁶

1 Grant, AJNT, p. 47f.

2 Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 371f.

3 Isa. 43.15.

4 Isa. 43.25.

5 Isa. 44.6.

6 Isa. 45.23, 24.

The Psalms of Solomon regard man's sinfulness as something that will be reckoned with by the sovereignty (kingdom) of God:

"And they¹ esteemed not thy glorious name in any honour; they preferred a kingdom to that which was their excellency."²

The Sibylline Oracles interpret the sovereignty of God in its moral demand: "And then indeed he will raise up his kingdom for all ages over men, he who once gave a holy law to godly men, to all of whom He promised to open out the earth, and the world, and the portals of the blessed, and all joys, and everlasting sense and eternal gladness."³ In the Rabbinic literature the kingdom or sovereignty of God is ethically conceived: "He who is desirous to receive upon himself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven let him first prepare his body,⁴ wash his hands, lay his phylacteries, read the Shema, and say his prayers."⁵ The N.T. also indicates the moral demand of the kingdom:

"Thy kingdom come,
Thy will be done
On earth as it is in heaven."⁶

One of the accompanying features of this moralization of God's sovereignty was its universal demand, something reflected in much of the literature mentioned above. The

1 The Sadducees who are regarded as sinners.
2 Ps. of Sol. 17.7.
3 Sib. Cr. 3.767ff.
4 Perhaps assuming an attitude of kneeling.
5 Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 66.
6 Matt. 6.10. This part of the prayer is in keeping with the Jewish belief that God's kingship would be realized with the kingdom's establishment: Schurer, JPJC, 2.2.170.

Psalms of Solomon show the kingdom of God in relation to the gentiles in judgement,¹ and in mercy.² The Rabbinic literature expresses God's sovereignty in optimistic, universal terms: "When the Holy One, blessed be he, consulted the Torah as to the creation of the world, she answered, 'Master of the world (to be created), if there be no host, over whom will the king reign, if there be no people praising him, where is the glory of the king?' The Lord of the world heard the answer, and it pleased him."³ Thus emerges from the Jewish literature a line of thought about the sovereignty of God which emphasizes moral demand and universal scope. The two were related in that the moral demand was expressed through Torah, and Torah had yet to be universally acknowledged and obeyed.⁴

When Paul came to speak about the kingship or sovereignty of God, he was on safe Jewish ground in speaking at the same time of Christ as king. There was no incompatibility in Judaism between the Messianic kingdom and the reign of God.⁵ The Psalms of Solomon provide a good example of this.⁶ Paul speaks of Christ's reign: "He must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet."⁷

The typical Jewish view was that He had this authority from God: "For he (God) has put all things in subjection under

¹ Ps. of Sol. 17.4. Similarly the Assumption of Moses 10.1ff.

² Ps. of Sol. 17.38.

³ Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 81.

⁴ Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom, p. 30.

⁵ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 374.

⁶ Ps. of Sol. 5.22; 17.23.

⁷ I Cor. 15.25.

his feet."¹ At the same time Paul has no hesitation in speaking of the kingdom of God as something which is just as much a present reality as the reign of Christ.² It is apparent that what Messianic speculation hoped for with respect to God's kingship or the Messiah's reign had become a reality for Paul. Christ presently reigns. The verbal constructions suggest this: δει... βασιλεύειν,³ ἐπέταξεν.⁴ Paul sees in Christ the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy that a descendant of David will rule the gentiles.⁵ Viewed as if the kingdom was directly related to God himself, Paul speaks to the Thessalonians: "We exhorted each of you and encouraged you and charged you to lead a life worthy of God, who calls (present participle) you into his own kingdom."⁶ Paul views the present time as one in which the sovereignty of God has broken in to make a claim through Christ the Messiah. He is in agreement with Jesus' recorded message: "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel."⁷

It is in perceiving this claim that Paul continues the most important of the Jewish emphases on God's sovereignty; its moral aspect. Paul pays no attention to a political or tyrannical notion of sovereignty, except in terms of temporal powers like the Romans.⁸ The sovereignty of God in Judaism morally interpreted was the call to

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1	I Cor. 15.27.	5	Rom. 15.12.
2	Rom. 14.17.	6	I Thess. 2.11b, 12.
3	I. Cor. 15.25.	7	Mark 1.15.
4	I. Cor. 15.27.	8	Rom. 13.1.

obedience possible in keeping the law,¹ and in the surrender of mind and heart to God's holy will.² Paul remolds the conception. The idea of the kingdom in his mind is intimately connected with the soteriological work of Christ: "He (God) has transferred us from the dominion (*ἐξουσίας*) of darkness and transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son, in whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins."³ The spiritual quality of the reign that has broken in is perhaps most finely expressed in these words: "And let the peace of Christ rule (*βραβεύω*) in your hearts, to which indeed you were called in the one body."⁴ Of a similar character is his word to the Romans: "The kingdom of God does not mean food and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit."⁵ These three quotations suggest anything but nationalistic or materialistic pretensions about the kingdom of God. Rather, they are closer to the Jewish emphasis on the moral qualities of the kingdom, and the claim upon the minds and hearts of all men. The emphasis comes out in another way where sinfulness is regarded by Paul as a condition preventing entrance to the kingdom. After listing the works of the flesh to the Galatians, Paul warns: "I warn you, as I warned you before, that those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God."⁶ Eph. 5.5 is similar in

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Ps. of Sol. 14.1; Wis. of Sol. 6.4.

Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 66-7.

Col. 1.13.

Col. 3.15.

Rom. 14.17. Cf. I Cor. 15.50.

Gal. 5.21.

thought. He says to the Corinthians: "Do you not know that the unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom of God?"¹ after which follows a list of sins. In this light, the kingdom is understood in terms of making a claim on men's moral obedience; converts must not return to any such manner of life. Obedience as part of God's sovereign claim appears in another form in Paul's mind: "For the kingdom of God does not consist in talk but in power."² The emphasis here however is on a special type of obedience relative to himself in the exercise of discipline within the church. While there is obedience of a kind to which Paul in particular is called, there is an obedience to which all men are called: the gospel is a revelation which calls for obedience and to this end is preached. There are numerous references to the necessity of obedience to the gospel of Christ,³ and indeed to Christ himself.⁴ Since such obedience means redemption - the gospel is the power of God for salvation⁵ - and redemption means membership in the kingdom,⁶ we can believe that Paul, like the Jews, saw the quality of obedience as an essential part of the kingdom. To him, man's obedience to God was now exercised by faith in Christ; obedience to the law was displaced by acceptance of the life and work of Christ through whom God was manifest. The gospel is

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¹ I Cor. 6.9.
² I Cor. 4.20.
³ Rom. 1.5; 6.17; 10.16. II Thess. 1.8.
⁴ II Cor. 10.6.
⁵ Rom. 1.16.
⁶ Col. 1.13.

"the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith."¹
The possibility of man exercising faith in the Christ event, belief in its efficacy, is his obedience and is basic; the possibility of no faith is the foundation of his disobedience.

Like contemporary Judaism, Paul believes that the sovereignty of God, his kingship, expressed through Christ, is universal. It is a necessary corollary of Paul's belief that there is neither Jew nor Greek to the one who is Lord of all.² In Christ he sees the universal sovereignty of God realized and being realized, and by his Messianic reign moving to a time when all will be subject to God.³ From the passages in I Cor. 15, the Jewish view that God will be ultimately sovereign is reaffirmed.⁴ "Then comes the end, when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule and every authority and power." Christ victoriously turns over the kingdom to his Father, and history is completed so that "God may be everything to everyone."⁵ There is not so much need to look for a two-kingdom theory⁶ in Paul as to recognize that the kingdom of God has already broken in, and in his view is soon to be consummated. To Paul it is an astounding fact that God has demonstrated Himself in human affairs, and acted toward all men in grace

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¹ Rom. 1.16.
² Rom. 10.12.
³ I Cor. 15.25-27
⁴ Ps. of Sol. 2:33,34; 17.4.
⁵ I Cor. 15.28.
⁶ Such were the possibilities in Jewish speculation about the future.

through Jesus Christ. In particular God had claimed him, Paul, to be an apostle. "Like all deeply Christian theists, for his belief in God, trust in God, obedience to God came first, and was the indispensable presupposition of his doctrine of Christ."¹

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¹ Grant, RHNT, p. 144.

CHAPTER SEVEN

JEWISH INFLUENCES ON PAUL'S
ESCHATOLOGY

Eschatology is to Paul's theology an immensely important factor, and not something merely to be "tacked on" to the framework of his thought something to which Schweitzer objected.¹ For people of our much later date, it is very difficult to take seriously the kind of eschatology which was familiar to the ancient Jew. Nygren warns against ignoring the influence of eschatology and interprets much of Romans on the presupposition that Paul viewed time as divided into aeons.² Every kind of Jewish literature shows some acquaintance with future hopes for the race, and the N.T. reflects popular thought; amazement and curiosity about Jesus' teaching and miracles caused people to wonder who had come;³ the disciples of John were more specific in their questions;⁴ the ecclesiastical hierarchy no doubt challenged him, perhaps with more sophistication, but nevertheless challenged him with reference to the Jewish hope,⁵ and then exploded with anger because of his open admittance.⁶ Expectations were never dismissed from Paul's mind. The possibility of progression in his thinking is a real one.⁷ The hope of being still alive at the Parousia⁸ may have been modified owing to the threat of death,⁹ although he never lost sight

1 Paul and His Interpreters, p. 53, echoed by Davies, FRJ, p. 285.
2 Romans, p. 18ff.
3 Mark 1.27.
4 Luke 7.19.
5 Mark 11.27ff; 14.61, 62.
6 Mark 14.63ff.
7 Knox, SPCG, p. 111. Dodd, Romans, xxiv.
8 I Thess. 4.17.
9 Phil. 1.23.

of the centrality of his assured salvation.¹ Features of the traditional hopes were expressed by him: the account in Acts says that immediately after his conversion he proclaimed Jesus as Son of God,² and it is apparent from his own letters that a Messianic view of Jesus was a basic assumption.³

Acts further maintains that Paul's trials in Palestine and vicinity had a basis in the charge that he preached the Messiah and the resurrection of the dead.⁴ This is probable since implicitly and explicitly these views are maintained in his letters. (There was more to the trials than this of course.) The frequent expressions "the day of the Lord" or "the day" or "the day of wrath" show how prominent another feature of eschatology was to his thinking. So subtle and penetrating is his belief in things-yet-to-be that he speaks confidently: "We know (*οἶδαμεν*) that ... we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."⁵ *οἶδαμεν* means to Paul "hope" with very great confidence.⁶

The movement of Paul's thought in an eschatological framework was possible because he believed that God in his sovereignty was working out his purposes. In I Cor. 15. 23-27 Paul relates the resurrection of the dead and the End to the intended sovereignty of God; he quotes the O.T. (Ps.8.6)

¹ Phil. 1.6.
² Acts 9.20. Badcock, The Pauline Epistles, p. 175.
³ Rom. 1.2ff.
⁴ Acts 23.6; 24.15.
⁵ II Cor. 5.1.
⁶ Deissmann, Paul, p. 217.

to indicate that eschatology and sovereignty were related. The same theme is frequent in much of Jewish literature; the religious significance of Jewish expectations, says Moore, was "in the idea that the history of the world as a plan of God, and in the faith that he will carry it out to the end."¹ Repeated oppression "deepened the conviction that only by the immediate intervention of Almighty God could the might of the heathen kingdom be annihilated and the world be made ready for the coming undivided and undisputed reign of God."² Thus Messianic hopes were intimately related to God's sovereignty. There was a common core to the idea of the Covenant and of eschatology - the relationship God wills was to be accomplished,³ but it would seem in the Jewish literature that the mutual agreement which characterised the classical Covenant idea and faithfulness to it receded to give place to the idea of new intervention in which God's sovereignty would be finally manifested; then Israel, according to the Jewish hope, would come into her own. Conceived prophetically, the Covenant made demands in the present for the realization of obedience to and fellowship with God. Jewish eschatology and legalism lost an immediate consciousness of this and transferred it to the future.⁴ Nevertheless, and this is the important thing, the possibility of relationship in the present or delayed until

¹ Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 323.

² Ibid. Vol. 2, p. 331.

³ Cf. Barclay, *Jesus As They Saw Him*, p. 95f.

⁴ Schurer, *JPJC*, 2.2.132f, and Bultmann.

a future time depended on the sovereign will of God. Paul was as certain as any Jew that God would accomplish his own purposes.

Within eschatology - the wide range of future hopes - Messianic expectations were nurtured among the Jews. There was growth from the simplest hope of peace, security and prosperity in an everlasting Davidic Kingdom of national and earthly dimensions¹ to a Messiah who was divine and pre-existent² and cosmic.³ The Messianic hope took on considerable variety if not contradiction. For example, II Baruch shows a ruthlessness of judgement on the gentiles;⁴ Enoch on the other hand, like Deutero-Isaiah,⁵ calls for Israel to be a light to the nations;⁶ and part of Enoch of an earlier date sees in the final days a vicious attack by the heathen on Israel.⁷ Thus it is natural with this growth and variety to find indistinctness of conception due to veiled language, very typical of Enoch, and due to the nature of expressing hopes. The prophetic books of the O.T. express hopes for a Golden Age which are chiefly national, earthly and historical in their dimensions. It is accurate to see, as do Bentzen,⁸ Barclay⁹ and many others, the reflection of

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¹ Isa. 9.7.
² II Esdras 12.30-32.
³ Sib. Or. 3.652f.
⁴ II Baruch 72.2-6.
⁵ Isa. 49.6.
⁶ Enoch 48.4.
⁷ Enoch 90.11ff.
⁸ King and Messiah, p. 20ff, 36ff.
⁹ Jesus as They Saw Him, p. 112ff.

Messianic ideas in the Psalms. In the literature outside the O.T. - Apocryphal, Pseudepigraphic, Dead Sea Scrolls,¹ and Rabbinic² - Messianic ideas were expressed. The victories of the Maccabeans and the disasters which preceded and followed this period prompted much speculation about an impending Messianic era.³ The principal characteristics and details of the Messianic hope as part of Jewish eschatology are most interesting to record, but it is more to our interest to see Paul's reconstructed eschatology with its Messianic features.

It is Palestinian rather than Hellenistic-Judaic eschatology which is the chief type influencing Paul. In contrast, Philo represents Hellenistic-Judaic eschatology; for example, he maintains the immortality of the soul.⁴ The Wisdom of Solomon⁵ and IV Maccabees⁶ show the invasion of Hellenistic dualism when speaking of the immortal soul. It was impossible for some influence of Hellenism not to be

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- ¹ "The Manual of Discipline" in Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 264, 383. Also Bruce, Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 83f. Also Hanson, Leaney, Posen, A Guide to the Scrolls, p. 48, 80ff.
- ² Mishnah, Sotah 9.15, Pesachim 10.6. The Rabbis were not as concerned about eschatology as writers of other literature or the Pharisees, but spent their time in exegesis of the law and in teaching its daily observance, yet they did not ignore it. Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 128, 257, 290f. Schürer, JPJC, 2.2f. 152-3. Moore, Judaism Vol. 2, p. 323ff. Barclay, Jesus As They Saw Him, p. 110ff. Daube, NTRJ, p. 3ff.
- ³ Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 2, p. 600.
- ⁴ Drummond, Philo Judaeus, Vol. 1, p. 339. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 452.
- ⁵ Wis. of Sol. 3.1ff.
- ⁶ IV. Macc. 9.21ff.

exerted on Jews of the Dispersion.¹ The Sibylline Oracles allow many influences almost without thought, but it is most significant that they desire conversion of the gentiles, maintain the sovereignty of God, and announce a pending cosmic judgement.² It is instructive to see Paul use the term "immortality" (*ἀφθαρσίαν*)³ as did the Hellenistic Jews, but with a clear and distinct prejudice to return to the concrete idea of a spiritual body and non-dualistic anthropology.⁴ In much of the literature of Hellenistic Judaism (Philo excepted) immortality co-exists with the resurrection of the dead.⁵ A juxtaposition of these terms occurs in Paul, but he does not have the Hellenistic idea that the body is evil; rather he leans to the Hebrew concept of man's totality of body and spirit; this is especially evident in his discussion of the resurrection which is the main point at which Hellenistic influence is thought to be found. Far back in the theological history of the Jews, belief in Satanic powers had entered under Babylonian or Persian influence,⁶ and had been accepted. The apocalyptists assumed demonic powers and so did Jesus.⁷ The conflict with and ultimate destruction of Satanic powers was a major feature of Jewish eschatology,⁸ and was to Paul an accepted dogma integral to

¹ Oesterley and Box, *RWS*, p. 204f.

² Sib. Or. 3.11ff, 60ff, 545.

³ Outside of II Tim. 1.10 the word is not used in the N.T.

⁴ Rom. 2.7. I Cor. 15.42, 50ff.

⁵ Wis. of Sol. 4.16ff implies resurrection.

⁶ Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity*, p. 82.

⁷ Mark 3.22; Luke 11.17ff.

⁸ Enoch 54.6; 62.2.

Jewish eschatological hopes, rather than an issue like the immortality of the soul which was never wholly accepted. Belief in Satanic powers had been accommodated; immortality had not.

It is basic to almost every aspect of Paul's thought that he believed the Messiah of Jewish expectation had come.¹ This was one significant aspect of his conversion.² It was a personally relevant and historic fact. At the same time, we must say that his Messianic and eschatological views had advanced beyond and differed from the expectations of Judaism. Under the influence of Jesus, Paul reconstructed the Jewish expectation in accordance with events that had taken place and been understood. He must have had great difficulty, as a Pharisee, to hear that the Messiah had been born and crucified: crucifixion was the sign of a curse.³ This was a direct negation of the classic Messianic expectation⁴ which looked for a king bringing peace,⁵ prosperity⁶ and fertility⁷ after deliverance⁸ and judgement⁹ and an eternal time of righteousness¹⁰ in favour of Israel.¹¹ The great claim made upon Paul by God in Jesus forced him to recognise

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¹ Rom. 1.1, 2, 17.

² Dibelius, Paul, p. 61. Davies, PRJ, p. 324.

³ Gal. 3.13. Cf. Mishnah, Sanhedrin 6.4.

⁴ Bultmann in Barclay, Jesus As They Saw Him, p. 153.

⁵ Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p. 437ff, 534.

⁶ Isa. 2.4; 9.5, 6. Sib. Or. 3.375ff.

⁷ Amos 9.13. Joel 3.18. Sib. Or. 3.620ff.

⁸ Ezek. 47.7ff.. Isa. 29.17; 35.1. II Bar. 29.5.

⁹ Isa. 11.12; 59.20. II Esdras 13.46-48.

¹⁰ Ps. of Sol. 17.28, 29, 36. Test. of Levi 24.3.

¹¹ Isa. 32. 1ff; 35.10. Ps. of Sol. 11.1ff.

a crucified and resurrected Messiah.¹ Adding force to the idea of the arrival of the Messianic age was the life of the church which bore witness to the presence and activity of the Spirit.² The Spirit confirmed that the Messianic Age had arrived.³ This is what the prophets and Rabbis had expected.⁴ The resurrection of Jesus and the activity of the Spirit in the Church, scorned by orthodox Jews,⁵ became a true testimony demanding a re-interpretation of the old eschatology.

In the reconstruction of his theology, Paul maintained that Jesus was the expected Messiah of Davidic descent, "promised beforehand through his prophets," "descended from David according to the flesh."⁶ It was a natural consequence to think of Jesus exercising sovereignty until the Messianic age was finished.⁷ Paul might have at times quoted passages like the following since they lie at the root of his views: "Behold the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will raise up for David a righteous Branch, and he shall reign as king and deal wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land."⁸ Or,

1 Gal. 1.15,16.

2 II Cor. 1.22.

3 Davies, PRJ, p. 215ff.

4 Joel 2.28. Mishnah, Sotah 6.15.

5 Acts 4.13ff. Davies, ibid. p. 216.

6 Rom. 1.2,3. Cf. Phil. 2.7,8 and Rom. 8.3.

7 I Cor. 15.25. Eph. 5.5.

8 Jer. 23.5.

"Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king,
 the son of David,
 At the time in which Thou seest, O God, that he
 may rule over Israel
 Thy servant."¹

Davidic descent is attested in II Esdras.² Paul's repeated use of "Jesus" is the clearest evidence that he believed in His humanity, and the humanity of the Messiah was clearly expected in the Jewish literature.³ Personal qualities or the personality of the Messiah seems absent from Jewish speculation.⁴ No doubt to those who had walked with Jesus, he had personal quality or personality but in this Paul had little interest;⁵ this is not to say he did not feel personally claimed by Jesus.

Experience coalesced with Jewish expectations to form in Paul's mind a role for Jesus which was divine and cosmic-universal. There are senses in which Judaism conceived a divine pre-existent Messiah. His name is known and kept hidden according to the Rabbis.⁶ Similarly Enoch indicates the pre-existence of his name.⁷ II Esdras is more positive in indicating that the Messiah has been "kept until the end of days, who will arise from the posterity of David...."⁸ Individual pre-existence remains an open question,⁹ but the

Ps. of Sol. 17.23.

II Esdras 12.32.

Micah 5.2. Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs, Levi 24.1. A Davidic king implies it, as does the Davidic kingdom of geographical Israel.

Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Vol. 1, p. 136ff. But compare Schurer, JPJC, 2.2.160.

II Cor. 5.16.

Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 844.

Enoch 48.2, 3.

II Esdras 12.32.

Schurer, ibid. 2.2.p.159.

movement of thought in the Jewish literature is in the direction of a divine pre-existent person.¹ Most certainly the idea of the Messiah was viewed as existing in the purpose of God before its realization, and in this sense the Messiah was pre-existent. When the thought of a Davidic person was considered, to carry it to a pre-existent person was only a short step. In Paul's mind, pre-existence was attributed to Jesus. Phil. 2.5ff is the passage which most suggests this: "Christ Jesus, who, though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant...." The passage ends in the exaltation of Jesus to a position of divine sovereignty. However, we should note that pre-existence or pre-eminence is made to give place to obedience, and the special force of the chapter is to insist on the obedience of humility. He was concerned with the accomplishment of God's purposes and demands in Christ, and in this he continued the basic emphasis of Judaism. Pre-existence for him had importance so long as it emphasized Christ's soteriological and re-creating priority.² Quite faithful to the Jewish expectation, Paul saw the pre-existent Messianic purpose of God realized.

Without question, the idea of divinity is attached to Paul's use of Lord. Divinity and super-human character were attached to the Messiah in Jewish expectations, mainly in

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 Enoch 46. 1, 2, 6.

Cf. Col. 1, 17, 19-20.

the apocalyptic literature. Beginning in Daniel,¹ the Son of Man is described as one with divine and super-human functions: "And at that hour the Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits and his name before the Head of Days." "He will be the light of the Gentiles." Similarly in the inter-testamental literature: "All who dwell on earth will fall down and bow the knee before him and will bless and laud and celebrate with songs to the Lord of Spirits."² The book of Enoch attributes super-human power to the Messiah (His Anointed) in his destruction of evil world powers.³ The evil of the world required a startling, supramundane intervention.⁴ Paul's affirmation that Jesus Christ is Lord⁵ and exalted,⁶ so conspicuously divine, raises the question of how he could call Jesus "Lord" when the term was usually associated with God. Ryle and James have gathered a number of Jewish allusions to the Messiah being called Lord in support of their translation of the 17th Psalm of Solomon (vs. 36):

"Their king is the Lord Messiah"⁷

Luke's gospel understands Psalm 110:1 messianically.⁸ Such evidence by itself is insufficient to prove that "Lord" was

¹ Dan. 7.13.
² Enoch 48.2ff.
³ Enoch 52.4.
⁴ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 331ff. Barclay, Jesus As They Saw Him, p. 107.
⁵ Rom. 10.12. I Cor. 12.3. II Cor. 4.5.
⁶ Phil. 2.9.
⁷ The Psalms of Solomon, p. 141f. A different translation with a different view is held by Schurer and by Gray (Charles).
⁸ Luke 20.42.

commonly used by Jews for the Messiah. The frequent use of "Lord" in the mystery religions is an inadequate explanation. To us, the strongest possibility is that the new sense of the transcendence of God reflected in the soteriological work of Jesus, the expectations of a divine Messiah in the apocalyptic literature, and the act of deliverance expected of the Messianic Age combined in the minds of the early Christians¹ and Paul to make any other designation unsuitable; the work of the Lord in the O.T. fittingly described what Christ among them was now performing.² The ascription of divinity in Jewish expectation to the Messiah provided foundation for Paul to speak of Jesus as the Son of God,³ or the Son,⁴ or his Son.⁵ Messianism and Sonship were related in Psalm 2.7:

"I will tell of the decree of the Lord:
He said to me, 'You are my son,⁶
Today I have begotten you.'"

Enoch speaks of the Messiah as God's Son: "For I and My Son will unite with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and ye will have peace; rejoice, ye children of uprightness."⁷ There is also II Esdras: "For my son the Messiah shall be revealed...."⁸ However influential these

¹ Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, p. 29, 83. Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 249.

² Anderson Scott, ibid. p. 252f. Kirk, Romans, p. 103.

³ Rom. 1.4.

⁴ I Cor. 15.28.

⁵ Rom. 1.3.

⁶ Bentzen, King and Messiah, p. 16ff. The quotation is a familiar part of the account of Jesus' baptism.

⁷ Enoch 105.2.

⁸ II Esdras 7.28; vs. 29 speaks of his death.

sections from the literature may have been, the idea of divine relationship certainly must go back as well to the teaching of the early church and probably to Jesus himself.¹ In any event, the Sonship of the Messiah Paul perceived in Jesus' functional relationship to God. There is no reason to feel that Paul moved outside Judaism in the measure of divinity involved in the name Son of God. His affirmation that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah and the Son of God was radical.

The cosmic-universalistic/^{function} of the Messiah in Jewish expectation found some realization in Paul's understanding of Jesus. The Sibylline Oracles announced that "a holy prince shall come to wield the sceptre over all the world unto all ages of unhurrying time."² The book of Enoch described the Messiah as one who would be a light to the nations.³ The same author believed the Messiah would cause the judgement and destruction of supernatural powers: "And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory, and he will judge all the works of the holy in heaven, and weigh their deeds in the balance."⁴ His judgement would be complete. "The Son of man... caused the sinners and those who have led the world astray to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth."⁵ Earlier, Daniel expected the submission of all powers and dominions to the Messianic Son of Man.⁶

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¹ Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 257
² Sib. Or. 3.49, 50.
³ Enoch 48.4. Cf. Isa. 42.6; 49.6.
⁴ Enoch 61.8.
⁵ Enoch 69.27.
⁶ Dan. 7.14, 27.

The foundation for such a Messianic view was laid by the prophets who saw this work emanating from God.¹ Paul most certainly believed that Jesus Christ has become a light for the gentiles for their salvation. His own election as an apostle was with a universalistic reference.² The gentiles have now become the vessels of God's mercy to receive the gospel of Jesus Christ.³ For their salvation Christ was of universal significance. "For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the same Lord is Lord of all and bestows his riches upon all who call him. For, 'every one who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved.'"⁴ The sovereignty of Jesus as the Christ is attested elsewhere: "For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet."⁵ This suggests the realization of the Messianic expectation that the Messiah would bring all things into subjection, or to destruction with evil's abolition; Christ must destroy "every rule and authority and power."⁶ To Paul, it seems as though this expected subjection was already underway; the new era had come; present rulers and powers who brought about Jesus' death had already sealed their fate.⁷ It is in Colossians that Paul states in the fullest way that the triumph of the

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1 Isa. 13.13. Cf. Isa. 9.4ff. and 11.4.
 2 Gal. 1.16.
 3 Rom. 9:23.24.
 4 Rom. 10.12,13.
 5 I Cor. 15.25.
 6 I Cor. 15.24.
 7 I Cor. 2.6ff.

Messiah over powers and principalities had been signalled by the resurrection and may therefore be said to be accomplished. The fear of powers, elemental spirits, rulers and principalities, which beset the Graeco-Roman world and which had seeped its way into the borders of Jewish thought (Hellenistic-Judaic literature and apocalyptic literature), have been made subject to the risen Christ.¹ "He disarmed the principalities and powers and made a public example of them, triumphing over them in him" (the Cross).² "Christ died to the elemental spirits of the universe"³ but it only need be remembered, says Paul, that Christ is risen and the Colossian Christians with him, so that such powers need no more be held in fear. It appears the case, therefore, that the cosmic-universalistic roles assigned to the Messiah in Jewish expectation Paul found fulfilled in the crucified and risen Christ.

Although Paul could develop some Messianic expectations, parts of his Christology go further. Christ is a second Adam, the progenitor of a new humanity,⁴ and also the Wisdom of God,⁵ but these two categories are not connected with Messianic expectations. The Messiah as a deliverer and saviour does not appear in the Jewish literature in the sense of Isa. 53 or as a sacrifice for sins as

¹ Caird, Principalities and Powers, vii-ix, 16, 93.

² Col. 2.15.

³ Col. 2.20.

⁴ I Cor. 15.22.

⁵ I Cor. 1.24.

we find in the N.T. II Esdras makes some approach in this direction but it is rather isolated: "He will deliver in mercy the remnant of my people, those who have been saved through my borders and he will make them joyful until the end comes."¹ Paul believed the Messiah had come to save men from sin whereas in the Jewish expectation he was to establish the kingdom, confirm the righteous, judge the sinners and bring joy, etc. The coming of the Messiah was expected to be sudden if not cataclysmic and on the condition of repentance. Thus the Rabbis said, "If all Israel would together repent for one whole day, the redemption by the Messiah would follow."² Obviously, redemption could not mean that the Messiah was going to save Israel from the guilt incurred by sin; more likely redemption meant justifying the nation or the righteous, or rewarding the nation for obedience and repentance. The guilt of sin had to be wiped away before the Messiah came;³ thus the writer of the Psalms of Solomon saw that his present sufferings were expiatory.⁴ In his understanding of Jesus as Messiah, Paul believed he had been "put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification"⁵ and with this passed beyond the limits of Judaism.

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¹ II Esdras 12.34.

² Quoted by Barclay, Jesus as They Saw Him, p. 110.

³ Ps. of Sol. 18.6.

⁴ Ps. of Sol. 13.8; 18.4.

⁵ Rom. 4.25.

Many of the essentials of Paul's realizations about Messianic and eschatological expectations were already established in the Christian church before his conversion.¹ No doubt from his first encounter with Christians he thought about their preaching and about what he saw happening in the Christian fellowship. The view that John the Baptist was the expected Elijah may have been familiar to him.² Numerous accounts and events in the N.T. indicate that the earliest Christians considered Jesus to be the Messiah: Peter's confession,³ the men walking to Emmaus,⁴ the preaching of the Jerusalem church,⁵ and the trials of Jerusalem Christians.⁶ Apart from the likelihood that Paul was aware of this contention through his persecutions, it was forcefully confirmed on the road to Damascus. The church had defined that Jesus had died for sins⁷ and was raised.⁸ Paul was aware of this and called it the received tradition.⁹ Probably Christ had been designated Lord¹⁰ and Son of God¹¹ by Christians before him, who to do so had depended on Jesus' teachings, their Messianic expectations and study of the O.T. Baptism may have gained a varied content at Paul's

1 Davies, PRJ, p. 285.

2 Mark 1.2ff; Luke 7.27.

3 Mark 8.29.

4 Luke 24.21ff.

5 Acts 2.22ff.

6 Acts 5.27ff.

7 I Cor. 15.3. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, p. 18.

8 Acts 2.24.32.

9 I Cor. 15.4.

10 Acts 2.36. The formula in Rom. 10.9 - "Jesus is Lord" - is an early confession of belief; Hunter, ibid. p. 29.

11 If Acts 8.37 were allowed we might have some early testimony; Hunter, ibid. p. 144. Paul expands the content of this designation; Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 255: a relationship which is personal, ethical and inherent.

hand but he inherited it from the church's practice and was subject to it.¹ The Spirit's activity was creative in the church's life before Paul;² it was a sign to Paul that the new age had arrived as a Messianic fulfillment.³ The tradition of the Lord's Supper Paul received from the early church,⁴ an occasion to be observed until the Parousia.⁵ The association of the Lord's Supper and Parousia reflect that from the earliest time onward, the church had unrealized expectations, and Paul inherited and shared with the church some of these. He shared with the early church an expectation of the Parousia's imminence. All the writers of the N.T. share this view of His expected return; Acts 3.20-21 suggests that it was part of the early church's preaching. Again the N.T. as a whole bears out the belief that by virtue of Jesus' death, resurrection and exaltation, the new age had come,⁶ or the kingdom of God had come.⁷ A final judgement was expected by the early Christians,⁸ and by Paul.⁹

There is raised the question of the relationship of eschatology and faith. Does either take the precedence over the other in Paul's theology? Deissmann speaks of a

¹ Acts 9.18. Rom. 6.3.

² Acts 2.1ff, 33.

³ Rom. 8.2,23.

⁴ Acts 2.42. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, p. 19.

⁵ I Cor. 11.23,26. Hunter, ibid. p. 77.

⁶ Hunter, ibid. p. 105.

⁷ Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, p.7.

⁸ Implied by Acts 3.19, and 10.42.

⁹ Rom. 2.16.

polarity of movement in Paul's thought: "Relying implicitly on the prophetic words of Jesus, the Apostle is certain that the 'coming' of Christ to complete the kingdom of God on earth will soon take place - so certain that he himself hopes to witness the coming."¹ At the same time, Paul says, "my desire is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better" than to live on.² The first outlook was motivated by unfulfilled promises of large dimensions; the second was motivated by a faith-love relationship already established. Thus Davies can justifiably say that eschatology was integral to faith and not subservient to it.³ Eschatology and faith were of one family, or in one man. We concur with Davies who insists that Jesus was the dominant influence on both.

Although in Paul's eschatology certain expectations were realized, some contradictions resulted. For example, the expected state of sinlessness was not realized in the Christian communities he established. It was expected, according to the Jewish literature, that sinlessness and righteousness would be marks of God's chosen people in the Age to Come. The foundation for this was certainly in the prophetic teaching: "I will make with them an everlasting covenant, that I will not turn away from doing good to them; and I will put the fear of me in their hearts, that they may not turn from me."⁴ In the book of Enoch, sinlessness

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¹ Deissmann, Paul, p. 217.
² Phil. 1.23.
³ PRJ, p. 290.
⁴ Jer. 32.40. Cf. Isa. 42.4, 6, 14-16.

free from sin, have become slaves of righteousness."¹ In the two contrasting pictures in Gal. 5, there are enumerated the habits in the life of sin, and the qualities which the Spirit endows. However, this new life which Paul says is offered in the gospel was not always realized. Obviously, some Christians had immoral associations.² The warning in Gal. 5 against the misuse of freedom suggests that sinfulness was in fact still a crouching possibility, in spite of the fact that the promises had been made for its abolishment, and the work of Christ had opened the door for the realization of those promises. The temporality of the time - between the old and new aeons - does not really alter the contradiction. Paul can preach sinlessness, and see the disrupting fact of sin, and explain that this world³ and we in it are still hindered by Satanic powers,⁴ but it remains true that the expectation was not quite realized. Paul has to constantly stand guard in his churches lest the old life try to find entrance again.⁵ It is evident that he tries to combine Jewish eschatological thought about the sinless Age to Come and the idea of a new sinless life, the new creation, which was experienced among Christians. In drawing a diagram of the future, or teaching what may still be expected, Paul left some contradictions. For example,

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¹ Rom. 6.18.

² I Cor. 5.

³ "The form of this world is passing away." I Cor. 7.31.

⁴ Eph. 6.10ff.

⁵ Gal. 6.1ff.

in his diagram of saving history, he argues that in the end "all Israel will be saved."¹ This view, like the Jewish one, was primarily motivated by belief in the sovereignty and steadfastness of God.² Part of Jewish eschatology is the view that "All Israelites have a portion in the world to come."³ This is a view Paul could never quite part with. What creates difficulty is his belief that "the day is at hand", by which he means the Parousia; nothing else other than its close proximity can be in his mind. In view of this and his belief that eventually God will save Israel too, we have two unmarried time schemes. Paul may have seen no contradiction in this believing that his ministry was for the auxiliary purpose of making the Jews jealous and so to save them.⁴ If this was the link in his mind, he may have been satisfied, but for us a difficult contradiction remains.

We have now to give a reconstruction of Paul's eschatological hopes, matters which largely lie outside of Messianic hopes, although a complete separation of the two is impossible. We will look first at what he has seen realized and then at what he expects to be realized. In both cases, the work of God in Jesus was of enormous influence; it confirmed his Pharisaic belief in the resurrection,⁵ and

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¹ Rom. 11.26.
² Rom. 11.29. Isa. 11.11,12; 35.4. Baruch 5.6.
³ Mishnah, Sanhedrin 10.1.
⁴ Rom. 11.14.
⁵ As a Pharisaic belief, Josephus, The Jewish War, 2.163.

because Christ had risen, foundation and shape was given to the whole of Paul's eschatology; it was the primary, determining factor.¹ Acts maintains that for this cause Paul came before the Sanhedrin on his last journey to Jerusalem,² and was brought to trial before Felix in Caesarea.³ In I Cor. 15, Paul recreates his Pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection under the influence of Jesus' resurrection which he now regards the determining factor; "if Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain."⁴ It is to his conviction of Jesus' resurrection that his belief in the coming, perfected Kingdom of God is attached.⁵ Eschatology, realized and unrealized, is built upon the resurrection of Jesus, which in turn depended on God's exercise of His sovereignty.

One of the realizations of Paul's mind is that in his time, he and the church were witnesses to the end of an old age and the commencement of a new and longed-for age.

Christ's resurrection was the signal of the beginning of the end of the old age and the assurance of the new. "But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. For as by man came death, by a man has come also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die so also in Christ shall all be made alive. But each to his own order: Christ the first fruits,

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1 Davies, PRJ, p. 297.
 2 Acts 23.6.
 3 Acts 24.15.
 4 Acts 15.14.
 5 I Cor. 15.20ff.

then at his coming those who belong to Christ. Then comes the end....."¹ There is no doubt that Paul divided time into two ages. Christ's death was "to deliver us from this present evil age" (*τῶν αἰῶνος*).² There is the foolish debator of this age (*τοῦ αἰῶνος*).³ There are wise men and rulers of this age who are doomed to pass away.⁴ There is a god of this age who blinds men's eyes to the truth of the gospel.⁵ Paul admonishes the Romans not to be conformed to this age; it is doomed.⁶ Rather, as he says to the Corinthians, they ought to remember that their faith in Christ has made them part of a new creation: "the old has passed away, behold the new has come."⁷ It would be wrong to think that Paul's theology circles solely on this idea of two ages, but it is prominent enough to his eschatology to see that the crisis provided by Jesus' death and resurrection made a division in history. For this sense of two ages, Paul was dependent on the speculation of Judaism about a new Age to Come. Nygren points out that the Adam-Christ contrast is dependent on the two ages of Jewish eschatology.⁸ In Judaism this speculation came with increased concern for the individual, for the future, and in view of the great

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1 I Cor. 15.20-24.

2 Gal. 1.4.

3 I Cor. 1.20.

4 I Cor. 2.6; 3.18.

5 II Cor. 4.4.

6 Rom. 12.2.

7 II Cor. 5.17.

8 Romans, p. 20ff.

sinfulness of the old age which only could be ended by an act of God which would bring the happiness and righteousness the Jews desired.¹ The pictures of the new age and the inauguration of it vary widely and inconsistently. The prophets, to begin with, taught Israel to expect that new, refreshing and glorious days were coming,² and with them judgement on that with which God was displeased.³

"Remember not the former things,
nor consider the things of old.
Behold, I am doing a new thing;
now it springs forth, do you not perceive it?"⁴

"For as the new heaven and the new earth
which I will make
shall remain before me, says the Lord;
so shall your descendants and your name remain."⁵

In the non-canonical literature, the expected new age was taken out of history to become supernatural and sudden.

The coming of the new age would be marked by cataclysmic events: upheaval,⁶ disintegration⁷ and judgement.⁸ It will be a time for the renewal and glorification of Israel,⁹ and be marked by a resurrection of the dead.¹⁰ The idea of ages is very frequent in II Esdras:¹¹ "And I answered and said 'What will be the dividing of the times? Or when will

1 Schurer, JPJC, 2.2. p.132f. Barclay, Jesus as They Saw

2 Him. p. 111f.

3 Jer. 31.31.

4 Isa. 13.9ff.

5 Isa. 43.18,19.

6 Isa. 66.22.

7 Enoch 80.4-6.

8 Enoch 100.1,2.

9 Enoch 1.9; 62.2; 90.18.

10 Baruch 5.5-9. II Esdras 13.46ff.

11 Enoch 51.1. II Esdras 13.37. II Baruch 30.2-5.

1 II Esdras 4.45; 5.55.

be the end of the first age and the beginning of the age that follows?"¹ "The day of judgement will be the end of this age and the beginning of the immortal age to come, in which corruption has passed away, sinful indulgence has come to an end, unbelief has been cut off, and righteousness has increased and truth has appeared."² Primarily, the idea of two ages has for its basis the thought of time religiously orientated; the old age is marked by its failure to conform to the will of God; the new age is so startling and glorious because it is marked by conformity.

There is an association between the two ages and the kingdom of God. The new age, which Paul sees, and in this he has taken the lead from Jesus, has broken in and begun. The new age has come; the kingdom has come.³ However, the basis of thought about the ages is different from that of the kingdom: the first is connected with time, though ethi- cized; the second is connected with sovereignty, kingship, the royal and holy will of God realized, as ethical as the ages, except that it is more concrete and personal in mak- ing a claim on men for their obedience. In the framework of eschatology, Paul's thought about the kingdom is at once that it is realized and remains yet to be perfected in the future. God calls men into his kingdom now, in the present.⁴

"The kingdom of God does not mean food and drink but righte-
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¹ II Esdras 6.7.

² II Esdras 7.113, 114.

³ Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments, p. 70.

⁴ I Thess. 2.12.

ousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit,"¹ and since the Holy Spirit has effected these things in their present lives, the kingdom has come among them. The dominant thought about the kingdom is that it is God's. Christ reigns presently but only so that the Father's will might be accomplished; the perfected kingdom will be delivered to God when that will is accomplished.² Although the Jewish expectations were modified under the influence of Jesus, Paul seems to be closest to the eschatological ideas of the kingdom in II Baruch and IV Ezra (II Esdras), since there is in these books the belief that the Messianic kingdom could be of limited duration of time³ and could exist in the world.⁴ In addition, the scheme provided by these books of a temporal Messianic kingdom also calls for a renovation of the world and a last judgement at the end of this period.⁵ The picture in these books is unlike that of the Messianic kingdom in literature prior to the first century A.D., where the kingdom is of permanent duration.⁶ Insofar as Paul may have a Messianic kingdom in his mind, Christ's reign now must also mean that the Messianic kingdom has come. Unlike the two late apocalyptic books it is not of limited duration; it is not of four hundred or two thousand years; there is no suggestion of two kingdoms but only one already begun and yet

¹ Rom. 14.17.

² I Cor. 15.24,25.

³ II Baruch 30.1; 73.1.

⁴ II Esdras 7.28,29.

⁵ Schurer, JPJC, 2.2.p.176-78.

⁶ Enoch 62.14; Ps. of Sol. 17.4; Sib. Or. 3.767ff.

to be perfected.¹ In the last analysis, the kingdom is really God's and it has yet to be finally inherited by those who exhibit the fruit of the Spirit.² Insofar as Judaism influenced Paul about the kingdom of God so as to include it in his eschatology, there is less influence from apocalyptic theories, and much more of the Rabbinic emphasis on its moral claim; even then it is the claim of Jesus on him that the kingdom has come with His appearance and manifestations of power³ that takes greater precedence. The personal religious experience of Paul is so strong that it determines his interpretation of the ages and the kingdom in a way that the apocalyptic literature had not imagined.

Without saying so, we might justifiably guess that Paul, like the gospel writers,⁴ assumed that in John the Baptist, Elijah had come. Paul's acquaintance with Apollos makes his knowledge of John very likely.⁵ This expectation auxiliary to the Messianic hope had its foundation among the prophets: "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes. And he will turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the hearts of children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the land with a curse."⁶ Sirach echoes this expecta-

¹ Davies, PRJ, p. 297.

