the principal arguments in favor of the theory of ideal preëxistence. They are as follows: (1) "Foreknown" (*προεγνωσμένου*), in i. 20, cannot imply a real preëxistence of Christ, because, in i. 2, Christians are also said to have been "foreknown" (*ἐκλεκτοὶ κατὰ πρόγνωσιν θεοῦ πατρός*). (2) The contrast between "foreknown" and "manifested" (*φανερωθέντος*) does not favor the idea of real preëxistence, because "manifested" refers to Christ's "becoming known in the world" (*das In der Welt kundwerden*[1]) — "the manifestation of Christ in his significance as Messianic Redeemer, . . . and this manifestation is contrasted with the concealment of that significance in the divine decree."[2] No reference is, then, to be found here to an appearance of Christ in the world from a state of pre-temporal existence. (3) The phrase "Spirit of Christ," in i. 11, does not refer to Christ as preëxistent, because the name "Christ" is used in the same verse (*τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα*) in the historic sense. Weiss admits that, since *Χριστός* is used in our epistle as a proper name, it could with perfect propriety be applied to the preëxistent Christ, but thinks it would be surprising if it were used in the same sentence of the preëxistent and of the historical Christ. He concludes that "this Spirit is none other than the eternal Spirit of God, in which the decree relating to the Messianic salvation was formed from eternity."[3]

The arguments *per contra* are as follows: (1) The correlation of "foreknown" and "manifested" in i. 20 most naturally implies real preëxistence. Both participles are predicated of the same subject, and, since the latter is predicated of a real subject, it follows that the former also is. Moreover, when it is said that anything is "manifested," the only natural meaning is that it *existed* before its manifestation, but in a state of concealment. Our author says that Christ was "manifested" as the Redeemer, and

mann. The opposite view is taken by Schmid, Weiss, Beyschlag, and Briggs.

[1] Beyschlag, *N. T. Theol.* I. 393 (Bk. III. iii. ch. iii. § 1).

[2] Weiss, *Bibl. Theol.* § 48, *a*.

[3] *Op. cit.* § 48, *b*.

that before such manifestation he was "foreknown." Both the implications of the word "manifested," and its correlation with "foreknown," therefore, strongly favor the idea of personal preëxistence. (2) The word "foreknown," in itself considered, might indeed refer to ideal preëxistence only. Christians are, by implication, spoken of as foreknown by God. But nothing resembling the statement that believers are first "foreknown before the foundation of the world," and then "manifested," is found either in verse 2, or in our epistle elsewhere, or in the New Testament anywhere. (3) The objection that Χριστοῦ would not be used of the preëxistent and of the historical Christ (i. 11) in the same connection is without force. If Peter had the idea of Christ's pre-temporal existence, his language here would involve no incongruity. The word Χριστοῦ would be applied to the same person in both cases; in the former to him before, in the latter to him after, his historical appearance. On this view, the use of Χριστοῦ is more congruous than on the other interpretation, which understands πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ to mean the divine Spirit, which, at the time of its operation in the prophets, was *not yet* the Spirit of Christ, but became such by its bestowment upon him in his human life, while παθήματα Χριστοῦ bears a purely historic sense. It is far more natural to take Χριστοῦ as referring in both cases ("Spirit of Christ"; "sufferings of Christ") to the personal Christ. In the first phrase, it refers to the person whose spirit inspired the prophets; in the second, to the same person who suffered. If this is the meaning, there could have been no occasion to indicate that the preexistent Christ was referred to in the first case, and the historic Christ in the second. The language of the verse as a whole already makes that plain enough.[1] The question involved in these passages is not capable of a decisive solution, but to me this second interpretation seems more

[1] Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 423, and Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* II. 311, who adopt this view of the passages, see in them an evidence of the dependence of our epistle upon Paul, and a proof that it is not an example of primitive apostolic teaching. In this view the idea of Christ's

probably correct. If so, we must recognize in our epistle a distinct advance upon the theology of the Petrine discourses in Acts.

The sufferings of Christ are represented as furnishing to Christians an example of the patient endurance of hardships (ii. 21; iv. 1, 13). The readers are exhorted to see to it that the sufferings which they are enduring are not deserved. There is no blessing in suffering for those who suffer in consequence of crimes; but "if one suffers as a Christian, let him not be ashamed" (iv. 16). If men partake of Christ's sufferings (iv. 13); if they suffer wrongfully, and yet do not return evil for evil (ii. 19, 20), they are then imitating Christ's example and may rejoice in the very midst of their hardships. But this is not, for the mind of Peter, the whole significance of Christ's suffering and death. He died "on account of sins" (*περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν*), "that he might bring us to God" (iii. 18). Our epistle distinctly presents the idea that Christ's death was redemptive; that, in some way, it procured or conditioned the bestowment of divine grace. The blood of Christ is contemplated as a means of cleansing (i. 2); as a precious ransom-price whereby the readers' spiritual liberty was procured. In the visions of the prophets the sufferings of Christ were seen as a part of his saving mission (i. 11). The apostle designates himself as one who testifies concerning the sufferings of Christ (v. 1) — a designation which most naturally includes testimony to their meaning as well as to their occurrence. To this meaning he refers when he says (probably in allusion to the picture of the suffering Servant in Is. liii.) that Christ "bare our sins in his own body upon the tree" (ii. 24), "the righteous on behalf of the unrighteous" (*δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων*, iii. 18), and that "by his stripes we are healed" (ii. 24; *cf.* Is. liii. 5, 11).

It is noticeable that Peter no longer speaks of the

preëxistence was developed as a means of Christianizing the Old Testament by taking back into it the Christian revelation. Pfleiderer finds parallels to the doctrine of preëxistence in our epistle in the Epistles of Clement of Rome and of Barnabas. *Urchristenthum*, pp. 648, 659, 668.

death of Jesus, as in Acts, as the crime of the Jewish people. That mode of viewing the subject has disappeared, and the redemptive significance of the event, after which he is seen in the discourses in Acts to be uncertainly groping, comes out into clear expression. It is also to be observed that the death of Christ is set in relation to moral cleansing, rather than to a legal acquittal from guilt. That his death is a means to the salvation of men is explicitly asserted. He bore the sins of men; he died on behalf of unrighteous men that he might bring them to God. He redeems men by his blood. But these are, after all, indefinite expressions. We are not told in what sense he bore the sins of men, or how his blood avails to redeem them. He suffered to deliver men from sin; but how does his suffering accomplish that deliverance? Some reply that since this suffering is elsewhere represented as an example (ii. 21; iv. 1), the answer is that Christ's sufferings save men by their becoming "partakers" of them (iv. 13), that is, by their imitating his patient endurance.[1] But few scholars support this view. Those who hold[2] that our author's view of redemption is an echo of that of Paul, must, of course, regard such an interpretation as quite inadequate.[3] But apart from that view, it seems to me extremely doubtful if our author's reference to the prophetic prevision of Messiah's sufferings (i. 11), to the lamb of Old Testament sacrifice[4] (i. 19), and to Christ's blood as a ransom (i. 18),

[1] So Beyschlag, *N. T. Theol.* I. 396 (Bk. III. iii. ch. iii. § 2): "This moral deliverance is mediated through the moral impression of Jesus' sufferings and death. The suffering of Christ can only work as an example by means of the moral impression which it makes, and only for those who resign themselves to this impression."

[2] As Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* I. 312, and Bovon, *Théologie du N. T.* II. 473.

[3] Pfleiderer, however, thinks that our epistle illustrates a weakened, popular Paulinism and interprets it in a way resembling Beyschlag's. *Urchristenthum*, p. 657 *sq.*

[4] The reference in the words "a lamb without blemish and without spot" (i. 19) seems to me to be to the necessary qualities of the sacrificial lamb in general (Lev. xxii. 20, 21), rather than to the paschal lamb specifically. So Weiss, Lechler, Holtzmann. *Per contra*, Ritschl and Beyschlag.

offered once for all (ἅπαξ, iii. 18) on behalf of sinners, can be satisfied by the theory of redemption by example. To pursue the question further would carry us too far into the field of inference. The temptation is strong to derive from these simple words a theory of atonement — either Paul's, or, even more naturally, one's own. If we steadfastly refuse to do this, we shall, I think, abide by the conclusion that, to the mind of Peter, the sufferings of Christ were a means of salvation, but that no theory or philosophy of this fact is offered us. If the references to these sufferings as an example suggest the view that he saves men by inciting them to do as he did, the Old Testament language and the correlation of his death with sin constrain us to assume that he also had in mind something more than this.

Our epistle places strong emphasis upon the resurrection of Jesus as a ground of faith and hope. It was the resurrection which had made the readers confident of obtaining the heavenly inheritance to be bestowed at the parousia (i. 3–5). The resurrection was a saving deed in the sense that it furnished a powerful motive to faith. "God raised him from the dead and gave him glory so that your faith and hope might be in God" (i. 21). The resurrection not only assured the disciples of Christ's continued life, but attested his divine mission and directed the thoughts of his followers to the heavenly world to which he now belonged. The resurrection implies the ascension of Christ to the throne of power and glory (iii. 22), and is thus a guaranty of the authority and dominion of Christ and of the completion of the work of salvation. To this heavenly world where Christ is, his followers also belong. Here they are "sojourners and pilgrims" (i. 1, 17; ii. 11), living by hope and travelling on to the goal of heavenly blessedness. We note here the same emphasis upon the saving value of the resurrection as we observed in the Petrine discourses in Acts, but with a deeper view of its significance. In the discourses the resurrection is chiefly viewed as an act of power by which the purpose of the Jews was thwarted

and the messiahship of Jesus attested. In our epistle it is more closely correlated with the religious life as a ground of hope, on the one hand, and with the import of Jesus' person as the ever-living and glorious Redeemer, on the other.

The epistle refers to another phase or effect of Christ's saving work, which has given rise to much perplexity and wide differences of opinion among exegetes and theologians. I refer to the preaching "to the spirits in prison" (iii. 18–20) or "to the dead" (iv. 6). One thing is clear: It is the aim of both these passages to magnify the grace of redemption. They read thus: "Because Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit; in which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient, when the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved through water" (iii. 18–20). "For unto this end was the gospel preached even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit" (iv. 6).

The first passage stands connected with the description of the great mercy of Christ in suffering for men, "the righteous for the unrighteous," and, in the second passage, it is stated that the final purpose of the preaching to the dead was "that they might live according to God in the spirit." There are three principal theories of the meaning of these verses: (1) Christ preached in and through Noah, "a preacher of righteousness" (2 Pet. ii. 5), to the men of Noah's time. The "spirits in prison," "the dead," to whom he preached are *now* dead, but were living when he preached to them. (2) In the interval between his death and resurrection Christ went to the realm of the dead and presented the offer of salvation to the men of Noah's time, who are called "spirits in prison." (3) By the "spirits in prison" are here meant the sinful angels, the "sons of God" of Gen. vi. 1 *sq.*, who had

seduced the daughters of men, whom God had cast down to Tartarus (2 Pet. ii. 4), and to whom Christ went and preached, that is, proclaimed their judgment. I will briefly summarize the arguments which are urged for and against each of these views.

In favor of the first view the following considerations are urged: (*a*) The idea of a preaching in Hades is unsupported elsewhere in Scripture. (*b*) The historical references in the passage are all adapted to carry the mind back to the "days of Noah" as the time which is in the apostle's mind, *e.g.* "the longsuffering of God," "the building of the ark," "the saving of a few."[1] (*c*) The absence of the article before ἀπειθήσασι ("disobeyed," iii. 19) shows that the participle is not attributive or definitive, but predicative or circumstantial, and hence should be translated, not "which aforetime were disobedient" (as if it were τοῖς ἀπειθήσασι), but "when once they disobeyed." Thus the whole sentence would mean: Christ preached to those who are now spirits in prison when once they disobeyed, that is, in Noah's time.[2] (*d*) The phrases "in the flesh" and "in the spirit" (σαρκί, πνεύματι) most naturally designate two aspects of Christ's being (*cf.* Rom. i. 3, 4), and thus the latter points, not to a *post mortem* activity of Christ, but simply to his activity in a spiritual form of existence (*cf.* i. 11). (*e*) In the second passage Peter is speaking of the coming of Christ to judgment. He transports himself in thought to the time of his parousia, and speaks of "living and dead" from the standpoint of that future time. The dead to whom Christ will have preached are now living, but will be dead at the second advent.[3] The considerations which are advanced in favor of other views are partly of the nature of replies to these arguments. The question respecting the force of the participle ἀπειθήσασι requires special notice. Most commentators and New Testament grammarians do not sup-

[1] So Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, p. 460.

[2] So Dr. S. C. Bartlett in the *New Englander* for October, 1872, and Dr. Salmond, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

[3] So Bovon, *Théologie du N. T.* ii. 465.

port the contention just mentioned respecting the force of the anarthrous *ἀπειθήσασι*, but hold that the participle may quite well have a definitive force. Referring to the argument given above, Huther says: "This is not the case (that the absence of the article necessarily makes the participle predicative), since the participle, added with adjectival force to a substantive, is often enough joined to the latter without an article."[1]

The second view is that "Christ in the spirit, according to which he had been made alive, preached to the spirits in prison" (Huther); that "Christ went down to Hades *ἐν πνεύματι* in order to bring the message of salvation to the spirits which were found there in prison" (Weiss). The chief arguments for this interpretation are as follows: (*a*) The correspondence of *πνεύματι* and *πνεύμασιν*. He was quickened and went *in the spirit*, and preached *to the spirits*. The correlation of *θανατωθείς* ("put to death"—which can only refer to his crucifixion) and *ζωοποιηθείς* ("quickened") requires that the latter should refer to some experience which was the counterpart of his crucifixion. It was in connection with that experience *in a spiritual state* that he went and preached *to spirits*. (*b*) It is natural to take *πορευθείς* before *ἐκήρυξεν* in verse 19 ("he *went* and preached") in the same sense as in verse 22 ("*having gone* into heaven"). The latter denotes his ascension to heaven; the former his descent *ad inferos*. The whole passage (*vv.* 18–22) describes his death and the events which followed, culminating in the ascension (*v.* 22). (*c*) The advent *ποτέ* ("aforetime") stands with *ἀπειθήσασι* ("disobedient") and not with *ἐκήρυξεν* ("preached"). The statement made is that Christ preached to those who *formerly disobeyed*, not that he *formerly* or *once preached* to the disobedient. If the writer was thinking of a vicarious preaching through Noah, he might easily have made it apparent by writing *ποτέ* with *ἐκήρυξεν*.

[1] The *Meyer-Commentary*, *in loco*. This view is sustained by De Wette, Alford, Ellicott, and Dwight and the *N. T. Grammars* of Winer and Buttmann. The case is strongly advocated and amply illustrated, on this side, by Dr. W. W. Patton in the *New Englander* for July, 1882.

(*d*) Πνεύματι ("in the spirit") cannot denote the divine nature of the preëxistent Logos, because it is the correlative of σαρκί ("in the flesh"). The first statement is that he was put to death as respects the material element of his personality; the next statement can only naturally mean that, as the counterpart of his death, *flesh-wise*, he was quickened into life as respects his immaterial part, *spirit-wise*. The spirit is the imperishable element of the person who, as respects his flesh, died on the cross. In this element of his being he continued to live and act. (*e*) It is natural to take the aorists θανατωθείς, ζωοποιηθείς, πορευθείς, and ἐκήρυξεν as denoting a series of successive actions. It is, in the highest degree, unnatural to suppose that at ζωοποιηθείς or πορευθείς the thought springs suddenly back into antediluvian times.[1] The principal difficulties which have been found in this view are connected, not so much with the language as with the thought. It was the difficulty of adjusting the idea of a preaching of Christ in Hades to his doctrinal system which led Augustine, after long hesitation, to pronounce in favor of the theory which refers the preaching in question to the time of Noah.[2] A similar difficulty, together with that arising from the silence of Scripture elsewhere concerning a redemptive activity of Christ in Hades, is still widely felt, and has operated to perpetuate the explanation which Augustine did so much to establish in the Church.[3]

The principal arguments for the third view — that by "spirits in prison" sinful angels are meant, and that after

[1] Among modern scholars who adopt this general interpretation of the passages are De Wette, Alford, Plumptre, Farrar, Cook, Reuss, Huther, Weiss, Lechler, Pfleiderer, Beyschlag, and Holtzmann. A very clear and concise summary of this view will be found in Lechler's *Das apos. u. nachapos. Zeitalter*, pp. 428–433.

[2] See his *Letter to Evodius*, No. CLXIV. in the Am. ed. of Augustine's *Prolegomena, Confessions, and Letters.*

[3] I have not taken account of the theory, widely held in the post-Reformation era, which explained the passages as teaching a preaching in Hades, but held that it was a proclamation of condemnation only. The New Testament use of κηρύσσειν is decisive against this view. The theories of Baur and Spitta, to be noticed presently, resemble the theory of a *predicatio damnatoria*.

his death Christ proclaimed their judgment to them in Tartarus (2 Pet. ii. 4) are as follows: (*a*) The peculiar ideas of iii. 18–20 resemble those which are found in the references to sinful angels in the Book of Enoch. (*b*) The phrase "spirits which were disobedient" naturally implies that they were "spirits" *when they disobeyed*. (*c*) "Spirits" is not a natural designation for the souls of departed men, and "prison" is nowhere used in the Bible as a name for Hades. On this view of iii. 18–20 it is held that iv. 6 has nothing to do with the passage in question, but means that Christ preached during their lifetime to those who are now dead.[1] To this explanation it is objected, in general, that it is supported by very inadequate proof. Hebrews xii. 23, which speaks of "the spirits of just men made perfect," is adduced to show that departed men may be spoken of as πνεύματα. It is further urged that the language is inapplicable to superhuman beings. The contrast between the eight souls that were saved and the disobedient clearly shows that they were spirits of men who disobeyed, and not angels. To these alone the "waiting" of the divine "longsuffering in the days of Noah," would be applicable.[2]

[1] To this view Baur committed himself in the *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1856, and *Neutest. Theol.*, p. 291 *sq.* The theory has never gained any general currency. Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen d. heil. Geistes*, p. 50, adopts it. Spitta, in an elaborate essay on our passage, *Christi Predigt an die Geister*, assents to it in part, and defends the view that πνεύματα designates fallen angels (Gen. vi. 1 *sq.*), but denies that Christ is conceived of as preaching to them in Tartarus. He combines his view of πνεύματα (derived from the Book of Enoch) with the view common since Augustine, which locates the preaching in antediluvian times, and thinks the passage means that the preëxistent Christ, through the righteous Enoch, "proclaimed the judgment to those sinful spirits who corrupted the earth and its inhabitants" (p. 68). With Baur, Spitta holds that iv. 6 has no reference to the subject of iii. 18–20, but refers to the preaching of the gospel to those *who are now dead* (*cf. v.* 5 ζῶντες καὶ νεκροὶ). Baur's view has been fully explained and illustrated by Professor F. C. Porter in the *New Englander* for August, 1888.