² Gal. 5.21.

³ Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom, p. 36f.

⁴ Mark 6.15; 9.11-13; Matt. 11.14.

⁵ Acts 18.24ff. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, p. 60.f.

⁶ Mal. 4.5, 6.

tion.¹ In the Mishnah various roles are disputedly assigned to Elijah: a special duty of judgement, or to settle disputes, or to make peace in the world.² The Rabbinic literature says: "Israel will bring forth the great repentance before Elijah comes."³ Insofar as Paul had any ideas about the condition of the world when the Messiah was to come, as a Christian he held the view that the Messiah had come in a time of sinfulness. One Rabbinic view was that the Messiah would come only after all Israel had repented.⁴ An opposite Rabbinic view was that he would come in a time of extreme sinfulness.⁵ "With the footprints of the Messiah presumption shall increase and dearth reach its height.... The council chamber shall be given to fornication. The wisdom of the Scribes shall become insipid and they that shun sin shall be deemed contemptible, and truth shall nowhere be found. Children shall shame their elders"⁶ One of the attitudes found in II Esdras, that sinfulness was the lot of the whole of humanity,⁷ and that great woes would precede his coming, suggests that this line of thought was prominent in Israel: "And unrighteousness shall be increased beyond what you yourself see, and beyond what you heard of formerly."⁸ "And unrighteousness and in-
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1 Sirach 48.10,11.

2 Ederjoth 8.7.

3 Quoted by Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 359 and by Barclay, Jesus as They Saw Him, p. 113.

4 Moore, ibid. Vol. 2, p. 351.

5 Schoeps, Paul, p. 174.

6 Mishnah, Sotah 9.15.

7 II Esdras 8.35.

8 II Esdras 5.2.

contingency shall be multiplied upon the earth."¹ Paul is certainly of the opinion that all men have sinned,² but it is beyond demonstration that this was one of his pre-Christian expectations.

Among the eschatological expectations of Judaism, there was one which looked for the inclusion of the gentiles in the final salvation or in the realization of God's purposes. This broad expectation was probably Paul's from very early times in his life as a Jew, and is something he saw being realized when he became a Christian. The view has its foundation in the O.T.:

"It shall come to pass in the latter days
that the mountain of the house of the Lord
shall be established as the highest of the mountains,
and shall be raised above the hills;
and all the nations shall flow to it,
and many peoples shall come, and say:
'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord,
to the house of the God of Jacob;
that he may teach us his ways
and that we may walk in his paths.'"³

Deutero-Isaiah expresses the task of Israel:

"I will give you as a light to the nations,
that my⁴ salvation may reach to the end of the
earth."⁴

The writer of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs looks for the inclusion of the righteous gentiles:

"For through their tribes shall God appear (dwelling
among men) on earth,
to save the race of Israel,
And to gather together the righteous from amongst
the Gentiles."⁵

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1 II Esdras 5.11.
2 Rom. 3.23.
3 Isa. 2.2,3.

4 Isa. 49.6b.
5 Naphtali 8.3.

The writer of the Similitudes of Enoch had an eye on the words of Isaiah in expressing the duties of the Son of Man:

"He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall,
 And he shall be the light of the gentiles,
 And the hope of those who are troubled of heart.
 All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him,
 And will praise and bless, and celebrate with song to the Lord of Spirits."¹

Even the Psalms of Solomon are not so exclusive as to call for complete gentile destruction, and the writer had a touch of generosity:

"And he shall have the heathen nations to serve him under his yoke;

....
 So that the nations shall come from the ends of the earth to see his glory,
 Bringing as gifts her sons who had fainted,
 And to see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God hath glorified her."²

As expected of Hellenistic-Jewish literature, the Sibylline Oracles provide for their inclusion: "And then all the isles and the cities shall say, How doth the Eternal love those men!" "Come, let us fall upon the earth and supplicate the Eternal King, the mighty, everlasting God."³

By virtue of Paul's avowed purpose as an apostle and his belief that final events were at hand, it is certain that he believed that the inclusion of the gentiles as a Jewish expectation was being realized in the present time. It is nearly impossible that he once held particularist and exclusive attitudes towards the gentiles to allow only

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¹ Enoch 48.4,5.

² Ps. of Sol. 17.32,34.

³ Sib. Or. 3.710-11, 716-17.

destruction or subjugation of them, as was certainly one line of thought in Judaism.¹ Paul was a universalist admitting that some gentiles may have unconsciously fulfilled the law's requirements, while some Jews knowledgeable about the law failed very badly.² The import of Paul's gospel was that "there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcized and un-circumcized, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all."³ He says to the Romans also that in Christ there are no such distinctions.⁴ To declare this message he was sent, chosen before he was born "in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles."⁵ In this quotation there is the clear suggestion that God had a purpose before his birth to include the gentiles in His mercy. In the summary of God's purposes in Romans 1.1-6, the same point is made again. His knowledge of the prophetic call to Israel to be a light to the nations is beyond doubt. In wider terms in which Paul believed God to have desired the obedience of Jews and Gentiles, he says, "What if God, desiring to show his wrath and to make known his power, has endured with much patience the vessels of wrath made for destruction, in order to make known the riches of his glory for the vessels of mercy, which he has prepared beforehand for glory, even us whom he has called, not from the Jews only but also

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¹ Ass. of Moses 10.7. This could be carried so far that the Jewish Dispersion would not be included in the Age to Come, Mishnah, Sanhedrin 10.3.
² Rom. 2.13-15.
³ Col. 3.11.
⁴ Rom. 10.12.
⁵ Gal. 1.16b. Similarly Gal. 2.7,9.

from the gentiles?"¹ Thus, viewed one way or another, it is evident that Paul was aware that God has had a purpose to include the gentiles. He lives in the time when this was being realized, and it must have fortified his belief in the approaching perfected kingdom of God.

The attempt to understand the relationship of eschatology and the law in Paul's thought is a justifiable one. Our difficulty is to balance the influence of Jesus on him in relation to Jewish presuppositions. In Judaism, some thought that when the Messiah came or even when the Age to Come was realized, the law would continue, fully observed, the primary exemplification being the Messiah himself.² Although modifications were unavoidable and obvious, it was the Rabbinic opinion that in the Age to Come the law would still be studied by the schools and with greater comprehension.³ Reports II Esdras: "The Law, however, perishes not, but abides in its glory."⁴ However, there was another line of thought about the law in the Messianic period: it would give place to a new law: "Ye shall receive a new Law from the Elect One of the righteous,"⁵ or as Daube translates the same Targum, "Ye shall receive a new Law from those chosen in righteousness."⁶ There was a Rabbinic Midrash which said, "The law which a man learns in this world is nothing

¹ Rom. 9.22-24.

² Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 209. Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 123f, footnote #5.

³ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 272f.

⁴ II Esdras 9.37. Probably the pre-existence and glory of the law are in mind, which also argues for its eternity.

⁵ Oesterley and Box, ibid. p. 224.

⁶ NTRJ, p. 214.

in comparison with the law of the Messiah."¹ How was it possible for these two views to have emerged? One suggestion is that they were uttered with two different views of the law in mind. So long as the law was seen as a joy and pleasure to be fulfilled by man, (a common Rabbinic view), and its glory and pre-existence was borne in mind, it was natural to expect its continuance in the Messianic period or Age to Come.² But if the law was in its doing a weight and a source of frustration, a desire for a new law bringing joy and love and faith was quite natural.³ IV Ezra (II Esdras) reflects a consciousness of sin which the Law does not alleviate.⁴ Schurer enlarges on this, on the basis of the many rulings of the Mishnah, in saying that religion became externalized and intention was avoided;⁵ this was confirmative evidence that interpretation of the law tended often to be burdensome. The gospels reflect Jesus as highly critical of this tendency, an attitude which was undoubtedly perpetrated in the early church. Schweitzer offers the suggestion that in Judaism law and eschatology were incompatible.⁶ Perhaps there is no difference in his interpretation from the preceding one except that Schweitzer concentrates on their central presuppositions and the directions which law and eschatology were

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¹ Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 224. Barclay, Jesus as They Saw Him, p. 110.

² Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Judaism, p. 148ff.

³ Schoeps, Paul, p. 172f, characterizes the new law to have these qualities.

⁴ Box in Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudipigrapha, p. 555.

⁵ JPJC, 2.1.p. 53f; 2.2.p.10,120ff.

⁶ MPA, p. 189ff.

He was justified by the grace of God as a gift.¹ He was in Christ reconciled to God.² When he realized salvation was through Christ by faith, the demand of the law was rejected,³ and an eschatological framework of thought was pressed to the fore in accordance with the Messiah's appearance. Schoeps begins at the right point, that the abolition of the law was a Messianological doctrine of Pauline theology.⁴ Jesus' death and resurrection signaled a new age in which salvation was realized, and this without any saving efficacy derived from the law. Rabbinic expectation about the end of Torah for a new law collaborated what had occurred as a result of Christ's work. The work of Christ confirmed what Paul as a Jew may have been aware of in the wide range of Jewish eschatological expectations. In any event, whether he was influenced by these expectations or not, Paul taught the end of the law. In a somewhat veiled manner, he went on to think of a new law, the law of Christ, which according to Davies consists of the words of Jesus and loyalty to his person.⁵ Paul's account of the Lord's Supper indicates that he accepted Jesus' words as authoritative and binding.⁶ His echoing of Jesus' advice about duty to government suggests elaboration of His teaching.⁷ In numerous places, Paul testifies that

¹ Rom. 3.24.
² II Cor. 5.19.
³ Rom. 10.3,4. Dibelius, Paul, p. 39.
⁴ Paul, p. 171.
⁵ PRJ, p. 143ff, 148.
⁶ I Cor. 11.23ff.
⁷ Rom. 13.7. Dodd, Romans, p. 205.

he will be obedient to no one or nothing but Christ. Most typical is that he is a servant (*δοῦλος*) of Christ,¹ or "the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God."² The contrast between the claim of Torah on him and the claim of Christ on him is everywhere apparent, but in terms of announcing a new law as Rabbinic thought could imagine it this approach is undeveloped, mostly because it unsuitably described the new life. Once Paul speaks of the law of Christ³ but seems to mean that missionary licence did not allow ignorance of God's demands or the freedom to conduct life without thought for the demands Christ made upon him. It is more typical of Paul to contrast life under the law, which is an existence now abolished, with life under the Spirit. This is the essential way in which Paul contrasts the old law with the new law of the Messianic period. "But now we are discharged from the law, dead to that which held us captive, so that we serve not under the old written code but in the new life of the Spirit."⁴ The Spirit's activity is the assurance of the new life in operation, as once the law sought to define life before Christ came. A similar emphasis appears where the law is used in the sense of principle; the Spirit is again the determining factor. "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set me free from

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¹ Gal. 1.10.

² Gal. 2.20.

³ I Cor. 9.21 - "not being without the law toward God but under the law of Christ."

⁴ Rom. 7.6.

the law of sin and death."¹ Spirit again comes to the fore when Paul attempts a contrast on the theme of covenants and their associated codes. God "has qualified us to be ministers of a new covenant not in a written code" (and then the contrast of covenants and codes fails because of its inadequacy to describe the new life) "but in the Spirit; for the written code kills, but the Spirit gives life."² There follows a similar comparison on "dispensations" (*διακονία*) with a similar result. If there is a new law, it is that which the Spirit demands and enables, or perhaps more properly that which Christ demands and enables. The parallel with the hope of Jeremiah or Ezekiel is so obvious that Paul probably wrote with this in mind, realizing that it had been fulfilled: "Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah."³ "A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you, and I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh."⁴

Part of Paul's realization within the eschatological framework is the belief that the righteousness of God has been manifested.⁵ This was increasingly a soteriological matter, and to the Jewish mind its reaffirmation was something waited for. Paul believes it has been realized or manifested - if only men would hear and believe it! His

Rom. 8.2.
 II Cor. 3.6.
 Jer. 31.31.
 Ezek. 36.26.
 Rom. 3.21. Bultmann, Existence and Faith, p. 137.

most succinct statement on this is to the Romans: in the gospel of Jesus Christ "the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith...."¹ Dodd says this means "God is now seen to be vindicating the right, redressing wrong, and delivering men from the power of evil."² Paul's view is that God now has declared himself to be just;³ He has made it apparent that he is against and judges ungodliness and wickedness;⁴ He has acted to deliver men from sin and evil.⁵

The hope that the righteousness of God would be manifested is often repeated in the Jewish literature. References are abundant in Isaiah and Deutero-Isaiah: "Destruction is decreed, overflowing with righteousness."⁶

"Then his own arm brought him victory,
and his righteousness upheld him.
He put on righteousness as a breastplate,
and a helmet of salvation upon his head;
he put on garments of vengeance for clothing,
and wrapped himself in fury as a mantle."⁷

There are the cries of the psalmists:

"Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness
because of my enemies;
make thy way straight before me."⁸

The book of Enoch envisages confirmation of the righteous by dependence on God or his deputy, and peace at last for the elect:

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- 1 Rom. 1.17.
- 2 Romans, p. 13.
- 3 Rom. 3.26.
- 4 Rom. 1.18.
- 5 Rom. 3.24, 25b.
- 6 Isa. 10.22.
- 7 Isa. 59.16b, 17.
- 8 Ps. 5.8.

"And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness
Which was inexhaustible:
And around it were many fountains of wisdom:
And all the thirsty drank of them,
And were filled with wisdom,
And their dwelling was with the righteous and holy
and elect.

.....
He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay
themselves and not fall."¹

On the whole, the Pharisee who wrote the Psalms of Solomon
regarded the realization of man's righteousness to be his
own responsibility; in spite of this he acknowledged that
his steadfastness depended on the support of God.² He knew
as Paul believed that God would judge in righteousness,³
although Paul believed this had begun. Part of the Phari-
sae's hope was to be supported and confirmed in a life
acceptable to God which he could describe as righteous,
and this hope he attached to the presence and work of the
Lord's Anointed.

"Blessed shall they be in those days,
In that they shall see the goodness of the Lord
which he shall perform for the generation that
is to come...."⁴

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¹ Enoch 48.1,4. See 53.6,7 also.
² Ps. of Sol. 3.7-9.
³ Ps. of Sol. 9.7-9.
⁴ Ps. of Sol.18.7-10.

The desire for God to manifest His righteousness reached its peak in II Esdras where a mood similar to Paul's is represented: sin has not been dealt with adequately by the law, so the despondent Pharisee writes: "What is man, that thou art angry with him; or what is a corruptible race, that thou art so bitter against it? For in truth there is no one among those who have been born, who has not acted wickedly, and among those who have existed there is no one who has not transgressed. For in this, O Lord, thy righteousness and goodness will be declared, when thou art merciful to those who have no store in good works."¹ So emerged the hope in Judaism that God would manifest his righteousness especially for the salvation of those who longed for it. To Paul, in Christ this is a hope now being realized.

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¹ II Esdras 8.34-36.

The influence of Jesus on Paul and the early church caused a reconstruction of eschatological hopes rather than a simple continuance of the hopes according to Judaism. Some expectations were considered realized as we have pointed out. Of the unrealized hopes, the expectation of Jesus' imminent return sent imaginations in the direction of cosmic, universal and final events somewhat more akin to II Baruch and II Esdras which viewed the Messianic kingdom as of limited duration with a renovation and last judgement as culminating,¹ rather than in the fashion typified by the Psalms of Solomon where the national vision was more predominant.² II Baruch and II Esdras, as completed compositions, were too late to influence Paul, but their views may have been in circulation contemporary with him. Some of their expectations may be borne in mind as the background out of which Christian eschatological expectations partly emerged. Some expectations, like a restored nationalism,³ had little significance for Paul though his love for the nation lingered. Three hopes occupied chief place in Paul's mind: the early expectation of the Parousia and a final judgement, a General resurrection and resurrection existence, and the perfected reign of God with its final salvation. Expressed in this general way, Paul remained

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¹Schurer, JPJC, 2.2.p.176ff, 181ff.
²Ryle and James, The Psalms of Solomon, 111f.
³This is still evident in II Baruch 44.7.

remarkably inside the scope of Jewish eschatology. His own eschatology of what was yet to be became a combination of the influence of Jesus and the influence of Judaism. Our attention for the most part is fixed on the Jewish element.

Preceding the Parousia and final judgement, Paul expected tribulation, an expectation characteristic of Jewish eschatology.¹ Said Zechariah: "on that day a great panic from the Lord shall fall on them, so that each will lay hold on the hand of his fellow, and the hand of the one will be raised against the hand of the other."² The Sibylline Oracles expound on the theme: "And straightway a stress of ungodliness shall fall on them, and male shall draw near to male, and they shall set their children in ill-famed houses, and there shall be in those days great tribulation among men."³ The book of Enoch reflects the inhuman discord.⁴ II Esdras draws a picture of cosmic and natural chaos; the author describes men seized with panic and iniquity unbelievably unleashed.⁵ Probably such an influence as this was in mind when Paul said to the Thessalonians: "we told you beforehand that we were to suffer affliction."⁶ In giving counsel on marriage problems, his belief is quite clear: "I think that in view of the impending (ἐνεστώσαν) distress it is well for a person to remain....."

¹ Schurer, JPJC, 2.2.p.154ff.
² Zech. 14.13.
³ Sib. Or. 3.184-87.
⁴ Enoch 100. 1,2.
⁵ II Esdras 5.1-13.
⁶ I Thess. 3.4.

as he is."¹ Tribulation and distress at the time of God's final judgement will fall on Jews and Greeks who have done evil, but in Romans where he says this, Paul had in mind judgement and not tribulation. When tribulation comes on mankind those who are saved - who have risen with Christ - will not be subject to this tribulation in the same way as doers of evil; no tribulation will separate the Christian conqueror from the love of God in Christ.² Paul does not exaggerate the theme of tribulation but he clearly expects that it will come.

Another feature preceding the Parousia and final judgement to be found in Paul's letters is the expectation of a final thrust by ungodly and Satanic powers against God and the elect or saints. Like tribulation, the expectation was traditional to Judaism; thus in Daniel: "By his cunning he shall make deceit prosper under his hand, and in his own mind he shall magnify himself. Without warning he shall destroy many, and he shall even rise up against the Prince of princes; but, by no human hand, he shall be broken."³ The apocalyptic literature offers numerous examples of a last attack. The book of Enoch portrays an attack symbolically: "All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were gathered together, and there came with them all the sheep of the field, yea, they all came together, and helped each other to break the horn of the ram. And I saw a great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep pro-

¹ I Cor. 7.26.

² Rom. 8,35,37,39.

³ Dan. 8.25; 11.36 is similar.

ceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of heaven fled before their face."¹ The writer imagines the elect or sheep to repel their attackers. The Sibylline Oracles declare an attack against God's people and against the place of His worship: "For the shrine of the mighty God and the noblest men they shall seek to ravage whenever they come to the land. In a ring around the city the accursed kings shall place each one his throne with his infidel people by him."² II Esdras also includes the idea of an attack of hostile, ungodly rulers: "It shall be, when all the nations hear his voice, every man shall leave his own land and the warfare which they have one against another; and an innumerable multitude shall be gathered together, as you saw, desiring to come and conquer him."³

In the earliest Pauline letters this theme was prominent. "Let no one deceive you in any way; for that day will not come, unless the rebellion comes first, and the man of lawlessness (*ὁ ἀνθρώπος τῆς ἀνομίας*) is revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and exalts himself against every so-called god or object of worship, so that he takes his seat in the temple of God, proclaiming himself to be God." "For the mystery of lawlessness is already at work." "The coming of the lawless one by the activity of Satan will be with all power and with pretended signs and wonders, and with all wicked

¹ Enoch 90.16,19.
² Sib. Or. 3.665-668.
³ II Esdras 13.33,34.

deception for those who are to perish."¹ In his later letters - Romans and Colossians - the expectation is less conspicuous, but not abandoned. He asserts positively that the love of God in Christ is greater than the powers of darkness.² The death and resurrection of Christ are determinative: "He has delivered us from the dominion of darkness and transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son, in whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins."³ "He disarmed the principalities and powers and made a public example of them, triumphing over them in him."⁴ The rulers of this age are still hostile powers,⁵ though powers passing away. So the ungodly and Satanic powers are already set back,⁶ and although they may strike out again, they will fall: "Then comes the end, when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule and every authority and power."⁷

Overshadowing the expectation of tribulation, some of it already at hand, and the insidious attack of Satan's powers which now tempted some to sin, was the high and glorious hope that Jesus would soon come again and appear. More than anything else, Christian eschatology fixed centrally on Jesus' return; this was the new element of the eschatology formed by the early church. The expectation of Jesus' return depended

¹ II Thess. 2.3-4,7,9-10. Similarly Eph.2.2.

² Rom. 8.38.

³ Col. 1.13.

⁴ Col. 2.15.

⁵ Eph. 6.12.

⁶ Schweitzer, MPA, p.63ff.

⁷ I Cor. 15.24.

on the belief that God would establish his sovereignty and accomplish his purposes - something already being effected. This meant that Paul and his contemporaries were at once dependent on Judaism and on Jesus and his preaching. It was the principal point of Jesus' teaching that the kingdom had now come: "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand";¹ the emphasis was that this was something happening now.² The expectation of the breaking in of God's reign was common in first century Judaism,³ and among the early Christians the life and work of Jesus gave root and new character to the traditional expectation. When Jesus' followers believed the kingdom had come with him, it was axiomatic that he be related to the coming reign of God. His resurrection gave force to the association. He and the expectation became inseparable. The ultimate realization of the kingdom was connected of necessity with the presence of the living Christ. The Thessalonian letters are alive with the expectation of the realization of God's reign, and in the center is Christ who has stirred this hope alive: "For since we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so through Jesus, God will bring with him those who have fallen asleep."⁴ When Phil-

¹ Mark 1.15.
² Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 86ff. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom of God, p.36.
³ Important to many prayers, Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 373. Others did not look for a supernatural or apocalyptic act, but felt that the kingdom of God as his reign came with the observance of Torah, and so was already in the present; Mishnah, Berakoth 2.2,5.
⁴ I Thess. 4.14.

ippians was written, the hope was still burning.¹ With the Jewish hope of the reign of God so integral to Christian thought, the church felt quite entitled to include traditional features.

Paul believed that the Parousia was imminent. "Let all men know your forbearance. The Lord is at hand."² "For salvation is nearer to us now than when we first believed; the night is far gone, the day is at hand."³ The Parousia will come suddenly: "For you yourselves know well that the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night."⁴ "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet" will final things begin.⁵ Such suddenness was a feature of the apocalyptic literature; the "Day's" cosmic significance prompted this. The Parousia will be attended by angelic announcement and trumpet sounds: "For the Lord himself will descend from Heaven with a cry of command, with the archangel's call, and with the sound of the trumpet of God."⁶ Michael may be the archangel in Paul's mind, for he had the task of sounding the trumpet and of summoning the angels at God's coming. The employment of a trumpet for warning, approach and triumph appears repeatedly in the prophetic and

¹ Phil. 3.20,21. Some scholars think that his hope about the Parousia recedes into the background in his later letters; e.g. Dodd, New Testament Essays, "The Mind of Paul - II", p. 110ff.

² Phil. 4.5.

³ Rom. 13.11b,12.

⁴ I Thess. 5.2.

⁵ I Cor. 15.52.

⁶ I Thess. 4.16. I Cor. 15.52 also.

apocalyptic literature;¹ it is no wonder that it was incorporated into the picture of the coming and triumphing Lord. In another of Paul's pictures, the emphasis shifts from triumph to his coming in judgement: "when the Lord Jesus is revealed from Heaven with his mighty angels in flaming fire," he will inflict "vengeance upon those who do not know God and upon those who do not obey the gospel of our Lord Jesus."² A similar expectation is in Deutero-Isaiah:

"For behold the Lord will come in fire,
 and his chariots like the stormwind,
 To render his anger in fury
 and his rebuke with flames of fire."³

Passages in Enoch are similar.⁴ However, for the saints, his coming will be a time of glory: "he comes on that day to be glorified in his saints, and to be marvelled at in all who have believed, because our testimony to you was believed."⁵ The Parousia occupied an important place in the kerygma of the church and in Paul's preaching. Its conspicuousness in his letters allows no other conclusion, and at some points Paul deliberately reminds his converts that the hope was an important one: "But as to the times and the seasons, brethren, you have no need to have anything written to you. For you yourselves know well that the day of the Lord will

1 Isa. 27.13. Jer. 51.27. Ezek. 33.3-5. Zech. 9.14b.
 2 II Esdras 6.23.
 3 II Thess. 1.7b, 8.
 4 Isa. 66.15.
 5 Enoch 1.9.
 6 II Thess. 1.10.

come...."¹ In addition to its prominence in the kerygma, the church and Paul were alive to the place of the expectation in the regular activities of the community. The Parousia was brought to mind when the Lord's Supper was observed. "For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes."²

One of the most prominent features of the Parousia was an expected final judgement. This is a key point where Paul, with the early church, had common ground with Judaism. First let us see the scope of the final judgement Paul has in mind. He warns his converts to be prepared for the Parousia because it is a time of judgement: "So then let us not sleep, as others do, but let us keep awake and sober."³ Force is added to "be prepared" because the Parousia will be sudden, "a thief in the night."⁴ Paul avoids extreme worry or excitement by focusing attention on completing one's regular duties⁵ and concentrating on a "life worthy of God",⁶ continuing "in the faith, stable and steadfast."⁷ It is interesting to observe that while Paul expected a final judgement, he also believed that judgement was something operative in the present. Men brought judgement on themselves by their rejection of God; although men "knew God they did not honour him as

1 II Thess. 5.1,2.
 2 I Cor. 11.26.
 3 I Thess. 5.6. Rom. 13.11 is similar.
 4 I Thess. 5.2.
 5 I Thess. 4.11f. II Thess. 3.6ff.
 6 I Thess. 2.11,12.
 7 Col. 1.21-23.

God or give thanks to him ... therefore God gave them up...."¹ Jesus expressed this view that men brought judgement on themselves: "He who rejects me, rejects him that sent me."² In this light, and with the authority which Paul believed was entrusted to the apostles, moral discipline had to be exercised in the community; Paul put "teeth" into this by calling for the expulsion of an immoral person so that "his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."³ God was active in judgement now; He judged those outside the Christian community, a matter beyond the concern of Christians.⁴ Christ judged those inside the church now; Paul strangely interpreted the death of some Christians for their profanation of the Lord's Supper.⁵ Judgement was understood to be occurring now in the suffering of the elect. This endurance "is evidence of the righteous judgement of God, that you may be made worthy of the kingdom of God, for which you are suffering."⁶ The fact of their endurance which was made possible by God was a sign that his judgement would be favourable. "God is faithful, and he will not let you be tempted beyond your strength, but with the temptation will also provide a way of escape, that you may be able to endure it."⁷

Final judgement will be forensic; i.e. it will occur

- 1 Rom. 1.21,24.
- 2 Luke 10.16.
- 3 I Cor. 5.3-5.
- 4 I Cor. 5.9-13.
- 5 I Cor. 11.27-29.
- 6 II Thess. 1.5.
- 7 I Cor. 10.13.

by the simple verdict of God. Paul was not precise about who will be judge: God or Christ. On the whole Christ is judge, but clearly he will act in fulfillment of the will of God: "On that day ... God judges the secrets of men by Christ Jesus."¹ This is confirmed otherwise when, soteriologically, Christ acted for God, or God acted in Christ to save;² thus Christ could also act to judge. All men must appear before the judgement seat of Christ, the sinner³ and the saint:⁴ "For we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ, so that each one may receive good or evil, according to what he has done in the body."⁵ There is a book of life to be opened, although this is mentioned only in reference to the saints' or elect's names who are in it.⁶ God's knowledge of all men's deeds implied by Rom. 1.24 suggests that the activities of sinners are known, book or no book. Previously we noted that Paul believed that fire would attend Christ's coming, but the emphasis then was on vengeance. In another reference to the Parousia, purifying fire comes to test good works: "Each man's work will become manifest; for the Day will disclose it, because it will be revealed by fire, and the fire will test what sort of work each has done. If the work which any man has built on the foundation survives,

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¹ Rom. 2.16. Cf. I Cor. 4.4,5 and 15.24.
² II Cor. 5.19.
³ Rom. 2.5.
⁴ Rom. 2.15,16.
⁵ II Cor. 5.10.
⁶ Phil. 4.3.

he will receive a reward. If any man's work is burned up, he will suffer loss, though he himself will be saved, but only as through fire."¹ The common factor allowing for these different perspectives is that fire was regarded as a divine purifying agent. Paul tenaciously holds to the belief that the elect will be spared, for it is "Jesus who delivers us from the wrath to come."²

It follows that for Paul wrath and fury and destruction are the opposites of salvation. It is important to notice that the wrath or anger of God as the activity of judgement is not conceived by Paul as of the same divine personal quality as the love of God. Wrath or anger are reactions to man's disobedience, faithlessness and opposition to God.³ In addition, the exercise of wrath or anger is almost completely reserved for the future. "For those who are factious and do not obey the truth, but obey wickedness, there will be wrath and fury... for every human being who does evil."⁴ "The wages of sin is death."⁵ To opponents of the gospel, the omen of their destruction is the steadfastness of the Christians in their faith.⁶ Upon the disobedient will come destruction.⁷ The man of lawlessness,

¹ I Cor. 3.13,14.

² I Thess. 1.10.

³ Compare the movements of thought in Rom. 1.18ff. MacGregor, "The Concept of the Wrath of God in the New Testament",

⁴ "New Testament Studies," 7(1961), p. 101ff.

⁴ Rom. 2.8,9.

⁵ Rom. 6.23.

⁶ Phil. 1.28; 3.18,19also.

⁷ Col. 3.6.

the Anti-Christ will be destroyed;¹ Satan will be crushed.² This mighty act of judgement upon those who have opposed God is considered as a work of God. "Beloved, never avenge yourselves, but leave it to the wrath of God; for it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord.'"³ With so much emphasis on God or Christ as the executor of judgement at the Parousia, it is curious to find that the elect or saints will judge the world and angels: "Do you not know that the saints will judge the world?... Do you not know that we are to judge angels?"⁴ The immediate context for this reminder is that the Corinthians ought to be ashamed to carry their disputes to non-Christian courts when the immensity of their role as future, cosmic judges makes trivial the exaggerated way they view their internal quarrels. In a larger context, in the light of the keen and bitter conflict between disbelievers and Satanic angelic powers, and the saints of God, it may have been a comfort to know that the saints would some time stand triumphant over their persecutors. Paul did look forward to the day when evil's power would be ended. As much as anyone, he experienced suffering and persecution,⁵ and had his own thorn in the flesh - a hardly bearable work of Satan.⁶

Among the eschatological themes of I Cor. 15, Paul

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- 1 II Thess. 2.8.
 - 2 Rom. 16.20.
 - 3 Rom. 12.19.
 - 4 I Cor. 6.2,3.
 - 5 II Cor. 11.23ff.
 - 6 II Cor. 12.7.

declares that Christ will destroy man's last enemy - death.¹ Death, like Satanic powers, still does its work, but as the death and resurrection of Jesus proved triumphant over these powers, so Christians will also triumph over death. To corroborate, Paul quotes Isaiah and Hosea:

"Death is swallowed up in victory."
"O death, where is thy victory?
O death, where is thy sting?"²

In spite of this confidence, men must wait for the Parousia for the final fulfillment of this hope. In the meantime, death lingers at his elbow apparently at Ephesus,³ and perhaps in Rome.⁴

The influence of Jewish eschatology on Paul's thoughts about final judgement is everywhere apparent. The whole tenor of the apocalyptic literature breathes the suddenness of and unpreparedness for the event. Judgement is pictured as dramatic and comprehensive. In the Jewish literature, the Messiah was usually to come with dramatic suddenness, or as born but hidden, or as a full grown man, or verified by miracles, etc.⁵ Just as much as Paul thought of judgement as something happening in the present, so his predecessors had taught from the most ancient times onward. The writer of the Psalms of Solomon believed that judgement had

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¹ I Cor. 15.26.
² I Cor. 15. 54,55.
³ II Cor. 1.9. I Cor. 15.32.
⁴ Phil. 1.20.
⁵ Schurer, JPJC, 2.2.p.163f.

been operative on sinful Sadducees¹ and on a foreign dominator, probably Pompey.² He believed that there was judgement in his chastening and suffering³ and his reason seems to be that they purify.⁴ Paul follows somewhat similar lines: even in suffering the righteous will be preferred; it is a token of divine support, and sometimes present judgement may be for final salvation at the Parousia. Paul does not see corrective discipline through suffering to be a necessity for the elect - it was not to this they were called⁵ - as the psalmist believed; the latter interpreted his times so that even the righteous were now being afflicted by God because they were sinful.⁶ Paul does not admit this contradiction but he does see that judgement is employed now. He agrees with the psalmist that it operates on those outside the pale of God's favour. In the Jewish literature, either God or the Messiah acted as judge of men. The Assumption of Moses makes no mention of the Messiah at all; instead,

"For the Most High will arise, the Eternal God alone,
And he will appear to punish the Gentiles."⁷

However, in much of the Jewish literature, the Messiah comes in one way or another to judge:⁸

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- 1 Ps. of Sol. 2.18,19; 2.3.
- 2 Ps. of Sol. 2.30,31.
- 3 Ps. of Sol. 10.1; 13.4ff.
- 4 Ps. of Sol. 13.8.
- 5 Gal. 5.13,16.
- 6 Ps. of Sol. 18.4ff.
- 7 Ass. of Moses 10.7.
- 8 Schurer, JPJC, 2.2.p.166f.

"On that day Mine Elect One shall sit upon the throne of glory and shall try their works...."¹

"And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory,
And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him,
And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners,
And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face."²

Such a simple and final verdict indicates that judgement is forensic in the same way imagined by Paul. The writer of the Psalms of Solomon had a militant idea of the destruction of the enemies of God and Israel;³ II Baruch reflects an even more militant view.⁴ In the later literature, the view predominates that all men are to be included in judgement, but even in early literature the idea is implicit: "And then from the sunrise God shall send a king, who shall give every land relief from the bane of war: some he shall slay and to others he shall consecrate faithful vows."⁵ II Baruch and II Esdras clearly include the judgement of all men:

"For thus shall the Day of Judgement be:

... the splendour of the brightness of the Most High, whereby all shall be destined to see what has been determined (for them)."⁶ The writer of the "History of Israel" in

Enoch had the idea of a book of life in mind.⁷ The Mishnah

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¹ Enoch 45.3.

² Enoch 62.2.

³ Ps. of Sol. 17.25 - "a rod of iron".

⁴ II Baruch 40.1.

⁵ Sib. Or. 3.652-54. Enoch 1.7; 62.2 takes account of two classes at the judgement: sinners and the righteous.

⁶ II Esdras 7.39, 42c.

⁷ Enoch 89.68. Also Jubilees 36.10.

records a warning that men's deeds are recorded in a book.¹
 Furthermore, it is to be noticed that the Jews expected
 fire with judgement.

"And the high mountains shall be shaken,
 And the high hills shall be made low,
 And shall melt like wax before the flame.

.....
 And there shall be a judgement upon all (men)."²

It was traditional and natural that men should expect
 mercy toward the elect at the final judgement. We have seen
 that Paul believed that the Christian's hope for mercy was
 in Christ. The Pharisee of the Psalms of Solomon had a
 similar dependence on the mercy of God on that day:

"And sinners shall perish for ever in the day of the
 Lord's judgement,
 When God visiteth the earth with His judgement.
 But they that fear the Lord shall find mercy therein,
 and shall live by the compassion of their God;
 But sinners shall perish for ever."³

In terms of the absolute and final character of judgement
 there was little difference between the Pharisee and Paul.
 Ultimately they both hoped God would deliver them, and ex-
 pected He would not deliver or pardon the sinners.

Destruction of those opposed to God and his will was
 the established view of the prophets, apocalyptists, Rabbis
 and Paul:

"Behold, the day of the Lord comes,
 cruel, with wrath and fierce anger,
 To make the earth a desolation
 and to destroy sinners from it."⁴

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¹ Aboth 2.1.

² Enoch 1.6,7. Similarly Jubilees 36.10.

³ Ps. of Sol. 15.13-15.

⁴ Isa. 13.9. Similarly Jubilees 36.9,10; Ps. of Sol. 15.12,13.

Destruction was expected to fall on angelic and Satanic powers:

"On that day the Lord will punish
the host of heaven, in heaven...."¹

"'For whom are these chains being prepared?' And he said to me: 'These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel, so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation....'"²

"And then his kingdom shall appear throughout all creation,
And then Satan shall be no more,..."³

In their eschatology, the Jews saw also the destruction of hostile nations which had so often afflicted the nation,⁴ but this limited perspective has no place in Paul's mind.

Paul's idea that saints will judge sinners and the world had precedents in Jewish literature:

"And sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous."⁵

"Be hopeful, ye righteous; for suddenly shall the sinners perish before you,
And ye shall have lordship over them according to your desires."⁶

Finally, in connection with the abolition of death as an accompaniment of the Pafousia, the over-riding proof for Christians was the resurrection of Jesus from the dead. The finality of death was undermined during the troubles afflict-

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¹ Isa. 24.21.

² Enoch 54.4,5.

³ Ass. of Moses 10.1.

⁴ Ps. of Sol. 17.27.

⁵ Enoch 91.12.

⁶ Enoch 96.1. More extreme is 98.12.

ing the plebians of Israel (fourth century B.C. onward) when the resurrection of the dead became a consoling hope.¹ The hope is expressed in the apocalyptic section of Isaiah that death will no longer hold those who have perished.

"Thy dead shall live, their bodies shall rise.
O dwellers in the dust, awake and sing for joy!"²

The suffering of the seven brothers recorded in II Maccabees was endurable because they believed that death would ultimately not hold them.³ The end of all troubles, perhaps death as well, is foretold in the book of Enoch:

"And in their days shall no sorrow or plague
Or torment or calamity touch them."⁴

It lies implicitly within the hope of the resurrection of the dead that the power of death is defeated. It is to the hope of resurrection we now turn.

In terms of discussion devoted to it by Paul, the resurrection of the dead and attending features of this hope are the most prominent parts of his eschatology. This is significant for it was the answer to man's last enemy - death, and because it was a very prominent feature of the theology of the Pharisees:⁵

"But they that fear the Lord shall rise to life eternal,
And their life (shall be) in the light of the Lord,
and shall come to an end no more."⁶

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¹ Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 145ff.
² Isa. 26.19.
³ II Macc. 7.9.
⁴ Enoch 25.6.
⁵ According to Josephus and numerous pieces of Jewish literature.
⁶ Ps. of Sol. 3.16.

The hope is often repeated by Paul.¹ It is apparent that certain events made the belief more prominent and tenaciously held by both Jews and Christians. Due to many human inequalities among the Jews in the fourth century B.C. the hope of a better future material life sprang alive as never before.² From this period emerged the resurrection hope reflected in Isa. 26.19. During the persecutions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in the next century, the hope was again intensified.³ Similar experiences of persecution and suffering motivated Paul's belief: "We felt that we had received the sentence of death, but that was to make us rely not on ourselves but on God who raises the dead."⁴ When in trouble, it seems as though the resurrected life came more clearly to the fore; at the same time, belief in the resurrection of the dead was immeasurably heightened when the church believed that Jesus had risen from the dead - the manifestation of the power of God in raising Jesus and revealing him to Paul had a more compelling and convincing power.

The N.T. shows that the declaration of Jesus risen from the dead was highly controversial. Peter and John annoyed the temple priests and Sadducees for "proclaiming in Jesus the resurrection from the dead."⁵ Their arrest followed.

¹ I Cor. 6.14. Phil. 3.11.

² Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 145.

³ II Macc. 6,7. Finklestein, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 154.

⁴ II Cor. 1.9.

⁵ Acts 4.2.

The disputers of Athens mocked Paul for such preaching.¹
 The point was enough to start a dispute in the Sanhedrin.²
 To Paul, however, it was not a matter of dispute, but an article of faith, and a critical factor to the new religious consciousness borne in him. A remarkably lengthy list of witnesses to Jesus' resurrection is his testimony to its reality and primacy,³ from which Paul proceeds to say that Jesus' resurrection is surety for the resurrection of the dead. He says negatively: "if there is no resurrection of the dead, then Christ has not been raised."⁴ Positively he says, "But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep."⁵ "In Christ shall all be made alive."⁶ In the light of a General Resurrection, Jesus' resurrection is surety that the righteous dead will be raised: "For since we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so, through Jesus, God will bring with him those who have fallen asleep."⁷ In terms of individual religious experience, or in terms of the vitality of a faith relationship to Christ, or in terms of the new life begun, the believer's resurrection may be expected because Christ's is confirmed: "For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a

1 Acts 17.32.
 2 Acts 23.6ff.
 3 I Cor. 15.3ff.
 4 I Cor. 15.13.
 5 I Cor. 15.20.
 6 I Cor. 15.22.
 7 I Thess. 4.14.

resurrection like his";¹ the religious or the experiential, not eschatological, perspective dominates here. From a similar perspective seems to be the thought that at death, fellowship with Christ will be consummated. "My desire is to depart and be with Christ."²

In some of his letters, Paul follows rather closely Jewish ideas about a General Resurrection, except that in his mind these events are now coincident with and dependent on Jesus' return. The resurrection of the dead occurs at various points in the different apocalyptic schemes,³ but according to Paul it occurs at the same time as the Parousia. "For the Lord will descend... and the dead in Christ will rise first."⁴ "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet... the dead will be raised imperishable"⁵ Because judgement is a feature of the Parousia when all men's works will be tried, Paul is closer to that branch of Jewish speculation which believed all men would be raised, the righteous for blessedness, and sinners for punishment or destruction. Some Jewish literature did not expect any but the righteous to be raised;⁶ other literature expresses the belief that all will be raised: "then also all men shall

¹ Rom. 6.5.

² Phil. 1.23.

³ According to Dan. 12.2 and Enoch 51.1 with the Messianic period; according to II Baruch, where the Messianic kingdom is only temporary, resurrection of the dead comes at the close of this period.

⁴ I Thess. 4.14,16.

⁵ I Cor. 15.52.

⁶ Ps. of Sol. 13.9-11; 15.13ff.

rise, some into glory and some into shame."¹ Paul is close to the thought of II Baruch 30.1-5 which expects the wicked to get their just deserts at the time of the General Resurrection; compare Paul when he tells the Romans that some by their wickedness have stored up wrath for themselves.² In these expectations about the resurrection Paul has remained relatively an orthodox Pharisee.³

In view of a General Resurrection, Paul expects that when the Parousia takes place in his life time and that of his contemporaries, they will be "caught up" and suitably changed for the resurrection existence: "Then we who are alive, who are left, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so we shall always be with the Lord."⁴ "Lo, I tell you a mystery. We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed."⁵ Some such view pervaded the whole church which only after quite some time gave up the hope of Christ's imminent return. Fired by the expectation of the ultimate realization of God's sovereignty, Paul, among others, reflects the belief that the kingdom was at hand, about to be completed, and hence some explanation was needed for the living as the Parousia came on them. His view is that the living will be changed when the Parousia effects the General Resurrection.

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¹ Test. of Twelve Patriarchs, Benjamin 10.8. Also Enoch 51.1.

² Rom. 2.5.

³ Davies, PRJ, p. 303.

⁴ I Thess. 4.17.

⁵ I Cor. 15.51.

Again, in view of a General Resurrection, Paul makes allowance for an intermediate state of the dead. He implies this when teaching that the dead will come with Christ at the General Resurrection.¹ Similarly, a state of existence of the dead is presumed in the discussion of baptism "on behalf of the dead."² The subject is reflected in the anxiety generated by the death of some converts. Among the Hebrews, Sheol was traditionally the abode of the dead.³ Acts on behalf of the dead were performed during the Maccabean troubles and were recorded with approval.⁴ Paul does not say from where the dead will rise but if an intermediate state has been allowed for, he may have thought of them rising from Sheol. More likely, he may have thought according to the situation reflected in the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus⁵ where sinners began their torment after death, and the righteous began their happiness.⁶ Current in Judaism there was the view that after death sinners went to a different place than the righteous, if it was held at the same time that a final judgement would summon all:

"And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-place
of the holy,
And the resting-places of the righteous.

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¹ I Thess. 4.15,16.

² I Cor. 15.29.

³ Job 10.21,22.

⁴ II Macc. 12.39ff.

⁵ Luke 16.22.

⁶ Schurer, JPJC, 2.2.p.180.

"Here mine eyes saw their dwelling with his
righteous angels,
And their resting-places with the holy."¹

"And in those days shall the earth also give back
that which has been entrusted to it,
And Sheol also shall give back that which it has
received,
And hell shall give back that which it owes."²

These references show that there was some variety of thought
about the abode of the dead.

Part of this same family of thought about a General
Resurrection is Paul's concern about a resurrection body or
a resurrection existence. This was typically Jewish which
Hellenism's counterpart - the immortality of the soul - had
not dislodged. The key passage is in I Cor. 15.35ff: "How
are the dead raised? With what kind of body do they come?"
"God gives it a body as he has chosen, and to each kind of
seed its own body." "It is sown a physical body, it is
raised a spiritual body." Paul rests his case, among other
proofs, on the resurrection of Jesus: "Just as we have borne
the image of the man of dust, we shall also bear the image
of the man of heaven." The background of this passage
which the Corinthian church provided seems to be two-fold.
Some were probably occupied with the idea of immortality,
something to which they were unquestionably exposed, and
found the resurrection of the dead a serious if not grotesque

1 Enoch 39.4, 5a.

2 Enoch 51.1.

possibility; others were more occupied, as some Jewish speculation was,¹ with a real physical resuscitation. Paul's moderating and largely Rabbinic answer is that the resurrection existence will have a suitable spiritual (*πνευματικός*) body. The same idea of a suitable change is still present in later letters: "The Lord Jesus Christ ... will change our lowly body to be like his glorious body, by the power which enables him even to subject all things to himself."² Note that here again Paul rests the idea of a spiritual body as the resurrection mode of existence on a belief that Jesus has a suitable resurrected or spiritual body. Christ is the first of a new order of existence.³ In Rabbinic fashion, Paul gives three analogies from nature to demonstrate that the resurrection existence will have its own suitable form: a kernel of grain, bodies of animals, birds and fish, and celestial bodies. As these have their distinctive bodies so the resurrection life will be suitably ordered. Because these analogies have Rabbinic parallels, we have proof that the subject was well mooted in Paul's time.⁴ That Paul did not invent the idea of a spiritual body out of mental gymnastics of his own or because he was forced to by the pressure of the Corinthian church is shown by the fact that Jesus' appearance is believed by him

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¹ Davies, *PRJ*, p. 300, gives a Rabbinic statement of the resuscitated and perfected physical body. II Bar. 50.1,2 gives a similar picture.

² Phil. 3.21.

³ I Cor. 15.45ff.

⁴ Davies, *ibid.* p. 305f.

to have a resurrected form. Jesus "appeared" to him¹ in a form in which there was a contrast between his "lowly body" and Christ's "glorious body".² Furthermore, as he concludes his argument in I Cor. 15, he says "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, nor does the perishable inherit the imperishable";³ this is not the language of analogy any longer. Paul was probably moving in a stream of thought already active in Judaism which was deliberating on the mode of the resurrection existence. II Baruch may be taken as an example:

"For in the heights of that world they shall dwell,
 And they shall be made like unto the angels,
 And be made equal to the stars,
 And they shall be changed into every form they desire,
 From beauty into loveliness,
 And from light into the splendour of glory."⁴

There was clearly a line of thought in Judaism concerned with a spiritual resurrection existence.⁵

With the thoughts of the Parousia and a General Resurrection overlapping, the command, archangel's call and trumpet sounds may be viewed as part of the General Resurrection as well. We have already noticed these from the perspective of the Parousia, and observed that they sometimes found a place in the Jewish pictures of last things. They were less

¹ I Cor. 15.8.

² Phil. 3.21.

³ I Cor. 15.50.

⁴ II Baruch 50.10.

⁵ Thackeray, RPCJT, p. 118. Davies, PRJ, p. 306-8.

important features easily incorporated.

Some of Paul's letters written at a later period than I and II Thess. and I Cor., whose views have dominated the eschatology outlined to the present, reflect at least a shift in emphasis from the dead being raised and the living transformed in a General Resurrection or at the imminent Parousia, to the idea that on death one will be immediately united with Christ no less with a spiritual body or resurrection existence. "For we know that if the earthly tent we live in is destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Here indeed we groan, and long to put on our heavenly dwelling, so that by putting it on we may not be found naked. For while we are still in this tent, we sigh with anxiety; not that we would be unclothed, but that we would be further clothed, so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life." Then follows that which Paul believes to be the guarantee for the life to be had at death: "He who has prepared us for this very thing is God, who has given us the Spirit as a guarantee."¹ Something akin to this confidence is in the earlier letter, Gal.: "He who sows to the Spirit will from the Spirit reap eternal life."² Compare the similarity of Phil.: "For ~~me~~ to live is Christ, and to die is gain. If it is to be life in the flesh, that means fruitful labour for me. Yet which I shall choose, I cannot tell. I am

¹ II Cor. 5.1-5; vs. 8 continues the idea.
² Gal. 6.8b.

hard pressed between the two. My desire is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better."¹ The idea of immediate entrance to a resurrection existence or spiritual life found most force in the present reality of Jesus' risen life. In addition, the idea of translation to the divine company had many precedents in Judaism. Elijah was swept up to heaven.² The N.T. account of the transfiguration continues this view by implication and adds that Moses also is a part of the divine company.³ Enoch, Ezra and others are accorded the same honour in Jewish tradition.⁴ There is a striking sentence in II Esdras directed to Ezra: "For you shall be taken up from among men, and henceforth you shall live with my Son, and with those who are like you, until the times are ended."⁵

In the Pauline passages cited, death has clearly become a serious stumbling block. It may have been heightened because of trying events perhaps in Ephesus: "For we do not want you to be ignorant, brethren, of the affliction we experienced in Asia; for we were so utterly unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself. Why, we felt that we had received the sentence of death."⁶ The trouble in Ephesus recorded in Acts may parallel that to which Paul

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¹ Phil. 1.21-23.

² II Kings 2.11.

³ Mark 9.4.

⁴ Schurer, JPJC, 2.2.p.180.

⁵ II Esdras 14.9.

⁶ II Cor. 1.8,9a.

alludes.¹ It is interesting to observe in the first five chapters of II Cor., where this shift of emphasis from a General Resurrection to a personal continuation is especially to be observed and death is a real possibility envisaged, that the Spirit dominates not as producing fruits of good conduct² but as a "guarantee",³ as the sign of a new "dispensation",⁴ as the presence of the living Lord,⁵ as the giver of life,⁶ etc. The Spirit occupies Paul's perspective here as it does not in other passages relating to death and the resurrection. The point is that where the temporality of this earthly life emerges, so does confidence in the Spirit emerge as an empowering agent and a sign for the new men being created by Christ.

The question now arises whether I Cor. 15 and II Cor. 5 present us with two opposing views of life after death. In the earlier literature, the dead must wait for a final General Resurrection when Christ will bring the risen dead with him; in the later literature, Paul expects to be transformed on his own death and so be with Christ. Has Paul changed his views? Has he advanced his position? Is the Parousia no longer so dominant in his mind? Or can he hold both these views at the same time? There is little reason to believe that the Parousia has been discarded; rather the

1 Acts 19.23ff.
 2 Gal. 5.22ff.
 3 II Cor. 1.22; 5.5; 3.18 - our change to glory is the work of the Spirit.
 4 II Cor. 3.6,8.
 5 II Cor. 3.17.
 6 II Cor. 3.6; 5.4,5.

prospect of his own death has been taken far more seriously than it was before. The hope of the Parousia is still alive in Col.,¹ Phil.,² and Eph.³

The extensive examination of this problem by many scholars indicates that it has been found vexing. Charles offered the view that Paul realized by the time he wrote II Cor. 5 that I Cor. 15 expressed a contradiction in the analogies and the intervention of a "sleep", so then developed the idea of resurrection upon death.⁴ Davies justly criticizes this idea of development when Paul's analogy is made to bear more than intended.⁵ Thackeray,⁶ Knox,⁷ and Beare⁸ believe that the change of view was due to the increased influence of the Hellenistic idea of immortality. This may be to some degree an influential factor in his thought in these later letters. Nor was it a difficulty for a Jew, born in Tarsus, an attendant of the Hellenistic synagogues and probably a Pharisaic missionary, to have become acquainted with and sympathetic to the belief in the immortality of the soul. Other Jews exposed to Hellenistic ideas had included in their literature the belief in immortality.⁹ Furthermore, the real difference between

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1 Col. 3.4.
2 Phil. 4.5.
3 Eph. 4.30; 5.5.
4 Eschatology, p. 394ff.
5 PRJ, p. 309f.
6 RPCJT, p. 131ff.
7 SPCG, p. 128, 136ff.
8 St. Paul and His Letters, p. 88ff.
9 Wis. of Sol. 2.23; 3.1; 15.3.

the spiritualization of the resurrection existence which we have found in the Rabbinic and apocalyptic literature, and the belief in the immortality of the soul is much less than the difference between physical resuscitation of the body which Paul rejects and immortality. These things combine to form a serious possibility that Paul was aware of and exposed to the idea of the immortality of the soul.

Finally, ἀφθάρτος is a word which Paul uses without hesitation. Yet he remains a Jew with the prerequisites of righteous obedience in this physical life, judgement, and a "body". We must exercise further caution in our interpretation of II Cor. 5 by avoiding an exaggerated disparagement of the body and fixing attention on the analogy of tents or booths of the Feast of the Tabernacles.¹ This later allusion by Paul encourages us to think of the dominance of a Hebrew analogy pertaining to the future life rather than the dominance of a conflict pertaining to body and soul. Davies argues that Paul holds both views of a General Resurrection and continuation after death at the same time on the basis of the Jewish concept of the Age to Come which was something already existing in heaven or in the unseen, and also something to be realized after the Messianic Age and General Resurrection.² "It both 'is' and it 'comes'."

He quotes with approval Strack-Billerbeck: "Yet the striking phenomena that the Rabbinic teachers have used the expression 'hâ ôlâm ha-bâ ' to designate both the heavenly world

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1 Davies, PRJ, p. 313f. 2 Ibid. p. 314ff.

of the soul^s and also the future Age of Consumation would have made it clear to us, as it were, that the heavenly Aeon of the Souls and the future Aeon of consumation on earth were regarded as one and the same great 'ôlâm ha-bâ'. This great 'ôlâm ha-bâ' at present had its place in heaven (I Enoch 71.14ff.) ... into it the souls of the righteous entered at the hour of death for a preliminary blessedness. That is their first phase in which it serves as the world of the souls until it enters through the resurrection of the dead into its second phase in order now to become the earthly sphere of the Aeon of full blessedness."¹ Accordingly, the resurrection existence begins at death, and is consumated at the Parousia, and this was especially pertinent because the final Age had already begun. Davies' explanation commends itself as a solution to the two perspectives Paul has about life after death and life at the time of the Parousia. His strongest point is that the Age to Come, the reign of God is asserted but is not fully realized. On this point, Paul has been led by Jesus. Two perspectives of the individual resurrection existence easily emerge: on death it is realized, foretasted because of the Christian's union with Christ; with the final consumation of the Parousia, judgement and glorification, the resurrection existence in God's purpose will be realized. It is doubtful, however, if Paul' really does discard an inter-
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¹ Davies, PRJ, p. 316-17.

mediate state for the dead, as Davies believes.¹ Paul holds to an incomplete state of glory already begun for the righteous dead, and some kind of place for sinners and unbelievers or unbaptized, because the work of Christ is not completed. As the righteous living or the righteous dead, they exist in an intermediate period awaiting the Parousia and consumation of eternal purposes. Embodiment of the righteous dead has no bearing on the fact that all are now waiting in an intermediate state. There is a further question, whether or not Davies, like Schweitzer whom he accuses of the same thing, has not subjected faith to eschatology in his analysis and dismissed the tension which these two pressed upon Paul. Davies has a strong point in finding the influence of the Age to Come on Paul's concept of resurrection, but he does not seem to follow out his conclusion that "experience" was the controlling influence, and not a crisis of thought. To be fair to Davies, it would seem that he approaches the area of faith in recognizing that the threat of death upset Paul. However, in this turmoil does Paul come to rely upon the idea that the Age to Come already exists unseen, or upon his confidence in the living God? There does not need to be a choice between the two if we also allow that reliance upon God in Christ settles his mind.

There are a number of factors, which highlight the

¹ PRJ, p. 318.

the religious crisis provoked by the danger of death, that show Paul was not so much dependent for his resurrection upon traditional eschatological formulations, but dependent upon the assurance that God had given him on the occasion of his trials. All recognize that II Cor. 1-5 presents a different perspective toward the resurrection than that found in I and II Thess. and I Cor. 15. The most important emphasis now is on a crisis, just past, rather than the exposition of eschatology of a pronounced Jewish character. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and God of all comfort, who comforts us in all our affliction, with the comfort with which we ourselves are comforted by God."¹ No other letter opens with such a thanksgiving which so sets the tone and subjects of subsequent chapters: comfort came to stir faith and hope alive, and it also brought responsibility. To add impact are added these words: "For we do not want you to be ignorant, brethren, of the affliction we experienced in Asia; for we were so utterly unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself. Why, we felt that we had received the sentence of death; but that was to make us rely not on ourselves but on God who raises the dead; he delivered us from such a deadly peril, and he will deliver us, on him we have set our hope that he will deliver us again."² Thus, with much the same import, but of auto-
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¹ II Cor. 1.3,4.
² II Cor. 1.8-10.

biographical and informative character, Paul again expresses that which has centrally emerged: a new depth to faith and hope. In these first five chapters, the discussion revolves around two points: (a) the possibility of death and (b) the truths learned from this critical, unexpected possibility, and the bearing they have had on his ministry; we have reported an experience and an interpretation of it. Back and forth Paul weaves in these two matters which were forced upon his attention. In addition other themes come in, but they stem from one or another of these two larger points. In both cases there steadily emerges a still larger theme: that in the light of both, they must rely on God, which is the real conclusion of the introductory remarks of his letter. Only by relying on God had there been comfort in the face of trouble and death.¹ Only by relying on God could the same be faced again.² God is the foundation of their ministry and this emerges with repeated emphasis.³

In our search for influential antecedents to Paul's eschatology, the Jewish idea of the unseen and coming Age to Come contributes substantially to our understanding of the tension between I Cor. 15 and II Cor. 5; even then, the first highlights eschatology and the second highlights faith. The Age to Come theory is a valid and contributory

¹ II Cor. 1.9; 2.14.
² II Cor. 1.10.
³ II Cor. 1.21,22; 3.3;5,6; 4.6,7; 5.18,20.

approach, and it seems that the unseen Age to Come lingers closest when Paul says he waits for the permanent unseen glory;¹ but in the light of the five chapters, faith in God dominates his thought even to the extent of what God will do now and in death. II Cor. is not so dominated by eschatological theory although forms of the same are far from absent, but by Paul's response of faith: "We have been made to rely on God."² "Not that we are sufficient to ourselves to claim anything as coming from us; our sufficiency is from God."³ "It is the God who said, 'Let light shine out of darkness', who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ."⁴ "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, to show that the transcendent power belongs to God and not to us."⁵ "He who has prepared us for this very thing is God, who has given us the Spirit as a guarantee."⁶ "We walk by faith, not by sight."⁷ "That we have become a new creation is because God alone has reconciled us."⁸

Paul's discussion of the resurrection existence in II Cor. 5 depends primarily on his conviction of God's power to make such an existence possible. Resurrection at

1 II Cor. 4.18f-5.1ff.
 2 II Cor. 1.9.
 3 II Cor. 3.5.
 4 II Cor. 4.6.
 5 II Cor. 4.7.
 6 II Cor. 5.5.
 7 II Cor. 5.7.
 8 II Cor. 5.17,18.

the Parousia and union with Christ in a resurrection existence conform closely to the Jewish theory of the Age to Come, but the vitalization of the hope in II Cor. depends upon his faith in God. Jewish modes of thought recede to the extent that a relationship with God is more prominent and controlling. Separation from Christ has become unimaginable. The love of Christ controls Paul.¹ "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? ...I am persuaded that... (nothing) else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord."² On death, life awaits in greater measure than now, something prepared by God who has given the Spirit as a guarantee.³ We have tried to maintain that though Jewish forms of thought shine through, especially in the earlier letters, in some of the later ones faith emerging from the experience of God's comfort and the loving relationship of Christ dominates and confirms his belief that the new life begun now is to be confirmed on death; it is "God who raises the dead."

The last phase of Paul's eschatology is the perfected reign of God whose claim on men will be realized and whose purposes will be completed. In marking out the limits of the acceptable life, Paul tells the Galatians that certain

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¹ II Cor. 5.14.
² Rom. 8.35,38,39.
³ II Cor. 5.4,5.

kinds of behaviour will prevent inheritance of the kingdom of God, a kingdom not yet wholly realized.¹ To the Corinthians Paul says that after Christ has completed his work, the perfected kingdom will become God's: "When all things are subjected to him, then the Son himself will also be subjected to him who put all things under him, that God may be everything to everyone."² It is in this passage especially that Paul indicates his expectation that the time is coming when the sovereignty of God will be fully realized over all men, Jew and Gentile, slave and free. This expectation, Messianically executed, is a thoroughly Jewish one. "There is no incompatibility between the conception of the future reign of God and the expectation of a king of Israel in the golden age, the so-called Messianic hope, and such a ruler might well be supposed to have a part in the inauguration of the world-wide reign of God; but in their origin the two conceive the future from the different points of view of nationality and universality."³ Several passages from the O.T. illustrate that some thought of God's universal sovereignty as something to be realized in the future. "And the Lord will become king over all the earth; on that day the Lord will be one and his name one."⁴

"Yea, at that time I will change the speech of the peoples to a pure speech,
that all of them may call upon the name of the Lord
and serve him with one accord."⁵

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¹ Gal. 5.21.
² I Cor. 15.28.
³ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 374.
⁴ Zech. 14.9.
⁵ Zeph. 3.9.

"It shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills; and all the nations shall flow to it, and many people shall come...."¹

"And then indeed he will raise up his kingdom for all ages over men, he who once gave a holy law to godly men, to all of whom He promised to open out the earth and the world, and the portals of the blessed, and all joys and everlasting sense and eternal gladness."² The desire for the speedy coming of God's reign was a firm article of faith in Judaism found in doctrine and prayers.³ Far from being forgotten by the early church, it has been sustained in Paul's mind because God has manifested his sovereignty through Christ among believers.

The perfected reign of God for Paul means final salvation. "Since we belong to the day, let us ... put on ... for a helmet the hope of salvation." On the one hand, salvation is already possible: it has been offered through apostolic preaching and witness.⁴ Like the prophets whom Paul quotes in the earlier part of this last verse, he believes that God has acted in the present for men. Yet for him, the historical claim, or the claim made on men in the present, is also for the future. Salvation is incomplete until the elect are translated into the perfected

¹ Isa. 2.2.
² Sib. Or. 3.767-71.
³ Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 373.
⁴ II Cor. 6.2b.

kingdom of God. While salvation is offered now as a free gift, its fulfillment will come with the Parousia. "For salvation is nearer to us now than when we first believed; the night is far gone, the day is at hand."¹ "And I am sure that he (God) who began a good work in you will bring it to completion at the day of Jesus Christ."² Steadfastness in faith and conduct are signs that salvation will come for those so determined. "This is a clear omen ... of your salvation, and that from God."³ Aside from these assurances of individual salvation at the Parousia, Paul feels confident that God is working toward a final salvation of all men, Gentiles and Jews: "Through their (Israel's) transgression salvation has come to the Gentiles, so as to make Israel jealous."⁴ "God has the power to graft them in again,"⁵ i.e. to graft in Israel when she submits. "I want you to understand a mystery, brethren: a hardening has come upon Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles come in, and so all Israel will be saved"; and then Paul quotes Deutero-Isaiah from the LXX:

"The Deliverer will come from Zion,
 he will banish ungodliness from Jacob;"
 "and this will be my covenant with them
 when I take away their sins."⁶

It was a regular expectation in Judaism that with the final

¹ Rom. 13. 11b, 12a.

² Phil. 1.6.

³ Phil. 1.23.

⁴ Rom. 11.11.

⁵ Rom. 11.23.

⁶ Rom. 11.26, 27 quoting Isa. 59 and 27.

days would come final salvation, although most naturally this was expected for Israel. The Shemoneh Esreh reflects the theme:

"Look upon our distress, and wage our battle,
And deliver us for thy Name's sake.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel!"
"Blow the great trumpet for our deliverance,
And raise up the banner for the gathering of our dispersed.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest the dispersed of thy people Israel."¹

The book of Enoch reflects a universal salvation:

"He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall,
And he shall be the light of the Gentiles,
And the hope of those who are troubled in heart."²

The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs hopes for a universal salvation at the last: "And the twelve tribes shall be gathered together there, and all the Gentiles until the Most High shall send forth His salvation of an only-begotten prophet."³

This would be possible because of God's complete knowledge and understanding of all men.⁴

"For through their tribes shall God appear (dwelling among men) on earth,
To save the race of Israel,
And to gather together the righteous from amongst the Gentiles."⁵

It is especially in the tradition of this last quotation that Paul stands. For him, these events have begun and are about to be consummated.

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¹ Grant, AJNT, p. 47.
² Enoch 48.4.
³ Levi 9.2.
⁴ Naphtali 2.5.
⁵ Naphtali 3.3.

It is implicit in Paul's language that with the commencement of last things in the present time, the work to end sin and evil has begun. He expects that with the perfected reign of God these things will be brought to an end. "One man's act of righteousness leads to acquittal and life for all men." "By one man's obedience many will be made righteous." "As sin reigned in death, grace also might reign through righteousness to eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."¹ These quotations are part of a section where Paul contrasts Christ's work with Adam's in order to show that a new life is theirs because of what Christ has done. The grace which makes righteousness possible looks for its fruit as men enter eternal life. "Grace has not yet attained to its full sovereignty; it comes to this sovereignty as it imparts to men the gift of God's righteousness; its goal, its limit which is yet no limit, is eternal life."² Because death still confronts men, though already defeated by Christ, evil still has some power; but eternal life, assured to believers by God in Christ, is a promise still to be completely realized. Paul believes there is a new creation no longer under the power of sin - it is free; yet the powers that cause men to sin still work, and so the sovereignty of God has yet to be confirmed with eternal life. "He who died is freed from sin. But if we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall

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¹ Rom. 5.18,19,21.

² The Expositor's Greek Testament, Vol. 2, p. 631.

also live with him."¹ "You must also consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus."² "You have been set free from sin and have become slaves of God, the return you get is sanctification and its end, eternal life."³ The breaking in of the kingdom has signalled the end of sin; the waiting reward is eternal life. Paul's belief in termination of sin and evil, which he felt was being effected, has parallels in Jewish expectations: the end of the kingdom of Satan comes with the emerging kingdom of God.⁴

"And in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied
 in knowledge upon the earth,
 And enlightened through the grace of the Lord:
 In his priesthood shall sin come to an end,
 And the lawless shall cease to do evil."⁵

According to the book of Jubilees, God's new creation will be a sanctification of the earth from all its guilt and uncleanness.⁶ According to the book of Enoch, the end of sin comes with the Messiah's reign: "And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all godlessness: and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth destroy from off the earth."⁷ The end of sin, for Paul, which has begun with believers' baptism is to be confirmed by the righteousness and eternal life

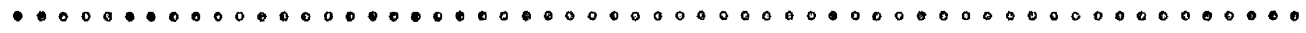
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¹ Rom. 6.7,8.
² Rom. 6.11.
³ Rom. 6.22.
⁴ Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom, p. 92.
⁵ Test. of Twelve Patriarchs, Levi 13.9.
⁶ Jubilees 4.26.
⁷ Enoch 10.20.

which God does and will establish.

Similarly, the righteousness in which they have been established now is for the Parousia. It is theirs for the perfected kingdom of God. "The kingdom of God does not mean food and drink but righteousness...."¹ As the kingdom is to be ultimately realized, so is the righteousness of the believers. To the Thessalonians, Paul says may Christ "establish your hearts unblamable in holiness before our God and Father at the coming of our Lord Jesus with all his saints."² Grace reigns now in believers for their righteousness for eternal life;³ righteousness now is a preparation for something later. A similar perspective is observed in Phillipians: "it is my prayer that ... you may be pure and blameless for the day of Christ, filled with the fruits of righteousness which come through Jesus Christ."⁴ This theme that the righteous are to be established at the end and as part of the perfected kingdom of God is a common one in Jewish literature: "And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer adoration, and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me."⁵

"That he may direct (every) man in the works of righteousness by the fear of God
 That he may establish them all before the Lord,
 A good generation (living) in the fear of God in the days of mercy."⁶



¹ Rom. 14.17.
² I Thess. 3.13.
³ Rom. 5.21.
⁴ Phil. 1.10,11.
⁵ Enoch 10.21.
⁶ Ps. of Sol. 18.9,10.

According to Paul, the righteous will have eternal life confirmed and completed in the perfected kingdom of God. Ζωή αἰώνιος is a common expression in Paul's letters.¹ The idea is expressed by means of a metaphor in II Corinthians: "we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."² Paul has two reasons for believing he and other Christians will have eternal life. The first is that the new life born out of God's act appropriated by faith is of the same quality as that which is to be had later. "We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life."³ "But if we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him."⁴ *ἐν ἑξομοίᾳ* here cannot quite carry eschatological meaning, but since Christ is risen, already in glory, the thought of discontinuation of this relationship in the future is impossible. Thus the life now portends to the future when eternal life is realized. A second reason for Paul's confidence is in a sentence to the Galatians: "He who sows to the Spirit will from the Spirit reap eternal life."⁵ The Spirit is a guarantee of eternal life. The idea of eternal or everlasting life was a well established concept in most branches

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1 Rom. 2.7; 6.22.
 2 II Cor. 5.1.
 3 Rom. 6.4.
 4 Rom. 6.8.
 5 Gal. 6.8.

of Judaism by the first century A.D. "And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life....," predicts the book of Daniel.¹ The Sibylline Oracles envisaged a similar state for the righteous.² II Baruch also has the idea of an undying existence for the righteous.³ To the Rabbis "the life in the Age to Come" was the equivalent of "eternal life".⁴

Paul believes that the saints in the perfected kingdom of God will enter into glory. Glory was a phenomena very well established in the O.T., and it is there something distinctly connected with God: "I saw as it were the appearance of fire, and there was brightness around about him. Like the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud on the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about. Such was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord."⁵ Ezekiel added the idea of "brightness" to an earlier Hebrew idea that God's glory was his wealth and majesty.⁶ With the rise of Messianic hopes and supernatural intervention, the idea of glory was removed from the possibility of present experience to the future. "Then all men shall rise, some to glory and some to shame."⁷

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 1 Dan. 12.2.

2 Sib. Or. 3.767ff.

3 II Bar. 51.3.

4 Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom, p. 35.

5 Ezek. 1.27b,28.

6 Richardson, A Theological Word Book of the Bible, p. 175.

7 Test. of Twelve Patriarchs, Benjamin 10.8.

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"And I saw the holy sons of God.
They were stepping on flames of fire:
Their garments were white,
And their faces shone like snow."¹

Baruch anticipates the glory of the future:

"And I will recount their blessedness
And be not silent in celebrating their glory, which
is reserved for them.
For assuredly as in a little time in this transitory
world in which ye live, ye have endured much labour,
So in that world to which there is no end, ye shall
receive great light."²

From this literature, *δόξα* is eschatological, a brightness,
and something the righteous of the future will enjoy. Appar-
ently the early church recaptured something of the prophetic
sense that divine glory could also manifest itself in the
present. Paul's vision of Jesus is described in Acts as an
event surrounded by a blinding light.³ According to Paul, if
the glory of God has invaded the present, it is in Jesus
Christ who has by faith entered their lives. "For it is God
... who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the know-
ledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."⁴ The
glory of God has in one sense, therefore, come among men as
before; at the same time Paul declares that glory awaits
them at the Parousia. "I consider that the sufferings of
this present time are not worthy compared with the glory
that is to be revealed to us."⁵ Colossians present us with
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1 Enoch 71.1.
2 II Bar. 48.49,50.
3 Acts 9.3,8.
4 II Cor. 4.6. Also I Thess. 2.12.
5 Rom. 8.18.

a fine combination of glory manifest now and to be entered upon in the future: "To them God chose to make known how great among the Gentiles are the riches of the glory of this mystery, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory."¹ "When Christ who is our life appears, then you also will appear with him in glory."² The idea of glory attending the righteous in the future world suggested by Judaism to Paul becomes overgrown by union with Christ and his glorification.

The idea of a heavenly dwelling place for the elect is so common to Judaism and to Paul, so necessary to the mind disposed to the concrete, and so difficult for men confined by space to avoid, that it is perhaps justifiable to overlook it here.

It is surprising to find so little mention made by Paul of joy which men will have when God's kingdom is perfected. Jewish speculation anticipated a wide variety of blessings, although these were very often earthly blessings.³ The theme of joy is conspicuous:

"And the ransomed of the Lord shall return and come to Zion with singing, with everlasting joy upon their heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."⁴

"Instead of your shame you shall have a double portion, instead of dishonour you shall rejoice in your lot; therefore in your land you shall possess a double portion; yours shall be everlasting joy."⁵



¹ Col. 1.27. The Expositor's Greek Testament, Vol.3, p.516-17.
² Col. 3.4.
³ Isa. 11.6-9; 35.1.
⁴ Isa. 35.10.
⁵ Isa. 61.7.

The apocalyptic literature expresses the theme, mostly in the characteristic fashion of what terrible troubles will be abolished.¹ Paul's peculiar emphasis is the joy he will have on that day when he may be proud of the faithfulness of his converts. "For what is our hope or joy or crown of boasting before our Lord Jesus at his coming? Is it not you? For you are our glory and our joy."² Hold "fast the word of life, so that in the day of Christ I may be proud that I did not run in vain or labour in vain."³ The prospect of joy in the perfected kingdom of God as far as he is concerned only takes the form of his eager expectation to be united with Christ. "My desire is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better."⁴ Strictly speaking however, the most dominant use of *χαρά* is in reference to the salvation Paul has seen take place in the lives of others; thus most quotations have this perspective in mind. "I know that I shall remain and continue with you all, for your progress and joy in the faith."⁵ "Not that we lord it over your faith; we work with you for your joy, for you stand firm in your faith."⁶

The idea of a renovated or new Jerusalem has little place in Paul's thought compared with the conspicuous place it has in Jewish expectations. Especially in the more nationalistic side of Jewish hopes was the renovation of Jer-

¹ II Bar. 73.1ff.
² I Thess. 2.19,20.
³ Phil. 2.16.
⁴ Phil. 1.23.
⁵ Phil. 1.25.
⁶ II Cor. 1.24.

usalem a strong hope:¹

"And he shall purge Jerusalem, making it holy as of old."²

There was also a Jewish belief that a new Jerusalem existed in heaven in readiness for the coming Messiah.³ It did not take much effort to develop Haggai 2.9 - "the latter splendour of this house shall be greater than the former" - into believing that a new Jerusalem was prepared in the heavens. Enoch has a vision of a new Jerusalem: "a new house greater and loftier than the first" is to be established.⁴ Only once does Paul mention a Jerusalem where he does not mean the present national capitol of Israel, and the mention of it is in an allegory on Abraham's son, contrasting religion of law and freedom.⁵ It suits his contrast in allegory to mention the present Jerusalem and a Jerusalem above which is free. Very likely Paul has this Jewish idea of a heavenly Jerusalem in mind, but the idea is not developed, nor has it any nationalistic connotations, which suggests that with its context no great weight is meant to be placed on it. It is meant to illustrate the freedom had in Christ which is to be fulfilled in heaven. Something approximating the new Jerusalem is in his mention of a "commonwealth" in heaven.⁶

Πολίτευμα means a colony, community, or perhaps a state,

¹ Isa. 54.12; 60.11.
² Ps. of Sol. 17.33.
³ Schurer, JPJC, 2.2.p.168.
⁴ Enoch 90.29. Also Baruch has a similar vision: II Bar. 4.2.
 A more explicit statement is in II Esdras 7.26.
⁵ Gal. 4.25,26.
⁶ Phil. 3.20.

but Paul seems to have in mind the picture of an exile waiting to return home. The final dwelling place is in heaven with Christ. From these two passages, it is apparent that he has moved away from the Jewish new Jerusalem to concentrate on a spiritual community only, the realization of which will be at the Parousia and on the perfection of the reign of God.

It is hard to know what linked Paul's idea of resurrected believers of believers with a resurrection existence, of heavenly dwellings and the renovation of creation. It is possible that he used the presupposition of two aeons, the one passing away, the other making its entrance, or related them on the basis of the perfected reign of God. It was characteristic of Jewish eschatology at this time that there was no demand for consistency; if one thought universalistically at one moment and individualistically at another about the future, a happy management of ideas could be made assuming the theory of two ages. For Paul, "the form of this world is passing away."¹ Individual men in Christ were new creatures: "Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away; behold, the new has come."² When Paul's vision expands to the horizons of the whole cosmos, he says: "the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God; for the creation was subject to futility, not of its own will but by the will of him who subjected it

¹ I Cor. 7.31b.
² II Cor. 5.17.

in hope; because the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God. We know that the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now...."¹ There is no notion that the renovation of creation is to favour the Jew,² but all men whom God will call his sons. It is not quite so evident as Sanday and Headlam try to maintain that Paul has "an intense sympathy with nature in and for itself," like that of St. Francis of Assissi.³ Paul has the outlook of an eschatologist, not a naturalist. No doubt he did have some understanding that all creation had gone awry, and his Jewish predecessor had some similar reflections, but this thought is approached from a religious view of the world which sees God's purpose incomplete. The two approaches to the renovation of the world coalesce but the religious understanding is dominant. The renovation of the world is a Jewish view Paul inherits. Deutero-Isaiah reflects an eschatological event like this:

"For behold, I create a new heaven
and a new earth;
and the former things shall not be remembered
or come into mind."⁴

The Sibylline Oracles picture a better world:⁵ Enoch learns the same idea:

"I will transform the earth and make it an eternal
blessing and light:
And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing."⁶

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¹ Rom. 8. 19-22.
² Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 212.
³ Ibid. p. 212.
⁴ Isa. 65.17; also 66.22.
⁵ Sib. Or. 3.620 ff, 744ff.
⁶ Enoch 45.4.

The peace and harmony of creation which is usually in mind in the Jewish literature was no doubt in Paul's mind as he saw how evil had invaded creation to disturb and frustrate it. The renovation of the world will be accomplished according to the religious purpose of God with evil's ultimate defeat, the same evil which has pervaded even to the heart of men, its most serious penetration. Probably this renovation which will complete the reign of God will be as sudden as the Parousia and therefore there is no thought of progressive reconstruction or reform.

This brings to an end phases of Paul's life and work selected for examination for Jewish influence. There are other phases that might have been examined. A proper evaluation of the Jewish influences on him will be given in Chapter Twelve where the three parts of this study of Paul can be properly related.

PART III

THE INFLUENCE OF CHRIST

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CONVERSION OF PAUL

Having examined the influence of the Graeco-Roman world and of Judaism on Paul, we turn to the influence of Christ on him. This is the influence which dominates and shapes all others. "No other foundation can anyone lay than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus."¹ "We take every thought captive to obey Christ."² In this part of the thesis we will examine his conversion, his service to Christ as an apostle and slave, and his new perspective with respect to the righteousness of God.

The most advantageous approach to Paul's conversion is to see him in only one way - as a man of faith expressing his belief. Paul in his letters is no longer a Jew primarily devoted to Torah, but a man devoted to Christ, and from this standpoint views the past, present and future. His encounter with Christ has issued in a new view of his existence.

There are several methods used to understand Paul's conversion. A literal interpretation of the three accounts in Acts and references in his letters is the most inadequate one because it ignores the conflicting elements in the accounts themselves, ignores the thought forms and presuppositions of an ancient man, and very easily allows modern presuppositions to be superimposed into what is thought to be his conversion, and the New Testament is made to say what is wanted. A second method is a psychological interpretation of Paul's conversion. Until quite recent

¹ I Cor. 3.11.

² II Cor. 10.5.

times this has been a popular approach. The basic supposition has been that Paul could be analysed as psychology found all men to be characterised by motives, struggles, conflicts, etc. By using the vehicle of a psychological understanding of man, it was hoped to find out which factors were in Paul's mind preparing him for conversion. Perverse critics went further to insist that Paul's conversion itself was a hallucination or his encounter with Christ a figment of the imagination; those more moderate spoke of a growing faith causing his hostility to ebb away.¹ Inglis carried this line of interpretation as far as anyone probably ever will. He argued that Paul became unconsciously inclined toward the Christian faith. "The fact that Paul was unconscious of any gradual inward inclination toward Christianity is shown, in the first place, by the absence from his writings of any mention of such an inclination."² How then can we know that there was a general inclination? The argument from silence is of neutral value. "He was conscious, before his conversion, of profound dissatisfaction with the righteousness to which he had attained under the law (Phil. 3.6)."³ The quotation from Philippians does not support the point, but in fact the opposite - that he did feel himself righteous under the law. Later in his article, Inglis describes Paul as "psychopathic in temperament", and

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¹ Massie answered such opinions firmly. "Conversion of St. Paul," "The Expositor," 3rd Series 10(1889), p. 246ff, 253ff.
² "The Problem of St. Paul's Conversion," "The Expository Times," 40(1928-29), p. 228.
³ Ibid. p. 228

as one whose Christian complex was caused by environment and circumstance. However, this is a discovery applicable to all men. Not all of Inglis' predecessors were so sure of this line of enquiry: Stalker was more cautious, content just to ask some questions concerning Paul's preparation for conversion; however, he felt justified in trying to describe his personality, the broad outline of which could be ascribed to many great leaders of history.¹ Findlay had no hesitation: "The conversion of St. Paul is a psychological and ethical problem."² To him, the 'goad' afflicting Paul was the dissatisfaction with the law, and he went to Damascus under the pain of an inward moral strife: the law was impotent to make him righteous, and the consequence was to make him a more furious persecutor.³

The psychological interpretation fixed attention particularly on some statements of Paul's about the law. The "I" of Rom. 7 was interpreted to be autobiographical, reflecting a time when Paul found the law unredeeming. This feature of the interpretation, as Inglis indicated, rested on the principle that environment influences people, and it was assumed that some things were gradually influencing Paul. Says McNeile: "Such a passage as Rom. 7.7-25 may reveal struggles against his lower nature which had already begun to trouble him before he became a Christian. The

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¹ HDAC, Vol. 2, p. 145f, 154ff.

² HDE, Vol. 3, p. 703.

³ Ibid. Vol. 3, p. 702.

The Mosaic law did not, as a fact, lead him to the 'righteousness' for which he yearned."¹ Deissmann believed that from Rom. 7.9-11 he could detect an inference that far from "a sunny, cheerful youth," Paul in early life felt a "desperate anxiety of one 'born under the law' about his soul's salvation."² Even as a Pharisee, Deissmann thought, Paul sighed as the law became to him a curse when he was unable to keep it.³ Foakes-Jackson was saying at the same time as Deissmann that Rom. 7 was the account of an inward struggle, a personal experience of Paul's.⁴ Badcock ten years later was repeating the theme of dissatisfaction, unrighteousness, struggle.⁵ Glover did not make anything of dissatisfaction with the law, but his book on Paul is full of inferences of a subjective character: as Augustine grew more miserable before conversion, so had Paul until he took refuge in action.⁶ Anderson Scott also supposes that the trip to Damascus "may well have been a time of intense internal struggle."⁷ When Nock wrote his little book on Paul in 1938, he shifted the emphasis from a psychological to a theological interpretation, but even he was not quite able to throw off the influence of Deissmann and the common interpretation of Rom. 7

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1 St. Paul, His Life, Letters and Christian Doctrine, p. 12.
 2 Paul, p. 93.
 3 Ibid. P. 131.
 4 The Life of St. Paul, p. 91;92.
 5 The Pauline Epistles, p. 174.
 6 Paul of Tarsus, p. 91.
 7 St. Paul, the Man and the Teacher, p. 13. Dodd expresses a similar view that Paul harboured an inner conflict spurred by the law, and aggravated by the preaching of the Nazarenes persecution became a test of his zeal: "The Mind of Paul: I." New Testament Studies, p. 75-6.

that it was re_trospective and introspective.¹

Nevertheless, Nock seemed to mark a turning point in the English literature, and he is worth quoting at length since he enumerates points which have marked later discussion. Referring to Rom. 7 he says, "Paul is not even trying to tell the story of his conversion, as Augustine and Newman told theirs, and he is not greatly interested in individual psychology. While recognizing differences of kind and of degree in spiritual gifts, here and elsewhere he is concerned with humanity as a whole in its relations to God and Law. All died in Adam; all can rise in Christ. Any personal experience which Paul did not think a typical experience would be irrelevant."² Bultmann in Germany a little earlier was instrumental in changing the perspective: "Especially may one not understand Rom. 7.7-25 as a biographical document of Paul's inner development, for the 'I' of these verses is as little the individual 'I' of Paul as is, for example, the 'I' of I Cor. 13.11. On the contrary, Paul is there presenting the situation of the Jew under the law in the light of the real meaning of that situation, as it is disclosed to the eye of faith. Moreover, the phrase 'kicking against the goads', in Acts 26.14, does not refer to an inner struggle, but rather ... means that man cannot withstand the divine."³ With a new understanding of the relevant Biblical passages, the older

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¹ Nock, St. Paul, p. 68.

² Ibid. p. 68-9.

³ "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 114.

interpretation was challenged. Little more could be said than that probably some sort of psychological development took place in preparation and in consequence of conversion, but Paul leaves us in the dark about it. What effect the sight of a dying righteous man has on an enemy is unpredictable; to some it would be satisfaction,¹ and this has been notoriously true of persecutors.² Paul speaks only of the excessiveness of his persecution (*ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον*), and that he was extremely zealous for the law.³ His attitudes to the law, which are unlike Jewish attitudes, are from the standpoint of his new faith, and what few references we have from him to his conversion are marked with the theological meaning he has seen in that experience. Even his conversion, therefore, is perceived now as from the standpoint of a man of faith; he does not analyse it according to a psychological pattern but according to a religious one. Probably there will always be an attempt to understand the psychological features of his conversion; the questions remain unanswered for the most part and Paul's silence grows no more helpful.

Occasionally a third method of interpretation has been employed: to try to open up the nature of Paul's conversion by comparing it with another conversion. The purposes of the comparisons vary. The parallel drawn in an earlier chapter in this thesis between Paul and the prophets ended

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¹ According to Shaw in "St. Joan".

² Coulton, Inquisition and Liberty, Chapters 11-17.

³ Gal. 1.13.14.

by observing that the accounts of Paul's conversion have a pattern very similar to the divine visitations to the prophets. The story of Paul's conversion goes back very likely to himself, and in Gal. 1.15, Paul describes it as the prophetic calls are described. This means that the interpretation of his call was like the prophets' interpretations of theirs. The point of the comparison was for its Jewish features. Anderson's comparison was similar to ours but for homiletic purposes.¹ Glover was a master at this kind of comparison as is readily apparent in his book.² Klausner also hoped to illumine Paul's conversion by comparisons with the "voice" heard by Rabbi Iuzzatto and the ecstatic experience of Dostoevsky. His purpose is to provide a comparison in support of his theory that Paul was an epileptic with a mystical faith and great self-confidence.³ The method of comparison is unsuccessful; the separations of time and cultures, and the absence of autobiography from Paul about his conversion make a real comparison impossible.

The most common interpretation of Paul's conversion among scholars today is a combination of obvious historical facts with his own theological interpretation of those facts. Hatch expresses as simply as anyone how this feature of his life is now looked upon. "We do not know what thoughts may have been revolving in his mind when he became convinced that the risen Lord had spoken to him, nor

¹ "The Call of Saul of Tarsus," "The Expository Times," 42 (1930-31), p. 90-92.

² Paul of Tarsus, p. 57ff.