[2] So, *e.g.* Lechler, *Das apos. u. nachapos. Zeitalter*, p. 429, and Huther, *Comm., in loco.* Most writers make no reference to this view, evidently regarding it as quite fanciful. I find no allusion to it in the treatises of Bovon, Pfleiderer, and Holtzmann. Weiss passes it with the remark that "it requires no refutation."

The arguments for the first and third explanations are mainly general and theoretic. The second alone rests upon strictly exegetical considerations. It therefore seems to me to have the balance of probability in its favor. But if this conclusion be adopted respecting the general import of the passages, several perplexing questions still remain, *e.g.*: Why does the author refer specifically to the sinners of Noah's time? To what judgment does *κριθῶσι*, in iv. 6, refer? How did the author conceive of the nature and effect of the preaching to the dead? To the first question, the probable answer is that the men who are described in the Old Testament as perishing in the flood are thought of as specially great sinners, and a proclamation of the gospel to them as a specially great illustration of the redeeming mercy of God. It is probable, also, that the analogy between baptism and the flood (*v.* 21), of which the author makes use, was in his mind and carried his thoughts back to the days of Noah. Of *κριθῶσι* (iv. 6), two explanations are possible: (1) It may be subordinate and parenthetical, as related to *ζῶσι*, having the force of a participle, thus: "In order that they, after the flesh, indeed, judged by death, may live according to the spirit." For this view it is urged that *κριθῶσι* is aorist while *ζῶσι* is present, and that the action of the former thus naturally precedes that of the latter; also that, on this view, *σαρκί* and *πνεύματι* are taken in the same sense as in iii. 18. (2) On the other view, *κριθῶσι* is coördinate with *ζῶσι*: Christ preached to the dead in order that they might be judged on the same basis and in the same manner as other men, but live according to God in the spirit. On this view it is much more difficult to explain *σαρκί*, which must be taken to mean that lower nature in which they had sinned. This remains a doubtful point. The only thing which is clear respecting the purpose of the preaching is that it was an offer of salvation. It was done in order that those to whom it came "might live according to God in the spirit." The words *κηρύσσειν* and *εὐαγγελίζειν* also imply a preaching of salvation. The scope of *νεκροί*, however, is doubt-

ful. Some would limit it to a certain class, in view of iii. 18–20 and iv. 4, but to me it seems probable that if any such limitation had been in the author's mind he would have indicated it. Its natural meaning is, the dead in general. No intimation is given in the passage respecting the effect of the preaching to the dead. Nor has the author indicated how he would correlate this idea with other elements of the current eschatology. We can only say that, if this general interpretation be regarded as correct, he has used the idea to illustrate the scope of God's redeeming grace.

Peter's doctrine of the new life, like that of James, reminds us of certain words of Jesus. He has the idea of a new birth through the planting of the "incorruptible seed" of the gospel in the heart (i. 23). But growth must follow birth. The readers are exhorted to desire that spiritual nourishment whereby they may grow into the full maturity of the Christian life (ii. 1, 2). Those who preached the gospel to them did so in the power of the Holy Spirit sent forth from heaven (i. 12), and by that Spirit they are sanctified (i. 2). Their baptism, the initial rite of the Christian life, signifies "the request (directed) towards God (*ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν*) for a good conscience" (iii. 21), and has its saving significance "through the resurrection of Jesus Christ"; that is, it denotes the new relation of communion with the risen Christ into which the Christian is introduced at his conversion. Faith, hope, and obedience are for our author the great qualities of the Christian life. Faith is trust in Christ, and salvation is the goal towards which it looks (i. 8). It is tested by "manifold trials" and, if genuine, will come out of them all the purer, as gold is refined in the fire (i. 7). Hope denotes more specifically the attitude of the Christian's mind to the future: "Hope perfectly (*τελείως*) for the grace which is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ" (i. 13). Obedience to Christ is the law of the Christian life. That law requires holiness, Godlikeness, love (i. 14, 15, 22). The Christian must "live unto righteousness" (ii.

24). What the ideal of that true righteousness is Jesus has shown in his own life (ii. 23; iii. 17, 18; iv. 1). Its essence is self-denying love. Love must be the ethical nature of God, since likeness to him consists in such forms and fruits of love as compassion, tenderness, humility, and helpfulness (iii. 8, 9; iv. 11). What is this but Jesus' doctrine of true righteousness as consisting in sonship to God, that is, ethical likeness to him who blesses all and the completion of which would be a perfection in love like that of the Father in heaven (Mt. v. 43–48)?

CHAPTER V

THE EPISTLE OF JUDE AND SECOND PETER

SINCE there is an obvious interdependence between these two epistles, it will be convenient to treat them together. Jude is probably the basis of 2 Peter, and I shall therefore summarize first the thoughts of the shorter letter. Both epistles are chiefly concerned with the denunciation of errors and corruptions which appear to have arisen, in part, from a perversion of certain truths of the gospel and, in part, from the adoption by their exponents of Gnostic ideas. The elements of positive teaching in both epistles are incidentally presented in the course of the polemic. Neither has any formal logical structure. It will therefore be most natural to trace the thought of each from the beginning without reference to doctrinal divisions.

Jude designates himself as a bondman of Jesus Christ and a brother of James (*v.* 1). He was probably a natural brother of Jesus, and wishes to give weight to his letter with his Jewish fellow-Christians by reminding them of his relation to James, the overseer of the Jerusalem church. He writes to the faithful and steadfast believers (*v.* 2) concerning the salvation in which he and they alike share (*v.* 3), and in order that the fruits of that salvation may not be hindered by perverse and false teachings and practices. The keynote of his epistle is the exhortation to his readers to "contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints" (*v.* 3). By "the faith" is here meant, not primarily doctrine, but the steadfast confidence of the Christian considered as a gift of God. This sense of πίστις stands midway between its usual meaning of trust and its later use to denote the doctrinal contents of

faith — the truth which is believed. Intent upon warning his readers of the dangers which threaten them, he enters at once upon a description of the perverse and corrupt errorists who have "privily crept" into the Christian community, and who, though professing the name of Christ, are really denying him in their teaching and life (*v.* 4). The key to the whole description of these impious men is in the phrase: "turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness" (*v.* 4). They were men who had adopted the maxim: Let us sin because we are not under the law, but under grace (*cf.* Rom. vi. 1). They had taken up the principle of Paul: "All things are lawful" (1 Cor. vi. 12), but had treated it as an excuse for license. They were libertines who were defending their sins under the guise of the Christian "law of liberty."

Jude points his warning by reminding his readers of the punishments which God in former times has visited upon sin, the implication being that similar penalties await those who yield to the influence of these godless men. His first illustration is drawn from the destruction in the wilderness of the unfaithful Israelites (*v.* 5; *cf.* Num. xiv. 28–30). The second example is the punishment of the fallen angels whom God "hath kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day" (*v.* 6). This illustration is taken from the popular traditions of the time which had been developed on the basis of the description of the sinful "sons of God" in Gen. vi. 1 *sq.* It is probable that the passage is a reminiscence of such descriptions in the Book of Enoch as the following: "These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin." "Bind Azazel hand and foot, and place him in the darkness; . . . and place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there forever, and cover his face that he may not see the light. And on the great day of judgment he shall be cast into the fire."[1]

[1] *Enoch*, lxiv. 2; x. 4–6; *cf.* xv. 2, 3; x. 12, 13. I have cited the edition of R. H. Charles.

The third illustration is the destruction of the "cities of the plain" (*v.* 7; *cf.* Gen. xix.).

With verse 8 begins the comparison between the "ungodly men" and the great sinners whose punishments have been described. Like the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, they have given themselves over to sensual imaginations and practices and to a consequent disregard of divine authority. They "set at naught dominion and rail at dignities." It is difficult to determine the exact force of "dominion" (*κυριότης*) and "dignities" or "glories" (*δόξαι*); but the context seems to require that they be regarded as designating, respectively, the lordship of God or of Christ and the heavenly angel-powers who are the agents of the divine will. The heinousness of the contempt for superior power and authority which is shown by these antinomians is further illustrated by a popular tradition respecting the action of Michael the archangel, who, when contending with Satan for the possession of the body of Moses, would not bring even against him a railing judgment, but said, "The Lord rebuke thee" (*v.* 9). Origen states that this dispute was described in the apocryphal *Ascension* or *Assumption of Moses* (*Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως*).[1] The force of the argument is: The archangel would not utter a scornful and contemptuous judgment (*κρίσις βλασφημίας*) against the evil power, Satan; but these men do not scruple to despise even the divine powers and authority: "These men blaspheme the things which they do not know, whatever they are;" they would as readily rail at good beings as at evil; "but the things which, like unreasoning animals, they do in a natural way understand"—the things which they know only too well, their perverted carnal desires—these are the means of their destruction (*v.* 10). The presumptuous free-thinkers are next compared to Cain, to Balaam, and to Korah, and are vividly described in the aorist as having already run their evil course and met their doom (*v.* 11). What is the

[1] *De Prin.* III. ii. 1. The portion of the *Ascensio Mosis* which was found in an old Latin version in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and published in 1861, did not contain the description in question.

point of these comparisons? They "went in the way of Cain," either because they were guilty of murderous hate (Gen. iv. 5 *sq.*), or because Cain was regarded in the later Judaism as the type of scepticism respecting spiritual and divine things (*v.* 10 *a*). "They plunged into the error of Balaam for reward" (Num. xxxi.); they disregarded the requirements of God and sought to lead others into disregard of them for the "reward" of sensuous indulgence (*v.* 10 *b*). They have imitated Korah (Num. xvi.) in their proud contempt for all authority (*v.* 8).

After these historical comparisons a new set of figures (*v.* 12 *sq.*) is introduced to further describe the libertines. "They are σπιλάδες in your love-feasts" (ἀγάπαι). This word can mean either "rocks" or "spots." In the former case, the statement means that the errorists are like hidden rocks on which the love-feasts are wrecked (so R. V.); in the latter, it means that the love-feasts are defiled by their presence (R. V., marg.). The use in 2 Pet. ii. 13 of σπῖλοι (sometimes accented σπίλοι) in conjunction with μῶμοι ("blemishes"), as well as the context, shows that the writer of that epistle has taken σπιλάδες in this latter sense. The libertines are further described as boldly aiming to derive selfish advantage from their influence among the faithful, like false shepherds seeking their own indulgence, and not the welfare of those whom they can lead. They are "waterless clouds, driven along by winds," that is, they are empty; no good comes from them. They are like trees in autumn, which are not only without fruit, but are also doubly dead and plucked up by the roots, that is, they are utterly and hopelessly barren of any spiritual fruit (*v.* 12). They are like the sea in violent agitation such is the restless surging of their evil passions. They are like meteors, which flash out brightly for a little and then disappear in eternal darkness (*v.* 13). Thus does our author draw upon common life and upon nature for imagery by which to picture the wickedness and destiny of these men. He closes the indictment by applying to them a passage from the Book of Enoch, which, as in the popular speech of the time, is cited as containing the words of

Enoch himself (*v.* 14). The passage and its original are as follows :

Revised Version	Book of Enoch
And to these also Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying, Behold, the Lord came with ten thousands of his holy ones, to execute judgement upon all, and to convict all the ungodly of all their works of ungodliness which they have ungodly wrought, and of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him (*vv.* 14, 15).	And lo! He comes with ten thousands of (his) holy ones to execute judgment upon them, and he will destroy the ungodly, and will convict all flesh of all that the sinners and ungodly have wrought and ungodly committed against him.[1]

"These are complainers, finding fault with fate," adds the writer, "walking according to their own lusts (and their mouth speaks swelling words), admiring persons for the sake of their own advantage" (*v.* 16) ; they are fault-finding pessimists, sensuous and arrogant flatterers, whose favor is only a cloak for their selfishness.

Over against the errors and corruptions of the antinomians, the author places "the words which have been spoken before by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ"(*v.* 17). These men are but fulfilling the prophecies uttered by the apostles, that in the last days ungodly and wicked men should appear and seek to lead the faithful astray (*v.* 18). Passages like Paul's description of the "man of sin" and the "mystery of lawlessness" (2 Thess. ii. 1–12), or words of some apostle resembling those which are found in Acts xx. 29; 1 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Tim. iii. 2, may have been in the writer's mind. And now he gives a final touch to the

[1] Charles's ed. i. 9; *cf.* v. 4; xxvii. 2. We have no means of comparing the Greek text of the passage with its original in detail, since the part of the Book of Enoch from which it is taken exists only in an Ethiopic version.

dark picture of the impious men. They make separations, or separate themselves, by assuming a knowledge superior to that possessed by others; they are "psychical," not having the Holy Spirit; they are given up to the unrestrained power of the lower nature (*v.* 19). The author then exhorts his readers to build themselves upon their most holy faith, that is, to make their confidence in Christ and his truth their secure foundation. Here we note a semi-objective use of πίστις similar to that found in verse 3. He further counsels the duty of prayer, of cultivating a sense of the love of God to them and of hoping in the mercy of Christ, to be shown in the bestowment of eternal life at the approaching judgment (*vv.* 20, 21). One point remains: How are the faithful to treat those who have fallen under the baleful influence of the errorists? The author distinguishes three classes of such persons, according to the degree to which they have been corrupted, and indicates the proper treatment of each (*vv.* 22, 23). (*a*) Those who are perplexed and wavering are to be treated with special consideration and tenderness.[1] (*b*) Others, who have gone further in error and sin, should be snatched by eager efforts as brands from the burning. (*c*) A third class is composed of those who have already plunged deep into corruption, and whose lives excite loathing. Yet even towards these a merciful feeling must be cherished, though it must be accompanied by alarm at their seemingly hopeless situation. The epistle closes with an elaborate doxology, which attributes to God the power to keep the readers from the frightful corruptions which have been described. God is their Saviour through Jesus Christ, to whom the author ascribes "glory, majesty, dominion, and power" in all past time, now, and forever (*vv.* 24, 25).

The theological contents of the epistle may be expressed in few words. There is one God and Father (*v.* 1) who

[1] I follow here the reading ἐλεᾶτε (R.V.; W. and H.), instead of ἐλέγχετε (Tisch.). On the latter reading the phrase would probably mean: "Confute them when they dispute with you." This reading makes a less natural climax.

saves through Jesus Christ (*v.* 25), the lordship of whom is the principal doctrinal assumption of the letter (*vv.* 1, 4, 21, 25). Faith is one of the gifts of God's grace, and is the basis on which the Christian character is to be built (*v.* 20), and is "most holy" because its possession implies the consecration of the soul to God (*vv.* 3, 4, 20). The Holy Spirit is the divine principle of the Christian life (*vv.* 19, 21). Christians must be holy and blameless, free from the sins which are denounced (*vv.* 3, 24). Christ is to be the judge of men, and the believer hopes for the gift of his nercy, eternal life, at the last day (*v.* 21). Here are certainly the elements of the apostolic theology. We note here, briefly expressed, the principles of grace and faith; of salvation through Christ and by the aid of the Spirit; of a holy Christian life, and of the hope of salvation to be realized at the day of judgment.

Like the Epistle of Jude, 2 Peter was written to warn the readers against error. The author evidently regarded the language of Jude as adapted to furnish a correct description of the false teachers whom he wishes to describe; he accordingly paraphrases it and adopts it, in substance, for his own use. The epistle is not, however, a mere reproduction of Jude. It is introduced by a description of the Christian salvation in which Christianity is strikingly pictured as the fulfilment of prophecy (ch. i.). Then follows the picture of the errorists, painted in colors taken from the Epistle of Jude (ch. ii.); and in ch. iii. the author traces the error in question in its bearings upon the hope of the parousia, and meets it by a counter argument. Unlike 1 Peter the key-word here is not hope, but knowledge (*γνῶσις; ἐπιγνῶσις*, i. 3, 8; ii. 20). There is no reference, as in 1 Peter, to the connection between suffering and glory. The thought of the eternal kingdom, to be ushered in at the second advent, is prominent (i. 11, 16; iii. 13). Accordingly, Christianity is contemplated as prophecy which will be realized at the parousia (i. 16–21). Redemption through Christ is but once alluded to, in ii. 1, where the false teachers are said to "deny the Master that bought them."