³ From Jesus to Paul, p. 324ff.

do we know how long he may have been pondering over the question of Jesus' messiahship. However, the denouement came suddenly, and the future apostle's decision was definite and permanent."¹ Like others, Hatch regards the three accounts in Acts to have a real foundation in fact, but clearly of secondary value since they are dependent accounts. Taking I Cor. 15.3-8 as one of the few references by Paul to historical persons and experiences, in which he also states that the risen Lord had appeared to him, Hatch says, "It is clear from these words that Paul regarded his own experience of Christ on the road to Damascus as being essentially like that of Cephas and James and the others to whom the risen Lord had appeared. He also recognized it as a free and gracious act of God, (Gal. 1.15-16). It was in no way dependent upon his merit, for he had been and was at that moment actively engaged in persecuting the followers of Jesus."² The characteristic features of the present tendency in interpretation is to state the clear and obvious facts and acknowledge Paul's interpretations of the Damascus road experience from the standpoint of faith. The well-balanced article of John Massie in 1889 had it been listened to would have restrained later commentators. Here are a selection of his remarks: "We do not profess to have a complete explanation of the psychological difficulties; any more than we can profess to be satisfied with the ex-

¹ "The Life of Paul," IB, Vol. 7, p. 191.

² Ibid. Vol. 7, p. 191.

planation confidently offered by those who set the history and evidence aside;" "while it seems an historical exaggeration to speak of the 'struggles' of Paul's conscience in the midst of his persecution, it would be unreasonable to exclude the possibility of thoughts and questionings starting up in his mind. All that was needed was that the blindness should be swept away;" "just as Jesus of Nazareth had on earth made mighty works minister to his revelation of the goodness of God, so the same Jesus of Nazareth now, from heaven, availed himself of a mighty work - the spiritual-corporeal manifestation of Himself - to break down the only barrier between an honest seeker and the truth."¹ Massie was faithful to the interpretation made by Paul of his own conversion; he combined fact and faith. Nock, as we have seen, wanted interpreters to keep to the obvious facts set out in the accounts, avoid religious psychologizing, and realize that this experience of Paul was so decisive that all was changed because of the position in which he now stood.² Bultmann's emphasis is that Paul's conversion cannot be understood except through his theology; "Paul has no interest in his personal development, but only in the theological meaning of his conversion."³ "This experience ... can only be reconstructed by having first understood what he says. Thus the question about the actual content of his

¹ "The Conversion of St. Paul," "The Expositor," 3rd series, 10(1889), p. 241-62.
² St. Paul, p. 74.
³ "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 114.

conversion is a question about his theology itself."¹ Clearly, Bultmann wants to direct us to the standpoint of faith. He presses his case further to say that in Paul's conversion "he surrendered his previous understanding of himself."² Wood, who also takes the double approach to Paul's conversion that it was historical and theological, agrees with Bultmann up to the point of one of the implications of the last quotation - i.e. that a new self-understanding occurred, but he appeals that "faith-content" should not be confused with "conversion experience". He would like Bultmann to allow more weight to the historical realization that Jesus was risen from the dead; (Nock's words are "a sudden intuition" of the truth of the resurrection).³ "The vision of the Damascus road meant first and foremost the conviction, or one might say the revelation, that Jesus had been raised from the dead and is seated at the right hand of power."⁴ Therefore, Wood distinguishes a real experience of realizing Jesus' resurrection from later interpretation. (Dibelius was of the opinion that we must fix our attention on the theological aspects of the conversion, and also on some psychological possibilities.⁵) Thus there has emerged a shift in emphasis in interpretation, from describing a Jew under inward stress, to realizing that we are dealing with a convert who gives

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¹ Bultmann, "Paul", Existence and Faith, p. 121f.

² Theology of the New Testament, Vol. 1, p. 188.

³ St. Paul, p. 74.

⁴ "The Conversion of St. Paul: its Nature, Antecedents and Consequences", "New Testament Studies", 1(1955), p. 281.

⁵ Paul, p. 43.

us only very meagre hints about his life as a Torah-observing Jew, but much more of his belief following that decisive and persuasive event. The advantages of this interpretation are its relative simplicity, its avoidance of pre-conversion possibilities, and that we have a man before us who speaks of his persuasion as a result of a decisive event and who, because of this, inevitably becomes a witness to others. Its inadequacy is its tendency to ignore the fact that no modern study can be made without religious or philosophic preconceptions, implicit or applied, and the tendency to be objective to the degree of reducing all to a few cold statements.

When we speak now of the preparation of Paul for conversion, we must bear in mind that we cannot describe any of his inward questionings, conflicts or reflections. Rather we must speak about his known and stated positions while he was not a Christian, and about certain deductions from the world and religious circumstances in which he lived. There are three principal facts about the period before his conversion: he was a faithful Pharisaic Jew, he was a listener to Christian preaching, and he was a passionate persecutor of Christians. Paul gives clear testimony that he was an orthodox, full-blood faithful Pharisaic Jew: "If any other man thinks he has reason for confidence in the flesh, I have more: circumcized on the eighth day, of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews; as to the law a Pharisee, as to zeal a persecutor of

the church, as to righteousness under the law blameless."¹
 He says to the Galatians: "I advanced in Judaism beyond many of my own age among my people, so extremely zealous was I for the traditions of my fathers."² Among these comments there is no hint, even in mentioning that proudly as a Jew he persecuted the church, that he was of a divided mind. Rather he had been taught and was determined to observe the law. Any one of a number of psalms reflect the same blamelessness and righteousness which Paul said he felt according to the law:

"For I have kept the ways of the Lord,
 and have not wickedly departed from my God.
 For all his ordinances were before me,
 and his statutes I did not put away from me.
 I was blameless before him,
 and I kept myself from guilt."³

Paul was proud of the traditions of his people and loyal to the religion of his ancestors; he was proud of the temple and its sacrifices, the national feasts and fasts.⁴ The greatness of his love for his people lingered throughout his life.⁵ The pride, fidelity and zeal Paul exhibits in the passages from Galatians and Philippians as typical of his former days in Judaism must mean that at that time he believed that righteousness was by the law and that the way he practised was the right way. This was not to say

¹ Phil. 3.4-6. The accounts in Acts 23.6 and 26.5 are therefore correct reports.
² Gal. 1.14.
³ Ps. 18.21-23. Also Ps. 119.9, 10, 15, 16.
⁴ I Cor. 16.8. Paul still observes Pentecost as a Christian.
⁵ Nock, St. Paul, p. 35f.
 Rom. 9.3.

he was ignorant of Messianic expectations. He would be curiously unlike his contemporaries not to have known the hopes like those in Enoch or the Psalms of Solomon. There is something more profound: "Apparently even from his youth his heart was set on righteousness; and he tried scrupulously to order his life according to the precepts of the Mosaic legislation, which he naturally regarded as the divinely appointed means of attaining righteousness."¹ He was "a restless seeker after righteousness."² His reflection that he was zealous for the law and righteousness means that Paul was a man with a religious quest, a man religiously orientated, rather than the kind of Jew bent on military service, or commercial expansion, or seditious revolution. This is an important platform for his conversion. Moreover, Paul's great intellectual capacity, which is obvious from the many-sided character of his letters, means that he was alert to movements of thought of religious significance. Massie calls this his determination to accept truth, and his energy of action for truth's sake,³ which is a little more of an abstract outlook than the way in which Paul seems to think. Stalker has a similar idea of Paul's intellectual endowment: "He was one of those who need to know the why and wherefore of whatever they are experiencing or doing".⁴ This is one side of Paul prior

¹ Hatch, "The Life of Paul", IB, Vol. 7, p. 190.

² Weiss, Paul and Jesus, p. 96.

³ "The Conversion of St. Paul," "The Expositor," 3rd series, 10(1889), p. 260.

⁴ HDAC, Vol. 2, p. 155.

to his conversion: his faithfulness as a Pharisaic Jew, religiously orientated and alert to religious thought.

A second side is that he was at least a listener to early Christian preaching,¹ elementary in its character, the gospel preached by the early Christians in or of Jerusalem.² It seems to us, with Wood, that Bultmann is wrong in thinking Paul was won by the kerygma of the Hellenistic church;³ his interpretation has passed over the conversion experience itself. Moreover, it is difficult to know what may have been the distinctive content of Hellenistic preaching at so early a stage.⁴ That Paul heard the first Christians preach is axiomatic to the fact that he sought them out. He must have heard them declare certain elementary beliefs which all believers held in common and which angered other Jews like himself. Luke is regarded as faithful in his record of early preaching in the early chapters of Acts and the following chapters and verses contain the subjects basic to early Christian preaching: 2.22,23, 32-36,38; 3,20,21; 5.31,32; 7.53 and 10.38,39.

In summary, the early kerygma which the unconverted Paul heard was this:⁵ the promised age of God's reign had dawn-

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¹ Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, p.27. Weiss, Paul and Jesus, p. 40, 54f. argues that part of his preparation was his knowledge of the personality of Jesus. Paul's letters give very little encouragement to this view.
² Wood, "The Conversion of St. Paul", "New Testament Studies", 1(1955), p. 282.
³ Ibid. p. 280,282.
⁴ Perhaps the best example is in Stephen's address which Luke tries to record. (Acts 6.13; 7.1ff.) The Law occupies a central place in this speech. See Simon, St. Stephen and the Hellenists, p. 45f.
⁵ Dodd, ibid. p. 46f, 68.

ed and was being fulfilled; the works which Jesus did (and were known to many) were a sign of this; according to God's plan Jesus, the Messiah, died and was raised; these events were a summons to repent and be forgiven; he has acted as Saviour; Jesus was exalted, and the Holy Spirit among the Christians was a sign of his power and glory; soon, very soon, Jesus would return when God's purposes would be completed and Christ would be judge;¹ finally, all this was attested by scripture; therefore, repent. If this was the early kerygma, as Dodd suggests, the importance of the inbreaking and imminent fulfilling of God's reign in the new age can scarcely be exaggerated. Though Luke does not explicitly emphasize it often, his account of the apostolic addresses do give the impression that now was the decisive hour. Indeed, throughout the whole the New Testament literature, the Parousia and fulfillment of God's reign is expected shortly. It took a long time, for this hope, which burned so fiercely among the earliest Christians, to diminish.

Thus Paul was confronted with the chief points of early kerygma. It seems to us that two basic points were thereby raised in his mind which had two important consequences. First, as a Pharisee he would answer the preachers that the crucified Jesus was not the Messiah, and consequently this was not the expected decisive time.² Second,
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¹ Acts 10.42.

² Cf. Minear, "Paul the Apostle", IB, Vol. 7, p. 205-6, for an accurate summary of why Paul persecuted the church.

he would remain zealous for the traditions of the Jews and would consequently believe righteousness was through obedience to the law; the law remained established and consequently salvation was dependent on keeping it. The importance of this would be heightened when the law was "attacked" by Stephen. Paul tells us that to the Jews "Christ crucified" was "a stumbling block."¹ Jesus' contemporaries and accusers did not believe he was the Messiah.² To the post-resurrection Jew, the crucifixion of the Messiah was a great difficulty:³ "A hanged man is accursed by God."⁴ The only ones who believed that Jesus had risen were the preachers of the gospel; all others believed him to be dead and buried, and that was all. According to Paul there were relatively few in number who were witnesses of a risen and glorified Christ.⁵ Therefore, believing that the one whom the Christians preached as risen was dead, the allegation that now was mankind's decisive hour was so much rubbish, a falsehood. The Messiah had not come; to announce that the new age of God's reign had broken in was misleading preaching; the call to repentance and the promise of forgiven sins because of what Jesus was and did was wrong, misleading and disruptive. It deserved only eradication. The alternative to this preposterous message was to pursue "righteous under the law" and by one's blamelessness be

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¹ I Cor. 1.23.

² Mark 14.63ff.

³ Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, Ch. 89

⁴ Deut. 21.23. Mishnah, Sanhedrin 6.4. Gal. 3.13.

⁵ I Cor. 15.6ff.

accounted righteous by God.¹ Very likely Paul perceived that the gospel of the Christians undermined the law; others had seen that the law, the Temple and the People were under attack by word or implication of what was done and preached.² Paul shows in his letters that he is one to go right to the heart of religious matters; there is no reason why he did not attempt to do so before his conversion, and thus his mind was fixed on the central issues which the Christian preaching raised. This does not mean that as a sinner like some who are typified for us in the gospels, he became troubled and full of doubt. Rather he stood in the camp of one religious tradition and accused the other of error and dangerous teaching. From his own letters he tells us the two facts that characterized the religious struggle between the Jews and Christians at that early period: whether it be submission to the saving work of the crucified Christ, or obedience to the law.³ These two opposing issues are so decisive by their own nature for the man who knows no intermediate course that we have ample explanation of those things which caused Paul to so violently persecute the church. Other issues fail to go to the heart of the conflict as these two do.

Some Jews were hopeful that the new sect would

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¹ Phil. 3.6. Gal. 1.14.

² Acts 6.13,14. Wood, "The Conversion of St. Paul", "New Testament Studies", 1(1955), p.282. Jesus had laid the basis, by his conduct and decisions, for his followers to be charged that they did not keep the Law; Mark 2.18; 3.1ff.

³ Gal. 5.3,4.

wither away into nothing after a time; this was the expectation of Gamaliel.¹ Tolerance was not unfamiliar in Judaism then, for the Essenes were left untroubled though they were highly critical of the temple.² Paul's anger was not so easily contained. "For the young Pharisee Paul the case was clear.... Now he must use all his powers and energy to resist an insidious form of national apostasy."³ Luther tries to capture some of the intensity of feeling he thinks Paul had: "That wicked opinion caused me to think that John Huss was a cursed heretic, and I would myself, have administered fire and sword for the burning and destroying of that heretic, and thought it a high service to God, so to do."⁴ If, as seems likely, Paul was a Pharisaic missionary in the Graeco-Roman world, and a propogator of circumcision,⁵ the intensity of his feeling may have grown as the Church expanded. At any rate, with the same violence and anger he followed the Christian preachers to Damascus. As he maintained in Jerusalem, so he did beyond it, there was no salvation outside obedience to the law, and Jesus was not the crucified or risen Messiah.

Dibelius has argued that Paul became a persecutor of the church "because he felt that the Christians' claim was

¹ Acts 5.33ff.
² Josephus, The Jewish War, 2. 119ff. Tolerance is espoused in Pirke Aboth 4.14; "Every assembly that meets in the name of heaven shall in the end be established; and every assembly that meets not in the name of heaven shall in the end not be established."
³ Nock, St. Paul, p. 63-4.
⁴ Luther, Galatians, p. 37.
⁵ Gal. 5.11.

an insult to God and a subversion of the law", and he was able to feel this so strongly only because he stood "at the centre of the religion of Law."¹ In addition he says that whether the Messiah had come or not was an open question.² This ignores the Sanhedrin's judgement against Jesus and that a "crucified Messiah" was a problem to the Jews.³ Dibelius believes Paul was antagonized by the idea that the Messiah would come to the "am haaretz", and supports this with reference to I Cor. 1.26 which mentions the low class of people who composed the Corinthian church. We doubt if the passage can bear so much weight; but if it can, the point is not of sufficient strength to balance such a zealous defence of the law which Paul made. We are on more certain ground in learning that the Jews thought a crucified Messiah a stumbling block and that the law was undermined than depending on a statement which contrasts God's wisdom and power with human foolishness and weakness.

Lastly, in reference to elements in the period prior to Paul's conversion, it is no more than conjecture to propose that he heard Jesus teach or saw his crucifixion, or was impressed and stirred by the faith of dying martyrs, or that he felt a lack like that of the "righteous" young ruler who came to Jesus.⁴ They are possibilities; they may have affected him, but Paul says nothing about them. Likely
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¹ Dibelius, Paul, p. 52.

² Ibid. p. 51

³ I Cor. 1.23.

⁴ Wood, "The Conversion of St. Paul", "New Testament Studies", 1(1955), p. 278ff.

there were some people standing by these events who were so affected, but we must fix our attention on the core of the conflict which Paul was in to see its decisiveness.

The date of Paul's conversion is thought to be somewhere between/ ^{A.D.} 30 and 36. The date largely hinges on the consideration given to the three and fourteen year periods mentioned in Gal. 1,2, and the time when Sergius Paulus was pro-counsul in Cyprus.¹

The sources upon which we have to rely are quite meagre. There are three accounts in Acts, 9.1ff, 22.4ff, 26.12ff. From Paul's own letters, there are two direct references and a few others which may be allusions. The accounts in Acts, although they have secondary value, agree for the most part.² We noticed in another chapter the similarity of description between the accounts in Acts and the descriptions of the calls of the prophets. We can emphasize again that the source for these accounts of the conversion is most likely Paul himself. Divergency in recording was inevitable if others told the story of his conversion with some special perspective in mind. Bultmann and

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¹ Harnack set the date at 30; Turner at 35-6, Ramsay at 33, Lightfoot at 34 - Turner, "Chronology of the New Testament", HDB, Vol. 1, p. 424. Dodd estimates the date to be 33-34 - The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, p.26; Hatch sets it about 32 - "The Life of Paul", IB, Vol. 7, p. 200. The variation in these dates is remarkably small considering that there is so little by which to fix events, and the relative insignificance of the matter.

² Hatch, "The Life of Paul", IB, Vol. 7, p. 191. Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, Part 1, Vol. 5, p. 189.

Dibelius regard his conversion to have been covered over by legendary forms.¹ Wood challenges the extreme to which this view tends: "There is certainly primitive tradition in the speeches of Peter in Acts, and as Paul must often have told the story of his conversion, it is not likely that the writer (Luke) has substituted a romantic story of his own invention for Paul's own account of his change-over from a persecutor to a disciple and an apostle."² Thus with two sound reasons Wood answers some rather extreme scepticism.

Paul refers to his conversion experience when he has some other purpose in mind. While proclaiming the resurrection of Jesus, he gives an account of many who have seen the risen Lord, and the list is concluded with his own experience. "Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared (ὡφθῆν) also to me."³ The significance of this account is that Paul regards his sight of the risen Lord to be essentially the same as Peter and James to whom Jesus appeared earlier.⁴ In the same letter, Paul defends himself, "Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen (εἶδρακα) Jesus our Lord?"⁵ Gal. 1.16 has not quite the same value for knowing his experience as the former quotations, but it clearly alludes to a past experience: God "was pleased to reveal his Son to me." II Cor. has a sentence which some have thought to

¹ Bultmann, "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 114. Dibelius

² Paul, p. 48.

³ "The Conversion of St. Paul," "New Testament Studies", 1(1955), p. 276-7. Cf. Munck, PSM, Ch. 1.

⁴ I Cor. 15.8.

⁵ Hatch, "The Life of Paul," IB, Vol. 7, p. 191.

⁵ I Cor. 9.1.

refer to his conversion experience, but the language is too veiled.¹ Linguistically, Paul's use of *ὄραω* (*ὠφθῆναι, εἶδῆκα*) is not figurative but literal, as though there was sense perception, a real not mental vision, or the act of seeing with the eyes.² The idea of such a reality, however conceived or in what form Jesus took in his appearance, is corroborated by the repeated sense of personal fellowship he has with Christ.³ He expresses the event and his subsequent existence as something in which he has almost physically been taken by Jesus:⁴ "Christ Jesus has made me his own."⁵ Here, *καταλήμψῆναι* has the sense of being seized, overpowered or appropriated.⁶ I Cor. 9.15ff expands the consequences of forcibly being taken into Christ's service so that there is no escape from his commission. We can conclude from these several notes that Paul had a personal and real encounter with the risen Jesus, but he does not describe what he saw. The Jesus who encountered him was the same historical and risen person who encountered others before him. His reaction then and later was the sense of being compelled to be Christ's. Admittedly, this seizure is a reflection of Paul's, but it must be connected with his conversion experience. It is not an

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¹ II Cor. 4.6.
² Grimm, Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, p. 451.
 Arndt and Gingrich, Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, p. 581-2.
³ Phil. 1.23. Nock, St. Paul, p.74.
⁴ Munck, PSM, p. 20ff.
⁵ Phil. 3.12.
⁶ Arndt and Gingrich, ibid. p. 413. Moulton and Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, p. 328.

idea but a person who has arrested him. The encounter brought with it the realization that Jesus whom the Christians preached was risen and alive. In the end we cannot separate this realization from his later reflection and expansion. From that moment on Paul realised Jesus lived. Paul was prepared for this day inasmuch as the controversy of Jesus dead or risen was now settled, indisputable, and fundamental. What happened to him on the Damascus road awakened him to this fact.

Paul's determination to rout out the Christians and his zeal in following them beyond Jerusalem suggest an outlook in which the appearance of Jesus was probably sudden. The accounts in Acts certainly give this impression. It may be that Paul felt humiliated by his conversion experience:¹ "Last of all, as to one untimely born he appeared also to me."² Findlay also expresses the view that the Damascus road experience had a quality of splendour about it. II Cor. 4.4ff does emphasize the glory of God which is in the face of Christ. Paul often speaks of the glory of God in Christ, and it may well be that his terminology is related to his vision. Blazing light, an aspect of glory, features in the accounts in Acts, and there is little doubt that Paul was overwhelmed by the appearance of Jesus. That this did not find an outlet in some expression or other would be surprising.

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¹ Findlay, "Paul, the Apostle," HDB, Vol. 3, p. 702.
² I Cor. 15.8.

Paul's conversion was not a repentance.¹ In Judaism, repentance was a prerequisite of righteousness.² Paul was not converted from a life of gross sinfulness to a life of virtue.³ Nor was he, like the gentiles to whom he preached, converted from idolatry to the acknowledgment of the one true God. Paul regarded his conversion as an event in which God acted to reveal his Son to him.⁴ It was a challenge to recognize Jesus who had died and was risen. It was a conversion from the zealous maintenance of one conviction to another. He had stood as a persecutor of the Church unreconciled to the truth as the preachers proclaimed it; the Damascus road experience made the fact of Jesus' resurrection plain and afforded him reconciliation. "Saul, the Pharisee and the persecutor, was converted by a vision of the risen Lord."⁵ "Paul's conversion meant for him the recognition that the condemned criminal was in fact the Anointed One of God, living now in the glory of the Spirit world, and that through this Anointed One, an imperious call to tell the good tidings had come to him, Paul."⁶

Compared with his conviction that the way of the law was right, Paul's experience on the Damascus road caused a radical change in his thought and attitudes.⁷ Paul adopted

1 Nock, St. Paul, p. 75-6. Bultmann, "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 114.
 2 Ps. of Sol. 9.11.15.
 3 Dibelius, Paul, p. 46.
 4 Gal. 1.16.
 5 Wood, "The Conversion of St. Paul," "New Testament Studies," 1(1955), p. 278.
 6 Nock, ibid. p. 74.
 7 Hatch, "The Life of Paul," IB, Vol. 7, p. 191-2.

a new "self-understanding" for the old one he had clung to so tenaciously.¹ His anchor had been the law and the righteousness that came from obedience to it; now his anchor must be in the person and work of Jesus whose resurrection had been manifested to him, and which had caused his desire to be righteous to be refocused. Acts faithfully reports the radical change in Paul, even if there is a compression of details: in Damascus, "in the synagogue immediately he proclaimed Jesus, saying, 'He is the Son of God'."²

What was Paul's attitude to his past? Standing as one convinced that Jesus had died and risen according to the will of God, how did he regard his old position that righteousness was by obedience to the law? What about his old self-understanding? First, whereas the Christians were right that God had acted in Jesus' death and resurrection, now he knew that his life as a Jew under the law was wrong, based on a lie, based on false judgement. With the Christian claim proved true, his Jewish claim was proved wrong. I would, he says, "be found in him, not having a righteousness of my own, based on law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness from God that depends on faith."³ Secondly, all the privileges of which he had been so proud and which he had championed⁴ were now

¹ Bultmann, "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 115, 122.

² Acts 9.20.

³ Phil. 3.9.

⁴ Gal. 1.14.

worthless and were given up.¹ Paul gives in Philippians a recital of facts about his life in which he took pride, and then says, "But whatever gain I had, I counted as loss because of the surpassing worth of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord."² Thirdly, the old life and its perspectives were now looked upon as a life of sin, not of gross sensuality, but of disobedience to or disbelief in the Christ-event. With a remembrance of past deeds and a touch of shame, he says that to one "untimely born" Christ appeared to him.³ Paul has another reminiscence of former days in which he was disbelieving and God was working out a purpose for him: "God has consigned all men to disobedience, that he may have mercy upon all."⁴ "He ... set me apart before I was born"⁵ He can say this truth out of his own experience: "For no human being will be justified in his sight by works of the law"⁶ In the same letter there is an echo of the old position in which he stood unconverted: "while we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son."⁷ The Cross of Jesus, which has become the truth of God's work revealed to him, and become to him

¹ Massie, "Conversion of St. Paul," "The Expositor", 3rd Series, 10(1889), p. 262. Minear, "Paul the Apostle," IB, Vol. 7, p. 207.
² Phil. 3.4-8.
³ I. Cor. 15.8.
⁴ Rom. 11.32.
⁵ Gal. 1.15.
⁶ Rom. 3.20a.
⁷ Rom. 5.10.

an incontrovertible fact, stood in judgement on his old life.¹ The truth that God had acted in the death of the crucified forced Paul to acknowledge that he as a Pharisaic Jew had responded to this publically declared event with disbelief and disobedience; this was his sin also. Fourthly, this understanding of his old thoughts and attitudes was not purely an individual matter. As he was blind, so were some Jews still blind to the truth of God in Christ. "For, being ignorant of the righteousness that comes from God, and seeking to establish their own, they did not submit to God's righteousness."² As he had represented the dogmatic Jewish position of righteousness by the law, so many did still. The same verdict which he felt had been expressed against him by the Cross was true for all men; he says, "God shows his love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us."³ To the end of this understanding, he must preach, and when men believe the gospel the same result is theirs: "The old has passed away, behold, the new has come."⁴

The most prominent belief of Paul about his new and radical position as a Christian is that God's act toward him was free and gracious. Paul had nothing to depend on for merit; he had been engaged in persecution.⁵ "Caught in

¹ Minear, "Paul the Apostle", IB, Vol. 7, p. 207.

² Bultmann, "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 115-6.

³ Rom. 10.3.

⁴ Rom. 5.8.

⁵ II Cor. 5.17b.

⁵ Hatch, "The Life of Paul", IB, Vol. 7, p. 191.

the midst of fierce enmity, and, not only pardoned for his sin, but honoured with a mission direct from Christ, with what force and with what humility he could proclaim Christ's free and unmerited grace!"¹ In the light of the Damascus vision, he says, "by the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace toward me was not in vain."² Paul speaks of grace in his most important personal confession: "he who had set me apart before I was born, and had called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles."³ When he gave an account of his gospel to Peter, James and John, "they perceived that grace was given to me."⁴

Integral to this grace is Paul's conviction that God had been preparing him for this time with his inheritance of Jewish religious truths and traditions.⁵ It is the same sense of grace given to him to fulfill a mission that causes him to say, "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to claim anything as coming from us; our sufficiency is from God who has qualified us to be ministers of a new covenant."⁶ God's act of grace toward him was compulsive indeed, but not from One with an iron will but from One with sacrificing love, to which he can only react with wonder, thanks-

¹ Massie, "Conversion of St. Paul," "The Expositor," 3rd Series, 10(1889), p. 261.

² I. Cor. 15.10.

³ Gal. 1.15, 16.

⁴ Gal. 2.9.

⁵ Gal. 1.15. Minear, "Paul the Apostle," IB, Vol. 7, p. 207.

⁶ II Cor. 3.5-6a.

giving and service.¹

A second consequence of his conversion was to recognize that the Christian preachers were true ambassadors with a true message.² Paul was certainly baptized³ and probably the account in Acts is right that Paul submitted himself to the church and was baptized in Damascus.⁴ Paul acknowledges that there were apostles at work before him⁵ and that their mission was to the circumcized.⁶ Perhaps we hear echoed some of the ridicule toward the apostles and preachers levelled by unbelievers, by those who stand as Paul did when he was persecutor, when he says, "For I think that God has exhibited us apostles as last of all, like men sentenced to death, because we have become a spectacle to the world, to men and to angels. We are fools for Christ's sake...."⁷ However, such men may appear to those outside, they bear in their preaching the truth: "... it pleased God through the folly of what we preach to save those who believe."⁸ It makes little difference to him if he includes himself now with those who were apostles before him: he has, after all, been converted to the same conviction and task they have: "Whether it was I or they, so we

¹ I Cor. 15.10. II Cor. 9.15 - "Thanks be to God for his inexpressible gift!"

² Minear, "Paul the Apostle", IB, Vol. 7, p. 207.

³ Rom. 6.3.

⁴ Acts 9.18; 22.16.

⁵ Gal. 1.17a.

⁶ Gal. 2.7b.

⁷ I Cor. 4.9, 10.

⁸ I Cor. 1.21b.

preach, and so you believed."¹

A third consequence of his conversion was the radical realization that on his own merit he could not be accounted righteous but only as he believed and appropriated the saving events of God's grace. We know "that a man is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by faith in Christ."² The contrast can be seen not only between works of the law and faith, but also between works of the law and grace.³ God had acted in Christ in his grace and love; man's reaction was to come in the obedience of his faith.

A fourth consequence was the realization that as his disobedience and disbelief was like that of others, now the new existence into which he had been called was relative to others. "We entreat you not to accept the grace of God in vain ... now is the day of salvation."⁴ As his human situation was in a new light, so the human situation of others could be in a new light. God had acted out of his love and grace almost, so to speak, independently of men in their false understanding. "While we were yet helpless, at the right time Christ died for the ungodly."⁵ "God shows his love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died

1 Cor. 15.11.
2 Gal. 2.16.
3 Rom. 3.23,24.
4 II Cor. 6.1,2.
5 Rom. 5.6.

for us."¹ Man's will and exertion are of no account, but only the mercy of God.² The new human situation for those who see and believe is a "new creation" which God makes by his grace. "For by grace you have been saved through faith; and this is not your own doing, it is the gift of God - not because of works, lest any man should boast. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works."³

A fifth consequence of his conversion is that he believes his future duty has been clearly indicated. He was given a direct and independent commission. Nock is confusing in identifying vocation and conversion.⁴ They were, according to Paul, certainly coincident. It takes no stretch of mind to see the connection between his experience of the risen Christ and his declaration to the Corinthians: "I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ and him crucified."⁵ If anything angered Paul before his conversion, it was this insistence by the preachers - if anything was still to be preached it was this fact and all that stemmed from it. The universality of what God had done in Christ and shown to Paul could not be less than his earlier Jewish conviction that the revelation of Sinai was ultimately for all men - a gospel of circumcision and law which he seems to have preached before his

¹ Rom. 5.8.
² Rom. 9.16.
³ Eph. 2.8-10

⁴ St. Paul, p. 69.
⁵ I Cor. 2.2.

conversion. The chief point is his conviction that his duty has been made plain directly to him, as directly as his vision. He testifies in Galatians to the directness of his charge.¹ In Jerusalem it was acknowledged that his task was to go among the gentiles with the gospel.² The possibility of resignation or interference causes him to recoil: "Necessity is laid upon me. Woe is me if I do not preach the gospel..... I am entrusted with a commission."³ As he was provoked, so he will provoke others, that they too might be saved.⁴ Convinced that the time before the Parousia and Day of Judgement is short, Paul has an idea of world mission which he must hurry to complete:⁵ Syria, Cilicia, Asia, Galatia, Macedonia, Achaia, Rome and Spain. He is eager to finish "here" and get on to "there". "I am under obligation both to the Greeks and to barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish; so I am eager to preach to you also who are in Rome."⁶ "To himself it seemed that he had been born at a juncture in the world's history at which there was a special work to be done for God and man, and that he had been endowed with the gifts required for the purpose; consequently, all his faculties and opportunities must be devoted to this object."⁷

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¹ Gal. 1.15-17.

² Gal. 2.7,9.

³ I Cor. 9.16,17.

⁴ Rom. 11.13,14.

⁵ Munck, PSM, p. 52,65ff.

⁶ Rom. 1.14,15.

⁷ Stalker, "Paul," HDAC, Vol. 2, p. 157.

A sixth consequence of his conversion is a new eschatological outlook.¹ Since he is convinced now that the Messiah has come, so has a new age and new creation broken in - especially relevant to the re-creation of men. Existing still is an age of false wisdom,² misguided rulers,³ and failing Satanic powers⁴ whose power still causes some to fall. The kingdom of God has broken in;⁵ it is a time of a new covenant;⁶ it is a time of a new creation.⁷ For the completion of this new work of God in Christ, Paul counsels preparedness.⁸ Various other conclusions were drawn by Paul from the realization that Jesus was the crucified and risen Messiah, but enough has been shown to indicate the radical new outlook which followed his conversion. His letters tell us the broad outlines of the religious struggle of which he was a part from his conversion onward and in which he expressed truths radically different from those he had defended as a Jew.

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1 Dibelius, Paul, p. 62.
 2 I Cor. 1.20; 3.18.
 3 I Cor. 2.6, 8.
 4 II Thess. 2.7ff; 3.3.
 5 I Thess. 2.12. Col. 1.13. I Cor. 15.24 - the present tense of *παρὰ δὲ δὲ* suggests its presence now.
 6 II Cor. 3.6.
 7 Gal. 6.15. II Cor. 5.17.
 8 Rom. 13.11ff.

CHAPTER NINE

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
CHRIST AND PAUL

Was Paul's relationship to Christ mystical? Very few writers have been able to see this relationship in the same way, or think of mysticism in the same way. Anderson Scott pointed to one of the difficulties in speaking of Pauline mysticism: "an instinctive dislike to the phrase ('mystical union') has militated against the truth that underlies it." ¹ Glover said correctly that if we mean "deification" we will find little support to claim Paul was a mystic. ² E.F.Scott, viewing the full picture of religious thought in the Graeco-Roman world, thought -though cautiously- that Paul had a natural bent toward mysticism. ³ Grant, viewing the spiritual depth and insight of Paul, concluded that no other solution to his complex life is possible: Paul was a mystic. ⁴ Some writers say that Paul was not entirely a mystic. According to Klausner, Paul was at once mystical and practical; ⁵ according to Porter, the key expression "in Christ" by no means always has a "mood of mysticism". ⁶ The wisest judgement of many scholars has been that "mysticism" is a term which can be used of religious experience in many ages, and therefore it is important that we define what we mean. Some scholars avoid the use of it altogether for its unsuitability; ⁷ others have been cautious about its use with a preference for des-
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¹ CASP, p.108.

² Paul of Tarsus, p. 213.

³ The Gospel and its Tributaries, p. 134.

⁴ RHNT, p. 145.

⁵ From Jesus to Paul, p. 427f.

⁶ The Mind of Christ in Paul, p. 283.

⁷ Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol. 1, p. 335.

Primitive Christianity, p. 197.

cribing the relationship in some other way.¹

We propose to look for some clues in the religious thought of the time that may illumine the relationship with Christ of which Paul speaks. What influence may have come from the Graeco-Roman, non-Jewish world of religious thought? It has often been argued that Hellenistic mysticism had a pronounced effect on Paul's conception of his relationship to Christ. Dibelius said that "Paul uses expressions derived from Hellenistic mysticism and images reminiscent of the mystery cults; in particular he carries over into his own life Christ's sufferings, death and resurrection, almost exactly as the member of a mystery cult copied in his ceremonies the myth of his god."² Indeed, when Paul says "we all ... are being changed into his likeness,"³ or "we were buried therefore with him by baptism into death,"⁴ we may easily see how close we are to pagan religious exercises. Examples of initiations, sacraments and mystic communions with gods and goddesses are numerous.⁵ In the account of the mysteries of the goddess Isis, Lucius Apuleius was told by the priest that the goddess had power to make men new born;⁶ Lucius in his initiation felt himself to have descended to Hell;⁷ it would appear that this was followed by a vener-
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¹ Davies, PRJ, p. 86ff.

² Paul, p. 104f.

³ II Cor. 3.18.

⁴ Rom. 6.4.

⁵ Murray, Five Stages of Greek Religion, p. 181-2.

⁶ The Golden Ass, 11.21.

⁷ Ibid. 2.23.

ation of him by the people because he appeared arrayed as the goddess herself.¹ The Mithra liturgy had a mysticism of dying and rising: "Born again, I depart, being exalted, and having been exalted I die: born through that birth which gives life, dissolved into death, I go the way ... which thou hast appointed."² Loisy asserted Paul's positive dependence on this type of thought: Christ "was a saviour-god, after the manner of an Osiris, an Attis, a Mithra. Like them, he belonged by his origin to the celestial world; like them, he had prefigured in his lot that of human beings who should take part in his worship, and commemorate his mystic enterprise; like them, he had predestined, prepared and assured the salvation of those who became partners in his passion."³ Knox takes a more tempered approach by showing how the synagogues of Hellenistic Judaism approached the pagan world offering salvation in terms like that of the Isis mystery but which ended in obedience to the Torah, which, it was claimed, was the forerunner of all pagan wisdom anyway.⁴ Claiming a pre-eminence in the revelation of Torah, demanding purifications and offering salvation, the proselytizing synagogues could "out do" the mysteries. In this way, the vocabulary and religious conceptions of the mysteries entered Paul's language and thought.

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² Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions
 Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra, p. 160ff. s, p. 206.

³ Quoted by Kennedy, ibid. p. 211f.

⁴ SPCG, p. 27ff, 109f.

⁴ Quoted by Kennedy, ibid. p. 211f.

⁴ SPCG, p. 27ff, 109f.

At the same time as this may have occurred, pagan Gnostics had a mysticism more refined than the crudeness of the mystery religions. Hermes gives some counsel to his eager son Tat: "Stop the working of your bodily senses, and then will deity be born in you."¹ "The physical body which is an object of sense, differs widely from that other body, which is of the nature of true Being. The one is dissoluble, the other is indissoluble. The one is mortal, the other is immortal. Do you not know that you have become a god, and son of the One, even as I have?"² Tat remarks: "Father, now that I see in mind, I see myself to be the All.... I am a babe in the womb, and one that is not yet conceived, and one that has been born; I am present everywhere." To which Hermes replies: "Now, my son, you know what the Rebirth is."³ We may perceive the notion of absorption into deity in these remarks. Moreover, deity causes him to be reborn.

"O Thou first author of the work by which Rebirth
 has been wrought in me,
 to thee, O God, do I, Tat, bring offerings of speech.
 O God thou art the Father;
 O Lord, thou art Mind."⁴

This kind of thought probably circulated in the first century A.D. in spite of the late date of the above composition.⁵

1 Corpus Hermetica, Libellus 13.7a.
 2 Ibid. 13.14.
 3 Ibid. 13.11b.
 4 Ibid. 13.21.
 5 MacGregor and Purdy, Jew and Greek, p. 317.

There is this much similarity that Paul and the Gnostics both speak of man's inner life, redemption from this world, ecstasy, knowledge which saves, and that in communion with deity one can rise above this transient world. Bultmann, perhaps more than most scholars, insists that Gnosticism influenced Christianity a great deal,¹ and in particular, as far as Paul was concerned, to be "in Christ" was "a Gnostic cosmic conception," by which he means that Paul does not think of Christ as a person but as a cosmic figure, "a body to which all belong who have been joined to him through faith and baptism."²

It must first be said to the credit side of the influence of pagan religious thought that Paul uses a vocabulary easily found in pagan literature. As the initiates of the mystery religions died and rose, so Paul speaks in a similar way of the Christian's experience.³ Loisy is too extreme however, in proposing that Paul thinks of a saviour-god; as Kennedy says, for Paul there is only one God, "the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁴ Knox seems to touch on a real possibility in pointing to synagogue practise in proselytizing, but he has been dependent mostly on Alexandrian sources whereas Paul lived and worked far to the north. This is not a great problem however, since religious thought was conveyed easily in the Graeco-Roman world and Apollos is a

¹ Primitive Christianity, p. 162ff.
² Ibid. p. 197.
³ Rom. 6.
⁴ St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 213.

427.

good example of a travelling, converted, Egyptian Jew.¹ Davies' alternative proposal however, is just as good as Knox's, that Paul's conception of fellowship with Christ depends on a Jewish conception of solidarity. His suggestion would eliminate the hypothesis of Gnostic mysticism. Like the Gnostics, Paul speaks of *γνώσις*,² and the *νοῦς* of the Gnostics is similar to his *πνεῦμα*.³ There is a striking resemblance between Hermes' description of the Gnostic spiritual body and Paul's description of the Christian's resurrection body;⁴ both use *θνητός* and *ἀθάνατος* (*ἀθανασία*). We must recognize that words have flexibility, and this is apparent in these words just named. Paul uses them having found them in common use and invests them with meaning suitable to the gospel, and it is probable that in a great many cases the meaning preceded the selection of words. A second influence was derived from pagan religion: the religious syncretism of the time made the gospel more easily presented. Gnosticism itself was a syncretistic result of Hellenistic and Oriental religious thought.⁵ It is not that Paul's gospel was a product of syncretism, but a part of it. Religious concepts were not rigid. Many religions were changing, exerting influences on each other, and this meant that Paul, expanding the claims of Christ, could borrow here and there

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¹ Acts 18.24.

² I Cor. 13.2; 14.6.

³ Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 149f; 162ff. Wikenhauser, Pauline Mysticism, p. 139ff.

⁴ I Cor. 15.53.

⁵ Angus, The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World, p.379.

without depending on a form to become the substance of the gospel. Both the mystery religions and Gnosticism aided him with their religious conceptions, but he did not depend on them to make the composition of his doctrine. Especially was this so in explaining the relationship with Christ; he depended in this on his own individual experience and on that of others, but the fact that certain pagans spoke of fellowship with the divine made a religious platform on which he could speak and be understood when he called men to be "in Christ."

There is a debit side as well, for there are certain points where Paul and pagan religions part. First, there is in Paul's relationship to Christ no deification or absorption as Montefiore thought he found - a "mystic who feels himself in God and God in him."¹ Furthermore, since God is the Father of Christ,² there is even less likelihood of absorption into God or of a God-mysticism.³ It was possible for Hellenistic mysticism to influence a Christian mind to the extent that in relation to Christ there could be a kind of deification. Methodius⁴ says that "every believer must through participation in Christ, be born as a Christ."⁵ Paul has nothing so radical as this which suggests loss of individuality. Rather what emerges from the relationship of Paul

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¹ Judaism and St. Paul, p. 50.

² I Cor. 3.23.

³ Schweitzer, MSP, p. 5, 12f.

⁴ Ninth century A.D.

⁵ Quoted by Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 292.

with Christ is an ethical demand and ethical possibilities.¹
 Bousset's answer to any alleged deification is worth quoting:
 "The distinctive Christus-mysticism of the Apostle, his "in
 Christ", "in the Lord", is something which offers a sharply
 marked contrast to the ideal of deification prevalent in the
 Hellenistic piety, even if it shows an affinity with it on
 certain sides - the way in which Paul feels Christ as the
 over-arching and encompassing element of his higher spirit-
 ual self and at the same time as the power which determines
 and sustains the life of the Christian community - this is
 something for which any parallel in the religion of the sur-
 rounding world can hardly be found, even if the spiritual-
 izing mysticism of the Hermetic writings, for instance, shows
 some faint analogies to it."² In I Cor. 14 Paul may actually
 oppose those who want to engage in ecstatic experiences for
 their own sake and pleasure.³ For Paul, his relationship
 with Christ, as its most normal, admits no loss of conscious-
 ness,⁴ nor was there a fusion of persons.⁵ There is not any
 thought of deification in Paul because his consciousness

1 St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 223.
 2 Quoted by Bevan, Hellenism and Christianity, p. 108.
 3 Deissmann, Paul, p. 153.
 4 Porter, The Mind of Christ in Paul, p. 289.
 5 Wikenhauser, Pauline Mysticism, p. 74. Wikenhauser is con-
 fusing when he denies fusion of personalities and then
 claims the Christian's complete absorption into Christ's
 spiritual life (p.92). Similarly in his description of a
 "mysterious and lasting union with the spiritual Christ
 triumphant"(p. 80).

of creatureliness is too great,¹ and his relationship with Christ is a personal and not a mystical relationship.

A second point of difference is that the relationship of Paul and Christ has been created by an act of love. Isis did of course do something for Apuleius; she caused him to be transformed or reborn, but it was an amoral act, and it issued only in Apuleius' willingness to be her minister. Whatever the gods or goddesses had done for men and women, the acts were mythical. Paul, on the other hand, has before him an act visible to the whole of humanity and which he understands to be an act of love. "Our Lord Jesus Christ ... gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age."² "The life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me."³ Christ's act of love in His death generates Paul's faith and gives foundation to the relationship he has with Christ.⁴ At the same time this act of love may be attributed to God.⁵

Furthermore, the influence of pagan religion ceases when the dying of the Christian is a dying to sin. The Gnostic "Poimandres" tractate appeals that the evil conduct of

¹ Rom. 1.25. I Cor. 15.27. To Paul God is transcendent; to the Stoics God is immanent. Paul holds God too much in awe to think of an equation of the divine and himself; Dibelius, Paul, p. 108.
² Gal. 1.4.
³ Gal. 2.20.
⁴ Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 221.
⁵ Rom. 5.8.

men be left behind,¹ but it does so at the expense of turning away from the world altogether; this, says Bultmann, opens the door for libertinism.² Paul has a much different mind on this matter: "How can we who died to sin still live in it?" Rather, they have been buried with Christ in order that they may rise to "walk in newness of life."³ Life in the flesh is not a matter dismissed, but submitted for re-creation.

Finally, we may point out that the dying and rising of the initiates of the mystery religions to achieve union with a god and so escape death was a myth, the deaths of the gods being "originally mythological personifications of the processes of vegetation."⁴ The features of the mystery religions "were not rooted and grounded in history as was the Jesus whom Paul knew as the Risen Lord."⁵ The spiritual redemption which Paul preaches was vastly different with its point of a historical reference. To think that Paul imagined his relationship to Christ on the basis of a relationship to a mythological figure is to ask us to think that he was more captivated by mythological figures than by a historical person who had died and risen and appeared to him. Such a possibility would have been an affront to his experience and intelligence.

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¹ Corpus Hermetica, Libellus 1.28.
² Primitive Christianity, p. 170.
³ Rom. 6.2,4.
⁴ Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 213.
⁵ Davies, PRJ, p. 90.

Now we may approach this subject from the side of Judaism and ask if Paul's relationship with Christ, alleged to be mystical, can be illumined by the ideas and practices of his ancestral religion. Montefiore insists that Judaism had very little interest in mysticism: "its fervour, its ethics, its religious temper and its spiritual tone are generally other than those of the mystic who feels himself in God and God in him."¹ At the same time there is ample evidence that Judaism in the first century A.D. had its own type of mysticism, although it was clearly not of a deification or absorption type - God was too holy. According to Müller,² there is a good deal of mystical feeling in the extant literature of the Jews. There were mystical features about the Spirit of Yahweh, among the ecstatic prophets, in the functions of the priests, in the making of sacrifices, in the use of names, in the piety of the Psalms, in the Torah and in the occasional coming of the "Bat-kol". The great difficulty in knowing the character of Jewish mysticism is that there seems to have been deliberate attempts to suppress this interest from the second century onward. Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai tried to eliminate all the speculation about chariots.³ The Mishnah prohibits mystical speculations;⁴ Sirach is just as firm:

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¹ Judaism and St. Paul, p. 50f.
² History of Jewish Mysticism, p. 13ff.
³ Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 181f.
⁴ Hagigah 2.1.

"Reflect on what has been assigned to you,
for you do not need what is hidden."¹

Probably the Rabbis were chiefly responsible for trying to suppress Jewish mysticism.² Nevertheless, there was a movement among the Jews interested in it. From Hillel onward, a secret teaching centered about Ezekiel's chariot.³ Consequently, it may be assumed that the teaching was promulgated among the Pharisees. They were especially interested in angels, and this subject was inclined to mystical interests.⁴ The apocalyptic literature indicates a throne mysticism⁵ or a mysticism of ascent and descent;⁶ Enoch and Ezra are symbolic examples. The Essenes had teaching of a mystical character which their members were prohibited from divulging.⁷ The Psalms of Thanksgiving among the Dead Sea Scrolls reflect a mysticism of communion with the world of spirit,⁸ but it is interesting to observe that these same Psalms protect the transcendence of God. Certain Rabbis were mystics to their great disadvantage reports the Babylonian Talmud.⁹ There are four principal features about Jewish mysticism in this early period. It was rather secretive, and this is not wholly reflected by Rabbinic suppression. Sec-

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¹ Sirach 3.22.

² Müller, History of Jewish Mysticism, p. 43.

³ Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 181. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 411.

⁴ Finklestein, ibid. Vol. 1, p. 160ff.

⁵ Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, p. 44.

⁶ Müller, ibid. p. 36.

⁷ Josephus, The Jewish War, 2.141.

⁸ Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 72, Psalm C; p. 74, Psalm D.

⁹ Davies, PRJ, p. 15.

only, it was speculative more than experiential or experimental, as a result of rabbinic exegesis which concentrated on mysterious features of established religion: names, miracles, legends, visions, etc. This is a further reason for its secretive character. Thirdly, it had no thought of union with God,¹ as the Dead Sea Scrolls make apparent in emphasizing the transcendence of God. Finally, it was an exercise in which the love of God formed no part.² Paul was very little influenced by these four features except in two secondary ways. Paul argued that angels were intermediaries in giving the law to Israel.³ This is the kind of speculation to which the Pharisees were accustomed; the authors of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs⁴ and the Book of Jubilees⁵ were passionate advocates of angelology while the author of Sirach⁶ is angered by the suggestion of their existence. The significance of this is that belief in angelic activity was normal among the Pharisees, and mystical imagination about the chariot and denial of angels could prove the extremes of speculation. Therefore Paul's view of their activity was neither a denial nor a wild mystical speculation. Schoeps minimizes too much the importance which the Pharisees attached to the role of angels in giving the law, calling it only a piece of folk-lore and embroidery.⁷ Josephus

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1 Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, p. 55.
 2 Ibid. p. 55.
 3 Gal. 3.19.
 4 Asher 7.1.
 5 Jubilees 1.29.
 6 Sirach 15.14; 21.27.
 7 Paul, p. 182.

157
assigns this role to the angels in all seriousness.¹ The author of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs assigns the angels a role of mediation.² Even if this is folk-lore in its origin, it appears to have come to be taken seriously, and as far as the point here is concerned, Paul has avoided any extreme of a mystical angelology, and the matter is even further removed from his relationship with Christ. Also, whereas Jewish mysticism of the secretive type knew of visions and ascents and descents, so does Paul speak of his visions and being caught up to a third heaven.³ There seems to be in this a clear parallel with apocalyptic visions. From both the O.T. (Elijah)⁴ and the Pseudepigrapha (Enoch)⁵ various figures ascend to the heavenly spheres; the apocalyptic literature provides examples of the division of the heavens into seven spheres, of which the third may be the location of paradise.⁶ Rabbi Akiba was the only one of four Rabbis mentioned earlier who safely ascended and descended the heavenly spheres. The interesting point is that in keeping with the view of many conservative Rabbis,⁷ Paul was restrained in his mention and valuation of these experiences. His thorn prevents too great an elation.⁸ Love is a far better spiritual gift;⁹ similarly the desire to impart some

1 Antiquities 15.5.3.

2 Dan. 6.2.

3 II Cor. 12.1ff.

4 II Kings 2.11.

5 The Secrets of Enoch 1.8.

6 The Secrets of Enoch 8.1-3.

7 Finklestein, The Pharisees, Vol. 1, p. 184f.

8 II Cor. 12.7.

9 I Cor. 12.31.

spiritual knowledge is of more value than ecstatic experiences.¹ We must acknowledge, however, that current Jewish interest in visions helped to create in Paul a capacity for them as a Christian. For this reason, consciousness of the world of spirit made his conception of the risen Christ as one with whom he could companion all the more credible. Yet such a relationship Paul does not believe was induced by himself but it was Christ who appeared to him.² In this light, we could speak like Deissmann of a reacting-mysticism rather than an acting-mysticism.³

Paul shares elements of Jewish religion which are mystical in the sense that man is conscious of the present activity or nearness of God. Scripture is alive with the promises of God.⁴ There is a consciousness of divinely inspired revelation.⁵ Prayer is answered.⁶ Objective events are vehicles by which he is conscious of the participation of God in his life.⁷ The Spirit of God is indeed that which gives true "life" to mortal bodies⁸ and becomes a promise of eternal life.⁹ We cannot say, however, that Paul has been much influenced by the branch of Jewish mysticism which was highly secretive and speculative. Paul

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1 I Cor. 14.19.
2 Gal. 1.16. I Cor. 9.1; 15.8.
3 Paul, p. 152.
4 Rom. 1.2.
5 Gal. 1.16.
6 II Cor. 12.8,9.
7 II Cor. 1.9,10.
8 Rom. 8.11.
9 II Cor. 1.22.

as a Christian does show us mystical tendencies with his visions and consciousness of fellowship with the risen Christ, but the extent to which such visions had a part in his life before his conversion is really unknown; this we should admit in contrast to Dodd's belief that he had visions in earlier years;¹ in fact, his silence tells us nothing. However, his familiarity with the sphere of heavens may make us wonder.

A much different and more illuminating approach toward understanding the relationship between Christ and the Christian has been taken by Schweitzer and Davies. They remain within the Jewish world of thought and with different approaches they emphasize the conception of solidarity as the one which enabled the relationship to be developed. The first thing which Schweitzer rightly emphasizes is that the relationship, no matter what its particular manifestations, is a real one. Fellowship with Christ is a real fellowship and not a symbolic one.² "Dying and rising with Christ is for him not something merely metaphorical... but a simple reality."³ "The Mystical Body of Christ is... for Paul not a pictorial expression, nor a conception which has arisen out of symbolical and ethical reflections but an actual entity."⁴ Secondly, Schweitzer would have us believe that eschatology colours the solidarity of Christ and Christians

¹ "The Mind of Paul: I" New Testament Studies, p. 69-70.

² MSP, p. 16.

³ Ibid., p. 15.

⁴ Ibid., p. 127.

to a very great extent.¹ Paul is dominated by thoughts of final and cosmic events; this has determined his view of his relationship to Christ. This combination, Schweitzer says, dominated first century thought whereas in the second it was not really understood at all. His argument then proceeds to claim, as it can,² that Paul has a conception of redemption which is eschatological: having already begun, its completion is near at hand.³ Next he argues that the powers operative in this Coming Redemption are already "at work upon the corporeity of those who are elect to the Messianic kingdom and under them capable of assuming the resurrection mode of existence before the general resurrection of the dead takes place."⁴ Especially interesting to our discussion is his next point, that the relationship which gives rise to "in Christ" and "Christ in us" is dependent for its form on "the pre-ordained union of those who are elect to the Messianic Kingdom with one another and with the Messiah which is called 'the community of the Saints'."⁵ For the existence of this Jewish conception, Schweitzer found justifiable proof.⁶ Additional proof he felt was also to be found in Jesus' preaching and teaching.⁷ The essential point is that Paul has made use of the belief

1 M² Rom. 13.11.
 2 Rc³ Ibid. p. 64.
 3 Ip⁴ Ibid. p. 101.
 4 Ii⁵ Ibid. p. 101.
 5 Ii⁶ Ibid. p. 101.
 6 Isa. 4.3. Mal. 3.16,17. Enoch 42.7,8,14,15.
 7 Isa. 7.3. Mal. 3.10,17. Enoch 72.7,9,17,19.
 7 Matt. 5.11,12. Mark 8.35,38. Schweitzer, ibid. p. 105ff.

in a predestined solidarity of the elect, power for which was released by Christ's resurrection; this was a predestined solidarity that transcended time and space;¹ thus the predestined "Community of God" emerged as the "mystical body of Christ" into which men enter by faith and baptism.² Into this corporeity do believers enter; hence arise the suitable expressions "in Christ" or "Christ in us." "Grafted into the corporeity of Christ, he loses his creatively individual existence and his natural personality. Hence he is only a form of manifestation of the personality of Jesus Christ, which dominates that corporeity."³ Schweitzer therefore denies any individuality in this multitude of the Elect but all are one in the Mystical Body of Christ.⁴ Finally, when Paul speaks of dying and rising with Christ it is a real experience Christians have; they die to this world, and rise to the spiritual, as Christ did.⁵

There are some serious difficulties to Schweitzer's treatment. At times he misuses the scripture and forces quotations to conform to his "consistent eschatology." It is not true as he suggests that Paul felt his personality was lost, or Paul would never have confessed that he needed to press on and was not yet perfect,⁶ or realized that sometimes his judgements may not have been Christ-like.⁷

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1 MSP, p. 110.
2 Ibid. p. 115f.
3 Ibid. p. 125.
4 Ibid. p. 118,123.
5 Ibid. p. 119.
6 Phil. 3.12.
7 I Cor. 7.40.

Moreover, Schweitzer comes perilously close to saying that the Christian is absorbed into Christ, almost a Hellenistic absorption. Schweitzer ignores the tensions in Paul's life. Moreover, his theory of the predestined union in the Body of Christ is mechanical if not magical, but in this respect Kennedy¹ and Davies² may be a little unfair in such criticism. Sometimes Schweitzer speaks more of the realized community rather than a fixed unbfeakable predestination; moreover, he does try to take seriously the place of both faith and baptism.

The great merit of Schweitzer's work is his emphasis on the "solidarity of the Messiah with the Elect" as the key to the meaning of this relationship of Christ and the Christian - so Davies realizes and interprets in his own way. Davies acknowledges too that Paul was influenced by Jesus also in expressing the nature of the new solidarity.³

Davies begins his attempt to understand the relationship of the Christian and Christ by pointing out that to be "in Christ" is both a social and individualistic concept⁴ - a judgement expressed by many scholars. Paul has a vision of a new humanity related to and dependent on Christ, and also imagines union with Christ to be an "intensely personal relation";⁵ this last point, he thinks, is Paul's dis-
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¹ St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 295f.
² PRJ, p. 98,100.
³ Ibid. p. 100.
⁴ Ibid. p. 86.
⁵ Ibid. p. 86-74

inctive emphasis. But when we seek to know the conception by which Paul thought of this personal union, the real difficulty arises. Davies believes that insofar as we may speak of a Christ-mysticism, we may say so only if we mean that the Christian has had an identity of experience with Christ.¹ He believes Hellenistic mysticism offers little to our understanding. In its place he suggests a concept of solidarity somewhat similar to Schweitzer's and develops these points. Fellowship with Christ was possible only on decision to accept Him, and not because of any mechanical unification.² He believes that Jesus taught his disciples about a new community or a New Israel and sought to gather the same around him; Davies quotes Flew to support the idea that the preaching of the kingdom involved in the mind of Jesus just this new community.³ Jesus' intent was to gather a group who were to exist in relation to himself. In the post-resurrection era this new community would continue as believers died and rose with Christ, imitating his experience in their own lives. Analogous to the Christian's experience and identification with Christ was the appropriation of the Passover by the Jew.⁴ The Passover festival had at once a corporate and an individualistic import, re-enacted in the present with an eye to what mighty act God had performed for one and all in the

¹ PRJ, p.88.

² Ibid. p. 100.

³ Ibid. p. 101f.

⁴ Ibid. p. 102ff.

past. Davies gives examples from the Rabbinic literature of family (or national) and individualistic appropriation of the Passover. This event in Jewish life was so important that we may give an additional quotation from the Mishnah: in this way must the Passover be observed: "In every generation a man must so regard himself as if he came forth himself out of Egypt, for it is written, 'And thou shalt tell thy son in that day saying, It is because of that which the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt' (Exodus 13.8). Therefore are we bound to give thanks, to praise, to glorify, to honour, to exalt, to extol, and to bless him who wrought all these wonders for our fathers and for us. He brought us out from bondage to freedom, from sorrow to gladness, and from mourning to a Festival-day, and from darkness to a great light, and from servitude to redemption; so let us say before him the 'Hallelujah'."¹ Davies says that in four places Paul compares the Christian life to the corporateness and individuality of the Passover, the second a prototype of the first. Therefore, there has been in Christ's person and work a new Exodus: when men re-enact Christ's dying and rising in their own life, they emerge into the community of Christ's intention dominated by Himself.²

The merit of Davies' argument is that he has provided a real and non-theoretical picture of Jewish religious life

¹ Peshaim 10.5.
² PRJ, p. 109f.

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easily translated to form the basic conception by which Paul expressed the Christian's union with Christ. We should bear in mind, however, that Paul shared in the religious vitality of the early church whose attention to the death, resurrection and union with Jesus gave rise to a search for expression; these events and their decisiveness preceded language and forms. Davies' interpretation may save us from an amoral, literal understanding of "dying and rising," something to which the mystery religions tended, and from any thought of absorption into deity. Davies ignores the eschatological import of the relationship of Christ and the Christian, but this is probably due to his admitted concentration on the underlying conception of the relationship.¹

In evaluating the Jewish contribution to Paul's thought about the Christian's relationship with Christ, we may make three points. Paul shows little interest in the Jewish mysticism that is secretive or speculative, for the supreme fact is that the relationship with Christ was something available to all. However, he engaged himself in visions very much like the apocalyptic writers, but he restrained himself and others in the ecstasy of these events in order to emphasize the religious and moral possibilities and demands of the Christian's life. Finally, the Jewish sense of solidarity emerges as the basis of the relationship of

¹ PRJ, p. 109.

Christ and the Christian, and in this mold of thought, there was a corporate and individualistic appropriation of a new saving event. In view of this, we should only speak with caution of Paul's mystical relationship to Christ.

When we come to describe the relationship of Christ and the Christian, as Paul understands it, we move into a great hinterland of variety of expression. The most central and typical expression used of the relationship is "in Christ"¹ or "Christ in you"; the last expression is rarely found in this form but something like this is often meant. The frequent use of "in Christ" with its wide variety of meanings might well be regarded as a criticism of Paul that he was not more selective or specific in his choice of terms. For example, it is often very difficult if not impossible to decipher his meaning in Rom. 16 where the phrase is so often used. Consequently one must rely on the context or on grammatical construction. The genitive of Christ is usually the equivalent of "in Christ,"

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¹ Deissmann has suggested that "in Christ" is an expression of which part of the mystical meaning may have been derived from the use of "in the Lord" in the Psalms of the LXX; Paul, p. 145f. Sandy and Headlam, Romans, p. 161, think the expression is one Paul has taken from the teaching of Jesus, hitherto unnoticed, but they do not support the claim. Wikenhauser, Pauline Mysticism, p. 61f, makes the important point that the phrase found significance only after the idea of a personal union was understood by Paul: the idea preceded the choice of language. To this should be added the observation that Jesus asked for a personal affiliation of his disciples with himself, so Paul's idea has its germ in Jesus' demand. In the absence of other information, it would appear as if Paul originated the expression.

referring to the close fellowship the Christian has with Christ.¹ Occasionally however, no such relationship is meant but only the life and work of Christ in his own right;² this is the equivalent then of the occasional use of "in Christ" where Paul means that Christ is the vehicle of God's work.³ Sometimes the use of "in Christ" has been under the influence of usage in the LXX or other Hellenistic usage;⁴ in I Cor. 15.19, ἐν Χριστῷ is much like ἐν τῷ Θεῷ of Ps. 55.5, and in I Cor. 1.31, ἐν goes more with the verb καυχᾶσθω as in Jer. 9.23. However, in spite of this variety of expression which sometimes eludes definition, this short phrase enables Paul to show how much Christ encompasses life: "to him the whole new self of every Christian, his attitudes of mind and feeling and all his ways, are 'in Christ'."⁵ The most important feature of the relationship of Christ and the Christian is the quality of inter-personal fellowship, "an unspeakably intimate relation of the soul to Christ."⁶ Paul never tires of speaking of a present and expanding union; some are "babes in Christ"; presumably some are becoming "mature in Christ." The Christian participates in this personal fellowship by his steadfast devotion, imitation, obedience and in all the

¹ Deissmann, Paul, p. 161ff. Wikenhauser, Pauline Mysticism, p. 33ff.

² Rom. 5.19.

³ I Thess. 5.18. II Cor. 5.19. Col. 1.16.

⁴ Wikenhauser, ibid. p. 23.

⁵ Porter, The Mind of Christ in Paul, p. 287.

⁶ Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 223. Similarly Deissmann, ibid. p. 140.

features which characterize a new creation. Christ also participates having already acted for the creation of this new life and fellowship; he acts now to sustain it; he claims men and authorizes them to engage in his work, and they share with him the trials of that work. Thus the relationship is reciprocal.¹ Moreover, it issues in a company of people which is distinctive; as Paul explained it to Philemon, Onesimus' conversion made him a "brother" because he too was now "in the Lord".²

Bultmann has called into question the idea that "in Christ" has any personal connotation,³ although he admits that Paul had some ecstatic or mystical experiences which he kept in the background.⁴ His argument is that "in Christ" is a Gnostic cosmic conception⁵ and the phrase itself is a poor substitute for "Christian", a term not yet current.⁶ He argues that there is no life of a personal relationship but only a life dominated by Christ, in which Christ is the salvation event, an act accomplished by God which when comprehended and believed changes our self-understanding. The expression "in Christ" does not denote "an individual mystical relationship to Christ, but the fact that the individual actual life of the believer, living not out of himself but out of the divine deed of sal-
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¹ Anderson Scott, CASP, p.112.

² Philemon 16.

³ Theology of the New Testament, Vol. 1, p. 327ff.

⁴ "Paul", Existence and Faith, p. 142.

⁵ Primitive Christianity, p. 197.

⁶ Theology of the New Testament, Vol. 1, p. 329.

vation, is determined by Christ."¹ Faith is man's obedience to the demand of God's act of salvation and the grace therein, and the acknowledgement of man's incapacity to be righteous or save himself.² Consequently, he says that "to stand fast in the Lord" and "to stand fast in faith" (Paul's words) are the same thing.³ Bultmann has made a serious challenge especially with regard to the meaning of "in Christ." We admit freely that "in Christ" does not always convey a sense of personal fellowship, and that sometimes "Christian" would be a suitable substitute. It is clear, however, that Paul thought of a personal relationship with Christ and sometimes "in Christ" expresses just this. "We shall always be with the Lord."⁴ "I count everything as loss for the surpassing worth of knowing Jesus Christ my Lord."⁵ "God is faithful, by whom you were called into the fellowship of his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord."⁶ Paul's belief that Christ died out of love for him is personal as well as soteriological. "He who is united with the Lord becomes one Spirit with him."⁷ "The life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me."⁸ This last verse links three impor-

¹ Theology of the New Testament, Vol. 1, p. 328.

² Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 315.

³ Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 328. Also "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 142-3.

⁴ I Thess. 4.17.

⁵ Phil. 3.8.

⁶ I Cor. 1.9.

⁷ I Cor. 6.17, which Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 111f, says is the clearest of all texts about this union.

⁸ Gal. 2.20.

tant points relevant to this discussion: Paul lives by faith, he lives in a personal relationship to Christ now, and he does so bearing in mind what Christ has done.

The personal relationship of the Christian and Christ is precipitated and sustained by faith. What does Paul mean by faith? It has a multiplicity of meanings because it is brought into relation with many parts of the salvation experience;¹ it has to do with righteousness, justification, the will of God, hope and the future,² and the Christian's personal relationship with Christ. It is obedience in the sense that it is man's response to what God has appealingly done for them in the death of Christ.³ It is belief in the grace manifested in the same act.⁴ It must be our continuous attitude since on no other grounds can we be justified or receive the promises of the future.⁵ Faith, essentially, is always related to that which is proclaimed about Jesus Christ.⁶ There is no faith when men are unmoved by or reject the meaning attached to Christ's death and resurrection. They have faith when they say "Yes" to this interpretation, find themselves to say this is the truth, and find themselves drawn by the grace that commends itself.⁷ We may not be true to the mind of Paul to say

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1 Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 110.
2 Rom. 1.17; 4.5. Gal. 2.6. Rom. 12.3. I Cor. 15.14.
3 Rom. 1.4, 8. Col. 1.4. II Cor. 8.5.
4 Gal. 2.16. Rom. 3.22, 24, 25; 10.9.
5 Gal. 5.6. Rom. 11.20. II Cor. 5.7.
6 Rom. 10.17.
7 Rom. 10.8ff.

that it is man's moral energy that proceeds in answer to God, but there is a true point when Anderson Scott says that man goes "forth to meet the 'grace' of God in Jesus Christ,"¹ or that there is "an over-mastering impulse of the will to respond with love to the love of God which has been manifested in Christ."² "Directed towards Christ in His victory over evil, sin and death, it involved a union with Him, a union of will and moral experience so complete that his death and the new life which followed it became part of the believer's existence."³ Faith is the basis of the Christian's new life; it is his fundamental attitude henceforth. It is important to remember also that faith, which is the appropriation of God's act in Christ to save men by grace, is the basis of the Christian's personal relationship with Christ because the redeeming act is itself personal, i.e. what God has done is embodied in a person; faith indeed is directed not so much to a proposition but to a person.⁴ Faith is the element of man's participation - his continuous belief, trust, obedience - which issues in a personal relationship with Christ.⁵

A Christian's faith ushers him into a fellowship with Christ. Paul says, "I live by faith in the Son of God,
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¹ CASP, p. 109.

² Ibid. p. 110.

³ Ibid. p. 110f.

⁴ Hunter, Interpreting Paul's Gospel, p. 33.

⁵ Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 223.

Burton, Galatians, p. 280, 484. Deissmann, Paul, p. 162, may mean the same, but he is not clear.

who loved me and gave himself for me."¹ It is evident from this and other texts that faith here is partly in reference to Christ's saving work; the present life lived now is under the influence of His saving act. Similar is I Cor. 1.30: God is "the source of your life in Christ, whom God made our wisdom, our righteousness, and consecration and redemption." At the same time faith is the necessary disposition by which one lives; faith brings one into relationship to the person as distinct from the work of Christ. Paul emphasizes that the Christian lives with Christ: "As therefore you received Christ Jesus the Lord, so live in him."² Christians are to have "a sincere and pure devotion to Christ."³ We may notice that Paul is not too intimate in speaking of this fellowship, as some commentators point out; this is due to his consciousness of the distinctive role Christ performed. The Christian's faith ushers him into a fellowship in which Christ participates: "You were called into the fellowship of his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord."⁴ In the Ephesian letter, Paul wishes "that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith."⁵ It is the personal fellowship borne of faith which causes Paul to say "Christ... lives in me,"⁶ or His saving work appropriated which causes him to say "Christ

¹ Gal. 2.20.
² Col. 2.6.
³ II Cor. 11.3.
⁴ I Cor. 1.9.
⁵ Eph. 3.17.
⁶ Gal. 2.20.

in you."¹ Paul was conscious that the Christ who had fellowship with them acted in love² and fully participated in their lives now.³ The personal fellowship is marked from both sides by an attitude of love. Paul says to the Galatians: "the Son of God... loved me" and "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is of any avail, but faith working through love."⁴ Anderson Scott provides a suitable summary to this discussion: Faith "attaches the subject of it to its object; it attaches one moral personality to another, in the bond which is called love. In a word, it sets up what is called a 'mystical union' between the believer and Christ. Thus it provides the channel along which the current of love can flow in both directions, from the believing man to God in Christ, and from God in Christ to each believing man."⁵ To this he adds the valuable observation that such personal attachment Jesus in Palestine sought from his disciples, "a real though it might be a very uninstructed attachment to His person."⁶

We may now ask what connection there is between baptism and faith, or perhaps more properly, between baptism and the Christian's personal relationship to Christ. Both Roman Catholic and Protestant scholars interpret Paul's

¹ Col. 2.27.

² Gal. 2.20.

³ Phil. 2.19; 4.13. II Thess. 3.5.

⁴ Gal. 2.20; 5.6.

⁵ CASP, p. 107.

few references to baptism to the effect that it is in some way causal of fellowship with Christ. Says Wikenhauser: "Being in Christ is brought about by the sacramental act of dying with and rising with Christ in Baptism. Baptism has not merely a passing significance; its effect endures, for it causes us to 'be in Christ'."¹ This position causes Wikenhauser some difficulty however, for he postulates later that "faith is the necessary condition for receiving Baptism" although he first denied this as a priority to the creation of the fellowship with Christ.² Schweitzer's position is somewhat similar: Paul "simply asserts that it is with Baptism that the being-in-Christ and the dying and rising again have their beginning"; "It effects fellowship with Christ"; it is not simply a seal or a symbolic act.³ Bultmann seems to us to have a rather sound interpretation: "baptism on the part of him who is being baptized is an act of faith confessing itself."⁴ There is no necessity in depending on the influence of the mystery religion conception of sacraments with their magical effects, when the development of baptism in Judaism and the early church was so richly endowed.⁵ Bultmann thinks Paul subordinated baptism to the work of preaching the gospel, but feels that baptism was not reduced by him to be merely

¹ Pauline Mysticism, p. 63, 110ff.

² Ibid. p. 129; cf. p. 110.

³ MPA, p. 19f.

⁴ Theology of the New Testament, Vol. 1, p. 312.

⁵ See some interesting notes about baptism in Daube, NTRJ, p. 110.

a symbol or subjective process. Dibelius' position is not clear, confused as it seems to be by the additions by Kummel. With reference to fellowship with Christ, it is not essential; indeed, baptism may be regarded as just part of the organizational life of the church.¹ Kummel goes on to stress that in baptism there was "a divine action on human beings," making salvation a reality, a point at which the Spirit was received and the point when man was received into the church.² Except for the "divine action" every other point seems to be true to Dibelius' outlook. Deissmann's opinion was that baptism was not the means of access to Christ, but only the seal of this communion.³ Hunter and Anderson Scott have much the same point of view,⁴ but we may detect a certain dissatisfaction when they insist it was more. They stress that a certain objectification of religious experience accompanied baptism. Hunter says there is "prophetic symbolism" in the act; something was being realized.⁵ Anderson Scott says that there was "conveyed an assurance of the reality of the experience of dying with Christ to sin and rising with Him to life."⁶ Commenting on Gal. 3.27 and on the contrast of circumcision and faith as a whole, Burton makes the valuable point that the act of baptism must not be regarded as having the same

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¹ Paul, p. 87,94.

² Ibid. p. 121f.

³ Ibid. p. 145.

⁴ Interpreting Paul's Gospel, p. 34. CASP, p. 114,117.

⁵ Ibid. p. 35.

⁶ CASP, p. 121?

religious value as circumcision: "It would seem that if, denying all spiritual value to such a physical rite as circumcision, he ascribed effective force to baptism, his arguments should have turned, as they nowhere do, on the superiority of baptism to circumcision."¹ This is applicable whether we are thinking of salvation or of a personal relationship to Christ.

It is too extreme to say that baptism is only a seal of the religious experience characterized by the grace of God and the faith of man. According to Paul's confession that Jesus is Lord and belief that God raised him, which are part of the nature of faith and which are the prerequisites of salvation,² men believe when they have heard the gospel preached.³ Hence, in the economy of Christian experience, faith has priority. This was not to say that baptism was of no importance. Paul himself was baptized.⁴ He baptized others himself,⁵ but it was not his duty and mission to baptize men.⁶ Baptism was accepted as important and necessary. His association of it with the Christian's experience of dying and rising with Christ shows that he has advanced beyond the position that baptism was for remission of sins and the gift of the Spirit.⁷ It was a public act or witness by which the believer, the man of

¹ Galatians, p. 205.
² Rom. 10.9-10.
³ Rom. 10.14-17.
⁴ Acts 9.18.
⁵ I Cor. 1.14,16.
⁶ I Cor. 1.17.
⁷ Acts 2.38.

newly-awakened faith, confessed his belief in and appropriation of God's act in Christ for him.¹ If we bear in mind that the possibility of new life or being a new creation was awakened by preaching and faith, and that Christians proceed from being "babes in Christ" to being "mature in Christ" - thus the possibility was continuous day by day, then the convert could happily participate in baptism as a real, objective testimony to the new life in which he like Christ had died to sin and risen to new life. Paul makes central to baptism the Christian's religious experience which has emerged through appropriation of Christ's work. Thus he says to the Romans by way of reminder and affirmation: "Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death" and raised with Christ so "we too might walk in newness of life."² Col. 2.12 is much the same but incorporates the prerequisite of faith. Baptism was an external testimony to an internal experience. The mode of baptism which was adult immersion was of little consequence; yet baptism itself was important to mark off those who had committed themselves to Christ. Baptism, therefore, indicated entrance into fellowship with Christ and into the community of grace and the committed. "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ."³ "You are all

¹ Rom. 6.3,4.

² Rom. 6.3,4.

³ Gal. 3.27. This "putting on" does sound like the initiate of a mystery religion putting on the garments of a god. See Apuleius, The Golden Ass, 11.24.

one in Christ Jesus."¹ "We were all baptized into one body... and all were made to drink of one Spirit."² Baptism of itself did not create fellowship with Christ; however, it ought to have confirmed it to the one baptized and to others of like mind.

Dying and rising with Christ is an aspect of the Christian's fellowship with his Lord as much as faith or baptism could be. Schweitzer was right to insist that such phrases were not merely metaphorical, but stood for a "simple reality."³ We have been over the possibilities for the origin of this conception, and there is every reason to think a Jewish basis is as acceptable and more probable than a Hellenistic one. From different points of view Schweitzer and Davies have emphasized the importance of the Jewish sense of solidarity. In addition, the form of Jesus' own work - his death and resurrection - seems to us to form a more important and superior pattern to copy or by which to express the Christian's religious and moral experience in the way that neither Hellenism nor Judaism was able to do. While there are several texts in Paul's letters which could be stated to illustrate his thought of dying and rising with Christ,⁴ Gal. 2.20 is as suitable and forthright as any: "I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer

¹ Gal. 3.28.

² I Cor. 12.13. Notice here that Paul associates Baptism and the gift of the Spirit.

³ MPA, p. 15.

⁴ Rom. 6.3-6, 8. II Cor. 4.10. Phil. 3.10. Col. 2.12,13, 20; 3.1.

I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me." A literal interpretation of this would be most unsuitable, especially in view of the first part. Nor does this text promote the thought of absorption. The clue is in the recognition that Paul here acknowledges that the redeeming work of Christ, an act of love, has taken charge of his life when in faith he saw his true condition as a sinner and the possibility of righteousness; his old self now fell away - he was "crucified", and there now existed a fellowship of love with his Lord by which the new possibilities of life were maintained. Anterior to this fellowship was death to the old self and being "risen" - awakened - to the new self; perhaps we might better say that a Christian had to daily realize he had died to the old life of sin and risen to the new life of righteousness. "You must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus."¹ The man who has fellowship with Christ is a new creation because of his religious and moral re-orientation. "Therefore, if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold, the new has come."² There is hardly a better statement of the connection of dying and rising with Christ as integral to fellowship with him than

¹ Rom. 6.11.

² II Cor. 5.17.

Burton's:¹ "The thought which the apostle's type of mind and the enthusiastic joy in the thought of fellowship with Christ led him to express in the form involves in itself three elements, which with varying degrees of emphasis are present in his several expressions of it, viz.: the participation of the believer in the benefits of Christ's experience, a spiritual fellowship with him in respect to these experiences, and the passing of the believer through a similar or analagous experience."² The first element is illustrated by II Cor. 5.15: "And he died for all, that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sakes died and was raised."³ Christ's work was to raise men up to new life.⁴ The second element is illustrated by Phil. 3.10: "that I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and may share his sufferings, becoming like him in his death." Christ died to sin; the Christian has died to sin; Christ rose to live; the Christian has risen to new life.⁵ There is a fellowship because of a parallel experience; there is an identification of the sinfulness of man with the crucified Redeemer. The third element in Burton's statement is illustrated by those passages where, for example, the Christian suffers as Christ suffered.⁶ Fellowship has this quality, that the

1 He comments on Gal.2.20:"I have been crucified with Christ."
 2 Galatians, p. 135.
 3 Similarly Rom. 4.24,25.
 4 Col. 2.20; 3.1.
 5 Rom. 6.10,11.
 6 Rom. 8.17. II Cor. 1.5. Gal. 6.17.

127.

Christian shares with Christ what was or is Christ's experience. The suffering which Paul encounters as a consequence of his obedience to Christ, as a slave or an apostle, and which he identifies with the sufferings of Christ is quite intelligible if we understand that Paul is in a fellowship in which he shares all things with Christ. He shares his death to sin;¹ he shares his resurrection to new life;² he shares the love of Christ;³ he shares the comfort of Christ;⁴ he shares the peace of Christ.⁵ We may summarize our point about the connection of dying and rising with Christ and fellowship with Christ with Anderson Scott's words: faith "involved a union of will and moral experience so complete that his (Christ's) death and the new life which followed it became part of the believer's experience."⁶ The fellowship with Christ is founded on faith and similar religious experiences from dying to sin and rising to new life to the hope of glory.

Although Paul does not tell us much about his own personal relationship to Christ except insofar as it was relevant to all, this fellowship was to him of great importance. At one point he says: "My desire is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better."⁷ To be "in Christ"
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¹ Rom. 6.6,7.

² Rom. 6.4b,8,11.

³ II Cor. 5.14.

⁴ II Cor. 1.5.

⁵ Rom. 5.1. II Thess. 3.16.

⁶ CASP, p. 111.

⁷ Phil. 1.23.

"signified for Paul the most intensely personal relation with Christ."¹ It was not a relationship which resulted in a loss of self-consciousness, but one in which "the Christian's self-consciousness was always bound up with his consciousness of Christ, ...this was true whether he was in a more active or in a more receptive mood, whether he felt that he was working with Christ and suffering for Christ, or that Christ was working in and for him."² Various analogies have been sought by which to give expression to the kind of relationship between Christ and the Christian. Deissmann speaks of an "energy whose life-giving powers are daily expressing themselves in him,"³ and thought of Christ as having some kind of "ethereal" existence;⁴ if he thinks Paul thought of Christ as personal, then Christ was also more than personal. Porter contents himself by claiming that Paul felt related to Christ in a personal way in answer to those who make analogies of atmosphere or fluid to explain the basis of the relationship.⁵ There is an essential truth to this which we dare not overlook, and we have so often emphasized it because it is overlooked. This is the point, however, at which we should be clear that to Paul Christ was more than personal. Wikenhauser in his sympathetic and full treatment

¹ Davies, PRJ, p. 87.

² Porter, The Mind of Christ in Paul, p. 289-90.

³ Paul, p. 136.

⁴ Ibid. p. 142.

⁵ Ibid. p. 295-96.

of the relationship emphasizes that it was more than personal; he admits that Christ was a Person in relation to Paul rather than mere energy, but he presses the point further to emphasize the powers released on the Christian in this union.¹ His analogies by which he tries to illumine the relationship are from ancient religious history. It is regrettable that he has overlooked the fact that the relationship is characterized by love. In summary, the relationship between Christ and the Christian is certainly a personal fellowship especially because it is characterized by love. The cause and content of Paul's new life is entirely Christ his Lord.²

Sometimes the phrase "in Christ" which often designates some aspect of the relationship with Christ, does not mean this at all; it may mean no more than "Christian" or it may mean the life manifested as a consequence of the relationship.³ We must be cautious, however, that we do not empty the phrase of meaning by substitution. To have fellowship with Christ, to be "in Christ", was charged with a great deal more meaning.⁴ One important factor was that the Christ of this relationship was the object of love, honour and devotion,⁵ the thought of whom stirred happiness.

¹ Pauline Mysticism, p. 74f, 94f.

² Dibelius, Paul, p. 102.

³ Phil. 2.29. I Thess. 2.14. Col. 3.18. Wikenhauser, ibid. p. 31.

⁴ See Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 212 for his notes on Paul's use of $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ to convey fellowship.

⁵ Weiss, Paul and Jesus, p. 4 calls it "veneration". Cf. Werde, Paul, p. 89.

Christians "glory in Christ Jesus,"¹ "rejoice in the Lord,"² "please the Lord" (ἐν κυρίῳ),³ and give him "a sincere and pure devotion" (εἰς Χριστόν).⁴ Paul was conscious that he had fellowship, after all, with the One who was his Redeemer.⁵ It is through Christ that the grace of God was extended.⁶ The Spirit of God which raised Christ has passed into the Christian.⁷ We have already noticed that the fellowship was marked by the Christian's similar religious experience to that of Christ's; he died to sin, rose to life in the imitation and appropriation of Christ's redeeming work.⁸ For the Christian, the fellowship issued in a moral invigoration as well.⁹ Paul reminds the Romans that God's will is for a transformed man.¹⁰ To bear one another's burdens is to fulfill the law of Christ.¹¹ To walk in love is to walk as Christ walked.¹² Paul assures the Thessalonians that Christ is their guide and strength.¹³ Closely related to the moral quality which must issue from this fellowship is the admonition that Christians have the responsibility to imitate

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1 Phil. 1.26; 3.3.
 2 Phil. 3.1.
 3 Col. 3.20.
 4 II Cor. 11.3.
 5 Gal. 2.20.
 6 I Cor. 1.4.
 7 Rom. 8.11.
 8 Rom. 6.10,11.
 9 Dibelius, Paul, p. 107.
 10 Porter, The Mind of Christ in Paul, p. 296. Rom.12.1-2.
 11 Gal. 6.2.
 12 Eph. 5.2.
 13 II Thess. 3.16.

Christ.¹ Thus the Philippians are told: "Have this mind (of humility) among yourselves, which you have in Christ Jesus."² Another feature of the fellowship was the establishment of the Christian in his convictions. Paul strives to have every man mature in Christ,³ and rejoices to hear of those who have firmness of faith in Christ.⁴ The fellowship of the Christian with Christ issues in power, strength and confidence. "I am bold... in Christ."⁵ The fellowship issues in service; Paul himself is his own best witness to this truth. "There are varieties of service, but the same Lord," he reminds the Corinthians.⁶ To be "in Christ" is to be in a fellowship with others.⁷ One is baptized into the church.⁸ "By one spirit we were all baptized into one body."⁹ Christ loved all, redeemed all, and drew all to himself, and every Christian is in fellowship not only with Christ but with other Christians. Onesimus, Philemon and Paul are all brothers for they are all "in the Lord."¹⁰ Finally, the fellowship is continuous as faith is continuous and death to the old life endures. It is continuous in the sense also that the Christian hopes

1 Porter, The Mind of Christ in Paul, p. 297.

2 Phil. 2.5. Cf. Rom. 15.5 and I Cor. 11.1.

3 Col. 1.28.

4 Col. 2.5.

5 Philemon 8.

6 I Cor. 12.5.

7 Dodd, Romans, p. 87f. Porter, ibid. p. 300.

8 Rom. 6.4,5.

9 I Cor. 12.13.

10 Philemon 16.

that at death¹ or at the Parousia he will finally and fully be joined with the Lord.² There is no more final hope than to be "at home with the Lord."³

Now having examined the relationship of Christ and the Christian from the side of the Christian, we may examine it from the side of Christ's participation. It is certainly clear that the relationship is reciprocal.⁴ "He who is united to the Lord becomes one Spirit with him."⁵ Men are called into fellowship with the Son of God.⁶ Consequently, Paul speaks of Christ as One participating in the present life of the Christian: "It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me."⁷ "Test yourselves. Do you not realize that Jesus Christ is in you?"⁸ Paul imagines the commencement of the relationship (which he is instrumental in promoting) to be like a birth: "I am again in travail until Christ be formed in you."⁹ The fellowship in which Christ participates is one in which God manifests his love through Christ toward men: nothing "will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord."¹⁰

Christ is active toward the Christian in two ways: as a vehicle of the grace of God,¹¹ and as the one upon whom
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¹ Phil. 1.23.

² I Thess. 4.17.

³ II Cor. 5.8.

⁴ Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 112.

⁵ I Cor. 6.17.

⁶ I Cor. 1.9.

⁷ Gal. 2.20.

⁸ II Cor. 13.5.

⁹ Gal. 4.19.

¹⁰ Rom. 8.39.