The author writes in the name of the apostle Peter, and seems to be addressing some circle of Jewish-Christian readers in the Diaspora as those who have obtained the same faith in Christ which the primitive apostles and Jewish-Christians possess. This common faith they now have "in the righteousness of God and the Saviour Jesus Christ," that is, because God has through Christ put Jews and Gentiles upon a plane of equality (i. 1). He then wishes his readers an increased knowledge of God and of Jesus the Lord (i. 2). It is seen that this knowledge is a practical, religious knowledge, including "all things that pertain to life and godliness." It is a knowledge which involves fellowship with God who calls men "through his own glory and virtue" (*ἀρετή*, *cf.* 1 Pet. ii. 9) — whose perfections constitute the ideal of the Christian life, and are a perpetual challenge to a holy endeavor (i. 3). In accordance with these perfections God has given his "precious and exceeding great promises," whose realization should be a sharing of the divine life and a consequent escape from the sinful corruption of the world (i. 4). Then follows a list of Christian virtues which are to be blended with that trust in Christ which is the foundation of the Christian life. In faith the element of moral courage or energy (*ἀρετή*) must not be wanting. And, in turn, this quality needs knowledge to guide its action. But knowledge will not be wise unless there be associated with it self-control. To such self-control patient endurance (*ὑπομονή*) is needful, while with this must be blended reverence, or piety, which gives to all moral efforts their highest worth. With piety must mingle love to one's fellow-Christians, and with this, in turn, love to all without distinction (i. 5–7). We are not to seek in these verses any subtle psychological analysis of the development of the various virtues, but a practical presentation of the manysidedness of the Christian life. Those who cultivate these virtues will abound in the true knowledge of Christ (i. 8). Those who do not will fail in moral discernment, and will lapse back into the old sinful life (i. 9). In view of this danger the

readers are exhorted to diligent effort to "make their calling and election sure." To this higher life they have been called; but it rests with them whether they will be faithful to its demands. They may stumble and fall short of it, but if they cultivate the virtues in question they will secure the coveted salvation and enter (at the parousia) the eternal Kingdom. It is noticeable that salvation here includes both a present knowledge of God and of Christ and a corresponding holy life, and a future consummation at the Lord's coming. "Calling and election" here denote, respectively, the offer of salvation through Christ and acceptance into the Kingdom of God. But these blessings may be forfeited by disobedience, or, "made more sure," by striving after Christian virtue.

Against the loss of the heavenly good the author solemnly warns his readers — the more so since he is living in the near prospect of death. But he hopes that after his decease his readers will recall his warnings and encouragements (i. 12–15). For, he continues, we were not following myths invented by human fancy (perhaps an allusion to the current vagaries rife at the time) when we assured you that the Lord would come in power and glory. The glory of the transfiguration is a pledge and prophecy of the greater glory to be revealed at the advent (i. 16–18). He appeals also to the Messianic visions of the Old Testament prophets. They illumine the present darkness with hope, and encourage us to expect the dawning of the Messianic day. And this confidence is not misplaced, because prophecy is not merely a subjective production or interpretation of the prophet's own, but is the product of the divine inspiration (i. 19–21).

There are several difficult points of exegesis in this passage. I can notice only one of them: What is the meaning of the statement that "no prophecy of Scripture is of private interpretation" (*ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως*)? Opinion is divided on the question whether *ἐπίλυσις* here means "dissolution" or "interpretation." Spitta elaborately defends the former meaning,[1] and renders: "No prophecy

[1] *Der zweite Brief des Petrus, u. s. w., in loco.*

of Scripture is of such a kind that it can be destroyed" (*cf.* *καταλῦσαι*, Mt. v. 17; *οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι, ἡ γραφή*, Jn. x. 35). Most interpreters adopt the other meaning, in better accord with the context. The divine meaning of prophecy is the prominent thought; man cannot fully apprehend or explain it. But does *ἰδίας* refer (*a*) to the prophecies, or (*b*) to those to whom they are addressed, or (*c*) to the prophets? On the first view (*a*) the meaning would be that no prophecy yields its own explanation; only future experience makes its meaning clear; it receives its interpretation when its fulfilment comes.[1] On the second view (*b*) the statement would mean that only the Holy Spirit who inspired the prophecies can enable those to whom they come to understand them; only God who inspires prophecy can give its explanation.[2] But if (*c*) *ἰδιας ἐπιλύσεως* means the prophet's own explanation, then the passage would present a thought kindred to that of 1 Pet. 1. 10–12, namely, that the prophet did not fully appreciate the import of his own sayings. I think this is the correct explanation, and that the saying means that no prophecy is a matter of the prophet's own interpretation of the facts with which he is dealing, but that, on the contrary, his insight is divinely given.[3] This explanation seems most congruous with verse 21, which gives the reason for saying that no prophecy is of private interpretation, namely, that prophecy is not produced by a man's (that is, the prophet's) own will, but is uttered in the power of the Spirit: "Men spake from God, being borne along (impelled thereto, *φερόμενοι*) by the Holy Spirit."

This description of the true knowledge of God and of Christ, which was foreshadowed in prophecy and attested by the life of Jesus, is intended as introductory to the arraignment of the false gnosis which is described in chapter ii. in language largely borrowed and adapted from Jude. In our epistle the errorists appear as false teachers who deny

[1] So, *e.g.* Holtzmann, Weiss.
[2] So, *e.g.* Luther, Grimm-Thayer Lex., von Soden.
[3] So Huther, Dwight, and Plumptre.

Christ not merely (as in Jude) by an immoral life, but by bringing in "destructive heresies." They are pernicious in teaching and life, and acquire influence over unsuspecting believers only to abuse it for their evil ends. But their judgment is at hand (ii. 1–3). The author omits Jude's illustration from the punishment of the unbelieving by death in the wilderness, and appropriates the examples of the evil angels (ii. 4), of Sodom and Gomorrah (ii. 6–8), and of Balaam (ii. 15, 16). These are adduced in the same order as in Jude; but after the first example the punishment of the ungodly by the flood (not in Jude) is cited (in apparent allusion to 1 Pet. iii. 20). The description given in Jude of the wickedness of Sodom and Gomorrah is considerably amplified, and Lot is introduced as vexing his righteous soul over the sins of their inhabitants. He then resumes the description of the presumptuous irreverence of the libertines in "railing at dignities" (*δόξαι*) and "despising dominion" (*κυριότης*). By *δόξαι* 2 Peter quite certainly designates evil beings. In Jude the word seems to denote good angel-powers. He says that even (good) angels, although they are greater than men, and might, with less presumption, do so, do not bring a contemptuous judgment against these principalities (ii. 11). Our author omits the concrete example of Michael refraining from bringing against Satan a railing judgment when contending with him about the body of Moses. From verse 12 the description of Jude is again more closely followed. The free-thinkers are "creatures without reason," blindly following their evil instincts. Omitting the comparison with Cain, the writer describes them, as Jude had done, as "following the way of Balaam" for selfish advantage. This illustration is amplified (ii. 15, 16), and the following reference to Korah is omitted. The most striking passage in Jude (*vv.* 12,13) is now appropriated in a weakened form by our author (ii. 17). One of its elements — the description of the libertines as defiling the love-feasts — had already been employed (ii. 13). The prophecy of judgment from the Book of Enoch is omitted, and the description ends with a free paraphrase (ii. 18, 19) of the

concluding words of Jude's description (*vv.* 15, 16) to which our author appends the conclusion that their last state has become worse than their first (ii. 20–22).

The writer then echoes the reminder of Jude (*vv.* 17, 18) that the apostles had warned them that "in the last days mockers should come with mockery, walking after their own lusts" (iii. 2, 3); but he amplifies this apostolic warning by extending the import of it as given in Jude. Our author says that the holy prophets and apostles represented the mockers as doubting the second advent and contemptuously saying: "Where is the promise of his coming?" These sceptics have now appeared in the apostates who have been described. This connection between the errors and sins of the false teachers and the denial of the parousia is, as we have seen, a distinctive feature of 2 Peter as compared with Jude, and a point of special interest in itself considered. Their argument was that, since the death of "the fathers," that is, the first generation of Christians, the world had continued the same as it had been from the creation, and that no catastrophe seemed likely to occur in the future (iii. 4). This consideration the writer meets by pointing to the flood, by which "the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished" (iii. 5, 6). He argues that a like destruction, only by fire instead of water, awaits the present world (iii. 7). He offers a second argument against the doubters. Although the parousia seems long delayed, it is to be remembered that the Lord does not count time as men do. A period which seems to us long is not so to him. Moreover, he may be delaying the final crisis in order to give the greater opportunity for repentance (iii. 8, 9). But, whenever the day of the Lord comes, it will come suddenly; then this present world shall be destroyed by fire, and from the wreck shall emerge "new heavens and a new earth in which dwelleth righteousness" (iii. 10–13).

In view of this impending judgment and destruction, the author exhorts his readers to pure and holy living and to a patient endurance of suffering (iii. 14, 15). This exhortation he enforces by appeal to the instructions given

by Paul in his epistles which he ranks with the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament. But he intimates that these writings of Paul, in which he insists so strongly upon a holy life, have been treated by the false teachers as furnishing an encouragement to license (iii. 16). Here we find the key to the libertinism in question. It was, at least in part, a perverted and degenerate Paulinism in which Paul's doctrine of grace and freedom was transformed into a justification of sinful indulgence. The errorists had drawn from Paul's doctrine the conclusion against which he had protested, namely: Let us sin because we are not under law, but under grace (Rom. vi. 15–23). Against this perversion the readers are again warned and counselled to avoid "the error of the wicked" and to grow in the grace and knowledge of Christ (iii. 17, 18).

PART IV

THE THEOLOGY OF PAUL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

In the study of Paul's teaching we have the advantage of a good degree of agreement among critics respecting the sources. The view of F. C. Baur, which admitted the genuineness of the four great doctrinal letters only, has been greatly modified by more recent scholarship. The radical criticism of a Dutch school and of Steck, which denies that we possess any genuine epistles of Paul, has met with no favor among German scholars, and has found some of its most energetic opponents among the more radical German critics. Starting with the genuineness of the four *Hauptbriefe*, criticism has steadily advanced in the recognition of the other Paulines until now only the Pastorals are subject to widespread and serious doubt. A few illustrations of this tendency may here be adduced. Hilgenfeld who, in general, was an ardent adherent of the Tübingen school, admitted the genuineness of 1 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon. Strong objection has sometimes been made to 2 Thessalonians, but its genuineness is maintained without qualification by Klöpper and Jülicher. Pfleiderer maintains the genuineness of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians, regards the evidence as nearly balanced in the case of Colossians and Philemon, as preponderating against 2 Thessalonians and Ephesians, and as decisive against the Pastorals. Ménégoz expresses doubts about 1 and 2 Thessalonians, but is confident of the

genuineness of Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, and Philippians. He thinks that the Pastorals are in the main genuine, but that they have been interpolated by copyists. Holtzmann says that Paul's theology may be derived with confidence from 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Philippians, and, in a measure also, from 2 Thessalonians and Colossians, and that elements of Pauline doctrine may be found even in Ephesians. While some critics thus continue to express doubt about Colossians and Ephesians, von Soden and Jülicher declare for the genuineness of the former, and Jülicher admits that the genuineness of the latter is not disproved. Harnack maintains the genuineness of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon (besides the *Hauptbriefe*), and expresses himself favorably in regard to Ephesians.[1] He holds that even the Pastorals are, in part, Pauline, and that a large portion of 2 Timothy and nearly a third of Titus are composed of genuine fragments. In 1 Timothy there are Pauline elements, although no single passage can be pronounced genuine as it stands.[2]

The present state of criticism is reassuring to the Biblical theologian. In any case he will derive his material for the construction of the Pauline theology

[1] Respecting Ephesians Harnack says: "If one is convinced of the genuineness of Colossians, a great part of the objection to the genuineness of Ephesians thereby falls away. Whoever can ascribe Galatians and Colossians to the same author, can with little difficulty believe that the author of Colossians is the same with the writer of Ephesians, which, in that case, would be of even date with Colossians. The principal difficulties lie in certain passages, viz.: iv. 11; ii. 20; iii. 5." *Chronologie*, p. 239

[2] I have purposely cited the opinions of representatives of the radical school. More conservative German scholars, and English scholars generally, hold to the genuineness of the first ten Paulines, and most of them regard the Pastorals also as genuine. For a fuller exhibit of modern critical opinion see the Introductions of Weiss, Holtzmann, and Jülicher, and the *Chronologie* of Harnack. The present state of criticism respecting the Paulines is described in an article by Weiss in the *American Journal of Theology* for April, 1897. He confidently defends the genuineness of all the epistles, except the Pastorals, with regard to which he expresses himself guardedly. Though favorable to the view that they are genuine, he rests in a *non liquet*. Many of the objections are held to be invalid; the spuriousness of the epistles is regarded as unproved. Zahn in his *Einleitung* defends the genuineness of all the Paulines.

mainly from the four great doctrinal letters. If he may also feel assured of the genuineness of the epistles to the Thessalonians and Philippians, and of the Pauline basis (to claim nothing more) of Colossians and Ephesians, he may go forward in his work with little embarrassment from the side of criticism. The pastoral letters are quite special and practical in their character and aim, and their subtraction from the list of Paulines would in no way impair the completeness of the apostle's doctrinal system. Our use of these epistles will be incidental, and no conclusion respecting Paul's doctrine will be based upon them, which is not sustained by passages from some one of the other ten letters whose genuineness I believe I am justified in assuming. I shall also make use of the Pauline discourses in Acts as secondary sources. They are not to be regarded as verbal reports, but as sketches. They preserve the substance of the apostle's thoughts as he presented them to unbelieving Jews and Gentiles, but are neither, on the one hand, precise reproductions of his very words, nor, on the other, inventions of the author of the Acts.

The theology of Paul cannot be well understood apart from his personality and history. The vigor and intensity of his mind fitted him, in a high degree, to fuse the contents of Christian belief into a reasoned system of doctrine. He was a deeply religious man by nature and by education. From his youth he had been an ardent devotee of religion as he understood it. He clearly defined his convictions and carried them out consistently in action. It was not strange that he became a persecutor of the Christians. He considered their beliefs false and dangerous. Their Messiah he held to be a pretender, who did not in the least correspond to the cherished Messianic ideal of the nation. Faith in him was loosing the bonds of attachment to the law, weakening the power of the cultus, and dimming the bright hopes of Israel's future power and glory. Here certainly was reason enough why a zealous and consistent Pharisee should hate the new sect and try to exterminate it.

By what process was this fiery persecutor transformed into the Christian apostle? Saul was not an ordinary Pharisee. Religion for him did not consist chiefly in outward observances. His was a deep moral nature. For him the law of God demanded holiness. Righteousness — conformity in heart and life to the divine will — was his ideal. How could he ever realize this ideal? He knew of but one answer: He must scrupulously perform all the requirements of the law; he must keep every commandment. But when he looked into the depths of his own heart he saw that he was not doing that. He strove the harder, but without success. What was hindering him? The power of indwelling sin. He found himself weak and helpless. He saw the ideal, but was powerless to achieve it. A perpetual struggle raged within him between his conscience, which showed him what he ought to do, and the power of sin, which prevented him from doing it. He has depicted this conflict, in his pre-Christian life, in Rom. vii. 7–25.

We may see in this inner struggle an indirect preparation of his heart for the acceptance of the gospel. It had taught him his own weakness and insufficiency. While there is no evidence that this conflict led him to doubt that obedience to the law was the one way of salvation, it is certain that it was driving him to despair respecting the success of his own efforts. His doubt with regard to his own earnest and honest strivings after peace with God by doing the deeds of the law, was certainly capable of developing into a doubt whether any one could attain salvation by that path. But the thought, no salvation by law, did not occur to him during the struggle which he describes. What he doubted during this period was his own acceptableness to God, and it probably led him to redouble his persecuting zeal and thus to render, as he thought, increased service to God. The experience in question did not point him to Christ, although it was an important pre-condition of his accepting Christ. Through it all he thought of no means of salvation but the law. His conscious failure to attain his ideal was driving him

to hopelessness, instead of discovering to him the way of peace.

How, then, are we to explain the crisis that came? What was the turning-point of his life? The Acts and the Epistles agree in declaring that it was a supernatural revelation of Christ to him. Whether we are to regard the outward accompaniments of that crisis, as described in Acts, as actual events, or not, is relatively unimportant; Paul has not mentioned them in his references to his conversion in his epistles. For his own mind the emphasis lay elsewhere; it lay in the inner disclosure to his spirit of the glorified Christ as the true Messiah and Saviour. This was to him a most certain reality. He classes it along with the appearances of the risen Jesus to his disciples on earth (1 Cor. xv. 5–8) as an objective fact. He elsewhere dwells at length upon the ecstatic states of which he has been the subject (2 Cor. xii. 1 *sq.*); but he gives no indication that the revelation of Christ in him (Gal. i. 16) was of the nature of a vision. The apostle believed that a miraculous disclosure of Christ's heavenly glory formed the crisis of his life, and he had the best opportunity of knowing. No explanation tallies with all the facts which are known to us except that which Paul himself gives.[1] His vain struggle to keep the whole law gave him a vivid realization of the difficulties of the theory of salvation by deeds of legal obedience. But it was the newly found assurance that Jesus was the Messiah, which led him to the positive certainty that salvation is by grace through faith in Christ. But the two poles of his theology, the positive and the negative, belong together. They are the inseparable aspects of one conclusion, which was not adopted till Christ was revealed in him. His previous struggle had thus a deep significance for his life. It gave the gospel a point of contact with his heart and conscience. It was the dark background on

[1] For the modern combination of the vision-hypothesis, and a psychological explanation, see Holsten, *Evangelium d. Paulus u. d. Petrus;* Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus;* and Weizsäcker, *Das apos. Zeitalter.* (Of the last two works there are English translations.)

which the revelation of God's grace in Christ seemed most bright and glorious.

This experience exerted a powerful influence upon his subsequent thought. It sharpened for his mind the contrast between the law and the gospel, between works and faith. He had tried to find peace with God by doing the deeds of the law, and had failed; he had found it, at last, by simple trust in God's mercy. Hence grace and faith became the watchwords of his teaching. He now saw that men had always been saved by grace on condition of faith, and that, in view of human weakness and sinfulness, they never can be saved in any other way. The fact that sin is the starting-point of his dogmatic system, as developed in Romans, is explained by his own experience. A vivid sense of his own sin was the reverse side of his earnest, but fruitless, striving after conformity to the law. As he contemplated human life and history, and dwelt upon the Old Testament pictures of human depravity, he felt that his own experience of the power of sin and of man's inability to throw off its dominion was representative of a universal fact; that all have fallen short and must be saved by appeal to God's mercy, that is, by faith.

In the apostle's pre-Christian experience and in his conversion we find not only the motives of his theology but the incentives to his missionary activity. As soon as he was converted he began to preach Christ (Acts ix. 22). The narrative in Acts represents his call to the apostleship to the nations as following directly upon his conversion (xxii. 15), and Paul himself connects his conversion and his call closely together (Gal. i. 15). His career was implicit in that crisis of his life which occurred on the way to Damascus. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that the full nature and extent of his mission was clear to him from the first. But he was from that event clearly committed to Christ and to the extension of his gospel. He awaited but the opening of the door of opportunity.

Several years passed before Paul was able to enter

upon the greater work of his apostleship. His period of solitude in Arabia (Gal. i. 17) must have given him a favoring opportunity for clarifying and maturing his new faith and defining its contents in contrast to the Pharisaic theology which he had formerly held. I believe that the essential elements of his system of thought were clearly defined in his mind from that time onward. His own description (Gal. ii. 14–21) of his argument against Peter's wavering and unclear views of the gospel's relation to Judaism, as revealed in his conduct at Antioch, shows that his own theology on that whole subject was fully developed before any of his epistles were written. I have not the slightest reluctance to recognize a development in Paul's doctrinal system, provided any evidence of such development can be found. But I find no evidence warranting the conclusion that the apostle's views changed materially from the beginning to the end of his public ministry. They grew and expanded and were more amply illustrated and applied; but his "gospel" was essentially the same throughout. We may note changes of emphasis, but no change of opinion. The diversity in the doctrinal contents of the apostle's letters is naturally and sufficiently explained by their different occasions, motives, and purposes.[1]

Paul's career opened gradually before him. After his return to Palestine from Arabia he began to proclaim that Jesus was the Christ. Many doubted the genuineness of his conversion, but Barnabas befriended him and introduced him to the primitive apostles. His life being threatened by the Hellenistic Jews, he departed for his native city, Tarsus (Acts. ix. 26–30). In due time he was summoned by Barnabas to aid in the newly established Gentile mission at Antioch (Acts x. 25). From Antioch he went out as assistant to Barnabas on his first

[1] "There was certainly a development in the theological thought of Paul. But we think that it falls in an epoch anterior to his epistles, at least before that to the Galatians." Ménégoz, *Le Péché et la Rédemption d'après St. Paul*, p. 7. *Per contra*, see Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul*, who seeks by psychological analysis to trace an evolution in Paul's thought throughout his life.

missionary tour (Acts xiii., xiv.). These were the days when the purpose of his apostleship to the nations was maturing within him, and soon we behold him surrounding himself with a corps of workers and organizing his world-conquering mission. He traverses Asia Minor, and at Troas hears the call to enter on the evangelization of Europe. He crosses the Hellespont and carries the gospel into the centres of Greek culture — to Philippi, Thessalonica, Corinth, and Athens — and later to Italy and Rome. All this time it had become increasingly apparent to him that Israel, as a nation, was certain to reject the Christ. His experience with Jewish fanaticism and persecution presented to his mind some of the most difficult problems with which he had to deal. Jewish modes of thought, which he had learned clearly to distinguish from the gospel, invaded the churches which he founded and threatened to undo his work. His converts were taught that they must observe the ceremonies of Judaism, as well as believe in Christ, in order to be saved. This Judaizing error excited in the apostle great indignation and alarm, and was the occasion of his writing his most powerful letters. Without bearing in mind these circumstances, it is impossible correctly to understand and estimate his theology.

Paul's education was Jewish. Reared in a strict Pharisaic family and trained in Rabbinic schools, his chief study would be the Old Testament and the body of tradition which had grown up around it. His epistles confirm this view of his training. His mind was a Jewish mind. His interpretations of the Old Testament and his modes of argument are those which were current in the Jewish schools. He employs the typical and allegorical methods of exegesis, but, in consequence of his deep spiritual insight, he is not carried by them into the extravagances which were common. There is no evidence that Paul was a student of Greek literature and philosophy. The few incidental references which he makes to Greek writers are utterly inadequate to warrant such a conclusion. Still, his early life was passed in a cultured Greek city, and

later he was trained by the liberal-minded Gamaliel. His father was a Roman citizen and, apparently, a man of some position. These circumstances could not be wholly without influence upon his thought and character. They must have tended to give him a considerable acquaintance with the world and to impart to his mind a somewhat cosmopolitan cast. He would inevitably obtain some familiarity with Greek and Roman ideas and life, although he would view them from the standpoint of a strict Jew. His theology is cast in Jewish moulds, although it took on a breadth of outlook which would be almost inconceivable in the case of a Palestinian Jew. Those who have sought to show that Paul's thinking was strongly influenced by Alexandrian thought, have not been able to prove more than that contemporary writings on religion, all of which were under the influence of Judaism, will exhibit some resemblances. These resemblances do not seem to me to show that the apocryphal Book of Wisdom, for example, was an important formative power in Paul's thought, and between Paul and Philo the differences far exceed the resemblances.[1] But his Roman citizenship, his acquaintance with the Greek language, and his association with Greeks and Romans must have greatly broadened his outlook upon life. He could never have been the man he was without these. Thus while the material of his training was substantially Jewish, his exceptional breadth and versatility of mind enabled him to deal with this material in a large and masterly way. It is not fanciful, therefore, to see in Paul something of the Greek and the Roman, as well as of the Jew. The Jewish religious spirit remained the fundamental factor. Reverence for God and a passionate devotion to his service characterized him throughout. This was the basis of his character and career. But with this fundamental peculiarity were combined a certain keenness and catholicity of thought which were naturally involved in a facile use of the most cultivated tongue in existence, and in the possession of the

[1] I have treated of this subject at length in my *Pauline Theology*, ch. iii. *Cf.* McGiffert's *Apostolic Age*, p. 113 *sq.*

rights and dignities of citizenship in the vast empire of Rome. Hence we note in Paul not only great religious fervor, but acute and subtle dialectic, and an undaunted energy which dares to cope with the gigantic task of conquering the world for Christ.

Paul has too often been regarded as a speculative Christian philosopher, who had little interest in historical facts. He has been represented as ignorant of the events of Jesus' life on earth or as indifferent to them. It is true that the apostle in his writings is chiefly concerned to maintain certain principles. It does not fall within the scope of his purpose to speak directly of the concrete facts of Jesus' life. He alludes to them by way of illustrating or confirming his arguments. But to me it seems quite incredible that Paul should not have had a keen interest in the history of Jesus on earth. He resided in Jerusalem either during or shortly after the public ministry of Jesus. He could not have pursued his persecuting career without learning much that Jesus had said and done. After his conversion the Lord's words and deeds must have taken on for his mind a living interest. He associated with the primitive apostles for a time in Jerusalem and paid a special visit of fifteen days' duration to Peter (Gal. i. 18). How is it conceivable that after the experience in which he had become a Christian and a preacher, and after his long reflection upon Christian truth in his seclusion, he should not have eagerly learned from Peter as much as possible concerning the earthly life of his Master and Saviour?

The epistles of Paul confirm the supposition that he would acquaint himself with the tradition of the words and deeds of Jesus. Through the medium of this tradition he had received the account of the institution of the Lord's supper (1 Cor. xi. 2, 23) and the narrative of the resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 3). He was familiar with the circumstances which occurred on the night of the Lord's betrayal, with the very words which he spoke at the supper, with the facts of his death, burial, and resurrection, and with his various appearances after the resurrection (1 Cor.

xv. 3–8). He knew what Jesus said about marriage and divorce, and clearly distinguished it from his own opinions and advices on that subject (1 Cor. vii. 10, 25). In several other instances he referred to words of Jesus (1 Thess. iv. 15; 1 Cor. ix. 14), and in one of his discourses has preserved to us that saying, not recorded elsewhere: "It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts xx. 35). He had in his mind a clear picture of Christ and his sufferings, and he reminds the Galatians how in his preaching he had portrayed him before them as the crucified One (Gal. iii. 1). In his pre-Christian life he had known Christ, but it was only a knowledge *κατὰ σάρκα* (2 Cor. v. 16).[1] When he became a Christian this knowledge did not lose its value, but was transformed into a knowledge *κατὰ πνεῦμα*. What he had known of Christ before was merely outward and superficial; now he truly knew him in his divine meaning and power. As a Christian he saw Christ with new eyes.[2]

But Paul was not merely the product of such forces and opportunities as have been mentioned. His was a mind of marked originality and power. He thought eagerly and profoundly on the subjects which engaged his attention. He clearly saw the relation of one truth to another. He was the first Christian to construct his beliefs into a doctrinal system. Paul was a born reasoner. We can conceive of him as born and educated as a Palestinian Jew or as an Alexandrian Hellenist. His language and forms of thought would, no doubt, have been very

[1] It is wholly unwarranted to understand this passage as an assertion of indifference respecting the historical life of Jesus. The choice lies among the following interpretations: (1) I do not lay chief stress, as many Judaic Christians do, upon having known Christ in the flesh. (2) I do not regard the Messiah as a national deliverer, as I did before my conversion, but as a spiritual King. (3) I do not attach importance to the Jewish descent and nationality of Jesus, as I did for a time after my conversion. (4) Formerly I knew Christ only outwardly; now I know him in a living fellowship. This view, which does not try to define precisely Paul's former knowledge *κατὰ σάρκα*, would include, to some extent, elements contained in the others.

[2] The traces of Paul's knowledge of Christ's life and teaching are fully exhibited by Knowling, *The Witness of the Epistles*, chs. v., vi.

different from what they are; but we are sure that he would still have been the Christian thinker, developing his views from certain fundamental principles and constructing his thoughts into the unity of a system. But Paul was a mystic as well as a logician. He believed that the discerning eye sees the truth, and that it is of little use to argue with those who are without spiritual perception. His arguments are mainly addressed to believers, and are designed to help them to define their own faith and to preserve it from admixture of Jewish or heathen error. The combination of the logician and the mystic in Paul was a great source of his power. Each quality reacted on the other. His logical mind preserved his mysticism from vagueness and extravagance, and his mystical contemplations prevented his arguments from taking on the character of barren and formal dialectics, and made them subservient to the interests of vital and practical religion.

But there is a higher factor than any that we have named which must be taken into the account; I mean the enlightening Spirit of God. Paul himself ascribed his achievements to the divine grace. He lived and wrought under an overpowering sense of the presence of God. Highly as we may estimate his intellectual gifts, he never considered his power to lie in his reasoning faculties. It was his sense of the appeal which divine truth makes to the heart and the conscience which made him strong and confident. Christ had met and conquered him, not by argument, but by the power of his divine grace and glory. The apostle's preaching and teaching were based upon the certainty that he would prove to all others who should receive him, the same transforming power, the same heavenly wisdom. Paul's assertion "By the grace of God I am what I am" (1 Cor. xv. 10), was the presupposition of his whole life-work.[1]

The order of treatment which I shall follow is determined, in general, by the considerations already advanced.

[1] The topics which are briefly touched upon in this chapter are more fully discussed in my *Pauline Theology*, chs. i.–iv.

The starting-point of Paul's Christian thinking was anthropological. The power of sin preventing the realization of the demands of the divine law is the fact with which we may naturally begin our exposition. Thus our first themes will be human sin and the divine law. Next we shall turn to the counterpart of these themes, God's gracious purpose and promise, and the salvation from sin which he has provided in Christ. In this connection we shall have to study the person and work of the Redeemer and the appropriation and realization of salvation in the life of the believer. These topics will naturally lead us to consider the social applications of the gospel in the organization and administration of the Church. Finally, we shall summarize the views of the apostle concerning the future life, and inquire how far they involve a reasoned system of eschatological doctrine.

CHAPTER II

FLESH AND SPIRIT

We may best begin the investigation of Paul's theology with a study of the contrast between flesh and spirit. From Rom. vii. 7–25 we learn how much this contrast meant for his pre-Christian life, and how the conflict between the two principles had been affected by his faith in Christ. I assume, as a secure result of exegesis, that this passage reflects Paul's own experience, and was intended to describe the inner struggle in the life of the sincere and earnest Jew, who sought peace with God by obedience to the demands of the law.

The apostle describes how the law, by holding its ideal constantly before him, revealed him to himself. He aspired to obey it, but a power in his nature prevented him. He gladly acknowledged the binding force of the law; his mind, or reason, fully consented to its obligations. But the principle of sin, reigning within him, made complete obedience impossible. "For that which I do I know not; for not what I would, that do I practice; but what I hate, that I do. But if what I would not, that I do, I consent unto the law that it is good. So now it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me" (Rom. vii. 15–17). And sin is allied with the flesh. "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing" (vii. 18). Sin dwells in the flesh and is a "law in the members which wars against the law of the mind" (vii. 23). It is to be noticed that sin and the flesh (σάρξ) are here distinguished, at least formally; and, further, that "the flesh" and "the members" (μέλη) are synonyms. Evidently, therefore, the flesh means the material of which the parts of the body are composed. The term here bears

a physical sense. The question now arises: Does sin, according to Paul, have its source and seat in the body? Is the flesh inherently evil? Sin and the flesh are closely connected. Are they inseparable? Many scholars, from Baur onwards, have held that Paul's philosophy of sin answers this question affirmatively. Several recent writers explain this supposed doctrine of the inherent sinfulness of the flesh as a result of the influence of Greek dualism upon the mind of Paul.[1]

Against this view of Paul's doctrine the following considerations seem to me decisive: (1) Paul carefully distinguishes sin from the flesh. Sin dwells in the flesh, takes occasion of its impulses and passions, and makes it the sphere of its manifestation. But the flesh is never identified with sin or described as inherently and necessarily sinful. (2) In Rom. vii. 7 *sq.* Paul is not speaking of the origin of sin, but of its empirical relation to the flesh. Even if that relation is in all cases what Paul describes it in the first person as being, it would not follow that sin had a sensuous origin. (3) In the one passage in which Paul treats of the beginning of human sin (Rom. v. 12 *sq.*), he ascribes it to a voluntary act of transgression (*παράβασις*), and not to the nature of a physical organism which is regarded as in itself evil. In passages where Paul's thought of the *σάρξ* transcends its physical meaning, the contrast between it and spirit is seen to be primarily ethical rather than metaphysical. In Rom. viii. 3–9 the apostle contrasts the two principles sharply. He speaks of a "flesh of sin" (*σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας*), but it is an ethical principle whose "mind" or disposition (*φρόνημα*) is hostile to God and refuses obedience to his law. The spirit (*πνεῦμα*) is the higher nature in which man is akin to God. He yields to one or the other by the free consent of his will, and so lives or walks *κατὰ σάρκα* or *κατὰ*

[1] So Holsten, *Die Bedeutung des Wortes σάρξ, u. s. w.*; Lüdemann, *Die Anthropologie des Paulus*, 50–71; Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* ii. 19 *sq.*; and formerly Pfleiderer, who, however, materially modified his view on this subject in *Das Urchristenthum* and in the second edition of *Paulinismus*.

πνεῦμα. Whichever he does, his act is voluntary, and has its moral quality in consequence of his choice and preference. That the contrast between flesh and spirit is ethical and has its seat in the will, is also evident from Paul's description of the "works of the flesh" and the "fruit of the Spirit" respectively (Gal. v. 19–23). The apostle is here contrasting two kinds of moral choice and action. He says nothing of an ontological contrast between substances, one of which is the principle of sin. (4) When Paul compares the natural man, Adam, and the spiritual man, Christ, he does not intimate that the contrast between "natural" and "spiritual" involves, in itself, the contrast between sinful and holy. On the contrary, we see from Rom. v. 12 that Paul held the Jewish view of Adam's original sinlessness. (5) That the body (or its material, the flesh) is not essentially sinful, is clear from the way in which Paul speaks of it as capable of being cleansed and sanctified. Christians may "cleanse themselves from all defilement of flesh and spirit" (2 Cor. vii. 1). "The body is for the Lord" (1 Cor. vi. 13) and is capable of sanctification to his service. The members are capable of becoming instruments of righteousness (ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης, Rom. vi. 13). The body is to be made "a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God" (Rom. xii. 1), "a temple of the Holy Ghost" (1 Cor. vi. 19, 20). In the body the life of Jesus may be manifested (2 Cor. iv. 11), and it will be quickened and transformed in the resurrection (Rom. viii. 11, 23). It cannot, therefore, be essentially and necessarily sinful. (6) There can be no doubt that Paul held both that Christ possessed a real human body and that he was sinless. To him belonged the σάρξ; but not a σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας (Rom. viii. 3). Hence σάρξ is not necessarily sinful.[1]

In the contrast between flesh and spirit we have to do, not with a metaphysical dualism based upon the inherent evil of matter and derived from the Græco-Alexandrian speculation, but with a view of man which has its basis

[1] The view which I have expressed on this point is supported by Bovon, Ménégoz, Gloël, Beyschlag, Sabatier, Bruce *et al.*

in the Old Testament. Let us trace its main outlines.

The primary meaning of *σάρξ* is, of course, the material of the body. Flesh is living, organized matter and belongs to birds and fishes as well as to men (1 Cor. xv. 39). In the narrative of creation in Genesis (ii. 7) man is described as made of material elements animated by a breath from God. Thus man became a "living soul" (*ψυχὴ ζῶσα*, 1 Cor. xv. 45). The matter which is thus animated by a principle of life (*ψυχή*) is "flesh," in the fundamental meaning of that word. It thus naturally happens that "flesh" (בָּשָׂר) is, in the Old Testament, a frequent synonym for man's creaturehood — a name for his weak and perishable nature, in contrast to God. In this idea the Pauline usage has its roots. *Σάρξ* and *ψυχή* are kindred terms, and *σαρκικός* and *ψυχικός* are synonyms, in contrast to *πνευματικός* (1 Cor. ii. 14, 15). *Σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα* denotes man either in the perishable, corruptible part of his nature (1 Cor. xv. 50), or in his incompetence as contrasted with the power of God (Gal. i. 16). This mortal life is lived "in the flesh," that is, in creaturely weakness and liability to death (Gal. ii. 20; Phil. i. 22). Hence the term naturally designates outward relations, as one's descent and kinship (Rom. iv. 1; ix. 5, 8; xi. 14), or the relation of master and slave, in contrast to spiritual brotherhood (Col. iii. 22; Philem. 16), or material goods (*τὰ σαρκικά*) in contrast to spiritual goods (*τὰ πνευματικά*, Rom. xv. 27; 1 Cor. ix. 11). All such relations as are involved in physical descent, Jewish citizenship, and knowledge by the senses are, in themselves, *κατὰ σάρκα*, outward, incidental, unessential (Gal. vi. 12; 2 Cor. xi. 18; v. 6).