¹¹ I Cor. 1.4.

the Christian depends for his life. It is God in Christ Jesus who has called us.¹ In Christ all the fullness of God dwelt to reconcile the world to Himself;² God's will found expression in him.³ Through Christ, all the riches of God have come to those in fellowship with him.⁴ The Christian can depend on Christ.⁵ Christ is reliable: "in him it is always Yes."⁶ He is a source of strength: "I can do all things through him who strengthens me."⁷ He will help, for example, to sustain the faith of those who believe in him.⁸ He is a source of guidance: "I trust in the Lord that shortly I myself shall come also" to Philippi.⁹

The fellowship is one in which Christ claims the Christian and makes demands upon him. "You are Christ's" Paul says to the Corinthians,¹⁰ and to the Philippians, "Christ Jesus has made me his own."¹¹ In the relationship Christ stands in the superior position: "I want you to understand that the head of every man is Christ."¹² Christ is now the focal point of their living. Thus the Macedonian Christians "gave themselves to the Lord."¹³ The Cor-
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1 Phil. 3.14.
2 Col. 1.19,20. II Cor. 5.19.
3 Col. 1.16. I Thess. 5.18.
4 Phil. 4.19. Philemon 6.
5 I Cor. 11.11.
6 II Cor. 1.19.
7 Phil. 4.13.
8 II Thess. 3.4.
9 Phil. 2.24.
10 I Cor. 3.23.
11 Phil. 3.12.
12 I Cor. 11.3.
13 II Cor. 8.5.

inthians must live for him, and not for themselves.¹ The "aim" of the Christian is to do what is "honourable" in the sight of the Lord.² From the Christian's relationship to him, Christ desires "some benefit."³ Perhaps it will be his pleasure that the home is well and morally ordered;⁴ the body is his as well; the whole man must exercise the self-control and restraint that befits one who is Christ's.⁵ Because of Christ's demands on the Christian, one must speak the truth, especially as it concerns the gospel.⁶ One must forgive for this is the wish of Christ.⁷

From the Christian's relationship to him, Christ grants authority. This was Paul's conviction as he spoke of his office as an apostle. (It may be said in passing that authority may be also granted by God.⁸) Not only has Paul authority from Christ to command and exhort others,⁹ but so have ordinary church leaders, teachers or officers.¹⁰ Essentially, Paul considers the authority which Christ gives to be endowed with the same power of God that was in Himself; he writes the Corinthians a stern warning, "In dealing with you we shall live with him by the power of God."¹¹

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1 II Cor. 5.15.
 2 II Cor. 8.21.
 3 Philemon 20.
 4 Col. 3.20.
 5 I Cor. 6.13,19.
 6 Rom. 9.1.
 7 II Cor. 2.10.
 8 II Cor. 2.17.
 9 II Thess. 3.12. Philemon 8.
 10 I Thess. 5.12.
 11 II Cor. 13.5.

Fellowship with Christ causes the Christian to be called to share with his Lord. "It has been granted to you that for the sake of Christ you should not only believe in him but also suffer for his sake."¹ They share his afflictions,² complete his afflictions,³ and so the life of Christ is manifest through their bodies.⁴ The Christian shares more than the suffering of Christ, he shares the same power by which God raised Christ from the dead and raises them to new life.⁵ Christians share with Christ the message and work of reconciliation.⁶ Christians will share the life of glory with Christ which he has already entered; they will be transformed as he is already transformed.⁷

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1 Phil. 1.29.

2 II Cor. 1.5.

3 Col. 1.24.

4 II Cor. 4.10.

5 Col. 2.12. Rom. 6.4.

6 II Cor. 5.19.

7 I Thess. 4.17. Phil. 3.21.

CHAPTER TEN

ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ καὶ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ

Paul has two terms by which he designates his duty to Jesus: apostle (ἀπόστολος) and slave (δοῦλος). These two terms overlap to the extent that they both describe his identity and mission. Separately they convey a variety of meanings worth examining. In general, describing himself as a slave seems best to suit the utter obedience he feels he must give to Christ; describing himself as an apostle suits the office he has and can claim. Let us examine ἀπόστολος first.

The classical meaning of "apostle," according to Lightfoot,¹ is one who is a messenger, the delegate of a superior authority who has been entrusted with a duty and given powers to perform it. Such a sense is found in I Kings 14.6 of the LXX. Collectors from Jerusalem who went through the Graeco-Roman world among the Jews to obtain their tribute for the temple were apostles. Titus, some others,² and Epaphroditus³ fulfilled some missions of financial character and are called ἀπόστολοι true to the etymological sense of the word. An apostle then may be not much more than an emissary, and religious significance is not immediately involved. The N.T. is very clear however that there is another type of apostle,⁵ particularly "the twelve" apostles of Jerusalem, most or all of whom

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¹ Galatians, p. 92.

² II Cor. 8.23.

³ Phil. 2.25.

⁴ MacGregor, Christian Freedom, p. 187.

⁵ MacGregor, ibid. p. 186ff. Plummer, "Apostle," HDAC, Vol. 1, p. 83.

were disciples of Jesus during his ministry. It is certain that early in the church's life and during the lifetime of most of them, these twelve occupied a position of respect and authority. A great deal of this was due initially to being witnesses of Jesus' life and work,¹ and especially his resurrection.² It is difficult to be certain about the importance of "the twelve" as a group of a specific number; it may well be that the group grew more important as time went along and the importance of being a companion of Jesus enlarged; the number twelve certainly was a favourite among the Jews,³ associated with the twelve tribes of Israel, the twelve tribes re-established in the future, the twelve Patriarchs, etc. With the ignominious death of Judas, the account in Acts reflects the concern that the number "twelve" should again be completed.⁴ On one occasion, in an uncontroversial passage Paul speaks of "the twelve" as a group as the object of one of Jesus' appearances;⁵ on another occasion he speaks indifferently of a group in Jerusalem who are spoken of by others as having unique authority.⁶ The special importance of "the twelve" has been continued in the first three gospels. Matthew names them as "disciples" and "apostles" in the same pas-

¹ Acts 1.21.

² Acts 1.22. I Cor. 15.5.

³ Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 94.

⁴ Acts 1.15ff. where Matthias is elected to the twelfth position vacated by Judas Iscariot.

⁵ I Cor. 15.5.

⁶ Gal. 2.6.

sage.¹ Luke has the special "twelve" in mind and according to him Jesus designated them apostles.² Mark also includes a special list of "the twelve,"³ The artificiality of the form of these accounts is indicated by the wide variation of settings, more so where there is a formal list and also accounts of individual choices of disciples, and by indications that the number of followers varied from time to time. It seems likely that twelve men were selected by Jesus to be with him, but this fact has been overlaid by the respect and authority attributed to the post-resurrection eleven and then twelve, so as to have a fixed list of twelve persons. Moreover, the record that Jesus' followers (the number varies) were sent out to preach and heal is a literary and apologetic device directed at the early church to which all three gospel writers agree though no doubt there is a basis of fact. Therefore, apart from the gospel writers' formal agreement to the respect and authority attributed by the church to "the twelve," they also make two important points: first, Jesus deliberately collected about him a number of men whom he could teach, probably twelve, and second, he gave them a practical indication of their duty - to preach that the kingdom had come, manifest in signs and power - and thus set the foundation for their apostleship which his resurrection appearance and

¹ Matt. 10, 1-4.

² Luke 6. 13-16.

³ Mark 3. 13-18.

the power of the Holy Spirit enlivened. It may well be that on such as this second fundamental that Paul was acknowledged by Peter and the rest in Jerusalem.¹ The respect and authority attributed to "the twelve" apostles were so solidified in early tradition, evident in Paul's letters and Acts, that the author of Revelation incorporated "the twelve apostles of the Lamb" into his apocalyptic scheme.² Confusion concerning the membership of "the twelve" was undoubtedly introduced if James the brother of John was murdered by Herod,³ and James, Jesus' brother rose to the importance in the church that Paul implies.⁴ It would not be surprising if elements in the early church challenged or undermined the position of "the twelve" apostles.

The references by Paul to apostles and apostleship are clear indications that he was not bound by any respect or authority attributed to "the twelve". If the prerequisite for an apostle was an acquaintance or attachment to the historical Jesus, Paul had another view. If apostleship had emerged as an office,⁵ there were many he was ready to call apostles. Barnabus was regarded as an apostle;⁶ Paul wrote of Timothy in a similar fashion assuming him to be an apostle.⁷ James, Jesus' brother, is an apostle also.⁸

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1 Gal. 2.7.
2 Rev. 21.14.
3 Acts 12.1,2.
4 Gal. 2.9,12.
5 MacGregor, Christian Freedom, p. 188.
6 Gal. 2.9. I Cor. 9.5,6.
7 I Thess. 2.6.
8 Gal. 1.19. I Cor. 15.7.

Adronius and Junias were apostles before Paul was.¹ Paul speaks vaguely of an appearance of Jesus to "all the apostles" himself excluded.² Finally, he speaks disparagingly of some "superlative apostles" who seem to have been determined to attack his own apostleship.³ In whatever solitary standing the early church placed "the twelve" apostles,⁴ others viewed the apostolate to be of a larger number.

There emerges, therefore, from the N.T. literature three different concepts of apostleship. First, the emissary, who although serving the church does not do so evangelistically. The other two do: "the twelve" apostles, and a third larger group⁵ who was, it seems, rather uncontroversially accepted. Paul forms a special case in so much as his apostleship has aspersions cast on it, and is challenged, so that he feels compelled to claim an equally important function as that of "the twelve" apostles to the circumcision. The leadership which all the apostles gave to the church, and the respect the church gave them, indicates that Paul probably gave a true assessment to claim that the apostles were the primary order in the church.⁶ The Didache indicates that the office and perhaps the function of an apostle eventually came under

¹ Rom. 16.7.

² I Cor. 15.7.

³ II Cor. 11.5; 12.11.

⁴ MacGregor, Christian Freedom, p. 190.

⁵ Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 94ff.

⁶ I Cor. 12.28,29. Lightfoot, ibid. p. 97.

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suspicion of abuse; thus a test was established: "Now as regards the apostles and prophets, act strictly according to the precept of the Gospel. Upon arrival every apostle must be welcomed as the Lord; but he must not stay except one day. In case of necessity, however, he may stay the next day also; but if he stays three days, he is a false prophet. At his departure the apostle must receive nothing except food to last till the next night's lodging; but if he asks for money, he is a false prophet."¹ There is quite a difference in this from Paul's texts: "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord? Are you not my workmanship in the Lord?"²

It is as a result of Paul being drawn into conflict that we are best able to grasp the meaning he attached to his role as an apostle. To the charge that he is not an apostle, he has to defend himself not because of personal pride - he is sensitive about such a possible motive³ - but for the sake of the authority which lies behind his mission to the gentiles and for the sake of their faith. It seems to him that if he is not an apostle, the message of the gospel is undermined; he believes each possessed the same authority - they were of Christ. The issue was critically important, so he states decisively: "If anyone is preaching to you a gospel contrary to that which you

¹ Didache 11.3-6, in Ancient Christian Writers, Vol. 6, translated by J.A. Kleist, S.J.

² I Cor. 9.1.

³ II Cor. 11.30.

received, let him be accursed."¹ Generally, there are four points with which his apostleship was attacked. First, his apostleship was not like that of others (i.e. Peter's) but was from men or through them; alternatively, he has invented his own apostleship. Secondly, he has used his claim to be an apostle to seek popularity and power. Thirdly, the gospel he preached was his own invention, and has had the effect of undermining true religion and Judaism. Fourthly, he has set himself up, unwarrantedly, to discipline the churches. These attacks were directed against him in not one but several churches. There were other attacks on his ministry but they were rather less significant.²

Most clearly in Galatians do we hear the echoes of some saying that his apostleship was "from men" or "through men."³ Perhaps they alluded to his association with Ananias at his conversion;⁴ perhaps some argued that he had gone for his instruction in "the Way" to the apostles in Jerusalem, a charge about which Paul took pains to point out that it was only after three years he made his appearance in Jerusalem.⁵ Paul's answer was first that he did not depend on anyone in Jerusalem for approval or authority for his apostleship.⁶ He was an apostle by divine appoint-
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¹ Gal. 1.9.

² Appeasing, weak in speech, debases himself by working, sometimes circumcises converts.

³ Gal. 1.1.

⁴ Acts 9.10ff; 22.12ff.

⁵ Gal. 1.17,18.

⁶ Gal. 1.1. Burton, Galatians, p. 373. Dibelius, Paul, p.126.

ment: "Paul an apostle ... through Jesus Christ and God the Father."¹ "Paul... called to be an apostle... through whom (i.e. Jesus Christ) we have received grace and apostleship."² In the light of his conversion, he believed that he had a personal call to be an apostle of Jesus Christ.³ The fortification for such a claim was to ask the rhetorical question: "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?"⁴ On this basis, his authority for being an apostle was the same as Peter's⁵ with whom he was likely compared.⁶ "He who worked through Peter for the mission to the circumcised worked through me also for the Gentiles."⁷

Secondly, there was the charge against him that he claimed an apostleship because he wanted power or popularity. "I was crafty, you say, and got the better of you by guile."⁸ Echoed are the voices of some accusing him that if he has an apostleship, he has abused it by his methods. Paul answered: "Did I take advantage of you through any of those whom I sent to you? I urged Titus to go and sent the brother with him. Did Titus take advantage of you? Did we not act in the same spirit? Did we not take the same steps?"⁹ Presumably, Titus had pleased the Corinth-

1 Gal. 1.1.
 2 Rom. 1.1,5.
 3 Cf. MacGregor, Christian Freedom, p. 235.
 4 I Cor. 9.1.
 5 MacGregor, ibid. p. 193.
 6 Gal. 2.6. I Cor. 1.12.
 7 Gal. 2.8.
 8 II Cor. 12.16.
 9 II Cor. 12.17,18.

ians for Paul to appeal to his ministrations. Others charged Paul with boastfulness. Certainly, in the second letter to the Corinthians, in spite of his apologies, he opened himself to this charge. "But whatever anyone dares to boast of - I am speaking as a fool - I also dare to boast of that"; there follows a recital of claims he can make.¹ But he cautions: "If I must boast, I will boast of the things that show my weakness."² Likely Paul was charged that he was boasting about his apostleship in the sense of bragging that God had given him a great and unequalled task.³ In what is perhaps the third or fourth letter to the Corinthians, he wishes them to be sure why such claims have been made; any claim to apostleship can be spoken of with pride because it is of divine appointment and purpose. "For if we are beside ourselves, it is for God."⁴ Still others charged him with seeking popularity through his apostolic claim. "Am I now seeking the favour of men, or of God?"⁵ No doubt his willingness to be all things to all men opened him to the charge of fickleness to serve private ends.⁶ He explains that he has used a principle to achieve a single goal - to win more men to Christ.⁷ "If I were still pleasing men, I should

1 II Cor. 12.16ff.
2 II Cor. 12.30.
3 II Cor. 3.1ff.
4 II Cor. 5.13.
5 Gal. 1.10.
6 I Cor. 9.22.
7 I Cor. 9.19.

not be a servant of Christ."¹ Bearing in mind that to preach Christ crucified² was the cause of ridicule and scorn, folly and a stumbling block,³ it was no small, men-pleasing thing in which to engage. If anyone was to be pleased in the apostolic task, it was God. "We have been approved by God to be entrusted with the gospel, so to speak, not to please men, but to please God who tests our hearts. For we never used either words of flattery, as you know, or a cloak for greed, as God is witness; nor did we seek glory from men, whether from you or from others, though we might have made demands as apostles of Christ."⁴

The third principal point of attack on Paul's apostleship concerned the gospel he preached and taught. He was accused of having a second-hand gospel, a gospel received from men and not from God, or a gospel which was a human invention. Whatever the precise nature of the charge brought against him, it clearly implied that his gospel was not by divine revelation, and this Paul categorically denied: "For I did not receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came through a revelation of Jesus Christ."⁵ For further support he can appeal to his vision of the risen Lord,⁶ the strongest possible evidence confirming his apostleship. Moreover, his apostleship was

¹ Gal. 1.10.

² I Cor. 2.2.

³ I Cor. 1.21,22. Phil. 1.15ff.

⁴ I Thess. 2.4-6.

⁵ Gal. 1.12.

⁶ I Cor. 9.1; 15.8.

attended by signs and wonders: "The signs of a true apostle were performed among you in all patience, with signs and wonders and mighty works."¹ Sometimes Paul's accusers shifted the emphasis from the source of his gospel to the gospel itself, so as to say that he was undermining true religion. In the Galatian churches, Jewish Christians tried to superimpose certain Jewish laws on the new Christian communities. This, Paul passionately challenged, was to undo the work done through the gospel he preached to them. "I am astonished that you are so quickly deserting him who called you in the grace of Christ and turning to a different gospel - not that there is another gospel, but there are some who trouble you and want to pervert the gospel of Christ."² "Now I, Paul, say to you that if you receive circumcision, Christ will be of no advantage to you."³ No doubt these Jewish Christians had had to charge Paul with speaking only half the truth, or misleading the Galatians into an inadequate religion, in order to cause him to make the reply he does. Similarly in Romans, Paul repeats the questions of some who charged that his gospel led to greater sin and licentiousness. "Why not do evil that good may come? -as some people slanderously charge us with saying."⁴ Some may have said that he now viewed sin to be caused by the law.⁵ Paul

1 II Cor. 12.12.
 2 Gal. 1.6,7.
 3 Gal. 5.2. Cf. 2.11-16.
 4 Rom. 3.8.
 5 Rom. 7.7ff.

replies that these are false charges. His best answer is to hold up his converts as testimony of his workmanship.¹ There is ample evidence that he kept careful watch on the churches he had begun, to avoid the freedom he preached becoming licence.² Consequently, confident that the source of his gospel and the gospel itself were of divine initiation, Paul vigorously denied that his gospel was a human invention or that he was undermining true religion.

Lastly, Paul's authority as an apostle was challenged when there was disobedience to his religious and ethical teaching. Some challenged his right to discipline the church, as for example in the Corinthian church where the trouble may have stemmed from the tendency to split into factions or parties. "I appeal to you brethern, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree and that there be no dissensions among you."³ "Look at what is before your eyes. If anyone is confident that he is Christ's, let him remind himself that as he is Christ's, so are we."⁴ It is in the light of this relationship with Christ which has made him an apostle that he has the right to discipline. "I warned those who sinned before and all the others, and I warn them now while absent, as I did when present on my second visit, that if I come again I will not spare them - since you desire proof that Christ

¹ I Cor. 9.1,2.

² I Thess. 4.11,12. II Thess. 3.6ff. Gal. 5.16ff. II Cor. 12.21

³ I Cor. 1.10ff.

⁴ II Cor. 10.7.

is speaking in me,"¹ The certainty that he will discipline depends not on his own determination - that is more often confounded by his weakness - but on the power of God.²

So important was his duty to God, and so important was the gospel of Jesus Christ which he proclaimed to the gentiles, that these attacks against his duty and gospel had to be answered. The shadow of these conflicts is cast across almost all his letters, and as the letter to the Galatians amply illustrates, the matter was viewed by him as of much larger import than his personal feelings.

Luther has caught Paul's mind: "In times past when I was but a young divine, I thought Paul did unwisely in glorying so often in his calling. But I did not understand his purpose, for I knew not that the ministry of God's word was so weighty a matter."³

Let us take note of the chief features of the apostleship Paul maintained. Of first importance was his conviction that God had called him out of His grace. When he remembers his "former life in Judaism," he admits there was nothing meriting this call.⁴ Then he goes on: "He who had set me apart before I was born... called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles."⁵

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¹ II Cor. 13.2,3.

² II Cor. 13.3,4.

³ Galatians, p. 3.

⁴ Gal. 1.13,14.

⁵ Gal. 1.15,16.

"God... gave us the ministry of reconciliation... entrusting to us the message of reconciliation."¹ The first quotation makes it quite clear that the call extended to him as an act of grace was fully personal.² It was not the Church that summoned him to be an apostle, even though at Antioch he was commissioned with Barnab³us to go westward.³ The second quotation as well as the first emphasizes that Paul believed it was God alone who called him to be an apostle. He also speaks of Christ claiming him to be an apostle.⁴ He certainly spoke of the great duty he had to Christ when he calls himself a slave of Christ.⁵ In the last analysis however, Paul attributes his apostleship to the grace of God. Characteristic of Hebraic-Jewish history, his call was for a purpose: it was integral to God's larger purposes of grace toward all men. "Paul stresses... the close connexion between his personal service and the plan of God's grace."⁶ From one side and then another, Paul expresses God's gracious purpose to His creation⁷ and his own relationship to that purpose: "I am an apostle to the Gentiles."⁸ It was no small thing to believe that God in Christ had begun a saving work among the gentiles, and

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¹ II Cor. 5.18,19.

² MacGregor, Christian Freedom, p. 191. Dibelius, Paul, p.55.

³ Acts 13. 1,2.

⁴ Phil. 3.12. I Cor. 1.17.

⁵ Rom. 1.1.

⁶ Munck, PSM, p. 41,43.

⁷ Rom. 10.12.

⁸ Rom. 11.13.

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that he, Paul, was an apostle for that purpose. Then viewing the relationship between God's grace and the Jews, it is his conviction that God can graft in again that disobedient nation.¹ How? One of the ways is through the ministry of Paul himself: "Inasmuch then as I am an apostle to the Gentiles, I magnify my ministry in order to make my fellow Jews jealous, and thus save some of them."² This great and converting news of what reconciliation God is performing in Christ is a message meant for "every creature under heaven,"³ and Paul is the minister of it.⁴ The grace of God which created Paul the apostle came to be conceived in his mind as compulsive.⁵ His gracious God was planning a work for him before his birth.⁶ Necessity was laid upon him to preach the gospel.⁷ "I am entrusted with a commission."⁸ Several times Paul indicates that his life has been directed by revelations;⁹ his calling and the daily direction of it by God have gone hand in hand. In summary, Paul was an apostle due to the gracious choice of God; in that role he was related to the larger plan of God's grace; finally, he felt called into a work from which there was no release.

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¹ Rom. 11.23.

² Rom. 11.13,14.

³ Col. 1.23.

⁴ Col. 1.25,28.

⁵ Munck, PSM, p. 20f.

⁶ Gal. 1.15.

⁷ I Cor. 9.16.

⁸ I Cor. 9.17b.

⁹ Gal. 2.2. II Cor. 12.1. II Cor. 1.10. Phil. 1.22ff. Acts 16.9.

Of essential importance in these early years of the church was for its apostles to authoritatively witness to the resurrection of Jesus.¹ From Acts it is clear that it was a prerequisite among "the twelve" in Jerusalem. One of the conditions which led to the choice of Matthias was that he could witness to Jesus' resurrection.³ That this claim annoyed the Jerusalem religious leaders proved it was a conspicuous point in the kerygma.⁴ Paul claims that he too received a vision of the risen Lord,⁵ and especially in one reference (I Cor. 9.1) he associates this vision with his apostleship in such a way that to "someone" who had challenged him, the vision became a proof.⁶ How far he made his apostleship depend on this vision is uncertain; he certainly indicates other requirements for a true apostleship, one of which we have noticed. No doubt he prized and was inspired by this vision, but it is one criterion of many. From the first part of I Cor. 15 it is evident that Paul willingly and with a sense of its crucial importance preached that Jesus was risen: "if Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain, and your faith is in vain."⁷ Of course, this was rhetorical: Christ was raised, and Paul was a witness

1 Plummer, "Apostle", HDAC, Vol. 1, p. 83.

2 MacGregor, Christian Freedom, p. 191.

3 Acts 1.21,22.

4 Acts 4.2.

5 I Cor. 9.1; 15.8.

6 Burton, Galatians, p. 373-4.

7 I Cor. 15.14.

to it. By this preaching he passed a recognized test of apostleship.¹

Another qualification for apostleship was, as MacGregor says, "The bestowment by revelation from above of ability to discharge the duties of it."² Lightfoot does not distinguish between the gifts and capacities enlivened in an apostle, and the results to be achieved;³ nevertheless, he identified one feature of this qualification: the Spirit was given to empower Paul in this task. "Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit." "All these are inspired by one and the same Spirit, who apportioned to each one individually as he wills." "God has appointed in the church first apostles...."⁴ Paul admits that he was often conscious of weakness in his duties,⁵ yet he says, "the Spirit helps us in our weakness."⁶ There are other endowments given to him as an apostle. "For I will not venture to speak of anything except what Christ has wrought through me to win obedience from the Gentiles, by word and deed, by the power of signs and wonders, by the power of the Holy Spirit."⁷ There is a similar sentence from II Cor.: "The signs of a true apostle were performed among you in all patience, with

¹ Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 98.

² Christian Freedom, p. 194.

³ Ibid. p. 99.

⁴ I Cor. 12.4, 11, 28.

⁵ I Cor. 2.3. II Cor. 10.10; 13.4.

⁶ Rom. 8.26.

⁷ Rom. 15.18, 19a.

signs and wonders and mighty works."¹ The distinctive feature of this qualification is that power was given to awaken men to the significance of the Christ event, and this was manifested in two forms: preaching and signs. Paul believed he was especially called to declare what God had done and was doing in Christ. "As far round as Illyricum I have fully preached the gospel of Christ, thus making it my ambition to preach the gospel...."² "For Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach the gospel."³ Paul says very little about signs and wonders performed by him except to indicate that such things occurred. Acts gives accounts of a number of such incidents which are "wonders" both of a vindictive⁴ and curative nature.⁵ Whatever form or legendary accretions these stories have, the collaboration of Paul's words indicate that some events were certainly seen and understood to be the work of God through him, and he judges them to be complementary to his work as an apostle.

As another qualification for apostleship, Paul speaks of the results of his work, "the practical test of the appropriate result."⁶ In particular he points to steadfast converts as the most conspicuous proof of his apostleship. "Are you not my workmanship in the Lord? If

1 II Cor. 12.12.
 2 Rom. 15.19b, 20a.
 3 I Cor. 1.17.
 4 Acts 13.11.
 5 Acts 16.18; 19.11ff.
 6 MacGregor, Christian Freedom, p. 199.

to others I am not an apostle, at least I am to you; for you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord."¹ He took his responsibility toward his converts very seriously. When certain Jewish Christians had upset the faith of his Galatian converts, he struggled with all his energy to re-establish them: "My little children, with whom I am again in travail until Christ be formed in you!"² The disruptive troubles that infested the Corinthian church are spread all across his letters to those new Christians, and caused him much anxiety until he could feel they were on the right way again: "For I wrote you out of much affliction and anguish of heart and with many tears, not to cause you pain but to let you know the abundant love that I have for you."³ When the possibility of death confronts him, and he is unsure of the future, he comes to the conclusion that the purpose of the further extension of his life will be only the upbuilding of converts, so he writes to the Philippians: "I know that I shall remain and continue with you all, for your progress and joy in the faith."⁴ It is his converts who are the fruit of his labour and in whom he takes his most pleasure: "For what is our hope or joy or crown of boasting before our Lord Jesus at his coming? Is it not you? For you are our

¹ I Cor. 9.1,2.

² Gal. 4.19.

³ II Cor. 2.4.

⁴ Phil. 1.25.

glory and joy."¹ "Therefore, my brethern, whom I love and long for, my joy and crown, stand firm in the Lord, my beloved."² In a previous letter (II Thess. 2.19), Paul couples mention of his converts with the Parousia. His view, therefore, seems to be that at the Parousia this kind of work as an apostle will be tested,³ and his hope is that his efforts will show he has fulfilled his charge. In this vein he admonishes his Philippian converts: "Do all things without grumbling or questioning, that you may be blameless and innocent, children of God without blemish in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, among whom you shine as lights in the world, holding fast the word of life, so that in the day of Christ I may be proud that I did not run in vain or labour in vain."⁴ Therefore, Paul takes seriously now and in reference to the future that a qualification for apostleship is the appropriate result of faithful converts.

Munck draws our attention to Paul's concern for his converts and emphasizes a priestly role exercised toward them.⁵ There are some sentences by Paul which do suggest this. "I feel a divine jealousy for you", he says to the Corinthians, "for I betrothed you to Christ to present you as a pure bride to her one husband."⁶ Obviously,

¹ I Thess. 2.19,20a.

² Phil. 4.1.

³ I Cor. 3.13.

⁴ Phil. 2.14-16.

⁵ PSM, p. 50f.

⁶ II Cor. 11.2.

409.
this reference to their conversion and intentions is illuminated by the use of a metaphor of marriage. The role of a priest may be implicit, or it may be that Paul thinks of himself as a father, arranging the marriage of his daughter - the typical custom of Orientals. However, in another sentence there is no doubt, and Paul says that he wishes to suitably prepare his gentile converts so they may be acceptable when he offers them to God: "But on some points, I have written to you very boldly by way of reminder, because of the grace given to me by God to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service of the gospel of God, so that the offering of the Gentiles may be acceptable, consecrated by the Holy Spirit."¹

In another passage, the emphasis shifts from the ministrations and preparations of the priest to the suggestion that he himself is ready to become a sacrifice: "Even if I am to be poured as a libation upon the sacrificial offering of your faith, I am glad and rejoice with you all."²

We must be careful not to over-work in these two quotations what is essentially metaphorical language. Paul's past did not make it natural for him to speak of himself as a priest. Moreover, the substance of the intentions he states here are little different from that noted above where as an apostle he works for acceptable and appropriate results. Therefore, although he figuratively thought
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¹ Rom. 15.15,16.
² Phil. 2.17.

of fulfilling a priest's duties, it did not overshadow his role as an apostle, much less as a slave of Christ.

A further qualification of apostleship was authority over the churches. This authority Paul exercised,¹ particularly over the churches he began; it is interesting that he took care to avoid other churches already established.² Apparently the apostles in general exercised authority over the churches to discipline and organize.³ Peter and John probably exercised some kind of authority for enquiry when they went to learn about the gospel's reception in Samaria.⁴ Peter exercised authority to discipline Ananias and Sapphira.⁵ "The twelve" exercised their authority to organize in arranging the choice of seven administrators in the Jerusalem church.⁶ Paul certainly exercised authority in matters of faith, morals and organization. After commenting on marriage problems, he states a principle he universally applied: "Only, let every one lead the life which the Lord has assigned to him,⁷ and in which God has called him. This is my rule in all the churches."⁸ Rulings to discipline the lazy,⁹ the immoral,¹⁰ and the theologically wayward

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1 Dibelius, Paul, p. 155.
2 Rom. 15.20.
3 Plummer, "Apostle," HDAC, Vol. 1, p. 84.
4 Acts 8.14.
5 Acts 5.1ff.
6 Acts 6.2,3.
7 Maintain a kind of social 'status quo'.
8 I Cor. 7.17.
9 II Thess. 3.6ff.
10 I Cor. 5.1,2.

or lovers of dispute¹ are familiar. Examples of Paul as an organizer are not so numerous. Paul was instrumental in establishing a fund for the Jerusalem poor and urging Titus and others to undertake the collection.² Acts probably reflects a reasonably true procedure that before he left a locality, Paul saw that elders for new churches were appointed.³ He was certainly familiar with the roles and offices in local churches that were customarily filled: prophets, teachers, miracle workers, helpers, administrators, and speakers of various tongues.⁴ His letters indicate a continuing interest in his churches, and with such vitality that we can hardly imagine him indifferent to organizational needs that would serve the gospel's proclamation. Thus in different ways we can see that Paul by his apostolic right exercised authority over his churches.

Important though the office of an apostle was to Paul, nothing shows his relationship to Christ which issues in his duty better than the descriptions of himself as a " δούλος of Jesus Christ". In this expression influenced by both the Jewish and Graeco-Roman world, there is a quality of duty and fidelity to Jesus that as an apostle is never caught. The sight of slaves was so common in the ancient world that there must have been

1 II Cor. 13.10,11.
 2 II Cor. 8.17-19,23.
 3 Acts 14.23.
 4 I Cor. 12.28.

few men who did not know the rights of an owner and how little likelihood a slave had of being freed. The circumstances of slaves varied widely. Slave labour in the mines was horrible.¹ The author of Sirach counselled severity toward slaves, in order to keep them under firm control:

"Yoke and thong will bow the neck,
and for a wicked servant there are racks and tortures.
Set him to work, as is fitting for him,
and if he does not obey, make his fetters heavy."²

Other slaves were treated well and rose to very useful and respected positions in their masters' households. Naaman heard and took the advice of his Hebrew slave girl.³ The Mosaic law stressed a humane treatment of Jewish nationals who had become slaves,⁴ and with an outlook akin to Paul's says: "For they are my servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt."⁵ Patriarch Gamaliel II was most considerate toward his slave, Tabi.⁶ One thing was certain: a master's ownership of his slave was absolute; a slave was his real property. Paul was conscious of this universal rule in two ways: he considered Christ's ownership of him to be absolute;⁷ he recognized the

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1 Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, p. 204.
2 Sirach 33.26, 28.
3 I² Sirach 33.26, 28.
4 E³ II Kings 5.1ff.
5 L⁴ Exodus 21.2ff. Deut. 15.12ff.
6 M⁵ Lev. 25.42. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 135.
7 P⁶ Mishnah, Berakoth 2.7.
7 Phil. 3.12.

right Philemon had over Onesimus and acted accordingly in sending him back¹ - he had other reasons to do so but the letter assumes knowledge of the owner's rights. In view of the vast number of slaves taken with each new conquest, few slaves got their freedom. Epictetus was one of the most learned and conspicuous of those who were granted their freedom.² Another means to freedom was, on the agreement of the owner, to deposit sufficient funds in a temple to enable the slave to be dedicated or sold to a deity.³ "In Boeotia in the second century B.C. the temples of Isis and Sarapis were commonly used in the manumission of slaves, often completed in the form of a ceremonial dedication or sale of the slave to a deity."⁴ The Jews too had rules which applied to the release of slaves.⁵ It is impossible that Paul, born in Tarsus, and so widely-travelled, was not conscious of the habits and rules of the institution of slavery, an owner's rights and responsibilities (e.g. protection), a slave's few rights and his responsibilities, and manumission. The inheritance from this social and economic world was not religious but metaphorical. The declarations that his converts have been "set free" or "bought with a price" were expressions both Greeks and Jews could under-

1 Philemon 12-14.
 2 Epictetus, Discourses, Vol. 1, translated by Oldfather, Loeb Classical Library, p. viiff.
 3 MacGregor, Purdy, Jew and Greek, p. 263ff.
 4 Nock, Conversion, p. 58.
 5 Deut. 15.12ff.

779 into δούλος did not necessarily carry a derogatory or menial sense. For example, Moses was a servant-slave;¹ so were the prophets.² As well as individuals, the nation as a whole stood toward God as "household" slaves: "For to me the people of Israel are servants, they are my servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God."³ Out of gratitude to God could an Israelite speak of himself as a servant-slave:

"What shall I render to the Lord
for all his bounty to me?"

"O Lord, I am thy servant (δούλος)
I am thy servant, the son of thy handmaid."⁴

Elsewhere duty is the essence of a servant-slave.⁵ It is in this sense of service and duty to God in Christ that Paul uses δούλος. The essential thing to note at this point is that the religious significance of δούλος in Paul's letters is in part to be traced back to the concept of servant in Hebrew theology.

This classification of himself in the role of a servant was a bold and significant step when seen against the background of the O.T. Apart from the distinctions emerging in the translation of 779, there were still other

1 Ps. 105.26. (104.26). Μωνοῦν τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ.
 2 Jer. 25.4. Amos 3.7. τοὺς δούλους μου (αὐτοῦ) τοὺς προφήτας.
 3 Lev. 25.55. Οἰκέται seems to convey greater intimacy than δούλοι especially when παῖδες is used in the same sentence as well.
 4 Ps. 116.12,16. (115.3,7).
 5 II Chron. 6.22,23; Δούλοι . Cf. Sib. Or. 3.740.

features connected with the servant in Israel which a linguistic study does not reveal. There were two fundamental ideas about "the servant": he might be an individual, or might be described in collective terms. Many persons and heroes of Israel were regarded as individual servants of God (Abraham, Moses, Caleb, Job, David, and the prophets). Like Paul, Jeremiah was a servant, consecrated for service because this was God's intention from his birth.¹ Others obey the divine will as well; David is a servant in his obedience.² Job is a servant of God, "blameless and upright," one "who fears God and turns away from evil."³ The most characteristic feature of individual servants is that they are messengers or representatives of God. Jeremiah expresses this view point: "You have neither listened nor inclined your ears to hear, although the Lord persistently sent to you all his servants the prophets, saying, 'Turn now....'"⁴ Jeremiah bore a message;⁵ Elijah was a servant with duties to perform and messages to deliver;⁶ Isaiah also a servant had a message to act out.⁷ Among the many tasks attributed to Moses as a servant of God was his work of intercession on behalf of Israel.⁸ The servants of God were

1 Jer. 1.5.
 2 II Sam. 7.5.
 3 Job 1.8,
 4 Jer. 25.4,
 5 Jer. 1.10ff.
 6 II Kings 10.10. I Kings 18, etc.
 7 Isa. 20.3,
 8 Exodus 14.31; 32.11ff.

endowed with "the spirit of the Lord."¹ It is not at all uncommon to find that the servant of God suffers. The suffering of Job received the most detailed analysis. Jeremiah suffered for his work as a servant because of the anger his preaching caused,² and because of his own personal distress for the nation.³ There is no finer O.T. picture of an individual servant suffering than in Deutero-Isaiah:⁴

"For he grew up before him like a young plant,
 like a root out of a dry ground;
 he had no form or comeliness that we should look at
 him,
 and no beauty that we should desire him.
 "He was despised and rejected by men;
 a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief;
 and as one from whom men hide their faces
 he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

.....
 yet he bore the sin of many
 and made intercession for the transgressors."⁵

Finally, the individual servants of God sometimes had a mission to Israel;⁶ sometimes their mission was to the nations.⁷ The wide variety of individual servants of God will now be apparent; their variety of tasks equally so.

The O.T. also thought of "the servant" in a collective sense, and in particular the people of Israel were them-

1 I Sam. 16.13.
 2 Jer. 20.1ff.
 3 Jer. 8.22-9.1ff; 12.3ff.
 4 Rowley, The Servant of the Lord, p. 52.
 5 Isa. 53.2,3,12c.
 6 Isa. 49.5.
 7 Jer. 1.5.

selves "the servant" of God. "The primary relationship Israel bears to the Lord is that of Servant."¹ The book of Isaiah has many references to Israel as the servant of God.² As Jeremiah believed his election to service was intended from his birth, so the same idea of preordination is part of the idea of Israel as servant.³ Collectively, Israel was a servant as a worshipping and "law"-abiding community.⁴ Essentially, Israel was a servant of the Lord when she fulfilled her duties. In one sense, this was to be a light to the nations that they were to witness to the truth of God which he had revealed to them.⁵ In another sense, there was a people in the nation who collectively were "the servant" to exercise a ministry to the nation as a whole. Several prophets express the hope for a purified remnant of Israel.⁶ It is from the second Servant Song of Deutero-Isaiah that the idea of a remnant and the servant in a collective sense are associated.⁷ In this song, (49.1-6), it is not quite clear if "the servant" is an individual or the nation, but it is quite possible that Israel may be thought of here as a collective remnant; in the light of the growth of the idea of a remnant, it is a reasonable guess that in the developing

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1 Muilenburg, "Isaiah", IB, Vol. 5, p. 411.
 2 Isa. 41.8,9.
 3 Isa. 44.1,2,24.
 4 Isa. 56.6.
 5 Isa. 43.10,12.
 6 Isa. 10.20-22. Jer. 31.8. Micah 5.8. Zeph. 3.12,13.
 7 Rowley, The Servant of the Lord, p. 51-2.

personification of the "servant" in these Servant Songs a faithful portion of Israel has a servant's role to fulfill.¹ (Compare verses 3 and 5) If the third Servant Song (50.4-9) has a collective idea of "the servant" in mind, then we have the association of a remnant and one who suffers. Psalm 89 makes quite clear that the nation is a servant who suffers.² It is against this Jewish and Graeco-Roman background that Paul as a δούλος of Christ is to be seen.

It is evident to us that Jesus thought of himself as a servant of God in his ministry and suffering. This is a view commonly held by many scholars.³ The gospels make two important associations of Jesus and the idea of "the servant". The first is a saying of Jesus recorded in Luke and Matthew: "No servant can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon."⁴ Not only does this reflect that Jesus knew what a servant must do, it is a partial description of Paul's own decisiveness in calling himself a δούλος of Christ. Another statement explicitly refers to Jesus' own service or in which there is the suggestion of a servant: "For the Son of man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for

¹ Rowley, The Servant of the Lord, p. 50.
² Ps. 89.50,51.
³ Ibid. p. 54. Moffat, The Theology of the Gospels, p.149.
Barclay, Jesus as They Saw Him, p. 183.
⁴ Luke 16.13. Matt. 6.24.

many."¹ These are most likely the words of Mark but it is also a true estimate of the mind of Jesus, especially in the light of his passion predictions. There is other evidence that the early church regarded Jesus as the servant of God. Whether the Ethiopian eunuch was really perplexed about Isa. 53.7-8 or Luke has supplied this detail of the story does not matter for the implication of the passage in Acts is the testimony that Jesus' death was understood to be a fulfillment of the O.T. passage.²

There are four references in Acts to Jesus as a servant (Acts 3.13,26; 4.27,30).³ We noticed earlier that *παῖς* which is that Greek noun used in all four cases, was a frequent translation of $\begin{matrix} \tau & \eta & \upsilon \\ \vdots & \vdots & \vdots \end{matrix}$ or "servant"; certainly "son" is not meant or the Greek would have been *υἱός*. Therefore, we can justifiably feel that "servant" is the meaning intended in Acts. The RSV and NEB both translate *παῖς* as servant indicating how firmly established is the view that Acts understood Jesus to be the servant of God. In addition to the testimony of Acts there is that of Paul's. At one point, Paul writes of Jesus' death in the same vein as the writer wrote of the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah. "For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God."⁴ Compare this with Isa. 53.6:

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¹ Mark 10.45.
² Acts 8.26ff.
³ Barclay, Jesus as They Saw Him, p. 181.
⁴ II Cor. 5.21.

"And the Lord has laid on him
the iniquity of us all."

In the letter to the Philippians, Paul has another reference to Jesus as servant of God: he "emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. And being found in human form he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross. Therefore God has highly exalted him...."¹ Not only does Paul call Jesus a servant but he seems also to have been influenced by the Servant Songs in doing so. Admittedly, *δοῦλος* in the passage emphasizes one without privileges, as a servile slave. On the other hand, like the servants of the O.T. where religious significance is to the fore, here it is the relationship of one to God that is primary. In this passage, the emphasis is not on a servile slave, but on relationship to God which was marked by the humility of obedience. The picture here of Jesus is like that of the Suffering Servant in the following way: the relationship in which Jesus became a servant was with God, (cf. the Suffering Servant: "Behold, my servant shall prosper,"³ "smitten by God,"⁴ "the will of the Lord shall prosper in his hand"⁵); Jesus was a man: "born in the likeness of men," (cf. "a man of sorrows and acquaint-
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¹ Phil. 2.7-9.

² Beare, "Philippians", IB, Vol. 11, p. 49.

³ Isa. 52.13.

⁴ Isa. 53.4.

⁵ Isa. 53.10.

ed with grief"¹); Jesus humbled himself: "he emptied himself," "he humbled himself," (cf. "yet he opened not his mouth"²); Jesus was humiliated: "even the death on a cross," ("he was despised,"³ "they made his grave with the wicked"⁴); Jesus was obedient: "obedient unto death," ("he opened not his mouth,"⁵ "it was the will of the Lord to bruise him," "he makes himself an offering for sin"⁶); Jesus was exalted: "God has highly exalted him", (cf.

"Behold, my servant shall prosper,
 he shall be exalted and lifted up,
 and shall be very high."⁷)

The numerous parallels and allusions to this picture in Paul's description of the humility and exaltation of Jesus is strong evidence that to him Jesus was the servant of God. Mark's comment that Jesus came to serve,⁸ and Matthew's description of Jesus' healing miracles which he sees as a fulfillment of the work of the Suffering Servant in Isa. 53.4:

"Surely he has borne our griefs(sicknesses)
 and carried our sorrows (pains)"⁹

confirm still further how firmly established was the view that Jesus was the servant of God, and the fulfillment of

1 Isa. 53.3.

2 Isa. 53.7.

3 Isa. 53.3.

4 Isa. 53.9.

5 Isa. 53.7.

6 Isa. 53.10.

7 Isa. 52.13.

8 Mark 10.45.

9 Matthew has followed the Hebrew text and not the LXX.

the Suffering Servant prophecy.