From these considerations the conclusion might plausibly be drawn that for Paul *σάρξ* is a name for man's creaturely weakness in contrast to God.[1] Clear evidence of the simple reproduction of this Old Testament idea is unquestionably found in some Pauline passages. But will this interpretation apply to his language as a whole? We shall pres-

[1] So Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleish und Geist im bibl. Sprachgebrauch.*

ently see that Paul has advanced beyond this conception and has given a more positive ethical content to his idea of the flesh than this interpretation involves. The steps of that development it is not difficult to imagine. Man's weakness is, in one aspect of it, moral weakness; but moral weakness is not merely negative, but positive. Thus with "the flesh" is naturally associated the notion of positive sinfulness. The flesh is not merely weak, but is the seat of passions and impulses which easily give occasion to sinful choices and actions. In this way the ontological dualism of flesh and spirit (to be carefully distinguished from the Greek dualism) easily merges into the ethical dualism of Paul. He looked upon the flesh in its positive aspects. He had experienced the power of its passions and the way in which it allied itself with sin and became the instrument of sinful desire. The Old Testament contrast still remained the basis of Paul's doctrine, but the contrast was sharpened and ethicized by Paul's intense realization of the power of sin. I cannot, therefore, agree with that theory which so far disregards the Old Testament basis of Paul's doctrine as to maintain that "the flesh" is for him a name for the whole man in one aspect of his life, in contrast to spirit which designates the whole man in another aspect of it.[1] If it is certain that Paul is not to be interpreted in terms of Manichæan or Alexandrian dualism, it is, to say the least, improbable that his language is to be construed in accordance with philosophical monism. Paul was a Jewish dualist whose dualism was rendered thoroughly ethical by his intense sense and experience of sin. His dualism was not based upon the idea of the inherent evil of matter, but upon the fact of experience that out of man's sensuous nature arise potent enticements to sin and that, in actual sinful humanity, the flesh is a powerful ally of evil.

Before further testing this view by reference to the relevant passages it is necessary to examine Paul's use of the term *πνεῦμα*. In Rom. vii. 18–25 we observe that the principle which is contrasted with the flesh is called the good

[1] So Ménégoz, *Le Péché et la Rédemption*, pp. 41–64.

will (*τὸ θέλειν τὸ καλόν*), the inward man (*ἔσω ἄνθρωπος*), the mind (*ὁ νοῦς*), or the law of the mind or reason (*ὁ νόμος τοῦ νοός*). These terms must be synonyms of *τὸ πνεῦμα*, which is so often opposed to the flesh. The spirit of man is, then, the true ego, the better self, the spiritual nature in which he is most closely kindred to God. The spirit is that immaterial part of man which relates him to the eternal and imperishable world. Hence it stands over against the corruptible flesh which has no future. He who makes the sphere of the outward and sensuous his world can only reap corruption, while he who fosters the life of the spirit will reap eternal blessedness (Gal. vi. 8), "for the mind of the flesh is death, but the mind of the spirit is life and peace" (Rom. viii. 6). The flesh is subject to decay, but the spirit is kindred to God, and bears within itself the potency of an endless life. Hence to live or walk according to the spirit means to cultivate the higher nature and to realize the life of fellowship with God.

The spirit is constitutive in human nature; it belongs to all men as the offspring of God (Acts xvii. 29). It is true that Paul describes the "first Adam," the archetype of natural humanity, as a "living soul" (*ψυχὴ ζῶσα*), without saying anything of a "spirit," while the "last Adam" is called a "life-giving spirit" (*πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν*, 1 Cor. xv. 45). But to conclude from this passage that the natural man, according to Paul, possesses no *πνεῦμα*, would be an unwarranted *argumentum e silentio*. One might as easily prove from it that Jesus Christ possessed no soul and no body. Adam and Christ are here contrasted only in a single particular; the former is the natural, the latter the spiritual head of the race. It is natural that Paul should most frequently speak of the spirit in describing Christians, because in their life the spirit is the predominant element (Rom. viii. 16). The Christian man is *πνευματικός*, or if he must in some cases still be described as *σαρκικός*, it is because he has not yet realized the idea of his Christian calling (1 Cor. iii. 1–3). In that case the professed Christian is really living after the

manner of the unrenewed man. But the human πνεῦμα is not a *donum superadditum* which is conferred in regeneration. It is a factor of man's personality which is developed and assumes dominance in the Christian life. Before his conversion when the flesh mercilessly ruled his life, Paul still possessed the moral reason, the spiritual nature, which often asserted its claims and demanded its right to control his action. The fornicator at Corinth possessed a πνεῦμα which was capable of being saved (1 Cor. v. 5). Paul attributes man's self-knowledge to "the spirit of man which is in him" (1 Cor. ii. 11). The spirit is thus seen to be a constituent element in human nature.

We have now seen what is the fundamental idea underlying Paul's use of the terms "flesh" and "spirit" when they are set in contrast. There are certain cases where both are used in a neutral sense in which this contrast is not in mind. When, for example, Paul speaks of being present with the Corinthian Church "in spirit" (1 Cor. v. 3), he means that he sympathetically imagines what is transpiring in their congregation. In a popular use of the words the terms πνεῦμα and ψυχή might be used interchangeably (2 Cor. i. 23; Col. iii. 23). In writing to the Corinthians of his disappointments and trials he can even say in one place that his flesh found no relief (2 Cor. vii. 5), and in another that his spirit found no relief (ii. 13). But wherever the contrast between flesh and spirit is spoken of in connection with the moral and religious life, the basis of that contrast is the conflict in human nature, as it actually is, between sensuous impulses which become incentives to wrong choice and action, and the higher moral nature which knows and approves the right. This, I say, is the basis or starting-point of the contrast. But what then is that "ethical use" which Paul makes of the word σάρξ, and how does that usage stand related to the Old Testament contrast of the material and the spiritual factors of human nature?

Paul's doctrine of the flesh was not intended to be a philosophy of the origin of sin. So far as the apostle has given any account of sin's origin, it is found in the

parallel between Adam and Christ (Rom. v. 12–21). In what Paul says of the σάρξ, he is speaking entirely of empirical humanity as it is since the entrance of sin into the world. He does not represent man as originally and by his constitution sinful. On the contrary, he became sinful by an act of will. But he was by creation carnal; he had a lower nature whose appetites and passions readily entered into alliance with depraved affections and a perverted will. Thus the flesh became a σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας; the body a σῶμα ἁμαρτίας (Rom. viii. 3; vi. 6). The members became the instruments of sin and the sphere of its manifestation. It is by such an easy transition that the physical notion of the flesh, which is found in the Old Testament, passes over into the ethical conception of it, which we find in Paul. A passage like Rom. vi. 19: "I speak after the manner of men because of the infirmity of your flesh," suggests the nature of the transition. The Roman Christians were still morally weak, and had not yet fully learned that the Christian life required that they should make their members servants to righteousness, and not to uncleanness and iniquity. Here the moral weakness which is connected with the flesh is, primarily, a tendency to carnality of life. Here creaturely weakness has its positive side, which is moral depravation.

The Corinthian Christians, whom Paul calls σαρκικοί (1 Cor. iii. 3), are also described as weak and immature, babes needing to be carefully nursed. But their weakness is not merely negative; it is a moral perversion issuing in "jealousy and strife." These passages carry us over to the more strictly ethical use of σάρξ whose various "works," partly sensuous sins and partly sins of disposition, are described in Gal. v. 19–21. It is a catalogue of sins which issue from the dominance of the lower nature. All forms of sin have a certain kinship and unity. Hence the dominion of carnal impulses involves the supremacy of the lower nature, and so naturally issues in other forms of sin than those which are more directly sensuous. Even in this passage it is not necessary to suppose that the apostle entirely deserts the Old

Testament basis of his doctrine. The same remark applies to his language in Rom. vi. 12 *sq.* The keynote of this passage is: "Let not sin reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey the lusts thereof: neither present your members unto sin as instruments of unrighteousness" (*v.* 12). The thought here is: Do not allow sin to subdue to its uses your bodily powers and desires. Preserve your members from such slavery and make them subservient to righteousness. In Rom. viii. 3 *sq.* the flesh is described as a power which, in its alliance with sin, is so strong that the law could not vanquish it. Christ, however, has appeared in the flesh (without sin) and has dethroned sin which reigned therein. The reference to Christ's appearance in the flesh, and the synonymous use of "flesh" and "body" in the passage (see *vv.* 10, 11) show that the Old Testament contrast of body and spirit, the earthly and the heavenly constituents of man's personality, lies at the basis of this representation. The flesh is personified. It has a "mind" (*φρόνημα*); it refuses obedience to God (*v.* 7). It is conceived of as a moral power ruling the life of those who are subject to it. The body is almost identified with the sin whose instrument it is. The flesh has become a synonym for the lower nature in general. But, strictly speaking, the identification of the flesh with sin is not made, either here or elsewhere. The flesh may be so subdued to the service of righteousness as no longer to be a hindrance to the Christian life. In the Christian man the dominant element is the spirit, and, although his body is subject to decay and death in consequence of sin, it will be quickened and transformed at the resurrection (*vv.* 10, 11), and made like to Christ's "body of glory" (Phil. iii. 21).

From this review of the passages it seems evident to me that no definition of the *σάρξ* can be given which will be equally applicable to all the uses which Paul makes of that word. Primarily, *σάρξ* is the material of the body, generally considered as a seat of impulses which become motives to sin, but sometimes as a symbol of creaturely weakness. But moral weakness implies a positive per-

version, and sensuous appetites and passions enter into natural alliance with sins of disposition, and thus σάρξ easily becomes a synonym for the lower nature in general, in contrast to the better self, the conscience or moral and religious nature. Paul uses these terms popularly and for practical purposes, and without any thought of making precise psychological distinctions. The main points are that Paul distinguishes sin from the flesh and from the organism which is composed of flesh, the body. Evil is not traced to a sensuous origin, although it is extended and intensified by its connection with sensuous appetites and passions. His references to the flesh are made not from speculative motives, but on the basis of experience. Their import is not metaphysical but ethical.

In the light of these considerations we see to what extent they are right who suppose σάρξ to be used in a neutral sense. Metaphysically considered, the flesh is neutral; empirically considered it is sinful. Matter as such is not evil, nor is it the source of evil; but the body, as animated by a soul capable of feelings and appetites, is a source of temptation and a seat of evil. But since by a perversion of will sin entered the world, it has made the body its slave, and has subjected it to vanity and corruption.

A fair test of the correctness of our conclusions is found in Paul's attitude towards asceticism. He does, indeed, speak of subduing the body (1 Cor. ix. 27), and of putting to death the members or the deeds of the body (Col. iii. 5; Rom. viii. 13). But how does he do this? Not by self-inflicted tortures, not by needless hardships and sufferings; but by maintaining, through the aid of divine grace, the predominance of the spirit; by summoning every power in the struggle for the attainment of good; by contending, as athletes contend, for the incorruptible crown of Christian virtue through self-control and the choice and pursuit of what is good (1 Cor. ix. 24–27). Paul neither practices nor recommends asceticism. He discountenances it as powerless to promote the spiritual life. On the contrary, a self-imposed humility

and severity to the body, which adopt as their maxim: "Handle not, nor taste, nor touch," belong to the rudiments of the world, and "are not of any value against the indulgence of the flesh" (Col. ii. 16–23).

It thus appears that Paul's doctrine of the flesh offers no solution for the problem of the origin of sin. Sin originated in a perversion of the human will and has its seat, primarily, in the will. But it extends its power to all the faculties and perverts them all to its own uses. The hereditary aspect of sin will next come into consideration.

CHAPTER III

ADAM AND THE RACE

THE historical origin and transmission of sin is touched upon by Paul in what he says of the relation of Adam to the race. It is evident that the apostle read the story of the first man and his fall in Genesis as literal history. He also shared the view which was current in his time, that the sinfulness of mankind in general had its origin in the transgression of Adam. Physical death was viewed as the consequence of sin. Such are the presuppositions of Paul's references to the hereditary aspect of sin and death.[1] Two passages are of special importance in this connection: 1 Cor. xv. 45–49 (*cf. v.* 22) and Rom. v. 12–21.

In the first of these passages the apostle is contrasting Adam and Christ as the head of natural and of spiritual humanity respectively. He is illustrating the saying of verse 22: "As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive." He accordingly describes Adam's nature. He is "of the earth, earthy," and hence all men as natural descendants of Adam are, like him, subject to mortal frailty. Nothing is here said of Adam's sin; the whole passage is a description of him as a natural man, a child of earth, and therefore liable to death. But does the apostle then mean to imply that Adam was by his very nature mortal; that all die in him because he was himself, even apart from sin, a perishable creature? This conclusion would not agree with Rom. v. 12 *sq.*, where death is certainly contemplated as the consequence of sin. Nor does the apostle in teaching that Adam was "natural,"

[1] Cf. *The Pauline Theology*, pp. 125, 126.

while Christ is "spiritual," mean to imply that Adam had no spiritual nature. He is contemplating Adam in a certain aspect of his being as contrasted with Christ. Adam was a creature liable to death, and his descendants share that liability. Christ is a life-giving spirit, and those who are joined to him constitute a spiritual humanity over which death can have no power. Paul's idea must have been that which underlies the Old Testament representations, that man's primitive condition was that of weakness and indeterminateness; that he was, so to speak, a candidate for immortality. He was by nature a creature, but he might by obedience attain immortality. When he sinned, this possibility was forfeited and he became actually subject to death. The two goals, life and death, were conceived as set before him. Which goal he should attain would hinge upon his obedience or disobedience to God. These also were presuppositions with Paul, derived from the Old Testament and from the popular Jewish theology.

The modern mind inevitably asks how far these ideas of the apostle accord with critical theories of the ancient traditions embodied in the early chapters of Genesis and with current views of the history of mankind. In order to make any such comparison at all, we must translate Paul's terms into their modern equivalents. We must no longer regard the description of the first human pair, their temptation and fall, as history, but as a legendary rendering of man's moral experience, coming down in its substance from a remote antiquity, and at length taking form, in accordance with the genius of Israel's religion, in the present book of Genesis. When this is done such points as the following present themselves to our notice: (1) Adam, the symbol of primitive man, is not regarded as perfect, but only as innocent and undeveloped. He is conceived of as a weak and earthly creature, an *ἄνθρωπος χοϊκός* in whom the lower nature predominates, a "living soul" (*ψυχὴ ζῶσα*) with animal appetites and passions, but capable also of choice and action and of developing a positive moral character. Primitive man is morally neu-

tral, as yet non-moral, though endowed with capacities and powers which make possible to him a moral career, either of obedience or of disobedience to God.

(2) Physiology regards death as the law to which all organisms are subject by their very nature. What standing ground can then be left for the view of Paul, that physical death is the consequence of sin? There is a measure of inconsistency here, though not of the sort which is sometimes asserted. Jewish religious thought, in which Paul's view was rooted, could not look at death from the standpoint of natural science. Death was viewed not as a law of all created organisms, but in its ethical aspects. That which constituted the essence of death to the Hebrew mind was not physical dissolution, but the weakness, sickness, and sorrow which are its accompaniments here and, especially, the dread of the dark underworld, the land of shadows and forgetfulness, into which death ushers the soul. The word "death" had widely different associations for the Hebrew mind from what it has for the physiologist. The word "life" has equally different meanings. Paul could say that Christ has "abolished death" (2 Tim. i. 10), although he knew perfectly well that physical dissolution is the lot of all bodily organisms. For the Christian death has been transformed by redemption into departure to be with Christ (Phil. i. 23). All things are his who belongs to Christ, including life and death (1 Cor. iii. 22), because Christ has made death the gateway into his eternal joy. As a mere physiological fact — the fact of physical dissolution — death remains what it was before. But by a Jewish mind death is not regarded as a mere physiological phenomenon. When Paul says that death entered the world and has continued to hold sway over mankind in consequence of sin, we should not, in order to resolve the difficulty in question, jump to the conclusion, as many expositors have done, that moral and not physical death is meant. We should rather remember what "death" connotes to the Jewish mind, which does not separate the physical from the moral after the manner of natural science, but finds the primary

significance of the fact of death in its ethical aspects. It is sometimes said: On Paul's principles we should be required to suppose that, had sin never entered the world, all the human beings who ever lived would still be living on earth. The objection only shows how the real import of Paul's doctrine may be missed by making physical death mean in Paul just what it means in biology. Paul's thought would lead to the idea that, had there been no sin, death, with its accompaniments of sorrow, pain, and fear, would not have been. But some other transition or cessation of earthly existence (which would be death in the sense of biology) would not thereby be excluded. I am not contending that the Jewish view of death which Paul shared is wholly warranted from a scientific point of view, but only that the subject was regarded by Paul from quite a different standpoint from that of physical science. Practically, the religious motive of Paul's doctrine was that the "sting of death is sin" (1 Cor. xv. 56). It is sin which makes death terrible. Redemption robs it of its terrors. Theoretically, Paul held something more than this. But what was more than this was incidental to his thought in consequence of his Jewish training, and was not essential to his view of religion.

(3) With Paul sin is an affair of the will. It entered the world by man's choice. Whatever may have been man's native weakness, whatever his liability to temptation in consequence of animal appetites, sin itself is a perversion of the will. It is therefore alien to man's nature. It is a false direction and wrong use of his powers, a missing of his true goal. It is not inherent in his sensuous nature or in his imperfection as a creature, but in his choices and character. Hence, man is responsible for his sin and guilty in consequence of it. It brings him under the holy displeasure of God (Rom. i. 18). Various as are the degrees of light which different men enjoy, all have light enough to render them inexcusable for their sin (Rom. i. 20; ii. 1).

(4) Sin is universal. "All have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God" (Rom. iii. 23). The argument of

the Epistle to the Romans is based upon the fact that all men, Jews and Gentiles alike, are sinners. As such they are guilty before God and can be saved only by grace.

We note in Paul two classes of references to the subject of sin. One set of passages speaks of sinful choices and actions, *παραβάσεις, παραπτώματα* (Rom. ii. 23; iv. 15; v. 14 *et al.*); the other, of sin in general as a world-ruling power, *ἁμαρτία* (Rom. iii. 9, v. 12, 13 *et al.*). Ménégoz distinguishes these two ideas by calling the former Paul's *moral* notion, the latter his *dogmatic* notion, of sin. "The moral notion," he says, "considers sin in itself, in its nature, in its essence. The dogmatic notion considers it in its origin, its extent, its rôle, its end."[1] Paul speaks, on the one hand, of concrete sin; on the other, of sin in the abstract. In modern parlance we should make the distinction by speaking of sinful acts and of a sinful character out of which sinful acts spring. The peculiarity of Paul's thought is that he personifies sin, in this latter sense, and speaks of it as entering the world and ruling mankind. But this use of language need cause no confusion. By sin, in this personified sense, he means human sinfulness collectively considered — the power of a universal sinful bias.

It is in connection with this idea of sin that Paul draws the parallel between Adam and Christ (Rom. v. 12–21). The aim of that passage is to magnify the grace of God in redemption. This the apostle does by showing that the divine mercy which has been manifested in Christ is more than a match for the power of sin, mighty as that power is. As the apostle touches successively upon the points of comparison, he emphasizes the superior greatness of God's grace, as compared with sin, by exclaiming: "Much more" (*πολλῷ μᾶλλον*) does the grace of God surpass the power of sin. Incidentally, however, Paul has here given us the nearest approach to a theory of "original sin." The passage proceeds upon the view that Adam was the natural head of the race, as Christ is its spiritual head. Sin began in Adam's transgression; and since death was to be the

[1] *Le Péché et la Rédemption*, p. 15.

penalty of sin (Gen. iii. 3), death entered the world when sin entered. But death became the portion of all men, even of those who sinned before the Mosaic law was given. Sin must, therefore, have been universal. What, now, was Paul's view of the connection between Adam's trespass and the universality of sin in his descendants?

The various theological theories of original sin have been derived from different interpretations of the phrase, "for that all sinned" (*ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον*). The principal point in dispute has been whether "all sinned" means "all sinned in Adam or when Adam sinned" (as held by the Augustinian and federal theories), or that "all individually and personally sinned" (as held by various schools of modern theology). The differences on this point among critical interpreters is as great as among dogmaticians. If appeal on behalf of the view of "modern theology," that the phrase refers to personal sin, be made to Weiss, Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, Sabatier, Lipsius, and Holtzmann, these famous names can be easily matched, on the other side, by Meyer, Godet, Ménégoz, Bruce, Beyschlag, and Bovon. It is impossible to determine this point with absolute certainty. Although, in former times, it was thought that the greatest doctrinal consequences hinged upon this phrase, it is now recognized by many that Paul's main thought is not so essentially affected by this difference of interpretation as was once supposed. In any case, the passage as a whole contains the idea that a moral corruption or depravation passed down from Adam to his descendants; and even if *πάντες ἥμαρτον* refers to personal sin, it probably refers to it as illustrating the moral corruption or sinful bias which the parallel assumes to have come down from Adam. The passage as a whole thus presupposes what in modern terms we call the transmission of sinful tendencies by heredity. In precisely what form Paul conceived that idea, we do not know. But the theological significance of the passage lies in its recognition of the significance of heredity for the moral life of man. Paul could no more have had in mind the notion of original sin which is contained in Augustinian realism, derived from Plato's philosophy, or the later notion

of Adam's federal headship, developed in Holland in the seventeenth century, than he could have had in mind the results of modern inquiry into the laws of heredity, or the speculations which underlie the theory of Julius Müller, that our "hereditary sin" is the consequence of a personal self-decision made in a pre-temporal state. Paul's thought is correctly apprehended when we recognize his vivid sense of the power of sinful character and his emphatic assertion that sin spreads itself abroad and intensifies its power in human life by means of our race-connection. Sin is not produced *de novo* by each individual for himself, as if man began his moral life in a state of perfect equilibrium. On the contrary, every man brings with him into the world an inheritance of tendencies to sin, a bias towards evil. With that every life is weighted from its beginning, in consequence of its connection with a sinful race and through the operation of the mysterious power of heredity.

But in spite of a changed view of the theological bearing of our passage as a whole, it still remains an interesting exegetical question whether *πάντες ἥμαρτον* refers to the conscious sinning of all individuals, or to some kind of constructive or collective sin which is conceived of as implicit in Adam's transgression. I hold this latter view, although I hold it in a form essentially different from the old theological theories. It must be remembered that Paul regards sin as a unit—a principle of which all concrete sins are but an expression and evidence. By Adam's transgression this principle was lodged in the life of humanity. The sinning of all men is regarded as implicit in the sin of the head of the race.

The language of the passage shows that Paul's thought is: All sinned when Adam sinned. As the righteousness of spiritual humanity is derived from Christ, so the sins of natural humanity have their causal principle in the sin of Adam. Throughout the passage stress is laid upon the transgression of Adam as the cause of sin in general and of the reign of death: "As through one man sin entered into the world" (*v.* 12); "the judgment came of one unto condemnation" (*v.* 16); "if by the trespass

of the one the many died" (*v.* 17). Now if we suppose that individual sinning is meant by *πάντες ἥμαρτον*, then a different reason for the universality of death is introduced from that emphasized in the passage elsewhere. Everywhere else death is said to have entered the world through the sin committed by Adam. Is it likely that in *πάντες ἥμαρτον* Paul meant to give a different reason for its universality, namely, the universality of personal sin? In what is stated in the passage concerning Christ as the author of righteousness, nothing is said of personal faith as the condition of its appropriation. The aim of the passage does not require that anything should be said of it. It is wholly unlikely that in the analogous case of Adam's relation to the sinful race anything should be said of personal sin. The passage is dealing with two principles and their relation to their respective sources, Adam and Christ. It deals neither with personal sin nor with personal faith.

If *πάντες ἥμαρτον* refers to the personal sinning of all individuals, the statement would not be true. The phrase is intended to give the reason for the universal reign of death: "And so death passed unto all men (*εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους*) because all (*πάντες*) sinned." Now, millions of infant children have died who have not consciously and personally sinned. How could Paul assign the personal sinning of all individuals as the cause of their death in view of this obvious fact? If he was thinking of personal sin, how could he overlook such an immense and significant exception? It is arbitrary in the extreme to take *πάντες* in any narrower sense than belongs to *πάντας* in the same sentence. It is certain that *πάντας* denotes mankind universally. It follows that *πάντες* also does, and that *ἥμαρτον* is predicated of all descendants of Adam. It must include infants, and cannot therefore refer to conscious, personal sin, since they have not consciously and personally sinned.

But what, then, did the apostle mean? Did he, after all, hold the realistic conception of human nature, that all men were in Adam, that all wills were in his will, and

that therefore all men actually participated in his sin? Or did he suppose that all sinned in him representatively or putatively, as a nation might stand or fall with the acts of its representatives? If either or both of these later modes of theological thought could be shown to have had any place in the thought-world of Paul, they would be entitled to serious consideration. But this is not the case. The key to Paul's thought in regard to the sinning of all men when Adam sinned is found in his own oft-repeated identification of the believing world with Christ in his saving deeds. All men sinned in and with Adam in the same sense as all believers died and rose with Christ. "Non agitur de peccato singulorum proprio. Omnes peccarunt, Adamo peccante, sicut omnes mortui sunt, salutariter, moriente Christo (2 Cor. v. 15)."[1] The principal passages which illustrate Paul's view are: "Our old man was crucified with him"; "If we died (*ἀπεθάνομεν*) with Christ," etc. (Rom. vi. 6, 8); "One died for all, therefore all died" (*οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον*, 2 Cor. v. 15); "If ye died (*ἀπεθάνετε*) with Christ," etc. (Col. ii. 20); "If ye were raised together with Christ" (Col. iii. 1); "For ye died (*ἀπεθάνετε*), and your life is hid with Christ in God" (Col. iii. 3); "We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life" (Rom. vi. 4).

In what sense did the believer die when Christ died? In what sense did he rise with Christ from the grave? It is evident from the drift and purpose of the passages where these expressions occur that Paul mystically identifies the believers with Christ and figuratively describes the process of salvation in the Christian man in terms of the saving deeds which procured his salvation. In and with the saving deeds — Christ's death and resurrection — the salvation of all believers is conceived of as accomplished, so that the believing world is described as dying (to sin) when Christ died, and as rising with him to newness of life. This method of thought is the supreme

[1] Bengel, *Gnomon N. T.*, *in loco*, Rom. v. 12.

example of Paul's mysticism.[1] We may say that the believing world dies, is buried, and rises with Christ in a figurative sense if we understand that the figure is based upon real relations; that the moral death of believers to sin is conceived of as having its cause and ground in the death of Christ with which it is identified.[2] We see in these representations the apostle's way of expressing his intense sense of the believer's vital relation with Christ. He is so joined to Christ that he is described as passing through those experiences of Christ in which his saving work culminates.

In an analogous sense all men are conceived of as sinning when Adam sinned. Natural humanity is mystically identified with Adam. This representation is figurative, but a great reality underlies the figure. What that real relation of primeval sin to all subsequent sin is, Paul does not state, either here or elsewhere. But it is evident from our passage as a whole that the apostle considers our sinfulness to have a hereditary aspect; that the first sin stands in some causal relation to sin in general, such as to justify him in figuratively blending them together in a single inclusive conception. The unity and solidarity of the race, and the power of heredity over the moral life of mankind, are the thoughts which underlie his mystical identification of the sin of all men with the trans-

[1] Cf. *The Pauline Theology*, pp. 32–43.

[2] We should naturally expect that as believers are conceived of as dying to sin when Christ died on the cross, and rising to holiness when Christ rose from the tomb, they would be represented as also buried with him in the grave. But Paul has not carried out his thought in this way. The reason is that he has identified the idea of burial into a moral death to sin with water-baptism (Rom. vi. 4). Formally considered, this representation stands by itself, because the ethical burial and its consequent resurrection to newness of life are conceived of as occurring, not when Christ was buried and rose, but when the believer was baptized. Thus we see that the believer's ethical resurrection is (*a*) identified with Christ's resurrection (Col. iii. 1), and (*b*) conceived as occurring when the believer is raised from the waters of baptism (Rom. vi. 4). This variation from Paul's usual representation shows that he was conscious of employing a figure or analogy which need not be developed in any fixed form. Its real import was that believers were saved by Christ's death and resurrection, and were joined to him in a living fellowship.

gression by which sin first gained entrance to the world and began its destructive sway. As from this mystical identification of the salvation of the believing world with Christ in his death and resurrection, we derive the idea of a real relation of those saving deeds to the believer's personal righteousness, so from a similar identification of the sinning of all men in and with Adam's sin, theology should deduce the principle of a real relation of individual sin to the previous sin of the race, through heredity — a principle to which modern science has added impressive emphasis.

Paul does not describe men as guilty for that inherited tendency to sin or vitiation of nature which they derive from their connection with a sinful race. The old theological theories which held that man was by nature sinful and guilty, that newly born children were blameworthy in the sight of God and objects of his wrath, found support for such a view in Paul only by unwarranted exegesis. The principal proof-text was Eph. ii. 3: "And (we Jews) were by nature children of wrath (*τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς*), even as the rest" (the Gentiles). This passage was understood to affirm that all human beings are objects of God's wrath from the moment of birth in consequence of original sin and native depravity. Meyer has abundantly refuted this interpretation, and many other recent scholars have adopted substantially the view which he advocated.[1] I have elsewhere[2] given my reasons for rejecting the interpretation that "Paulus nos cum peccato gigni testatur, quemadmodum serpentes venenum ex utero afferunt" (Calvin); I can only briefly summarize them here. It is apparent from the context that the object of the passage as a whole is to describe the actual sinfulness of the Gentile world, and thus to show from what great depravity the readers have been redeemed. But not wishing to excuse the Jewish world, Paul throws in the statement that the Jews were quite as bad as the Gentiles. The

[1] Among them, Weiss, von Soden, and T. K. Abbott. See, especially, the latter's *Commentary*, *in loco*, in the International Series.

[2] See *The Pauline Theology*, pp. 152–157.

passage is quite analogous to Rom. i. and ii. where, after depicting the depravity of the heathen, he turns to the Jews and charges them with doing the same things. In both cases he is speaking of actual sin. It is, moreover, utterly incredible that Paul should have described the Jewish people, the branches of the sacred olive tree of the theocracy (*οἱ κατὰ φύσιν κλάδοι*, Rom. xi. 21), as by their very birth and nature, objects of God's wrath. If this interpretation is correct, it is no wonder that it is regarded as proof that Paul could never have written the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is, indeed, quite certain that he never wrote anything which stands in such glaring contradiction with his doctrine of the "holy nation" as does the old dogmatic interpretation of this passage. The words *τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς* do not necessarily mean objects by birth of God's wrath. *Φύσις* may mean "growth" as well as "birth." It may refer to inheritance, as in Gal. ii. 15, or to the development of the voluntary life, as when the Gentiles are said to do *φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου* (Rom. ii. 14). Further, *φύσει* is not emphatic in our passage as the interpretation under review assumes. The passage, no doubt, presupposes a hereditary taint, but it does not assert that before and apart from any voluntary action, and on the basis of inheritance alone, human beings are objects of God's wrath. It teaches rather that Jews, as well as Gentiles, in their corrupt pre-Christian life, were objects of God's holy displeasure. "The word *φύσει* refers to their natural development (as in Rom. ii. 14), and purposely stands after *τέκνα*, because to them belonged, through divine grace and calling, the sonship to God (Rom. ix. 4), in virtue of which they remained beloved of God (Rom. xi. 28) even when their conduct (Wandel) exposed them to the divine wrath."[1]

As a result of our review it appears that the elements of Paul's doctrine of sin are as follows: (1) Sin does not have its origin and ground in the sensuous nature, or in any metaphysical limitation of man, but in the will. (2) Sin is universal and guilty. It pervades and affects

[1] Weiss, *Die paul. Briefe, in loco.*

all man's life and relations. Paul does not, however, teach the total depravity of all mankind. All men are not by nature "wholly inclined to all evil, and that continually." Even the heathen may "show the work of the law written on their hearts," and may, at least in some degree, "do by nature the things of the law" (Rom. ii. 14, 15), that is, partially conform to the divine will. (3) A bias towards sin is propagated by heredity. Men belong to a sinful race. They begin life with a predisposition to evil. Upon each life is entailed a moral inheritance from the past. The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children. These principles are not shaken, but confirmed, by the results of science and by the subtlest speculations of ethical philosophy on the subject.

CHAPTER IV

THE LAW OF GOD

PAUL'S doctrine of the law is developed mainly from a Christological standpoint. He does not dwell upon the historic purpose and use of the law. He lays the greatest stress upon its office as preparatory to Christ. Of specific points under this general topic he discusses at greatest length the relation of the law to sin. This he does in order to show how the law served to quicken the consciousness and reveal the true nature of sin, and thus to prepare men to receive the gospel of redemption through Christ.

In setting forth this relation, Paul employs (1) a historical and exegetical argument founded upon the relation of the law to the promise given to Abraham (Gal. iii.; Rom. iv.), in which it is shown that the principle on which Abraham was justified was that of faith. The testimony of the Old Testament was that Abraham believed God, and his faith was reckoned to him for righteousness (Rom. iv. 3, 9). On the basis of this testimony Paul asserts that the promise to Abraham did not guarantee its blessing to him and to his seed on the ground of a legal obedience, but on the ground of a righteousness which is by faith (Rom. iv. 13). He therefore concludes that the way to acceptance with God is the way of faith, and that the validity of the promises made of old rests upon this principle (Rom. iv. 16; Gal. iii. 21, 22). He thus traces back his doctrine of the imputation of faith and of justification thereby (Rom. iv. 3, 5, 9, 22; *cf.* Gen. xv. 6) with historical continuity to the covenant made with Abraham. The effect of this argument is to show that the law had its main purpose in reference to the

Messianic age and work. Upon its use as a present power restraining from sin, Paul does not have occasion to dwell.

(2) He employs an argument based upon his doctrine of the cross. The postulate with which he starts is that the cross of Christ is the efficient means of redemption. But if righteousness were attainable by deeds of the law, there would not only be another way of salvation, but the way of the cross would be rendered unnecessary and useless (Gal. ii. 21; v. 4). But by the supposition this is impossible. The way by the law must therefore be shut, and the way by the cross remain the only path of life (Rom. ix. 30–33).

(3) A psychological argument is also employed to show how the law quickens the consciousness of sin, makes transgressions abound (Rom. iii. 20; v. 20; vii. 7–11), shuts men up in ward, and cuts off every other way but that of faith (Gal. iii. 23 *sq.*). The first of these three lines of proof is a general historical argument, the second a specifically Christological, and the third a psychological argument. This analysis gathers up the principal proofs by which the positive aspects of the law's preparatory office are set forth.

Its negative preparation for Christ is brought out in an argument showing the powerlessness of the law to secure righteousness. There are two main reasons for this inability of the law: (1) its external, preceptive character (2 Cor. iii. 6-18; Rom. ii. 27–29; vii. 6); (2) the carnal nature of man (Rom. viii. 3–7). Thus, negatively, the preparatory purpose of the law is shown by both its subjective and its objective inability.