In Paul we see gathered up under the influence of the Christ event various meanings from the Graeco-Roman and Jewish world to give content to his use of *δοῦλος* or *δοῦλοι*. From the Graeco-Roman world, the special inheritance was knowledge of a familiar institution which provided metaphorical language to hold religious meaning. From the Jewish world, the idea of "the servant" of God was an important part of Hebrew theology and history, especially in the exercising of obedience in one form or another. Finally, Jesus was understood to be "the servant" of God, the fulfillment of a prophecy newly understood, and the one who inaugurated a new aeon or a new creation and claimed men to be integral to it by their obedience. This claim of Christ's for men's obedience - "Christ has wrought through me to win obedience from the Gentiles"¹ - enlivened and enriched the two streams of culture and religion which flow into his vocabulary. Paul was not bound by any one meaning of *δοῦλος*. Sometimes he uses it in its ordinary sense: a master is to treat justly and fairly his slaves,² and slaves are to do their duty honestly.³ The literal sense of *δοῦλος* is used by him as illustrative of a spiritual fact: "I mean that the heir, as long as he is a child, is no better than a slave,

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¹ Rom. 15.18.

² Col. 4.1.

³ Col. 3.22.

though he is owner of all."¹ The reference is to trusteeship or guardianship in which situation slaves were often involved.² In the same passage Paul invests δεδουλωμένοι with the religious significance of servitude to pagan beliefs, and it seems also to the exactions of the law: "we were slaves to the elemental spirits of the universe."³ Thus man's slavery is to false belief, practice and worship, and so far as obedience is an element of thought, it has been wrongly directed. Indeed when he says, "you are no longer a slave but a son," the element of obedience has given place to the idea of a transformed relationship. This fluctuation and free use of δοῦλος is no where more apparent than in I Cor.: "For he who was called in the Lord as a slave is a freedman of the Lord. Likewise he who was free when called is a slave of Christ."⁴ Here, although Paul guards against misunderstanding, he emphasizes two points: he means to say that some have freedom from sin in Christ, but at the same time the man who is a "new creation" has a service which might be described as slavery; it all pivots about δοῦλος .

According to the letters of Paul there are many δοῦλοι of Christ, and in general terms, Paul is to be numbered among them. Only once does he speak of the δοῦλοι of God: "You have been set free from sin and have become

¹ Gal. 4.1.

² Burton, Galatians, p. 211. Duncan, Galatians, p. 125.

³ Gal. 4.3.

⁴ I Cor. 7.22. Cf. Eph. 6.6.

slaves of God."¹ Time and time again, as is demonstrated in Rom. 6.15-23, Paul struggles to give satisfactory expression to the nature of the Christian's new life. As a slave obeys his master, so the sinful have been enslaved to sin; now men are called to be obedient to that which leads to righteousness.² Therefore there is a sense in which one can speak of being "slaves (ἐδουλώθητε) of righteousness",³ but there is a certain inadequacy in this expression.⁴ Finally, Paul finds no better way than to say, "you have been set free and have become slaves (δουλωθέντες) of God." We owe our new life to God; the character of it is righteousness. The idea of obedience never leaves the passage, either as the literal duty of a slave, or as a feature of the Christian life. The emphasis on obedience is evident in the use of ὑπακοῆς and in the figurative use of the verb δουλόω. Two important features emerge from the passage: men are δούλοι of God as a consequence of their obedience to the gospel, and righteousness emerges from obedience. More often Paul speaks of men as δούλοι of Christ. "He who was free when called is a slave of Christ";⁵ it is obedience to Christ, like the literal slave's, which Paul has in mind here. The element of obedience is evident in another expression:

1 Rom. 6.22.
 2 Rom. 6.16.
 3 Rom. 6.18.
 4 Rom. 6.19.
 5 I Cor. 7.22.

"you are serving the Lord Christ."¹ The literal obedience of a slave is in mind but the application is to the service of Christ. The verb δουλευετε (δουλεύω) is etymologically related to δουλόω meaning "to perform the duties of a slave, serve, obey". In Ephesians in a similar context the emphasis is the same and δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ is translated for emphasis by the RSV as "servants of Christ";² in view of the emphasis on the master-slave relationship it is justifiable but the NEB apparently did not feel this was necessary. Generally, when Paul speaks of δοῦλοι in the framework of religion, it is with obedience to Christ or God in mind, or that one is bound to serve according to the limits of the new life as distinct from the life of sin. In this light, if he argues or teaches with the institution of slavery in some way close at hand to his point, he suitably speaks of the "slaves of Christ"; at other times where obedience and other features of service are more prominent, the proximity of his thought to the idea of "the servants" of God in the O.T. is so close that δοῦλοι may be justifiably translated "servants".

Christians are δοῦλοι of Christ because of His redeeming work: "You are not your own; you were bought with a price."³ "You were bought with a price; do not

1 Col. 3.24.
 2 Eph. 6.6.
 3 I Cor. 6.19b, 20a.

become slaves of men."¹ This is not the language of captives being ransomed, nor is there any particular concern about anyone to whom the price is paid. The language is of the economy of slavery. "The apostle's confession of his Master as 'our Lord Jesus Christ', with the complementary idea that Christians were dearly bought 'slaves', was at once intelligible in all the fulness of its meaning to every one in the Greek Orient."² Deissmann is right that the suggestion of a purchased slave was clear, but the sense of God's claim in Christ was not necessarily so clear. It was genuinely Hebraic or Jewish that God should break into human history and claim men and demand their obedience. Any one of a number of examples, especially from the Mosaic tradition or the Covenant theology, shows that the O.T. writers sensed the obedience demanded in divine revelation. Paul's language was suitable to explain God's claim on them through the work of Christ. From the power and mastery of sin, they were freed and Christ was their new master. The same figurative speech Paul could apply to himself and thus give the explanation why he was a *δοῦλος* of Christ. Christ died for him; the application and appropriation of this act changed the human situation, and as Christ's he was no longer under the domination of sin and evil because Christ was no longer subject to its domain. Two things were simultaneous

¹ I Cor. 7.23.

² Deissmann, New Light on the New Testament, p. 79-80.

in Christian experience. To be apprehended by Christ (Paul says that this is usually by preaching)¹ was to realize one's deliverance from sin. Consequently, it was apt to speak of becoming a *δοῦλος* of Christ if one was delivered from an old and much worse master.

Subsequently, Paul speaks of "our freedom which we have in Christ."² One is not entitled to "become the slaves of men."³ The thought here is like that in Gal.: "For you were called to freedom, brethren, only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh";⁴ i.e. do not submit again to this world's temptation and evils. The point of the allegory which concludes - "So brethren, we are not children of the slave but of the free woman"⁵- is that the Galatians must not submit to the servitude which the law commands and from which there is no escape without Christ. Thus, "for freedom Christ has set us free; stand fast therefore, and do not submit again to the yoke of slavery."⁶ In addition to servitude to the law, Paul could warn against returning to a servitude of elemental spirits. Rather, Christian freedom was a "gift of Christ that must be utilized to accomplish the purposes of Christ."⁷ In the true fashion of a slave he must be his

1 Rom. 10.14ff.
2 Gal. 2.4.
3 I Cor. 7.23b.
4 Gal. 5.13.
5 Gal. 4.31.
6 Gal. 5.1.
7 Minear, "Paul the Apostle", IB, Vol. 7, p. 203.

master's in obedience and intention, and within the framework of Christ's work he must know and represent the mind of Christ. As Ezekiel, the servant of God, knew and had to represent God's mind and will whether he liked it or not,¹ so the *δοῦλοι* of Christ are to know and represent the mind of Christ. Paul says, "For what person knows a man's thoughts except the spirit of the man which is in him. So also no one comprehends the thoughts of God except the Spirit of God. Now we have received... the Spirit which is from God, that we might understand the gifts bestowed on us by God." "We have the mind of Christ!"² Paul calls on the Philippians to emulate their Lord's mind: "Have this mind among yourselves, which you have in Christ Jesus, who ... emptied himself taking the form of a servant."³

Furthermore, the *δοῦλοι* of Christ all have the same rights and privileges. "Each has access to the same grace, the same forgiveness, the same suffering, the same freedom, the same triumph."⁴ Priority is abolished and grace is showered on all, "For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the same Lord is Lord of all, and bestows his riches upon all who call on him."⁵ "I hold you all in my heart as partakers with me of grace."⁶

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¹ Ezek. 2.8-3.1ff.

² I Cor. 2.11-12,16.

³ Phil. 2.5,7.

⁴ Minear, "Paul the Apostle," IB, Vol. 7, p. 204.

⁵ Rom. 10.12.

⁶ Phil. 1.17.

The δούλοι of Christ have similar tasks to do: "This is how one should regard us, as servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God."¹ He hopes to hear that the Philippians strive "side by side for the faith of the gospel"² as he and Timothy do.³ To be in the service of Christ is to live righteously, peaceably and joyfully by the Holy Spirit, and in so doing one "is acceptable to God and approved by men."⁴ To be in the service of Christ is to love one another: "through love be servants of one another."⁵ The service of Christ is open to abuse; some "create dissensions and difficulties," and "such persons do not serve (δουλεύουσιν) our Lord Christ, but their own appetites, and by fair and flattering words they deceive the hearts of the simple-minded."⁶ Finally, as δούλοι of Christ, they suffer together: "For it has been granted to you that for the sake of Christ you should not only believe in him, but suffer for his sake, engaged in the same conflict which you saw and now hear to be mine."⁷

Paul believes himself to have special functions as a δούλος of Christ, but he is quite clear that he shares those things which make others δούλοι Χριστοῦ. He too was bought with a price. He has the same limits placed

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1 I Cor. 4.1.

2 Phil. 1.27.

3 Phil. 2.22.

4 Rom. 14.17,18.

5 Gal. 5.13.

6 Rom. 16. 17,18.

7 Phil. 1.29,30.

on his freedom as others have; he is indignant that it should be thought that he is a pleaser of men and not a δοῦλος of Christ.¹ He has the same rights and privileges as a δοῦλος of Christ - a recipient of grace, a δοῦλος to others to win them to Christ,² or a δοῦλος of those already converted,³ and a fellow-sufferer for the sake of the gospel.

Apart from these points of similarity, Paul interpreted the claim which Christ had made on him in a personal and distinctive way.⁴ So far as the evidence goes, Paul was chartering a new course of service to Christ in this description of his ministry as a δοῦλος of Christ. It was a particularly suitable description in view of the intensity of devotion he felt toward Him. He means by this expression "Christ's ownership and use of him, Christ's responsibility for the message he delivers, Christ's protection, his identification with his Master and the great joy of being used by him."⁵

Paul gives two reasons why he is a δοῦλος of Christ: he is grateful for what God has done for him in Christ, and he can see that God in His large purposes had intended to claim him for service. No one had to remind Paul from what God in Christ had delivered him. He was chief of

1 Gal. 1.10.

2 I Cor. 9.19.

3 II Cor. 4.5.

4 Rom. 1.1. I Cor. 7.22. II Cor. 4.5. Gal. 1.10. Phil. 1.1. Col. 1.7.

5 Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 100.

sinners having violently persecuted the church and tried to destroy it.¹ He had sought wrongly to be righteous under the law. He describes the Jews of whom he was once one in outlook: "For, being ignorant of the righteousness that comes from God, and seeking to establish their own they did not submit to God's righteousness."² Awakened now to the meaning of the Cross, he acknowledges: "While we were yet helpless, at the right time Christ died for the ungodly." "God shows his love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." "We are reconciled."³ So deeply was he rooted in error, so bound to his own pride, that what God was now seen to have done was astonishing. "God in his exhaustless mercy... had terminated the most deeply rooted slavery, buying... freedom at tremendous cost."⁴ The price of freedom was for him to acknowledge his gratitude in the submission of himself in service, a *δουλος*. Paul confesses: "by the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace toward me was not in vain. On the contrary, I worked harder...."⁵ In the light of his redemption and the gratitude he felt, he saw the second reason for being a *δουλος* of Christ: that same grace that had redeemed him had long intended to claim him for service: "he had set me apart before I

¹ Gal. 1.13. I Cor. 15.9.

² Rom. 10.3.

³ Rom. 5.6, 8, 10.

⁴ Minear, "Paul the Apostle," IB, Vol. 7, p. 207.

⁵ I Cor. 15.10.

was born...."¹ In true Jewish fashion, Paul sees that it is axiomatic that when God invades human affairs, it is because He had been long planning to do so. God is not casual, fickle or impulsive, but deliberate: "now the righteousness of God has been manifested apart from the law...."² "In his divine forbearance he had passed over former sins...."³ When God chooses to manifest His will, He chooses men to be instrumentally associated. "If anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation;... All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself and gave us the ministry of reconciliation; that is, God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting to us the message of reconciliation."⁴ It was distinctively Jewish and is distinctively like Paul to believe that God calls men to obedience; the prophets had clearly taught this;⁵ any good Pharisee knew from his own perspective that his life's course was obedience. This Paul now gave to Christ. Gal. 1.15,16, I Cor. 9.16,17 and Rom. 1.5. show how integral obedience was to his thought. The purpose of revelation was to claim his obedience, and his letters ^{indicate} clearly that he gave it. Paul was a *δούλος* of Christ out

¹ Gal. 1.15f.

² Rom. 3.21.

³ Rom. 3.25,26.

⁴ II Cor. 5.17-19. This charge he believes has been given to him and prompts him to think of himself as an ambassador (vs. 20).

⁵ Isa. 1.12ff. Jer. 7.23.

of gratitude and a sense of being claimed by Christ; the reasons were integral to each other because he found them to define or orientate his experience.

Paul's special function as a *δοῦλος* of Christ was to win the obedience of the gentiles to Jesus Christ through the proclamation of the gospel. "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God... to bring about obedience to the faith for the sake of his name among all the Gentiles."¹ "I am an apostle to the Gentiles."² It is evident here and in other passages³ that he attributes this choice and mission to the grace of God. How did Paul know he was to go to the Gentiles? Dibelius' answer to this question was that Paul rationally deduced this duty. "Now he was overwhelmingly convinced that God, after all, had so acted, that he had sent the Messiah to those untaught and often unteachable fishermen and tax-collectors from Galilee, whom the Pharisee regarded as lacking in piety and as more or less without the Law. God was therefore not as the strict Jews represented him, salvation was not restricted to the circles of those within the Law - it could be shared by those of the Jewish people who were more or less without the Law. But if it could be shared by them, why not with others without the Law, those outside the Jewish people,

¹ Rom. 1.1,3,5,
² Rom. 11.13.
³ Rom. 15.15,16. Gal. 1.15,16.

the Gentiles?" He "recognized it as God's will that the gospel of salvation in Christ should be taken directly and deliberately to the Gentiles; and saw in the revelation that had been granted to him the obligation to undertake that task." "Salvation was intended expressly for people outside the Law, and therefore for the Gentiles too."¹ Dibelius believes that the call to a Gentile mission was the result of revelation consequent on the vision which brought about his conversion: "in the vision that he had received he saw revealed the will of God as to the Christian Church's mission to the Gentiles."² Dibelius argues that Paul intuitively grasped a new truth which previously had angered him - that Jesus was the Messiah whose work and message of salvation were for "am haaretz" or the Lawless "people of the land" - and saw now its wider application to the gentiles. This estimate of the background is in keeping with the gospel's reports of Jesus' interest in the Lawless and the sinful, and officialdom's scorn of this interest, and therefore may well have been Paul's reaction to the import of the gospel preaching, and later realization of the true case. Dodd offers another suggestion along somewhat similar lines: "for Paul to accept Jesus meant that he was outside the Law, and therefore on common ground with Gentiles, and hence that the true Church of Christ must rest upon the

1 Paul, p. 53; cf. p. 50-56.
2 Ibid. p. 50.

principle - 'there is no distinction'; 'in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek'. In one sense this already means the universality of the Christian religion."¹ The advantage of this view is that the sinfulness of all tends to be thrown to the fore rather than the worthlessness of fishermen. This causes Dodd to be in agreement with Dibelius' next point, that Paul perceived that salvation was for all men by grace and faith. It is doubtful if Paul was the first to think out the necessity of a Gentile mission on the basis of the overthrow of the law² or on any other basis. Certainly Paul defined the Gentiles mission more explicitly than anyone else, but the conversion of gentiles had already begun.³ Paul knew that the preaching of the gospel was an expanding enterprise, or he would not have gone from Jerusalem. Dibelius and Dodd are right in emphasizing that Paul exercised his intuition and reversed his judgements and convictions; one realization must have been that the work the Christian preachers were doing was divinely inspired, as they had rightly believed Jesus' claims and commands before his own conversion. While Paul exercised his intuition, he nevertheless attributed all to the grace of God; the commission began with this; God had acted. It seems to us that too much emphasis on intuition weakens the sense of demand which

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1 "The Mind of Paul II"; New Testament Studies, p. 120.

2 Acts 6.13.

3 Acts 6.1ff; 8ff; 8.4ff. The letter to the Romans implies it.

this commission made on him. It weakens the passionate-ness he feels toward fulfilling his ministry. It weakens his insistence that this duty is God-inspired.

MacGregor repeatedly emphasizes that Paul's ministry depended on a personal call. In quoting Wernle he says, "'A leap was taken in history' when Paul claimed an apostolate based upon revelation."¹ "The primary fact in a true ministry is the personal call of Jesus Christ."² Paul's consciousness that he must exercise a ministry among the Gentiles was based upon his belief that in a great and profound way he had been claimed for this task. He says passionately to the gentile Corinthians: "Necessity is laid upon me. Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel!" This is "not of my own will, I am entrusted with a commission."³ He strongly denies that his commission is a human invention for it appears that some in Corinth were becoming suspicious whether or not he was a true apostle because he did not accept the maintenance of the churches; he points to them as the seal of his labours, and says that he denied himself the right to maintenance, and this in turn because of the sense of compulsion he had to preach the gospel; hence nothing would hinder him.⁴ We must distinguish what are, in one way, two separate facts to Paul: there is a truth about Jesus which he and many

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¹ Christian Freedom, p. 192-3.

² Ibid. p. 235.

³ I Cor. 9.16,17.

⁴ I Cor. 9.1ff.

others have realized - that this is God's Son; he has been called by God to witness among the gentiles to the crucified and risen Christ. The second has a powerful independent claim on him, although indeed other claims may be made on others. "It is God who ...has commissioned us; he has put his seal upon us and given us his spirit in our hearts as a guarantee."¹ God gave and entrusted to him the ministry of reconciliation.² Paul says that the principal apostles in Jerusalem "saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised."³ Paul writes to the gentile Corinthians: "Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach the gospel."⁴ The effect of these quotations is that he regards his call to go to the gentiles as God-inspired, or in the nature of a claim or demand made upon him, or a revelation. A revelation to Paul is a certainty breaking in from outside,⁵ or a truth about the will of God of which man becomes newly conscious. Several times he speaks about having revelations: by one he was sent to Jerusalem,⁶ by one he heard heavenly things he cannot tell,⁷ and he says there were other visions and revelations about which he will not speak for the lack of humility this would show.⁸ Acts gives examples of Paul

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1 II Cor. 1.21,22.
 2 II Cor. 5.18,19.
 3 Gal. 2.7.
 4 I Cor. 1.17.
 5 Scott, The New Testament Idea of Revelation, p. 140.
 6 Gal. 2.2.
 7 II Cor. 12.2ff.
 8 I Cor. 12.1,7.

being guided by revelation in the sense of outside inter-
 vention.¹ Paul's caution in referring to his own relig-
 ious life makes it impossible for us to know anything of
 the form or mode of his revelations;² the supernatural
 framework makes it no easier. This does not hinder us
 from realizing that Paul believes that truth can be given
 to men by God. "Paul assumes... that there is a knowledge
 which is given to men immediately by God. Man, in his own
 nature, is limited, and there is a region of truth of
 which he can make nothing." "He cannot understand them,
 he cannot even conceive they exist, until God, of his own
 initiative makes them known. Paul is so profoundly con-
 vinced of man's inability that he cannot bring himself to
 speak of man's knowing God, even when the knowledge has
 been vouchsafed."³ Revelation "brings a knowledge which
 cannot be reconciled with anything that men have thought
 and believed; it guides us in directions opposite to
 those of human prudence; it certifies as true what all
 our wisdom holds to be impossible."⁴ Paul is prepared
 to speak of this activity as the operation of the Spirit:
 "God has revealed to us through his Spirit. For the
 Spirit searches everything, even the depths of God."

1 Acts 16.6,10.

2 Scott, The New Testament Idea of Revelation, p. 140.

3 Ibid. p. 132.

4 Ibid. p. 130.

"Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is from God, that we might understand the gifts bestowed on us by God."¹ Paul interprets his call to a Gentile mission as solely inspired by God; captivated by Christ, grateful for his salvation, he can interpret his life and duty only from the point of view that Christ commands them.

It is incredible that Paul, the *δοσδος* of Christ, would not become an apostle to the gentiles. The humanity and broad sympathy of Jesus for men had within it a latent universalism, and so the life and radical obedience Jesus called for transgressed every national frontier.² The Christians before Paul were showing evidence of wide compassion in provision for the hungry³ and expansion of the gospel to Judea and Samaria,⁴ to an Ethiopian, to Caesarea,⁵ and to a certain Cornelius.⁶ Therefore, the company which Paul joined on his conversion had within the sprouting seeds of universalism. As for Paul himself, his birth and early life in Tarsus probably contributed to his mind the idea of one world, less exclusive than that to which his Palestinian associates were inclined. Gal. 5.11 may well reflect a time when he was a Pharisaic

¹ I Cor. 2.10,12.

² Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom, p. 140; "The mission of Jesus and His disciples involves an indiscriminating appeal to men of every class and type." See p. 143 also.

³ Acts 6.1ff.

⁴ Acts 8.1.

⁵ Acts 8.40.

⁶ Acts 10.1ff.

missionary in the Dispersion; such persons were active in the Graeco-Roman world and realized some success among the gentiles as advocates of the Mosaic law. It is evident that Paul was a man of unusual gifts and power - his letters reveal the wide variety of thought of which his mind was capable, and it would have been surprising if he had not come noticeably to the fore in the religious cause to which he was converted. As a zealous Pharisee, we may assume that he had a religious quest, a desire to live life obediently by fulfilling the Mosaic law, and one aspect of this life was the suppression of a heresy which would undo and overthrow it. Motivated by such a religious orientation, conversion to Christ would not lead one so zealous to be depreciatory but to the advocacy of that which was higher truth. In this light we can see why Paul sees the law now to occupy second place to the gospel. Says Luther, it is as if Paul would say, "I will not burden the Gentiles with the law, because I am the apostle and evangelist of the Gentiles, and not their lawgiver. For my office and ministry is to bring the gospel to you, and to show you the same revelation which I myself had."¹ Finally, there may have been a predisposition to a foreign mission in his attempt to persecute Christians outside of Jerusalem. Paul was converted and claimed for the service of Christ when for

¹ Galatians, p. 39.

other reasons he was outward looking. Nevertheless, none of these possible contributory reasons for his special mission outweigh his own belief that God chose him, and this was a revelation of a truth about which he had no previous inkling. As God could save, so He could choose. To this end he would be a *δοῦλος* of Christ.

The seal of this mission to which Paul felt bound was his converts. He writes to the Corinthians: "you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord."¹ Similarly, he wrote to the Thessalonians: "you turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from Heaven."² His task was to bring the gentiles into obedience to the faith,³ and these were some of the examples to which he could point as proof that he was a faithful *δοῦλος* of Christ. For the accomplishment of the duty with which he was charged, he will do anything, as a *δοῦλος* ought to, if he was obedient. "I have become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some."

The gospel itself was entrusted to him with the expectation that he would faithfully handle it. "This is how one should regard us, as servants of Christ and stewards (*οἰκονόμους*) of the mysteries of God."⁴ "I am entrusted (*πεπίστευμαι*) with a commission (*οἰκονο-*
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1 I Cor. 9.1.
2 I Thess. 1.9,10.
3 Rom. 1.5.
4 I Cor. 4.1.

μίας)."¹ "We have been approved by God to be entrusted with the gospel."² Although the common metaphor in these quotations has to do with a manager of an owner's property it is closely related to the service a δούλος had to give; both were under orders; both were responsible for what was given to them, or for what they were charged with. Paul was charged with faithfully handling the gospel, "the ministry and message of reconciliation."

Consistent with the duty to win the obedience of others and so save them was the continuing duty to upbuild their understanding and faith. Some are still "babes in Christ" and for them there were still truths to digest by which their spiritual understanding would grow.³ Paul has several metaphors or analogies by which he tried to convey the responsibility he feels toward the establishment of their faith in Christ. "I became your father in Christ Jesus through the gospel. I urge you, then, be imitators of me."⁴ "We were gentle among you, like a nurse taking care of her children."⁵ At one time he compares himself to a mother giving life to a child; at another he compares himself to an anxious father of a bride: "I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I betrothed you to Christ to present you as a pure bride to her one husband."⁶ He

1 I Cor. 9.17. Gal. 2.7 is similar.
2 I Thess. 2.4.
3 I Cor. 3.1,2.
4 I Cor. 4. 15,16.
5 I Thess. 2.7.
6 II Cor. 11.2.

was anxious for their fidelity to Christ, for their unwavering love and for their avoidance of competing affections. He compares himself to one who plants in fulfillment of his duty as a servant. "What then is Apollos? What is Paul? Servants through whom you believed, as the Lord assigned to each. I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the growth."¹ Paul's letters themselves, written with pastoral concern, are well marked by his anxiety to keep his converts on the straight and narrow way. Long passages answer questions and give additional ethical instruction for their steadfastness in Christ. Some of these passages are classical pieces of instruction (Rom. 12; I Cor. 13). Some passages have the severe tone of the disciplinarian: "I warned those who sinned before and all the others, and I warn them now while absent... that if I come again I will not spare them."² On the other hand, a letter like Galatians is severe, gentle, angry, and warmly reminiscent for the express purpose of winning misled converts back to the way he was charged to uphold.

Since Christ has claimed him and Christ uses him, he as a *δοῦλος* of Christ will be subject to no one else or dependent on no one else. The gospel will be preached free of charge. "For necessity is laid upon me." "In my preaching I make the gospel free of charge, not making

1 I Cor; 3.5,6.
2 II Cor. 13.2.

full use of my right in the gospel."¹ "I have learned the secret of facing plenty and hunger, abundance and want. I can do all things in him who strengthens me."² For his duty as a *δοῦλος* of Christ he had been given numerous gifts; chief was the Spirit,³ but also tongues,⁴ prophecy,⁵ revelations⁶ and power to effect wonders.⁷

As a *δοῦλος* of Christ he was accountable to his Lord. "It is required of stewards that they be found trustworthy!"⁸ The present anxiety to do his work well was based on the fact that on the Day of the Lord his work would be tested⁹ and he hoped proved that he had not laboured in vain.¹⁰

For his task as *δοῦλος* he has been sustained by the love and help of his Lord. "For this I toil, striving with all the energy which he mightily inspires within me."¹¹ For Him he will suffer: "More than that, we rejoice in our sufferings...because God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which has been given to us."¹² For this service and the protection he has in it, he give thanks to God: "You must also help us by prayer, so that many will give thanks on our behalf for the blessing granted us in

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1 I Cor. 9.16,18.

2 Phil. 4.12,13.

3 I Cor. 2.10ff.

4 I Cor. 14.18.

5 I Cor. 14.37.

6 II Cor. 12.1.

7 Gal. 3.5. Acts 16.18.

8 I Cor. 4.2.

9 I Cor. 4.5.

10 Phil. 2.16.

11 Col. 1.29.

12 Rom. 5.3-5.

answer to many prayers."¹ "Thanks be to God, who in Christ always leads us in triumph, and through us spreads the fragrance of the knowledge of him everywhere."²

1 II Cor. 1.11.

2 II Cor. 2.14.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD

The influence of Christ extends over the entire range of Paul's experience, service and thought. In this chapter we wish to discuss his understanding of the righteousness of God. First we must see how his thought about the righteousness of God arises. When Paul thinks about the economy of salvation, his fundamental exclamation and question is as though he says, "What God has done!" There is both wonder and a desire to comprehend the inscrutable ways of God. Dibelius has certainly caught Paul's perspective: "The question: How could God act like that? becomes the starting-point of his thought as a Christian; and his theology is, in its essential features, theodicy - justification of God."¹ We must guard against thinking that this way any abstract exercise of thought. If it had been, the old ways of examining the vindication of God would have occupied a far greater place than they do. The old questions were not completely dissolved by Paul - we may find traces of them² - but they are taken into his declarations concerning Christ. Romans, where the subject is most prominently pursued, is not speculation but an explanation; Paul does not so much ask a question but speaks an answer. Theodicy in Judaism had taken this course: the Jews were asking, how can God allow us to suffer so? The solution was found in the Age to Come; the transcendence of God was removed from the present and

¹ Paul, p. 64.

² Rom. 3.26. I Cor. 9.9. Phil. 3.6. II Thess. 1.5.

the Jews concluded they must get along as best they could under the law, confident that in the end God would favour them. On the other hand, Paul was saying, God in His love has done something for us greater than we could have imagined, and the future will confirm what has begun in the present. The righteousness of God had to do with men now, and what Paul saw manifested in the life and work of Christ, which was his gospel, was something which meant the creation of a new relationship between God and man. The matter was certainly personal for Paul, but it was also a great deal more because the relevant issues - sin and law - involved the whole of humanity.

Paul's thoughts explode in every direction from his fundamental astonishment at what God has done, so that he reflects on the crucified and risen Messiah, the discrediting of man-made piety and righteousness, the challenge to the absolute character of the law which it can be no longer, the discrediting and dethronement of Israel as the chosen people of God, the apparent limitless extent of evil and sin and the involvement of the gentiles in the mercy of God. Lastly, and with this we are concerned, Paul ponders the meaning of the righteousness of God which was newly revealed.

Before going further we should look at the different conceptions of theodicy in Jewish history. It is in the O.T. that words and conceptions have the beginnings which

Paul advances under the influence of Christ. Righteousness ($\overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{S}}$) is derived from the verb $\overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{S}}$ which means "to be in the right"¹ or "to be straight" as a consequence of conformity to a norm.² This vocabulary ($\overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{S}}$ and forms of the verb) is by its very nature forensic and its subsequent use never loses this character although additional meaning may be added. Whether we speak of the righteousness of God or man in the O.T. the forensic element is present.³ Thus "God is the author of justice, and, as a just God, is bound to act justly."⁴ Relationships among men are constantly found in a juristic framework.⁵ Forensic vocabulary comes to the service of various authors dealing with the vindication of God or man. Righteousness in the O.T. is at the same time both an attribute and an activity.⁶ It is never abstract but always personal and always reflects relationship with others. Moreover, it is always defined by God; He is the norm to which it has reference. The three-fold development of the term is of interest to us. In its crudest and most primitive expression, the righteousness of God was manifest in the destruction of his enemies and vindication of himself and the Israelites before those enemies.⁷ Relationships among men had the character of

1 Dodd, Romans, p. 10.

2 Snaith, Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, p. 73.

3 Gen. 18.25.

4 Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 4.

5 Deut. 25.1.

6 Skinner, "Righteousness," HDB, Vol. 4, p. 272.

7 Judges 5.11. The LXX heightens this sense in Ps. 5.8-10.

righteousness when conceived as being right (or wrong) as though before a judge.¹ Thus the forensic character of righteousness is in clear evidence. The other two developments were under the influence of the prophets. First, righteousness took on an ethical character in addition to its forensic one. This was due on the one hand to a sense of the ethical character of God,² and a corresponding consciousness of social evil and sin.³ The demand of the ethical character of God is that men emulate him. In community men are to be righteous, to exercise moral sense.⁴ The righteousness that men are to exhibit is already typified in the activity or righteousness of God.⁵ Vindication occurs when God is shown to give help to the helpless, and when he confirms and rewards the man who has done what was required, i.e. been righteous in the absolute sense.⁶ It is to be noticed that the idea of salvation as the righteousness of God has begun to appear. The development of righteousness in the O.T. concludes under the influence of the prophets when, secondly, it takes a religious character; i.e. when the relationship existing between God and man is in mind.

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¹ Isa. 5.23. Skinner, "Righteousness," NDB, Vol. 4, p.273.

² Amos 5.14,24. Ibid. p. 274.

³ Amos 4.1; 5.12. Snaith, Distinctive Idea of the Old Testament, p. 61,66.

⁴ Isa. 1.17. Skinner, ibid. p. 274.

⁵ Jer. 9.24. Zeph. 3.5.

⁶ Isa. 51.7. Ps. 10.14; 72.12. Dodd, Romans, p. 9f. Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 56.

The forensic element is still evident in the related vocabulary,¹ and the ethical element is still present in the law.² The significant change was to broaden the question of the character of the relationship between God and man. It had become evident that prosperity does not always fall upon the righteous man.³ Job and Jeremiah go further to ask why the righteous suffer.⁴ The prophetic teaching took firmer root and the perspective changed to take closer account of the facts. Evil is a power; sin is rebellion.⁵ The seriousness with which men see evil and sin pleads for an answer. Men want the conflict of the wicked and righteous resolved. For the present, the resolution is not despair; rather, men must resolve to keep the commandments or be faithful,⁶ and when they sin repent. With this God will declare them righteous. The danger now created was to insist on one's own sense of justice. The result was a paradox: the vindication of the righteous man has been interfered with by evil. The character of righteousness is only partly social, and has a growing reference to the relationship between God and man. The righteousness required of man occurs as a consequence of his conformity to the norm which is

¹ Isa. 43.26. Skinner, "Righteousness", HDB, Vol. 4, p.279.

² Ibid. p. 277-78.

³ Cf. Joel 2.23 and Job 1.8ff. with Ps. 73.

⁴ Job 12.4; 21.7ff. Jer. 12.1. Also Ps. 42.9.

⁵ Hos. 4.12. Snaith, Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, p. 66.

⁶ Hab. 2.4.

God himself, something in which God confirms him. The tension which has arisen is due to the absence of the vindication in the present which has involved the nation, the individual and God. The solution is expected when God intervenes in a dramatic historical act.¹ Vindication will be in terms of judgement and salvation.² Nationally, vindication will mean that the inherent right of Israel will be maintained and the nations will see Israel's claim justified.³ In terms of the individual, the man who has kept the commandments or has been faithful will be declared righteous.⁴ The vindication of God will be the manifestation of his steadfast character, and this is understood to mean approval of those faithful to him.⁵ He will punish the guilty and confirm the good;⁶ in confirming the good or helping the helpless he will manifest his righteousness, the righteousness confirmed will be his gift,⁷ and salvation will be accomplished. The net result is that righteousness in the O.T. is conformity to that which God requires. Man at once must give his obedience to the law and also wait for his righteousness to be vindicated. The righteousness of God, which is his reliability, will be manifest in his vindicating himself

¹ Skinner, "Righteousness," HDB, Vol. 4, p. 275.

Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 56.

² Skinner, ibid. p. 280.

³ Ibid. p. 275.

⁴ Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 7.

⁵ Skinner, ibid. p. 278. Anderson Scott, ibid. p. 56.

⁶ Skinner, ibid. p. 280.

⁷ Ibid. p. 281.

by confirming the faithfulness of his people who are often the poor and needy. His righteousness has the character of salvation; it is eschatological; it does not mean the justification of sinners.¹

We will examine now the nature of theodicy in Judaism, information about which is to be drawn from the inter-testamental and Rabbinic literature. The vocabulary is the same but it has gathered new content. Certain elements in this field of thought have not changed very much: the Jew still wants to be righteous;² the forensic framework is still apparent,³ as is the eschatological emphasis in vindication.⁴ Perhaps the moral element has receded from the importance it held among the prophets of strong social consciousness, yet it is not wholly gone. In the Talmud and Targum, the words for righteousness sometimes mean "almsgiving" and "benevolence".⁵ As a rule, the desire to be justified by God for one's good conduct dominates Jewish minds.

The problem of the vindication of God and man is intensified in Judaism: the Jew wants to know if God is loyal to Israel. The practical solution to the problem as it was seen in the O.T. (confidence in God and the practice of uprightness, reliability and irreproach-

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¹ Skinner, "Righteousness," HDB, Vol. 4, p. 280.

² Bultmann, "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 137.

³ Burton, Galatians, p. 466.

⁴ Bultmann, ibid. p. 137.

⁵ Snaith, Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, p.70.

ability¹) seemed no longer adequate.² Hardly a writer among the authors of the apocrypha and pseudipigrapha leave the problem untouched. In one way or another they have a more developed idea of sin, or the eschatological judgement of God or the merit that man must accumulate. The Sibylline Oracles express Jewish dissatisfaction with the present and expect God to soon act and vindicate himself and Israel.³ The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs look upon God's righteousness as his judgement.⁴ The authors of Enoch are much concerned about the power of evil and the oppression of the righteous.⁵ The author of II Esdras is depressed over the problem of God's righteousness and man's sin as is no other Jewish author.⁶

In Judaism, there is an intense consciousness of sin. It is felt more personally than in the O.T.⁷ It is felt to be cosmic and other-worldly in its origin.⁸ God and man are separated, and the Jewish hope is that the future will heal the breach. The righteousness of God means his justice; his righteousness is his judgement, forensic and distributive.⁹ With such emphasis on his righteous-

¹ Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 49.

² Moffatt, "Righteousness", HDAC, Vol. 2, p. 378.

³ Sib. Or. 3.632, 767. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudipigrapha of the Old Testament, p. 375.

⁴ Levi 3.2.

⁵ Enoch 38.2; 84.4; 91.14. Charles, The Book of Enoch, p. 108-9.

⁶ II Esdras 4.23, 24, 33. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 2, p. 283.

⁷ II Esdras 3.35. Moffatt, ibid. p. 378.

⁸ Enoch 69.4. Bultmann, ibid. p. 70.

⁹ Moffatt, ibid. p. 378. Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 31.

ness as justice, Rabbinic literature is full of appeals to his mercy.¹ The danger which lay within the development of thought in the O.T. was now apparent; men urged their own sense of justice on God the judge.² The law becomes the absolute witness of God³ to which, in Rabbinic literature, He must be faithful; obedience to it is the primary requirement in man's desire to be righteous.⁴ Man will be vindicated in accordance with his obedience to it, and in the examination of him in the Age to Come God will vindicate Himself by using it as the standard by which he judges.⁵ God will thus discriminate - this is his righteousness - between the wicked and the righteous.⁶ Reward and punishment are conceived in this vindication along hard and fast lines.⁷ Therefore, to balance the judgement and secure the favour of God, the Jew must prepare for the coming judgement with his works of merit by fulfilling the law.⁸ Righteousness in man is a human activity; it is making oneself acceptable to God.⁹ All is fixed to the efforts of man. Bultmann suggests that salvation became uncertain in Judaism.¹⁰ This

¹ Cf. the Shemoneh Esreh. Moffatt, "Righteousness," HDAC, Vol. 2, p. 378.

² Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 6.

³ Ps. of Sol. 10.5.

⁴ Oesterley and Box, RWS, p. 141.

⁵ Ps. of Sol. 14.1,2.

⁶ Ps. of Sol. 8.25ff. Wis. of Sol. 5.18. Sirach 16.22.

Burton, Galatians, p. 465.

⁷ Quell and Schrenk, ibid. p. 17.

⁸ Ibid. p. 32.

⁹ Ibid. p. 31f. Burton, ibid. p. 465.

¹⁰ Primitive Christianity, p. 70.

is true in the sense that many felt themselves expelled by the law for failure to keep it and because judgement was delayed; nevertheless some Jews seemed quite confident that they were righteous and God would confirm it.¹ The intensity felt in the problem of vindication found relief in obedience to the law although it went increasingly beyond common sense, moral justice and the capacity to keep. Its ultimate solution still remained in the future where the "righteous" Jew felt he would be confirmed and God's righteousness would be manifest in judgement wherein it was expected that his mercy would exceed his justice.²

The LXX has certain characteristics which distinguish it from the O.T. The difference between the classical Greek and Hebrew meanings attached to the words with which we are concerned is that the Greek usually has a sociological reference and the Hebrew a theological one; this is true even in translation of the Hebrew. The Greek means by *δίκαιος* the "one who does what is commonly thought to be socially (or politically) right"; occasionally it covers duty to God.³ *δικαιοσύνη* is of a person who "is acting in accordance with *δίκη*" with the same reference; it means social righteousness

¹ It was possible to acknowledge your sin and proclaim your righteousness: II Esdras 8.46ff. Moore, Judaism, Vol. 1, p. 494.

² Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 34.

³ Ibid. p. 13,16.

or justice.¹ The Greek tends to think of abstract right or abstract justice. In translation from Hebrew to Greek, the words preserved a more humane element² and in addition the idea of virtue which was attached to normal Greek use was replaced by the consciousness of the judgement of God.³ Thus in illustration of the last point *δικαιοσύνη* (P 7 4) is always related to God and the law.⁴ However, the element of compromise is present: *δικαιοῦν* has been weakened from the hiphil P 7 4 7 (to make righteous) to mean "to acquit" ;to receive redress or vindication", which is much closer to normal Greek usage.⁵ The sense of legal proceedings is associated with *δικαιοῦν* in the LXX.⁶ Dodd further points out that two meanings have been confused in the LXX in the use of *δικαιοῦν* : sometimes there is the sense of something favourably done by an agent; at other times, the object of the action is in mind.⁷

In the LXX God is *δίκαιος* because "he observes the self-imposed law of his own being, and never fails to fulfill his promises, in loyalty to his covenant." This sense of attribute and activity is illustrated by Dodd who interprets the LXX translation of Isa. 46.13

1 Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, p. 42.
 2 Ibid. p. 45.
 3 Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 16.
 4 Dodd, ibid. p. 44.
 5 Ibid. p. 48ff, 58.
 6 Ibid. p. 51.
 7 Ibid. p. 53.

thus: "I have brought my righteousness near", i.e. "I have made accessible to Israel that kind of right character and conduct which is a property of My own divine nature."¹ It may be taken from this that God will increase righteousness in Israel in both a legal and ethical sense:² legal in the sense of inflicting just punishment, and ethical in establishing those whose characters are righteous for fulfilling the law. God is righteous also because he brings salvation.³ The righteousness of God is the expression of his righteous character in judgement; the righteousness of man is a consequence of his conformity to the law.⁴

To summarize the influence of the O.T., Judaism, and the LXX on Paul often leads us to point out differences over the old meanings. Obviously, Paul has taken over the terminology with which we have been concerned and several fundamentally related ideas. He uses the Greek of the LXX, but, as Dodd shows, he also knew the original Hebrew.⁵ The verbs which are so forensic in their character in pre-Pauline use, retain a dominantly forensic character in Paul's letters.⁶ Thus it is natural to find a forensic character to Paul's thought;

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¹ Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, p. 54.

² Ibid. p. 54.

³ Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 17. Or be righteous in vindicating by his grace; Dodd, ibid. p. 55.

⁴ Dodd, ibid. p. 55.

⁵ Ibid. p. 57.

⁶ Burton, Galatians, p. 473.

the relationships between God and man have a legal character up to a point.¹ At the same time his terminology has a moral² and eschatological flavour.³ Sin is still taken seriously, but it is more like the prophetic sense of rebellion than the Judaic sense of transgression of the law.⁴ We ought to make it clear however that Paul's conception of the universality of sin, cosmic and personal gives the impression that he has taken sin more seriously than anyone else before him. This is clearly due to the influence of Christ whose appearance and work, and the rejection of whom, has caused in Paul a very deep sense of how the truth of God can so easily and rebelliously be rejected.⁵ The influence of Christ also extends into refocusing the problem of the vindication of God in relation to the sin of the world. Traces of the old formulation of the problem - is God disloyal to Israel? - are certainly to be found,⁶ but to Paul the practical and theoretical character of its former expression was dissolved to make room for an affirmation of what was now done. There is no more doubt about the loyalty or rather the righteousness or reliability of God.⁷ The practical doubt of the Jew is gone and the Age to Come

1 Rom. 8.34. Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 61.
 2 Phil. 4.8. II Thess. 2.10. Burton, Galatians, p.466,68.
 3 Gal. 5.5. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol. 1, p. 273. Moffatt, "Righteousness", HDAC, Vol. 2, p. 379.
 4 Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 84.
 5 Rom. 5.10.
 6 Rom. 3.3; 9.14; 11.7.
 7 Dodd, Romans, p. 12.

has gained a new definition. Previously, the law and repentance had been a solution for the Jew in the present and its growing absolute demand had thrown man's relationship to God out of its proper proportion so that righteousness was conceived as that which man by his own efforts and merit must attain. Paul rejects this¹ - this "condition of life" is past.² In its place, the problem which is really now an affirmation of faith has an enlarged soteriological emphasis; this emphasis on salvation was, as we have noticed, appearing in the latter part of the O.T. and in the LXX as an accompaniment of God's judgement although sometimes His "going forth" was certainly compassionate.³ Like his predecessors, Paul continues to believe that man wants to be and must be righteous.⁴ He retains a sense of the justice of God⁵ but there is less sense of dread justice as an attribute of God which must be balanced with His mercy.⁶ According to Paul, God still discriminates between the wicked and the righteous,⁷ but the basis for salvation in which this may occur is at once more serious (in view of sin) and broader (in view of reconciliation). In the end, as in the O.T.⁸ man is righteous because

1 Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 57.
 2 Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 40f.
 3 Ibid. p. 29ff. Sandy and Headlam, Romans, p. 35.
 4 Phil. 3.8ff. Bultmann, "Paul", Existence and Faith, p.137.
 5 Rom. 3.26.
 6 Moffatt, "Righteousness", HDAC, Vol. 2, p. 378f.
 7 Rom. 2.13.
 8 Skinner, "Righteousness", HDB, Vol. 4, p. 280.