Paul uses the word "law" to denote the Mosaic law, unless otherwise limited or defined.[1] Νόμος is sometimes used generically, but still denotes remotely the Mosaic legislation; ὁ νόμος denotes specifically the Mosaic law. A few passages may be taken as representative: Rom. ii. 14, where the Jews and Gentiles only are under consideration. The Gentiles "have not the law" (μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα); the Jews have the law. Here the Mosaic law must be meant

[1] As, *e.g.*, in Gal. vi. 2, τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ; Rom. ii. 14, ἑαυτοῖς εἰσὶν νόμος.

in both cases, though in one the reference is generic, in the other specific. Rom. v. 13: "For until the law (ἄχρι νόμου) sin was in the world, but sin is not reckoned where there is no law" (μὴ ὄντος νόμου). Here appear both the more specific and the more general use of the word without the article. Rom. vii. 7: "What shall we say then? Is the law (ὁ νόμος) sin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known sin but by the law" (εἰ μὴ διὰ νόμου). These passages will fairly illustrate Paul's use of the word "law." They show that in cases where he does not use it as a simple equivalent for the Mosaic law, and seems to speak of law in general, he still has the Mosaic legislation in mind. Sometimes he speaks of this law specifically, sometimes generically.[1] The law was for Paul the concrete embodiment of the divine will. It would not however follow that the Mosaic law exhausted the conception of moral law for his mind. He recognizes moral law as existing where the Torah was not known. The heathen had a law — a moral rule of life — revealed in their own hearts and consciences. When the Mosaic system was done away, the moral government of God was not impaired. On the contrary, God's moral will was all the more plainly revealed to those who received Christ. When circumcision disappeared, the substance of "God's commandments" yet remained and were still to be kept (1 Cor. vii. 19). Thus while we see that Paul did not formally distinguish the written law from the moral law in general, he did practically regard the latter as more comprehensive than the former — as a system of which the Torah was an adequate but not exhaustive expression.

It follows that by "the law" Paul denotes the whole Mosaic code. Whatever, therefore, he teaches in regard to "the law" at all, applies to the whole system, not to an element or phase of the system arbitrarily selected. Paul's theology of the law has been too often interpreted

[1] "Quand Paul parle de la Loi, ce n'est donc la loi morale abstraite, c'est la législation mosaïque qu'il a en vue." Ménégoz, *Le Péché*, etc. p. 98. The whole chapter (iv.) by Ménégoz, on *Le Péché et la Loi*, is admirable.

by means of unwarranted divisions within the law itself. But we can be certain from the use of the word that whatever he teaches in regard to the purpose and present validity of the law, he teaches in regard to its totality. "The traditional division of the law of Moses into moral, ceremonial, and juristic laws may serve to facilitate a general view of theocratic ordinances; but it is incorrect if it seeks to express a distinction within the law, and to claim various dignity for its various parts."[1] It does not follow, however, from what has been said that the law denotes for Paul merely the contents of the Pentateuch. It includes these as its primary element, but for Paul the whole Old Testament was conceived as constituting a single code. Hence, when he wishes to prove something to "those who are under the law" from what "the law saith," the passages which he quotes in evidence are not taken from the Pentateuch at all but from Isaiah and the Psalms (Rom. iii. 10–19).

Paul asserts in the strongest terms that the law is divine in its origin, and in its nature, "holy, just, and good" (Rom. vii. 12). It was "ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator" (Gal. iii. 19)[2]; it is "spiritual" (Rom. vii. 14), that is, of divine origin. In his elaborate argument showing the relation of the law to sin, he is careful to guard against the misconception that the sinfulness which the law quickens and occasions is due to any moral defect in the law itself: "Is the law sin? God forbid!" (Rom. vii. 7). So, also in his argument showing the inadequacy of the legal dispensation to

[1] Oehler, *Old Testament Theology*, I. 264.

[2] This reference to the mediation of angels and of Moses in the giving of the law is not designed to convey the idea that the law was *made* by intermediaries and was therefore inferior and transitory, as Ritschl holds. The law is not less truly divine in its origin on account of this mediation; it occupies an essential place in the plan of God. But Paul regards it as less absolute than the promise which was spoken directly to Abraham. With the fact that it was given *less directly* than was the covenant with Abraham, Paul associates the idea that it was secondary and subordinate. In giving the promise God stands alone and speaks directly; in giving the law he acted mediately. The former is absolute; the latter is relative.

the fulfilment of the promises made to Abraham, he is careful to urge that there is no opposition between the legal system and the gospel of faith preached beforehand to him (Gal. iii. 8): "Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid!" (Gal. iii. 21). The dispensation of the law is, indeed, subordinate to the covenant of promise, but so far from being in opposition to it, it has its ideal end in the fulfilment of that covenant. The law is intermediate between the ancient covenant and the completed gospel, — between the promise and the fulfilment. It was a divinely appointed means of revealing human need and of hastening its satisfaction. We thus see how completely is the law auxiliary to the gospel of grace and faith in the historic development of the Kingdom of God.

It belongs to the very nature of statute law to restrain transgression by ordaining penalties. The Mosaic law aimed to check sin, promote morality, and secure righteousness. It did this by presenting motives to obedience: "Ye have seen how I bare you on eagles' wings and brought you unto myself" (Ex. xix. 4). The Decalogue is thus prefaced: "I am the Lord thy God who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage" (Ex. xx. 2). The excellence and fitness of the law are commended to the people (Deut. iv. 6–8). The motives to obedience are both positive, being drawn from appeals backward to God's care and guidance, and forward to the promises; and negative, being founded upon threats and penalties. The law has a restraining, regulative power. It has more than a negative force. It seeks more than outward conformity; it insists upon a right disposition of heart; morality as well as legality. Though itself external to man, it is a grave mistake to suppose that it required only external obedience. What it was able to secure is another question. But such, in brief, was the historic aim of the law for the time then present, as apprehended by the Jews themselves.

At first sight it appears strange that Paul has not developed this idea of the law, but rather a view of it which

almost seems contradictory to this. How different would have been his treatment of the law while still a zealous and devout Jew! In what a different light does he see the whole subject from his new standpoint! He now looks wholly beyond the immediate aim of the law for the Jew, and sees it only in its relations to the gospel. The whole subject is therefore treated by Paul with a purely Christological purpose. This change is an impressive illustration of the radical revolution which his modes of religious thought must have undergone. That which once held for him the highest place in veneration and esteem he never ceases to honor, but its chief glory now is that it was a means of ushering in the new "ministration of the spirit." Henceforth for the apostle the glory of the law must ever pale before the brighter and more enduring glory of the new "ministration of righteousness" (2 Cor. iii. 8–11).

Some writers on the Pauline theology maintain that Paul not only fails to consider the historic purpose of the law to check transgression and secure morality, but that he teaches, to the exact contrary, that the law was given to increase sin. Pfleiderer strongly emphasizes the sharp antithesis between the Jewish, or historic, and the Pauline, or Christological, purpose of the law, and asserts that, according to Paul, the law was not given to check sin but to increase it.[1]

This point will be discussed subsequently. We have already granted that Paul nowhere dwells upon the historical idea of the law; but are there no incidental traces of this idea in the Pauline epistles? Such traces seem to be found in the following passages: Rom vii. 10, "The commandment which was unto life" (ordained unto or aimed at [securing] life, *ἡ ἐντολὴ ἡ εἰς ζωήν, sc. οὖσα*)[2]; Rom. viii. 3, 4: "For what the law could not do," etc., God did, in order that "the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit." "The righteousness of the law" is the righteousness which the law contemplates and seeks to secure, though for reasons to be separately considered it was not able to secure it.

[1] *Der Paulinismus*, p. 92 *sq.*

[2] *Cf.* Meyer, *in loco.*

If it be said that the righteousness of the law is only the righteousness which the law demanded, it is admitted; but we cannot suppose that Paul conceived of God as instituting a system making certain demands upon men, and comprehending in itself no purpose and no means of securing the fulfilment of the demands. The righteousness of the law is the righteousness which the author of the law contemplated and purposed to secure, so far as a legal system can be designed and adapted to secure such a result. From these phrases it is apparent that the language of 1 Timothy on this point is not un-Pauline: "The law (*νόμος*) is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and unruly; for the ungodly and sinners," etc. (i. 9). The meaning here is that the law was given to restrain the lawless and disobedient; to check tendencies which are not according to "sound teaching" and the "glorious gospel" (i. 9–11). It cannot be maintained that Paul meant to say that the law was given to increase the wickedness of these classes of persons. The peculiar Pauline doctrine of the purpose of the law as quickening the sense of sin does not here come into view. This passage is not a theological argument, but a piece of practical, moral instruction. On this point, then, the substance of the Pauline doctrine is: Have love, which is the one word in which the whole law is fulfilled (Gal. v. 14), and then you will not be under the law, for it is not made for the righteous —to regulate his life or threaten him for disobedience— but for sinners. Love is "the fulfilling of the law," and he who is ruled by love has within him the principle of righteousness which the law aims to secure (Rom. xiii. 8–10). The divine design of the law during the period of its validity was to secure obedience by threatening and checking transgressions. This is not equivalent to saying that it had power to justify. It could hold out inducements to righteousness, but could not secure the obedient heart. This impotence or inadequacy of the law forms the transition from the Jewish to the unique Pauline idea of the law in its relation to sin. Hence we consider next the failure of the law to secure righteousness.

We have already touched upon its external, preceptive character. It was a "ministration of death, written and engraven on stones" (2 Cor. iii. 7). It could not secure its own ideal end, because it was not a spiritual power. It could punish disobedience, induce to outward conformity, and even by motives and promises induce to obedience, but these combined results did not constitute a perfect righteousness, and could not, therefore, fulfil the conditions of a justification to be received on the basis of debt, not of grace. And here appears the greatest obstacle of all to the securing of righteousness by the law. It was powerless against the sinful, fleshly nature of man (Rom. viii. 3). As an outward "letter" (*τὸ γράμμα*) and as elementary (*τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, Gal. iv. 3, 9; Col. ii. 8, 20) it was weak "through the flesh" (*διὰ τῆς σαρκός*), that is, unable to cope with the power of sinful desire — weak in comparison with the power of the flesh. This argument, like those that have preceded it, tends to establish the Christological aim of the law. It could not, in view of this inadequacy, be a finality. It must be a system subordinate to the principle of salvation by grace on condition of faith, a principle which existed before the law, and for the more complete revelation and realization of which the law was given. The legal principle is: "He that doeth them shall live by them" (Rom. x. 5; Gal. iii. 12); but "the carnal mind is not subject to the law of God; neither, indeed, can be" (Rom. viii. 7). Hence, the way by deeds of the law is shut, and only the way of grace and faith is left.

We are thus led to consider the purpose of the law in its relation to sin. Paul teaches that the purpose of the law was to quicken the consciousness and intensify the power of sin. This idea was unknown to Jewish theology. The Jewish and the Pauline ideas, which seem so radically different, had each its element of essential truth. The former was correct historically, the latter ideally. The first step in the development of sin by the law is seen in the fact that "by the law is the knowledge of sin" (Rom. iii. 20). The law reveals sin as transgression. "I had

not known sin but by the law; for I had not known lust except the law had said: Thou shall not covet" (Rom. vii. 7). The sin existed before the law came, but was not definitely and consciously known as such. "For until the law sin was in the world, but sin is not imputed (reckoned as such) where there is no law" (Rom. v. 13). By the revelation of sin in its true character the law becomes a ministration of death. By revealing sin as transgression of divine right it "works wrath" to the disobedient (Rom. iv. 13). Thus "sin by the commandment becomes exceeding sinful" (Rom. vii. 13). In this way sin is defined. Men see themselves in the mirror of divine law as guilty. The law becomes the occasion by which sin really intensifies its power in human life. "The law entered that the offence might abound" (Rom. v. 20; *cf.* Gal. iii. 19). "Without the law sin was dead. I was alive without the law once; but when the commandment came sin revived, and I died" (Rom. vii. 8, 9). Thus the law became the "strength of sin" (1 Cor. xv. 56).

It is important, in this connection, to distinguish between *ἁμαρτία* and *παράβασις*. The former is sin considered as a principle; the latter is the manifestation of sin in specific acts. The law calls out the principle of sin into increased expression in action. It provokes a reaction of sinful desire against itself and thus increases transgressions. "The law was added (to the promise) because of transgressions" (*παραβάσεων χάριν*, Gal. iii. 19), that is, in favor of transgressions, in order to multiply them. "The law came in alongside (of the reign of sin and death[1]) that the trespass might abound" (Rom. v. 20), that is, that the trespass of Adam might, as it were, repeat

[1] Interpreters differ as to the force of *παρεισῆλθεν*. Some render: "It entered alongside of sin" (Meyer, Weiss); others: "It entered parenthetically, that is, between Adam and Christ" (von Soden, Sanday). Pfleiderer renders: "It entered between sin and redemption, as a means to the end of the latter" (*Paulinismus*, p. 101). In any case, the law is regarded as intervening in an era of sinfulness to make sin's real nature and power apparent, and so to aid in preparing the way for a gracious deliverance from it. The law helped to show the depth and power of the sinful principle by multiplying its expressions in transgressions.

itself in the lives of men. Thus the law increased the consciousness of sin — showed sin to be such — and also increased its expression as transgression. We can now see in what sense the law "increased sin." It sharpened the sinful self-consciousness by revealing sin as such. Thus relatively to man's previous consciousness of sin, it increased it. Besides this, it became by its restraint the occasion of increasing the violence and expression of sinful desire. "Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata" (Ovid). But the law did not causally increase sin. It became the occasion of its development into new strength. According to Rom. vii. 8, it is *sin*, not the law, which "wrought all manner of desire." Sin was the *cause* of this desire, the law only the *occasion* of its development. Paul's argument here is briefly this: The commandment was unto life, — had life as its end and aim, — but by reason of the hold which sin had upon my nature, it only served to reveal me to myself, and to convict me of guilt before God; and thus what was meant to be unto life I found to be unto death. The law then pronounced the death sentence on me (vii. 9), and showed me the mercy of God in Christ as my only hope (vii. 25). That the law caused a positive increase of sin, considered as a principle inherent in human life, Paul does not teach. The action of the law upon men was like that of all the influences and agencies of God's grace upon those who persist in sin. The gospel message itself becomes a "savour of death unto death" to those who reject it (2 Cor. ii. 16). Truth hardens the heart that spurns it. Moral law develops character into definiteness in both directions.

The argument which proves that the law intensified sin also shows how it became a negative means of salvation by sharpening the need and longing for redemption. In the redemptive work of Christ, therefore, the law finds its fulfilment. The law aims at life by pointing to Christ, who alone can give it. The historic aim is secured in the principle of love, which is "the end of the commandment"; its ideal aim is secured in Christ, who accomplishes for

the believer what the law could not accomplish — its just requirement (*δικαίωμα*, Rom. viii. 4). Thus the Christological and historic purposes meet and blend, since Christ brings in the perfect gospel of love. In him, therefore, the apparent antinomy is solved. The law requires righteousness and shows the sinner the depths of his sin, not to leave him in despair, but rather to lead him humbled and penitent to Christ, that God may receive him through faith. Paul's philosophy of the law is most succinctly set forth in Gal. ii. 19: "For I through the law died unto the law, that I might live unto God." The apostle died to the law ethically; he broke off all relations to the law as a supposed means of salvation. Compare Rom. vii. 4, where death to the law is illustrated by the dissolution of the marriage-bond by the death of one of the parties. But how did he die to the law *by means of the law?* The answer is found in full in Rom. vii. 7 *sq.* The law had shown him his sin and his guilt. It had put him to death ethically. It had slain his self-righteousness. This was a severe, but, in its ultimate result, a saving process. The law had prepared him to receive Christ. It had taught him the inadequacy of all his "works," and had led him to accept a gracious salvation. He thus broke off all relations to the law and fled to Christ for salvation, and it was the law itself which, when he clearly saw its requirements, proved a powerful incentive urging him to do this. Thus the law, by showing him his sinfulness and helplessness, was a means of driving him to Christ. Hence, through the law, he became as a dead man to the law — ceased to regard it as a saving institute — and was pointed to the spiritual life graciously offered in Christ, in whose fellowship he found joy and peace. The law had slain him, but it was only that Christ might make him alive. He forsook the law forever, but only that he might become "under law to Christ" (*ἔννομος Χριστῷ*, 1 Cor. ix. 21).[1]

[1] "The law had wrought in me the infinite consciousness of sin, and the sense that, do what I would, the fulfilment of its requirements was impossible. It was a state of death, but of death unto life." Jowett, *The*

From this view of the Pauline doctrine of the law it follows as an inevitable consequence that the Mosaic law does not retain under Christianity the same prescriptive moral authority which belonged to it before. It is completed in the gospel. All its elements of permanence are taken up into Christianity, which is complete in itself and does not need to be supplemented from any previous incomplete stage of revelation. This view does not rest for its support upon any single passage or set of passages. It runs through the whole Pauline conception of the relation of the two dispensations. A few passages may be quoted in illustration: Gal. iii. 19, 24, 25: "What then is the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise hath been made. So that the law hath been our tutor to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But now that faith is come, we are no longer under a tutor." The law was designed to train the people in the knowledge of their own sinfulness, and by its severe discipline "to humble the proud to desire Christ's aid" (Luther). Rom. x. 4: "For Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that believeth." The best interpreters agree that *τέλος νόμου* here is literally the end, the completion, and that the meaning of this passage is that the validity of the law has come to an end in Christ. 2 Cor. iii. 11: "For if that which passeth away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious;" Col. ii. 16, 17: "Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a holyday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is Christ;" Rom. vi. 15: "We are not under law, but under grace." According to Paul, revelation is complete in Christ. The gospel is lacking in nothing that was of permanent value in the law. God has taken away the first; he has established the second. He has completed the old in the new, as the blossom is completed in the fruit. The law will always be worthy of all honor,

Epistles of St. Paul, in loco, Gal. ii. 19. Similarly Lightfoot in his *Commentary* on the passage.

but its chief glory must ever be that it served to usher in the gospel (2 Cor. iii. 9–11), and to prove to humanity a *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν* (Gal. iii. 24).[1]

[1] Ménégoz (*op. cit.*, p. 123) sums up the various points of view in which Paul presents his special theory of the law, thus: The law was given (1) to increase transgressions (*παραβάσεων χάριν*); (2) to lead to faith (*εἰς πίστιν*); (3) to conduct to Christ (*εἰς Χριστόν*), and (4) to give life (*εἰς ζωήν*). These are but different expressions of the same fundamental notion. Thus the formally contradictory assertions respecting the law, when seen in their true light, present the same conception of the law's character and end under different aspects.

On the whole subject I would also refer to the interesting monograph of Grafe, *Die paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz nach den vier Hauptbriefen*, 2te Aufl., 1893.

CHAPTER V

THE DIVINE PURPOSE

We have seen that the law was but one — and that a subordinate one — of the dispensations of God. It was one of the methods of the divine grace — one of the various means by which God sought to realize his purpose of salvation. Its aim and operation were really embraced within the scope of that primeval gospel, that gracious action of God by which, from the beginning of human sin, he had been seeking to reconcile the world to himself. Rom. iv. and Gal. iii. are the passages in which this thought is most fully developed. The principle of grace was operative in the days of Abraham, long before the law came into being. Faith and grace are the marks of that gospel which is contained in the promise to Abraham. Thus the gospel, in its essential elements, antedates the law. It has its basis in the mercy of God, and is as old as human sin and human needs. The law came in long afterwards, not to serve any ends of its own, but to serve the ends of the divine grace. It never changed the conditions of salvation which are involved in the very nature of the relation between the holy God and sinful man. It was only an incentive to man to fulfil the conditions of a gracious salvation. By making sin "exceeding sinful," and demonstrating to man his own helplessness, the law constrained him to fly to God's mercy as his only hope. Thus the law, rightly understood, is no rival of the gospel, but a method of God adapted to open men's eyes to their need of the gospel. The law does not make void the promise; faith does not destroy the law. Both contemplated essentially the same method of salvation. In its own way the law prepared men for Christ. By

such considerations the apostle proves the inner unity and harmony of the law and the gospel. The gospel was before the law, and underlies and embraces it. The law contemplates the ends of the gospel, and is a providential aid in promoting them.

Thus a consideration of the Pauline doctrine of the law leads us to the study of that divine purpose of grace which underlies the gospel, and is the motive of the whole history of redemption. This idea of the divine purpose received a strong emphasis from Paul. He shared that intense and living sense of God and of his causal efficiency which was characteristic of the Hebrew mind God's action is the expression of his purpose. The work of salvation is the realization of a gracious plan which lay in the mind of God before the world was. Sometimes the divine purpose is conceived of as eternal; sometimes as historical. In either case the treatment of the subject is not speculative, but practical and religious. The references to God's purpose illustrate the effort to form a rational conception of God's historic action; to find an ideal principle underlying the course of the world, and to correlate the doctrines of the gospel with the character of God. For Paul the purposes of God are rooted in the nature of God.

The apostle has not directly discussed the nature of God or presented any analysis of his attributes. There are two qualities, however, which he attributes to God which combine to constitute his working conception of God's ethical nature. They are represented, on the one hand, by the words "love" and "grace," and on the other, by the words "righteousness" and "wrath." Paul lays strong emphasis upon the love, the gracious favor, of God towards men. It was this love which prompted the gift of Christ for our salvation (Rom. v. 8). The love of God is the mightiest power in the universe (Rom. viii. 38, 39). God is "rich in mercy" (Eph. ii. 4), and the keynote of Paul's doctrine of his gracious purpose is, "that he might have mercy upon all" (*ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλεήσῃ*, Rom. xi. 32). Grace (*χάρις*, Rom. iii. 24; v. 2

et al.), mercy (ἔλεος, Rom. ix. 23; xi. 31), and compassion (οἰκτιρμοί, Rom. xii. 1; 2 Cor. i. 3) are the watchwords of Paul's doctrine of God's nature and action.[1] We may confidently add that in assigning to love the preëminence among virtues (1 Cor. xiii. 13), and in designating love as moral completeness (τὸ τέλειον, 1 Cor. xiii. 10), the apostle implies that love is the essential glory of the divine perfection. As love is the crowning virtue for man, so must it be for God. But what, then, can be the meaning of those terms which seem to express a contrast or counterpart to love?

Paul emphasizes a principle, called the divine wrath (ὀργή), which stands in contrast to those expressions of love which are called mercy or grace: "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men" (Rom. i. 18). The riches of God's goodness — glory, honor, and peace — are bestowed upon the good; while wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish are the lot of the wicked (Rom. ii. 4, 5, 8). Sinners are exposed to God's wrath from which it is the purpose of redemption to deliver them (Rom. iv. 15; v. 9). They are described as objects of God's hostility (ἐχθροί, Rom. v. 10; xi. 28) — a term which, in my judgment, is to be taken, as the context in both passages shows, in a passive, and not in an active, sense.[2] What, now, is the relation of this ὀργὴ θεοῦ to the divine love? It seems clear to me that it is regarded as an aspect or activity of God's holy love. It is God's holy displeasure at sin — the reaction of his nature against it. It is the energy with which his love, being holy, repudiates its opposite. It is not, therefore, inconsistent with love; it does not stand

[1] "L'amour (ἀγάπη) est l'attribut divin. Placé en présence du pécheur, l'amour donne naissance à la miséricorde (ἔλεος), et la grâce (χάρις) est l'amour dans son application effective et personnelle au pécheur. Les trois termes expriment la même idée sous différent faces, et Paul les emploie fréquemment l'un pour l'autre." Ménégoz, *Le Péché*, etc., pp. 130, 131.

[2] So Meyer, Weiss, Pfleiderer, Lipsius, Ménégoz, von Soden, Holtzmann, Klöpper, Schmiedel, *vs.* Baur, Ritschl, Beyschlag. I think that ἐχθρός is probably active in Col. i. 21, and certainly so in Rom. viii. 7.

in opposition to it. The opposite of love is hate, and God is not described as hating men.[1] Wrath stands in contrast to those activities of love which are called grace or compassion. They denote the aspect of the divine love according to which it pities the sinner and waits to forgive him. Wrath denotes the attitude of the divine love towards wilful sin. Both qualities or impulses — that of grace, and that of wrath — are embraced within the divine love. The conception of God's righteousness (*δικαιοσύνη*), where it expresses his attitude towards sin, is similar. Sometimes the word denotes God's faithfulness to his own nature and promises, as in Rom. iii. 5: "But if our unrighteousness commendeth the righteousness of God, what shall we say?" But in iii. 25, 26, *δικαιοσύνη* expresses God's disapproval of sin in contrast to a seeming laxity in his estimate of it. Through Christ God has accomplished an "exhibition or demonstration of his righteousness" (*ἔνδειξις τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ*) which is adapted to prevent men from supposing that because he refrained from punishing the sins of men in past times, he is indifferent to sin or regards it lightly. Here *δικαιοσύνη* must mean the self-respecting attribute of holiness in God, the reaction of his nature against sin which must find expression in its condemnation.[2] Holy love is the best definition of Paul's conception of the ethical nature of God.

What, now, is Paul's view of God's relation to the world? In this conception his doctrine of God's special purpose in Jewish history and in Christ must have its root. We find that Paul regards the world as the scene of a great redemptive process. Nature is now subject to

[1] The phrase: "Esau have I hated" (Rom. ix. 13) means, as the context shows, "a rejection of one in favor of another who is preferred" (Beyschlag). Paul explains this preference by the words: "The elder shall serve the younger."

[2] The context of this passage is decisive against the view of Ritschl, Beyschlag, and others, who deny that *δικαιοσύνη* here bears a judicial or penal sense. It does this, however, without being "placed in fundamental contradiction to the divine grace" (Beyschlag). *Cf.* my articles, "Holiness" and "Righteousness," in Hastings's *Bible Dictionary*.

imperfection and death, but not without hope of deliverance (Rom. viii. 18–25). In this passage in which the present condition and the hope of both nature and man are described, the apostle has strikingly approximated the great modern generalization of evolution. In Colossians and Ephesians he portrays the "cosmic significance" of Christ, and shows that he has always been in the world to which he sustains an original relation. Thus the forces of redemption have always penetrated the world. Christ was not only in the history of Israel a "spiritual rock" of which they drank (1 Cor. x. 4), but is in the whole history of man. In these broad conceptions of God's all-embracing interest for his world, Paul's ideas of his special purposes, dispensations, and promises are grounded.

Accordingly the apostle teaches that revelation is universal. God has not "left himself without witness" in the case of any people (Acts xiv. 17), but in the bounties of his providence has taught men to recognize him. The course of history, also, and the testimony of conscience are means by which God has led men to "feel after him" and to divine their kinship to him (Acts xvii. 26–28). Thus, even to the heathen, God made himself known, and "that which may be known of God" (*τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*, Rom. i. 19) was evident (*φανερόν*) to them, for God made it evident (*ἐφανέρωσεν*) to them. Such a disclosure of himself as they were capable of receiving in the dim light of nature, God gave them. This he did through the evidences of his wisdom and power which are displayed in nature, and which the reason of man is competent to interpret (Rom. i. 20); but still more plainly did he do so through the voice of conscience, the moral law written on the hearts of men, which speaks of a holy authority to which they are subject. Man's rational and religious nature makes him susceptible to the evidences of a supernatural power and a moral lawgiver to whom he is responsible. This "light of nature," or universal self-revelation of God in his world, is sufficient to found moral obligation and responsibility, and to render the heathen "without excuse" for the gross idolatries and wickedness

into which they have fallen (Rom. i. 20). It is true that "the world by its wisdom knew not God" (1 Cor. i. 21), that is, the Greek philosopher did not attain by his speculations to such a saving knowledge of God as the Christian possesses. Yet there is a real knowledge of God which is available for all, and which might have been the possession of all men if they had not in wicked perversity become vain in their reasonings, darkened their foolish hearts, and so refused to retain God in their knowledge (Rom. i. 21, 28).

The God in whom Paul believes is not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles (Rom. iii. 29). Yet he bears a special relation to Israel. To the Jewish people he specially revealed himself, and, despite their sin and unbelief, his faithfulness to his covenant shall not fail (Rom. iii. 1–5). What, now, was the nature and purpose of this divine election of Israel? I answer that Paul conceives of it as a historic action of God in setting apart the Jewish nation to a special mission or function in the world as the bearer of his revelation to all mankind. God's purpose of blessing for the world is universal. Israel is a chosen instrument for carrying that blessing to all men. The gospel has been from of old, and is designed for mankind and adapted to man as man. The great sin of the Jewish nation is that they have narrowed the mercy of God and have fallen into thinking that the blessings of heaven are pledged to them and terminate upon them, instead of seeing them as a gift intrusted to them to be passed on to others. The current particularism against which Paul contended, sprang out of a narrow conception of Israel's election as an arbitrary preference for the Jewish people, for their own sake — a divine partiality in the government of the world. Against this view Paul's whole doctrine is a protest.

In Rom. ix.–xi. he deals with the perplexing question: How can the election of Israel be harmonized with the actual history of the nation? How can the Jews' rejection of the Messiah consist with God's purpose to make the nation the means of ushering in his Messianic King-

dom?[1] Paul begins by pointing out the fact that there may be now, as in previous epochs, an election within the election — a faithful nucleus in an otherwise faithless nation. If the mass of the nation should perish in rejecting the Messiah, there might still be a faithful remnant, an Israel within Israel (ix. 6–13). Moreover, besides this providential selection, there is God's free supremacy. He may choose the instruments of his providence for reasons of his own. We should not criticise what he does. Paul here attempts no concrete theodicy, but only urges that what God does, however perplexing to us, is just and wise (ix. 14–33). But these general considerations, the one a fact of observation, the other a maxim based upon the nature of God, do not wholly satisfy the apostle's mind or relieve the subject of its difficulties. Something analogous to the present situation may, indeed, be seen in the past, and God may, of course, do what he will. But God must be self-consistent. The question returns: How is the Jews' attitude towards the Messiah reconcilable with God's own covenant? Is not the promise to the fathers annulled by the present position of the nation?

At this point the apostle introduces a new consideration. If the Jews do fail of the Messianic Kingdom, it will be by their own fault. Their present partial failure is due to their seeking to establish their own righteousness. If they lose the Messianic salvation, it will be from unbelief. It will be another case such as Isaiah describes when he speaks of Jehovah as stretching out his hands all day long to a disobedient and gainsaying people. This is the gist of the tenth chapter.

[1] Dr. Bruce (*St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 311) holds that the question before Paul's mind, in these chapters, is: How adjust the Jews' rejection of the Messiah with my doctrine of a *universal gospel?* I think that this question is logically involved, and that the solution which the apostle reaches bears upon it; but I see no evidence that this was precisely the question which was directly before his mind in the discussion. He starts with the problem: How reconcile the present attitude of the Jewish people towards the Messiah with the "word of God" (ix. 6) in his covenant with Israel?

But Paul now shifts his defence somewhat. Thus far he has been developing an *argumentum ad hominem*. His point is that the Jews' idea of an election of God, based upon an exclusive preference for them, is groundless. It is contrary alike to their own history, to the nature of God, and to the fact that man is required to fulfil the conditions of obedience and faithfulness if he is to continue in God's favor. The problem to which Jewish history gives rise is, indeed, a perplexing one. But whether, in itself considered, it can be solved or not, what can be confidently said in regard to it is amply sufficient to refute the Judaizing interpretation of the divine purpose in the election of Israel. Paul interprets it in the light of the boundless mercy of God and in accord with his doctrine of a universal gospel. But what has been said in chapters ix. and x. is occasioned by looking at the subject only on its dark side. It is as if he said: Most of my countrymen, the nation as a whole, are refusing the Messiah. If this rejection goes on indefinitely, how can such a fact be adjusted to my view of God and of the providential mission of Judaism? But that is to assume that the lapse is to be substantially complete. From this assumption the apostle, "animated by the invincible optimism of Christian patriotism" (Bruce), now recovers himself. "Did God cast off his people?" "By no means," he answers. In the eleventh chapter he pursues this more hopeful view of Israel's future. He, as a Hebrew of the Hebrews, cannot admit that such is to be the goal of the nation. Just now the prospect is, indeed, dark — as dark as it was when Elijah contemplated the prevailing idolatry of the nation. Yet he learned that a far larger number than he had supposed were faithful to Jehovah. It may prove so again (*vv.* 1–10).

But the matter may be looked at in another way. It seems as if the Gentiles were taking the place of the Jews in the Messianic Kingdom; as if the reception of the heathen meant the rejection of the Jews. But this is not really so, says the apostle. The conversion of the Gentiles, so far from closing the doors of the Kingdom against the Jews,

opens them the wider. Paul's hope is that when the Jews see the heathen possessing the blessings which were so freely offered to them, they will be "provoked to jealousy" and constrained to receive the Messiah. And thus, if the refusal of the Jews to believe on Christ occasioned an earlier preaching of the gospel to the heathen, it is the apostle's hope that the acceptance of Christ by the Gentiles may act as a motive upon the Jews to accept him also, "that by the mercy shown to you they also may now obtain mercy" (*v.* 31). Paul presents this idea pictorially by describing the Old Testament theocracy, which was the historic basis of the Messianic Kingdom, as a sacred olive tree. The natural branches — the Jews — have been broken off on account of their unbelief, and in their place the branches of a wild olive tree — the Gentiles — have been grafted in. But these retain their places in the sacred trunk only by faith. Should they be guilty of the same unfaithfulness, they would be lopped off as the natural branches have been. But what the apostle hopes for is that the grafting in of the wild olive branches will be followed by the recovery of the natural branches. He argues *a fortiori* that, if salvation has now come to the Gentiles, it is reasonable to think that the natural heirs of God's promise will not ultimately fail of it. Certainly this ingenious and, to us, somewhat strange argument is the product of a persistent and splendid hopefulness for the world. Paul refuses to despair of his people. He insists that there is light behind the dark events of the present hour; that Gentiles and Jews shall yet be united in one Church. Sin and unbelief do dim the light of hope, but God is over all, and his purpose of grace will not fail. In spite of all, the apostle raises the triumphant cry: "That he might have mercy upon all"; "O, depth of the riches of divine love"; "Of God, and through him, and unto him are all things" (*vv.* 32, 33, 36).

From this brief review of these chapters the following points are evident: (1) They treat, primarily, of the election of a people, not of the election of individuals. (2) They treat of election to a historic function or mis-

sion, not of election to eternal destiny. (3) They contemplate this action, in the manner and on the basis of the Old Testament, as a historic action of God, rather than as a pre-temporal action. (4) This election is regarded as unconditional only in the sense that it is not based upon meritorious works or upon rights derived from birth or nationality; it does not follow that it is unconditional in every sense. (5) The passage, taken as a whole, recognizes conditions to be fulfilled on man's part, if he will enjoy the favor of God. God's purpose is a purpose of grace, but grace and faith are correlatives in the Pauline system.[1]

We now turn to other expressions of Paul where the idea of God's purpose is clearly set in connection with the final salvation of men. It was quite in accord with

[1] We may, at this point, be reminded that a historic election is logically inseparable from a pre-temporal election; that the rejection of the Messiah was equivalent to the forfeiture of final salvation; that Paul represents God's choice of men, as of Jacob against Esau, as without reference to anything that they did, and that God is described as the efficient cause of Pharaoh's obduracy. Even if all these contentions should be admitted in their full force, it would be unwarrantable to derive the Pauline doctrine of predestination from the ninth chapter alone; it must be derived from chapters ix., x., and xi. But there is more or less misapprehension involved in all the above positions. Paul comes at the subject of God's dealings with men, not from a speculative, but from a historic, standpoint. It is a point of importance that he is discussing the historic missions of men and nations, and not eternal destiny. It does, at least, show that it is exegetically unwarrantable to apply his language in these chapters to a speculative problem which was not before him. That his choice of Jacob and rejection of Esau had no reference to their eternal destiny, but to their historic position, is clear from the Old Testament description of the "election": "The elder shall serve the younger." Paul does not say that God was the direct and efficient cause of Pharaoh's wickedness —a supposition which would be utterly inconsistent with the Old Testament. Much less does he say that he appointed him, from eternity, to eternal destruction. The Calvinistic theology has long built its doctrines upon these verses by taking them in isolation, by applying them to a metaphysical problem instead of to a historic situation, and by regarding a series of speculative inferences from Paul's words as part and parcel of his explicit and dogmatic teaching. But even if all the assumptions involved in this proceeding were well grounded, it would still be fallacious to take, as a man's view of a subject, the incipient stages of an argument concerning it, and persistently to ignore both its later stages and its conclusion.