God gives him this standing, but only as a gift finally confirmed at the Parousia. Paul is most reluctant to call himself "righteous" now; the thought of righteousness as man's property now is more suitable to indicate a dynamic relationship with God in Christ.

It is with wonder that Paul ponders the grace of God in Jesus Christ. At the same time, the expression given to it was indissolubly linked with contemporary conceptions so that it is as a child of the O.T., Judaism and the LXX he declares, the activity of God among men. Salvation is the largest platform of his concern,¹ and under the inspiration of a transforming experience the past and present coalesced to form a new understanding of the saving activity of God in relation to mankind. Consequently, Paul elucidates on the righteousness of God and its concomitant justification. It was just ^{as} possible for this richly-endowed man to think of salvation in other ways² - redemption,³ reconciliation,⁴ life⁵ - but it is natural that his heritage should cause him to think about righteousness. The attempt to be precise about the meaning of the righteousness of God tends to be frustrated, and this is probably due to the fluidity and versatility with which he used vocabulary. For

¹ Bultmann, "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 137.

² Deissmann, Paul, p. 166ff.

³ Rom. 3.24. I Cor. 1.30. Col. 2.15.

⁴ Rom. 5.10. II Cor. 5.18,19.

⁵ Gal. 2.20b.

example, God¹ or a person² may be *δικαιος* ; an action may be *δικαιος* ;³ the forensic element may predominate⁴, or the moral element.⁵ In connection with *δικαιοσύνη* it is natural for Dodd to ask whether this is an attribute or an activity,⁶ and Anderson Scott to see a polarity between the two.⁷ The effect of this versatility is to show the breadth and vitality of Paul's experience and the great penetration and power of his mind; Paul plunges to the depths of meaning which he believes are attached to the work of Christ.

The righteousness of God is not approached as a hypothetical question but as a real occurrence in the person and work of Jesus Christ. The righteousness of God is manifested in Jesus Christ and is at the same time his gracious acceptance of sinners on the basis of their faith;⁸ there is no sense of a fiction being involved, only active grace and active faith. Therefore, the righteousness of God belongs to the sphere of relationships with men, and not to the abstract or theoretical.⁹ The

1 Rom. 3.26.

2 Rom. 3.10.

3 Phil. 1.7.

4 Gal. 3.11.

5 Col. 4.1.

6 Romans, p. 9.

7 CASP, p. 62. For similar discussions, Burton, Galatians, p. 472 and Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 42.

8 Rom. 1.17. Stevens, "Righteousness in the New Testament," HDB, Vol. 4, p. 283.

9 Moffatt, "Righteousness," HDAC, Vol. 2, p. 388.

peculiar and central emphasis in the phrase is that it means God in action; or expressed otherwise, the character of God's activity defines His righteousness. The distinctiveness which Paul gives to the righteousness of God is also defined by the former demand which the law made upon him and by which righteousness or man's acceptability to God was to be meritoriously achieved. Judaism's conception of the righteousness of God was now a plan of the past.¹ In addition, the righteousness of God was defined by the universality of sin. It was the apparent success of the wicked which had a determinative influence on the righteousness of God in previous thought; Paul develops the conception of the power of sin even further.² It is to this important presupposition that we now turn in order to more clearly understand the righteousness of God.

The righteousness of God is thrown into relief by the universality of sin. The sinful condition of both the gentile and Jew, which Paul maintains in most of the first three chapters of Romans, is realized against the background of the life, work and resurrection of Christ. For example, the Cross thought to be foolishness and weakness in fact really magnifies God's power, and man's weakness and helplessness.³ The gentile has sinned and

1 Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 40f.
 2 Ibid. p. 42. Burton, Galatians, p. 472.
 3 Rom. 5.6. I Cor. 1.18,25.

done so wilfully. He has turned to idolatry - the worship of images of humans, birds, animals and reptiles¹ - from which followed a steady degeneration into the worst kind of evil.² According to Davies, there is a distinctively Jewish background in this estimate of Paul's about the gentiles.³ According to Rabbinic teaching, the inclination to idolatry (a manifestation of the "yêtzzer hâ-râ"), which was dead in Israel, was the very thing which led gentiles astray and into the worst evils. Paul may have had such in mind, but he goes further to insist that the gentiles in pursuing idolatry did so as an act of will. Gentiles "suppressed the truth" and "became futile in their thinking" until their minds were fully darkened.⁴ Consistent with this, Paul argues that God allowed man to exercise his free will; God let the gentiles, who might have known better, go the way they chose.⁵ The result is that the gentile is a sinner because he has done other than God's will.⁶ His rebellion (ἀσέβεια) is that he has not given obedience to God but turned to depend on and exert himself; he serves "the creature rather than the Creator."⁷ Having acted wilfully to dis-

¹ Rom. 1.23: Paul may have in mind two broad classes of objects of worship - the Greek gods and Egyptian animals.

² Rom. 1.26ff.
³ PRJ, p. 29f.

⁴ Rom. 1.18, 21.

⁵ Rom. 1.24, 26, 28. Dodd, Romans, p. 29

⁶ Rom. 1.21; 6.1. Burton, Galatians, p. 439.

⁷ Rom. 1.25. Bultmann, "Paul," Existence and Faith, p.133f.

obey what God required, man is guilty.¹ Thus there is a forensic import to this part of Paul's discussion;² Paul understands that God's judgement will and does fall on those whose rebellion is so terrible.³ God's wrath must be drawn on those who deliberately disregard His will, for He is a God who does act justly; His judgement against rebellion is demonstrated in the life of the sinner.

The Jew also is a sinner. Although Paul may be reflecting a Jewish opinion when speaking of the gentiles as sinners, this is certainly so when he declares the sinful condition of the Jew; he speaks with penetration and clarity about a familiar situation newly opened to him by Christ. It was obvious that a Jew was a sinner if he did those things which condemned a gentile before God.⁴ The Jew had certain historic privileges of a theological character which were sometimes presumed upon.⁵ Some as teachers of their religion were hypocrites in the practise of it - and others knew it!⁶ Of course, a Jew was a sinner who in breaking the law dishonoured God, its giver.⁷ At this point, Paul

¹ Burton, Galatians, p. 442.

² Although in Rom. 1 Paul does not use much legalistic vocabulary, ἀδικία (vs. 29) has such an import, and a background in the LXX. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, p. 79f.

³ Rom. 2.2.

⁴ Rom. 2.1-3.

⁵ Rom. 2.4,25; 3.2,3.

⁶ Rom. 2.21ff.

⁷ Rom. 2.12,23.

has expressed the same seriousness of sin as in connection with the gentiles: it was "theofugal" -- it was an act or acting which took men away from God.¹ Moreover, we see a hint that Paul interprets the law relatively rather than absolutely, and like the prophets is more concerned about man's standing with God than his standing in relation to the law. Like Jesus,² Paul (in 2.23) goes further back to the One whom the Jew offends by his sin; breaking the law dishonours God. In 2.12, the verbs (ἵμαρτον are legalistic giving the discussion a forensic character. Paul appeals to the Jew to recognize his sinfulness in another way, but asking him to look at his inward intention with respect to the law.³ "He is a Jew who is one inwardly...." There is in this a feature similar to Jesus' teaching which went right to the heart of the law's intention;⁴ Paul appeals to the Jew that he consider this in respect to circumcision. Paul was faced with a serious problem in re-evaluating the law for its insufficiency in the light of his own experience of salvation, in view of its demands as interpreted by Judaism, and as a consequence of the objective demand which the life and work of Christ made through the gospel. Paul teaches that the Jew ought to know his sinfulness because the law

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¹ Snaitch, Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, p.60f.

² Mark 7.1ff.

³ Rom. 2.25ff.

⁴ Matt. 5.27ff. Burton, Galatians, p. 441.

exposes it to his face.¹ It is in Rom. 7 that Paul tries to make this clear. The passage is autobiographical in only a secondary way; the chapter concerns the Jew under the law as the Jew of faith in Christ now sees the situation.² There is a good deal to suggest that below the surface of the chapter, there are conceptions largely Jewish: the law as binding only during one's life time, the three stages of man in relation to sin, and the life-long conflict between "yêtzzer há-tôb" and "yêtzzer há-râ".³ Yet the chief force of the passage is the point that the Jew is under the power of sin and from such he seeks relief;⁴ this, Paul believes, the law ought to drive him to realize if only he will realize the false confidence which the law has given him: to assert that he can be righteous by his own efforts.⁵ This ultimately is the sin which the Jew must finally take into account: to hope for righteousness under the law is false,⁶ and this the Cross has exposed.⁷ In the end, the Jew too is guilty before God,⁸ and this fact he might recognize in a host of ways. He is in his own way as guilty as the

¹ Rom. 7.7.

² Rom. 7.1. Bultmann, "Romans 7 and the Anthropology of Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 147. Deissmann, Paul, p. 112. Davies, PRJ, p. 25f. Cf. Sandy and Headlam, Romans, p. 184ff.

³ Davies, ibid. p. 24ff, 69ff.

⁴ Rom. 7.13, 15.

⁵ Rom. 10.3. Bultmann, ibid. p. 149.

⁶ Phil. 3.9.

⁷ Rom. 5.6, 8.

⁸ Rom. 3.9.

gentile and just as deserving of the judgement of God.¹

Among both gentiles and Jews, sin is a power which has had dominion over all men.² Man has been caught in the grip of "rulers of this age."³ Satan is ever designing some evil by which to ensnare men.⁴ He is "the god of this world" blinding some from the truth of the gospel,⁵ and with man's continuing freedom of will⁶ creates a tension in which man must live until the Parousia when God finally saves and confirms those whom he has loved and acquitted.⁷ This turn of thought in Paul passes to the fact of the evil and sin in which the whole creation is caught. It is at once cosmic - the entrance of evil into the world of spirits,⁸ but it is by no means confined to the celestial; the sub-human has been invaded by evil also.⁹ The whole creation groans to be transformed, from the sub-human upward.¹⁰

Paul really only gives a side glance to the origin of sin.¹¹ He pays no attention to the theory of fallen angels or watchers except to attribute activity to Satan;¹² his passing notice is to the theory of Adam's

1 Rom. 2.3; 3.5.
2 Rom. 3.9; 6.13,16.
3 I Cor. 2.8.
4 II Cor. 2.11.
5 II Cor. 4.4.
6 Phil. 3.2. I Thess. 5.21,22.
7 Phil. 3.20,21.
8 Williams, The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin, p. 159ff.
9 Ibid. p. 157f.
10 Rom. 8.19.
11 Garvie, "Sin", HDAC, Vol. 2, p. 500.
12 Williams, ibid. p. 154.

fall and with this he gives a largely Jewish answer to the problem.¹ His Jewish idea of human solidarity enables him to give a reason for man's present condition especially in regard to death, the penalty of sin.² But Paul is very careful to retain and guard human responsibility for man's sinfulness, and this adds special force to his conviction of the universality of sin; indeed it is to teach this and contrast it with grace that the question of the origin of sin comes up at all.³

There are some summary points to make now about the universality of sin. Paul does not teach any doctrine of total depravity.⁴ When he speaks of the flesh he does not mean evil matter,⁵ but that existence which man makes and tries to depend upon rather than God,⁶ or in other terms the morally indifferent material of which man is composed, "the basis from sin which sin attacks man."⁷ Man has a corrupted will, intelligence and imagination.⁸ Paul's strong words about man's sinfulness are always in view of the demand of God in Christ and man's temptation to think that he can depend upon himself for salvation and prove himself acceptable to God. He who utterly

¹ Williams, The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin, p. 116, 121f, 154. Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 50.
² Davies, PRJ, p. 31ff.
³ Rom. 5.20.
⁴ Dodd, Romans, p. 19. Dibelius, Paul, p. 11f.
⁵ Davies, ibid. p. 18.
⁶ Bultmann, "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 133.
⁷ Davies, ibid. p. 19. Anderson Scott, ibid. p. 34f.
⁸ Ibid. p. 51.

depends on God in Christ must discredit any human claims of which he could boast before God. Every man has responsibility for his sinful condition and consequently every man is guilty before God who will and does act in judgement. The power of sin in which man is caught seems to have the character of inevitability. Sin is almost personified, and demonic powers are like a kingdom of evil in this age which stands opposed to the kingdom of God. For a host of reasons, the gentile and Jew ought to know their condition. Man has no merit which is acceptable to God; he must turn and surrender himself and accept the grace of God expressed in Christ. Man's sin is his broken relationship with God - he has missed the mark (*ἁμαρτία*); man's existence is only to be found in relation to God and this has been disrupted by sin. The whole world has been under the power of sin and evil, and there is no one to whom God's act in Christ is not relevant. Paul advanced the thesis of man's guilt "not for its own sake... but to show the need of as universal a salvation offered to mankind in Christ."¹ That salvation really amounts to the most important aspect of the righteousness of God. Sin describes the condition of man in contrast to the righteousness of God. It is natural, therefore, when Paul believes all to be sinners, to go the next step to

1 Garvie, "Sin", HDAC, Vol. 2, p. 499.

declare the righteousness of God.¹

Before we enumerate the characteristic features of Paul's belief about the righteousness of God, we will isolate the meanings of *δίκαιος*, *δικαιοσύνη* and *δικαίω*. Persons,² actions or things³ may be righteous (*δίκαιος*) according to Paul,⁴ and like a good Jew, he especially believes that man wants to be righteous.⁵ It means one who has satisfied the requirements of God, one who has conformed to His will in one's actual living relationship to God and man. It has a legal or forensic character in the sense that man's conduct is measured by requirements. Its moral character is evident in its association with behaviour.⁶ God is righteous, but on the whole this seems to have a predominate forensic meaning.⁷ Because Paul relates God's judgement to Christ's work, we are obliged to think that justice and mercy are inextricably mixed in what God does.⁸ In a strict sense, *δικαιοσύνη* in the N.T. means the characteristics exhibited by one who is *δίκαιος*. Since it is a religious term it means in addition the exhibition of character and conduct which is acceptable to God. According to Paul,
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1 Rom. 3.21ff.

2 Rom. 5.7,19.

3 Phil. 1.7; 4.8.

4 Burton, Galatians, p. 468.

5 Bultmann, "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 137.

6 I Thess. 2.10.

7 Rom. 2.5. II Thess. 1.5.

8 Rom. 3.24-26. Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p.42.

δικαιοσύνη means man's acceptance with God.¹ The great conflict in which Paul was embroiled was how righteousness was made possible.² His decision is that God prescribes and provides the way through Christ; hence he speaks of the righteousness of God.³ It is an attribute of God only insofar as what God does in Christ to establish the righteousness (acceptability) of man, and thus it emanates from Himself.⁴ The righteousness of God is essentially an activity in relation to man.⁵ It is forensic because man is declared acceptable by God in the manner of a legal decision or judgement.⁶ It is moral in that righteousness is still related to man's conduct.⁷ The verb, *δικαιώω*, in the N.T. is almost entirely forensic,⁸ and means to justify, to vindicate or to treat justly. Paul uses it almost exclusively of God's judgement with respect to men: to acquit them,⁹ or pronounce them as righteous.¹⁰ By the grace of God¹¹

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1 Burton, Galatians, p. 469. Stevens, "Righteousness in the N.T.," HDB, Vol. 4, p. 283. Moffatt, "Righteousness," HDAC, Vol. 2, p.376. Cf. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol. 1, p. 272 - "relationship".

2 Rom. 10.3,4. Bultmann, ibid. p. 279.

3 Rom. 3.22. Burton, ibid. p. 472.

4 Clearly Paul is not interested in an abstract quality. Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 64. Dodd, Romans, p. 9f. Moffatt, ibid. p. 377,378.

5 Rom. 3.21-22. Dodd, ibid. p. 10.

6 Rom. 4.3.

7 Rom. 6.13,18.

8 Burton, ibid. p. 473 would have us distinguish a legal -and moral- forensic meaning. A strict legal meaning is found in Rom.6.7. Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p.61.

9 I Cor. 4.4.

10 Rom. 3.4.

11 Rom. 3.24.

man is acquitted and pronounced righteous; he is recognized as acceptable to God by God on the condition of his faith in Christ.¹

The righteousness of God is something which has been taking place in the present. It has been manifested apart from the law to which the Jew has been tied.² It has been expressed in view of the present sinful condition of all men, and now is a passing "over former sins."³ It is probable that the Jewish expectation that God would vindicate himself and Israel in the Age to Come lurks in the back of Paul's thought. The Jews expected and hoped that God would act to root out evil and establish the good; Paul declares this has happened in an astonishing and revolutionary way. Christ has been "put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification."⁴ Paul at once builds upon the expectation of Judaism⁵ and goes further than the expectation.⁶ Furthermore, Anderson Scott is probably right that Paul has no interest in whether the righteousness of God had been impinged upon, as though he had been silent or indifferent about sin.⁷

The passages concerning the universality of sin (Rom.1-3) insist that God was deliberately involved and aware of

¹ Rom. 3.20,26b. Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p.45.

² Rom. 3.21; 10.3,4.

³ Rom. 3.23,25c.

⁴ Rom. 4.25.

⁵ Dodd, Romans, p. 12f.

⁶ Bultmann, "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 137.

⁷ CASP, p. 65. Cf. Kirk, Romans, p. 42.

what mankind was doing.

The righteousness of God is made known or is revealed to man in the gospel, inspiring faith or belief among those who truly perceive.¹ In speaking this good news of Christ there is a power at work. His declaration of Christ is an uncovering of truths about the activity of God, i.e. the righteousness of God. Faith is a most important consequence of the declaration of the gospel. By its power, the gospel creates faith; man in his free will is drawn in faith, in the sense of belief, to what is displayed by the apostle.

God requires the righteousness of man for the establishment of his sovereignty. In other words, man must be acceptable to him if his reign is to triumph, and the manifestation of the righteousness of God in Jesus Christ intends to accomplish this. The kingdom of God means righteousness.² Paul thinks of the righteousness of God expressed to man in another way - creativity: "Put off your old nature... and put on the new nature, created after the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness."³ The acceptability of man to God is the work of God in a recreating way.

This is true not only in terms of the concepts of

¹ Rom. 1.16-17. Cf. the remarks on this point by Anderson Scott, CASP, p. 63, and by Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol. 1, p. 274-5.

² Rom. 14.17.

³ Eph. 4.24.

sovereignty and creation, but also in terms of salvation.¹ The righteousness of God is tantamount to God saving his people.² This notion had its birth in the O.T. and its development in the LXX, but in Paul it is reflected against the background of universal human sinfulness; God saves the ungodly now, not just those who would try to claim to be righteous. It is characteristic of Paul to speak of salvation as life; therefore we find righteousness and life in association, rather than righteousness and salvation. His favourite O.T. quotation is Hab. 2.4 which ends on the promise of life.³ The Christian's association with Christ in faith emerges in newness of life.⁴ The righteousness of God saves man and enables him to "live" at "peace" with God.

Sometimes, though rarely, the righteousness of God means his benevolence: in II Cor. 9.9 Paul quotes Ps. 111(112).9 of the LXX quite closely. The idea of the righteousness of God expressed as His help of the needy has a background in Jewish literature.

The righteousness of God is most particularly and actively focused in the redemptive work of Christ.⁵ Hence the righteousness of God is historically fixed; mention of his blood makes it quite certain that Paul

1 Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, p. 270-71. Vol. I
 2 Rom. 10.6-10.
 3 Rom. 1.17. Gal. 3.11.
 4 Rom. 6.4.
 5 Rom. 3.24-26.

assumes a place and time.¹ "The Cross as the mighty act of God in history forms the key-stone of Paul's closely-knit argument."² While the Cross comes to the fore in thinking about God's redemptive work in Christ, the resurrection remains integral, so that Paul can even speak of Christ being "raised for our justification."³ In thinking of the righteousness of God as manifested in Christ, he speaks of Christ as an expiation put forward by God.⁴ In pagan use, *ἑλαστήριον* can mean to placate an angry God, but in the LXX it almost always means "to perform an act (such as the payment of a fine or the offering of a sacrifice) by which its guilt is removed."⁵ In Rom. 3.25ff where the activity of God is clearly the predominant subject, Anderson Scott gives the word more illumination: "It describes a thing to which, or a person to whom power is assigned to establish or re-establish fellowship, and that particularly by removing or neutralizing the barrier or obstacle."⁶ It is clear too by the association of *ἑλαστήριον* with his blood that Paul is thinking of a sacrifice in the ancient sense of a life being given.⁷ There is a paradox suggested: at once God acts toward us and the same time

1 Rom. 3.25; 5.9. Gal. 3.11.
 2 Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 43.
 3 Rom. 4.25.
 4 Rom. 3.25.
 5 Dodd, Romans, p. 54.
 6 CASP, p. 69.
 7 Dodd, ibid. p. 55.

for us, both in Christ; he acts to establish relationship between man and Himself, and he acts to wipe away the guilt which sin has incurred destroying man's acceptability. The redemptive work in Christ is a showing of the righteousness of God. So powerful and positive is this thought of grace expressed in a sacrifice for sin that we can understand how little Paul could feel concerned for the old formulation of the problem - was God loyal to Israel?

Because man must be righteous or conform to the will of God, because he must show righteousness or be acceptable to God, and because to this end God has acted in Christ, Paul can speak of Christ as having been made our righteousness: "He is the source of your life in Christ, whom God made ... our righteousness."¹ By his obedience, Christ lived and died in righteousness which in turn has led to acquittal and life for all.² "If Christ is in you, although your bodies are dead because of sin, your spirits are alive because of righteousness."³ Paul has the Jewish sense of solidarity when thinking of man's righteousness as established through the righteousness of Christ. While he persistently teaches that men must have faith to be justified, it is equally clear that those who believe share in the benefits of Christ. The

¹ I Cor. 1.30.

² Rom. 5.18.

³ Rom. 8.10.

foundation upon which Paul builds his belief in the righteousness of God is Christ: Christ redeems men from the power and guilt of sin and establishes their righteousness with God.

The attitude of God toward sin is manifested in two ways: in the past he restrained his judgement; now he shows that he is just in judging it as hateful to him. It was noted in Paul's remarks about the universality of sin that God allowed men to degrade themselves whether gentiles¹ or Jews.² He said that God's forbearance ought to have been perceived as his patient waiting on repentance.³ In Rom. 3.25 he has altered his perspective to view those sins as having been foreborn so that God might manifest his righteousness in Christ. The waiting of God was now over, and He has positively shown that His judgement is against sin, "that he himself is righteous."⁴ The Cross magnifies how seriously He takes sin. It is the wedge that divides before the eyes of men what God can and cannot accept. Because of the Cross Paul was able to grasp the seriousness of sin and thus compose his conviction of its universality. What was not of Christ was of sin, whether it was idolatry or false confidence that obedience to the law could establish a man's righteousness. Of course, the Cross means more

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1 Rom. 1.24,26,28.
2 Rom. 2.4.
3 Rom. 2.4.
4 Rom. 3.26.

than showing how hateful sin is, but in the light of the point we are making, it exposes its power over men,¹ and the powers and principalities which sought to destroy Christ² which he defeated.³ Thus one facet of the righteousness of God is His attitude toward sin; God has ended his forbearance and demonstrated in the Cross that sinfulness is to be ended.

One of the principal features of the righteousness of God is that "he justifies him who has faith in Jesus"⁴ - justification.⁵ The idea is clearly forensic, i.e. it belongs to the law court, and Paul can legitimately think this way since in the O.T. (and LXX) God is judge and the sinner is guilty.⁶ Δικαίω may mean simply to acquit, but the word does not stand in isolation, self-defining, but refers to the acquittal of the guilty and in particular those guilty of sin, an acquittal enabled by what Christ has done in his sacrifice to redeem. In the many passages involved, the idea of acquittal from sin's guilt is the most dominant thought;⁷ hence there is something of a backward look in Paul's doctrine of justification. Δικαίω has a further idea associated with it: man must be righteous; for this reason the

¹ Rom. 5.6,10; 6.20.

² I Cor. 2.8.

³ Col. 2.15.

⁴ Rom. 3.26.

⁵ Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 44.

⁶ Rom. 2.5; 3.23. Ibid. p. 42. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol. 1, p. 273.

⁷ Rom. 3.23,24 where justification has been especially related to sinfulness of all men.

verb can also mean to declare righteous, not in the sense of being made righteous as an inherent human quality,¹ but means the declaring of one as righteous or acceptable to God. "The divine judgement produces righteousness in the believer through absolution." "Law court language is really used parabolically for being what one ought to be before God, and legal corollaries ought not to be pressed."² When God justifies it is his conditional judgement which renders men acceptable to him. Thus Paul speaks of the righteousness which God gives through Christ: Christ has been made our righteousness.³ "If Christ is in you,... your spirits are alive because of righteousness."⁴

God has acted in Christ for the purpose of the justification of the ungodly. This is evident in a passage where reconciliation appears to be the equivalent for justification in terms of what God has desired to do.

"For ... while we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son...."⁵ Paul has gone beyond Judaism in this affirmation; according to Judaism God's act would be the confirmation of the righteous Jews and destruction of the wicked, but Paul's realization is that in Christ God has declared all sinners, and acted for the

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1 Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 45.

2 Ibid. p. 45.

3 I Cor. 1.30.

4 Rom. 8.10.

5 Rom. 5.10. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol. 1, p. 285.

justification of all. Significantly, Paul perceives that God has acted toward and for the whole world. The righteousness of God has a universal reference and not a provincial one or only an individualistic one.¹ God desires to justify the whole of humanity which Paul can classify as the circumcised and uncircumcised.²

Paul's most controversial and distinctive contribution to the discussion of man's acceptability to God and God's participation in that acceptability was his insistence that justification was no longer tied to the law; obedience to the law was no longer the ultimate necessity; the law was reduced from the absolute to the relative. "No human being will be justified in his sight by works of the law...."³ "A man is not justified by works of the law...."⁴ "You are severed from Christ, you who would be justified by the law...."⁵ With this position, Paul not only differed with Judaism, he was forced to oppose it, and this was undoubtedly the source of most Jewish hostility to him. The righteousness of God, of which justification was an intrinsic part,⁶ no longer depended on the supremacy of the law. "The righteousness of God has been manifested apart from the law...."⁷

1 Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 43.

2 Rom. 3.30.

3 Rom. 3.20.

4 Gal. 2.16.

5 Gal. 5.4.

6 Rom. 3.26.

7 Rom. 3.21.

Paul reached this position as a consequence of his understanding of the Christ event which disrupted his whole confidence in established religion. His confidence in the way of the law almost caused him to miss the way God was providing for his acceptability. His disbelief in Jesus was almost his permanent undoing. His faith in Christ proved to be the condition for justification. "We have believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by faith in Christ, and not by works of the law...."¹ Interpreted in the light of the O.T. record, God justifies the one who trusts him.² In the light of recent historical events interpreted theologically, God justifies the one who has faith in Jesus.³ "Faith is the means whereby the individual is drawn into participation in the consequences of the saving event."⁴ It is his submission in understanding and obedience to the power of God manifested in Christ which has sought to claim him. It is not a work; man achieves nothing. He submits in acknowledgement of the act that saves him. He may indeed say that faith is from God because the understanding he now has, has been aroused or given by God. Man's obedient surrender to God his saviour is the occasion for his justification; placing himself under the situation God defines in Christ means his acceptability

¹ Gal. 2.16.

² Rom. 4.5.

³ Rom. 3.26.

⁴ Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, p. 46.

with God. When Paul says, "I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me,"¹ he is speaking of daily continuous submission to God who has saved him and rendered him acceptable. Faith is one's continuous submission.

So dependent is Paul on God for justification that he declares we are "justified by grace as a gift."² From the power and guilt of sin, the man of faith in Christ is declared free; the penalty has been paid. It is not faith that establishes the righteousness of man, but the grace of God which makes him acceptable: "much more will those who receive the abundance of grace of the free gift of righteousness reign in life through the one man Jesus Christ."³

Finally, the grace which justifies and which establishes man's acceptability will "reign through righteousness to eternal life...."⁴ The righteousness of God has an eschatological character, and with this perspective Paul was true to Hebraic and Judaic theology though the precise nature of eschatology altered under Jesus' influence. To both final salvation lay in the future at the triumph of God's purposes, but for Paul the salvation now experienced in Christ was a pledge of salvation in the future. Justification is something which

1 Gal. 2.20.
2 Rom. 3.24.
3 Rom. 6.17.
4 Rom. 5.21.

has happened in the present, and it is part of the family of ideas associated with the salvation being effected by God as part of the manifestation of His righteousness. "For man believes with his heart and so is justified, and he confesses with his lips and so is saved."¹ One may take "the helmet of salvation."² At the same time, Paul speaks of "the hope of righteousness,"³ the hope of final acquittal and acceptance. For Paul, the righteousness hoped for is clearly based on faith in Christ. Man's participation through faith in salvation gives character to the new eschatology. Fulfilling the law was the presupposition of Jewish eschatology, the ground of hope for salvation; the expected righteousness of God was tied to the law. Now the righteousness of God was tied to the saving events concentrated in Christ whose Parousia will confirm what present experience already suggested. Rom. 8, which is strongly influenced by the idea of fulfillment, contains this declaration: "Who will bring any charge against God's elect? It is God who justifies;"⁴ the justification of men of faith now, which is the outstanding feature of the righteousness of God, Paul confidently says will be affirmed in the future when the purposes of God will be completed.

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¹ Rom. 10.10.
² Eph. 6.17.
³ Gal. 5.5.
⁴ Rom. 8.33.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION

Now and then there appears in history a man who moves easily and effectively almost everywhere he goes, a man who leaves marks on his own generation and on every subsequent one which encounters his convictions and vitality. Paul was one of these men. At the same time, he was dependent on his times. Two lines of influence converged to fall under the power of a third and Paul's course for life was set.

In many ways Paul was at home in the Graeco-Roman world, made familiar with the relatively common activities of men, commencing in Tarsus and continuing throughout his maturing life. He knew the large cosmopolitan Greek and Oriental cities well enough to exploit his knowledge for the cause of Christ; for example, to compose metaphors from their commercial, political and entertainment activities. He knew their influence well enough to go to the major cities of the Mediterranean world to spread the gospel. We may call him a Hellenistic Jew because we are sure Hellenistic culture confronted him as it did other Jews of the Dispersion. Perhaps he read the literature of Hellenistic Judaism, but too much emphasis has been placed on its importance for him; its net influence more easily and more frequently reached him through personal contacts, and no doubt occurred while he was a Pharisaic missionary. Much of Hellenistic thought like that found in the

Wisdom of Solomon did not reach him to any significant degree, whereas the real points of influence are those which he has met among people in the market and on the periphery of the synagogue. Koine became a vivid vehicle for the gospel's transmission. Ideas of freedom and conscience, the cosmology reflected in astrology, and the fear of demons, powers and principalities which Paul uses in, or ministers to through the gospel, are the points where we see realized the influence of the Graeco-Roman world. He was wary of and had distaste for pagan evil, syncretism and pride. Paul knew how to move in the Graeco-Roman world along its highways and among the thoughts and habits of ordinary people, but he rejected firmly its attempts to swallow his "Lord" among many "lords". He met the demand made on him to express the gospel comprehensively and effectively with his capacities of insight and reflectiveness. He could minister to both converted proselytes and semi-agnostics who argued with him about "wisdom" and "elemental spirits". Paul was not a successful missionary to the philosophers or their schools, no doubt because he did not have enough sympathy for abstract enquiry, but because his gospel took hold among some Greeks he was on the threshold of that frontier. His real ability and effectiveness lay among people nearer the synagogue, and in that situation his des-

criptions of the person and work of Jesus revealed his capacity to adapt matters already familiar to his hearers. His years of training in the law and the life of Judaism enabled him to deal with people more or less similarly acquainted, but it handicapped him among philosophically educated gentiles.

Paul has been influenced very little by philosophers and philosophies, the Mystery Religions and their dying and rising saviours, and in fact abhorred the moral standards of the Graeco-Roman world. He is set off from the main streams of paganism by his monotheism, by his sense of an historical incarnation, and by his conviction of having been extended the grace of God in Christ. There were passionate devotees of Isis but Paul was a slave of his Lord Jesus Christ who made exclusive demands on men. Unlike many contemporaries he valued the physical creation; the body was not a clog or weight to the soul; the hope of immortality did not have the wide possibilities of the hope of an entire re-creation.

Various concluding points can be made about the influence of Judaism on Paul. He remained a Pharisee. He did not continue to observe the Law or think of it in the old way, otherwise he would not have had table fellowship with gentiles, but he did retain the Pharisaic inheritance of a life God-orientated. From his youth he had been taught that religion and life were

synonymous, and this had resulted in a quest which was satisfied first by the attempt to fulfill the law and in the practise of Jewish piety. He was not a moral philosopher, or commercial traveller, or a diplomat, although we might find hints that he had these propensities. The first thing he took into the service of Christ was the disposition to live at peace with God, or to have realized a "covenant" relationship. This outlook was a presupposition to his missionary work; he charged men to lead a life worthy of God.

The heritage of Judaism was continued in Paul's interpretation of history as an account of the saving and sanctifying work of God. Once he saw history's summation in the Mosaic covenant and Law. This understanding gave way to a new one: history was still a witness to God's saving and sanctifying work but the goal was to be discovered in Christ and his demand upon every individual. Thus he speaks of what God "promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures, the gospel concerning his Son."¹ Moreover, as Paul had learned that Israel was the People of God, so now he taught that the church was the People of God.² Bultmann thinks that when Paul helped "those who had faith in Jesus Christ to see themselves as the true Israel, he

¹ Rom. 1.2,3.

² Gal. 3.7. M.E. Trocme, "L'Épître aux Romains et la méthode missionnaire de l'apôtre Paul," "New Testament Studies", 7(1961), p. 152.

gave the new religion a historical consciousness of itself as a church and also endowed it with power that indwells such a consciousness."¹

Paul, along with many others, preserved the O.T. as the authoritative scriptures of the church. Christ was indeed the key to their understanding of it, but to Jew and Christian alike it was an authoritative record of revelation. In it were the doctrines with which the rabbinic school or synagogue and the church were both concerned. Paul like his fellow Jews felt justified on occasion not only to see references to the future, but to exegete the scriptures with familiar Rabbinic principles.

The effect of personal religious orientation, of a historical perspective and of the possession of a body of authoritative literature was to make Paul theologically and ethically knowledgeable. Like other Jews, he was raised to take sin seriously; he was raised in a tradition which referred to man's alienation from God. He had certain beliefs about God, man, the value and purpose of the law, the sacrificial system, the Messiah, the Age to Come, and the resurrection of the dead. Before these came under the influence of Christ, they formed not so much a theological system, but the substance of his beliefs which he used to

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 1 "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 119. Similarly, Dodd, Romans, p. xxxii.

describe his outlook on existence. Under the influence of Christ, the contents were transformed but not the subjects.

The Hebraic-Judaic tradition gave to Paul a vocabulary, forms and methods which he employed in Christ's service to define and present the gospel. He took over the spirit and some of the theology of the apocalyptists, the indignance of the prophets and their zeal for righteousness, and the anxiety reflected in the Pentateuch for a true circumcision. With similar forms and vocabulary as the prophets, Paul described his call to be an apostle. He used missionary methods in preaching and teaching similar to what the Jews did in their proselytizing. Davies' estimate of Paul is true that his Jewish heritage was an inseparable part of him, and if he had ceased to be a Jew he "would not be the Paul that we know; it was part of his very integrity as a man that he should retain his Hebrew accent."¹

Paul did not set out after his conversion to quarrel with or oppose the men and ways of Judaism, yet the nature of his gospel and the manner of its prosecution raised serious trouble for him. A host of people took issue with him: Jews of Thessalonica and Jerusalem, Jewish Christians who followed his footsteps, and vindictive gentiles. Paul did not feel that he had broken with Judaism, but felt he

1 PRJ, p. 322.

was really espousing what was the truth born in the house of Judaism. Says Davies, "it appears that for the apostle the Christian Faith was the full flowering of Judaism, the outcome of the latter and its fulfillment; in being obedient to the gospel he was merely being obedient to the true form of Judaism."¹ Paul broke with Judaism in spite of his hope to see the nation reconciled and "no distinction" between Jews and gentiles established. The seeds of separation were planted when he preached Jesus Christ, freedom, and the end of the law, while the Jews maintained that God required obedience to and fulfillment of the law. The seeds of separation began to grow when the Jews arranged his imprisonment, lashed him or threw him out of the synagogues. Abrahams quotes the opinion of Dean Inge: "Paul ... did not feel that he had broken with Judaism. But the Synagogue did feel that he had done so, and history proved that the Synagogue was right."²

The most serious and far-reaching point of departure from Judaism was Paul's belief that Christ was a new and supreme revelation taking precedence over the old revelation of Sinai. Davies says, "It was at this one point that Paul parted company with Judaism, at the valuation of Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah with all that this implied."³ But to believe that Jesus was the Messiah

1 PRJ, p. 323.

2 Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Series 2, p.57.

3 Ibid. p. 324.

disrupted everything, especially when He did not confirm the law and customary interpretation of it as the Rabbis supposed he would do. Without faith in him, and judged to be sinners, both of which Paul thrusts to the fore in his gospel, they continued to disagree (and with Paul) that Jesus was the Messiah through whom God was now revealed. From the viewpoint of his faith or belief that Jesus is the way and the truth and the life - John says it better than Paul -¹ there was no alternative but to preach Christ crucified. To the Jews this was a scandal and a stumbling-block. According to Paul, God is not known so much by the exegesis of scripture but through awakening to and understanding the significance of Jesus Christ. God is known because He apprehends men through the preaching of the gospel and by His grace awakens faith in men. Paul's authority to speak about God is derived not from the old established religion but from the sense of truth conveyed in and by Christ.

Another point of departure from Judaism was the inevitable re-examination of the sphere of his familiar existence. The temple, the sacrifices and the law were all superceded or fulfilled in this new revelation. The law gave him the most sustained difficulty, no doubt because he still had some emotional attachment to it, and equally as much because there were champions of it who

¹ John 14.6.

confronted him with a claim for its necessity and eternal validity. Paul answered that a new covenant and a new law had come. Righteousness and salvation were impossible if a man hoped to gain such by fulfilling the law or by any human effort, but were possible solely by the grace of God. The kind of eschatology which saturated first century Jewish thought had to be reconsidered since the Messiah had come; one age was passing and a new one commencing. His interpretation of scripture changed in that it was illumined and fulfilled by Christ's life and work; he had to reinterpret its significance because Christ was its fulfillment in ways hitherto not expected.

Paul shows less departure from Judaism in the matter of ethics. He does not innovate but he does perceive from Jesus the better way of love. Fortified by the example and demand of Christ he anxiously taught the new churches their moral duties and what would establish wholesome community life. In one extraordinary matter Paul departed from the ethics of Judaism when he counselled the married to live as if they were not. This was quite un-Jewish and if the opinion had been maintained it would have done much social harm. However, as Dodd points out,¹ Paul probably changed his mind and when he got to writing Colossians and Ephesians he was ready to

1 "The Mind of Paul: II," New Testament Studies, p. 115f.

counsel the establishment of wholesome family life.

Paul gave a new scope to universalism and individualism. Judaism had taught the universal sovereignty of God and that the obedience of every man was His will. Paul translated this into larger and more realistic terms: Christ died for all; there was neither Jew nor gentile. God reconciles men to himself not by commanding obedience to the given law, but by summoning faith in Christ. His critics were right in recognizing that Paul had flung open wide the doors of God's love to all sorts of men.

Our discovery that Paul was substantially influenced by the Graeco-Roman and Jewish worlds helps to illumine him as a man of the ancient world. He is more clearly seen as a child of his times, and we are in a most important way delivered from an unrealistic understanding of his work and thought by way of literal interpretations which persistently distract the reader from the full force of Paul's perception of the mystery of Christ. It is no dishonour to see him under the influence of apocalypticism, demonology, ancient forms and expressions, and social or cultural pressures; rather, it emphasizes his historical reality and the attempts he made to see the relevance of Christ to his time, and we are thereby urged to take our situation more seriously for the relevance Christ has to it.

It has been justifiable to examine several personal

aspects of the influence of Christ on Paul because he so often alludes to or assumes a dynamic relationship with Him. The significance of Paul's conversion is now certainly to be seen, not in the particular events on the Damascus road, but how the man came to understand what had happened and who he was and must be. It is important to grasp his new understanding of life, but it is of the greatest importance to realize that his devotion is also to a Person. Christ's coming to him was a real coming. In very many ways, he was shaken, arrested and summoned into service by a Person as he travelled to Damascus. This, Stewart rightly judges, was the principal and dominating feature of Paul's life: "We cannot therefore too strongly underline the fact that it was Jesus, and none other, the Jesus who had been crucified, who appeared to Paul in the way."¹ "Paul beheld Christ summoning and welcoming him in infinite love into a vital unity with Himself."²

Words were Paul's tools. The practical and metaphorical character of many of his expressions and words are the means by which he sought to convey his faith in Christ and the revelance of that faith. We ought to be, therefore, delivered from a dogmatic Pauline theology which may bind the reader to another kind of legalism of scholastic doctrines which it is sometimes supposed that

1 A Man in Christ, p. 134.

2 Ibid. p. 147.

Paul proposed, and instead we are released to perceive the vitality of a man's convictions and conduct which his vocabulary intended to convey. We are able to see a man of convictions, not a system. Our debt to linguistic scholars is in this respect considerable.

In the light of differing Biblical perceptions of God and of the attempts made by the Hebrews to grasp the meaning of what God was known to have done among them, we feel, in Paul's letters and to a lesser degree in Acts, exposed to a man's life and thought more sensitive to what God has done than most men are able to grasp either because of the power of sin over them, a more restrained loyalty to Christ, or because of their lesser abilities to perceive. Although as several N.T. books reflect there are others well able to grasp the significance of Christ, Paul was one of the first to give sustained and penetrating attention to the significance of the person and work of Jesus, and to see in this event the loving hand of God seeking the unlovely, an event possessing reconciling and recreating power which the prophets had been certain God could do. Paul was a man whose understanding of sin, at once personal and universal, man's rebellion against God, was of the deepest character. His education in the house of Israel prepared him to be like that scribe described in Matthew who could bring together the old and new into the kingdom of God, or

like the two Rabbis described in the Mishnah, one "a plastered cistern which loses not a drop", and the other "a willing spring".¹ Paul brought a rich heritage into the kingdom come with Christ. In view of Paul's great contribution of insight to the church it is small wonder that his letters quickly found a place in the canon of the N.T. and books like James and Revelation had comparatively difficult struggles to be recognized.

Not only does Paul grasp the significance of Christ more clearly, he exposes men more fully in believing all men are sinners especially in characterizing the Jew's struggle under the law, and in correcting and warning his converts of Satan's ever-lurking designs. Paul bears witness like other N.T. writers to an understanding of one of man's essential problems, his disobedience or his unrighteousness which has made him guilty before God, as it has been exposed and transformed by the crucified and risen Son of God. Paul has a deeper comprehension of the human situation than his predecessors had because of Christ.

No continuing study of Paul should ignore the large areas of life and thought to which the influence of Christ had reached. The chapter on "The Righteousness of God" has moved in this direction indicating one line of enquiry study ought to take in order to know the

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¹ Aboth 2.8.

nature of Paul's thought. There remains a good deal to discover about Paul's understanding of sin, the law, the death and resurrection of Christ, the commencement and character of the Christian life and his reformed eschatology.

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