

Jewish methods of thought, as well as logically necessary, that Paul should trace the work of salvation back to God's eternal purpose. Hence he speaks of God's foreknowing and foreordaining men to be "conformed to the image of his Son" (Rom. viii. 29), and of Christians as being chosen in Christ "before the foundation of the world" (Eph. i. 4). The divine wisdom which is manifest in the mystery of redemption was hidden in God and "foreordained before the world unto our glory" (1 Cor. ii. 7), "according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Eph. iii. 11). Christians are "the called (*κλητοί*) according to God's purpose" (Rom. viii. 28), the elect (*ἐκλεκτοί*, Rom. viii. 33). "God from the beginning chose them to salvation in sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth" (2 Thess. ii. 13). It is worthy of notice that, in all these passages, the apostle sets this purpose of God in relation to the salvation, and not to the reprobation, of men. In Rom. ix. he does, indeed, represent God's purpose as involving the acceptance of some and the rejection of others; but, as we have seen, the subject of final salvation is not there under consideration. Jacob is chosen, Esau is rejected. Pharaoh is brought upon the field of history to show God's power. As the potter makes vessels for various uses, so God appoints to one man or nation one providential rôle, to another, another. And this he does according to his own sovereign good pleasure. He is not governed in so doing, as Paul's opponents supposed, by the merits or claims of certain persons.

Theology has often applied these ideas to the subject of man's final destiny. Whatever may be the logic of such an application, it is exegetically unjustifiable. It is a use of Paul's words which he does not sanction, and which misapprehends the point of his argument. But it may be said: Elsewhere Paul teaches that the eternal destiny of men is fixed in God's eternal purpose. In any case, Paul is a predestinarian. I reply that Paul does not teach the eternal, unconditional predestination of some men to final salvation and of others to final condemna-

tion. He does not teach the doctrine of predestination which Calvin taught,<sup>1</sup> nor does he teach the doctrine as held by historic Calvinism, whether of the supralapsarian or infralapsarian variety. If we should assume, for the sake of argument, that in Rom. ix.-xi. Paul was speaking of human destiny, and that he held the Calvinistic view of God's purpose, we might summarize his argument thus: God has from eternity appointed some to eternal salvation and others to eternal perdition, "in order that he might have mercy upon all." On the contrary, Paul's whole doctrine of sin assumes that Adam fell freely and voluntarily. His sin was contrary to the will of God. It equally assumes that all men who perish do so by their own fault. The salvation of all is the aim of the gospel. God "willeth that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim. ii. 4). Christ came to be the "Saviour of all men" (1 Tim. iv. 10). The maxim which emerges from Paul's discussion of the mysteries of God's providence and purpose is: "That he might have mercy upon all" (Rom. xi. 32). God may choose some and reject others; he may appoint some to one career, others to another; his ways are past finding out; he may do what he will; but whatever he does, it is to the end "that he may have mercy upon all." It would be a glaring contradiction for Paul to affirm that God does not will the salvation of some, but has eternally appointed them to perdition. Happily for his consistency, he has never recorded such a statement or its equivalent. It is reasonable to suppose that consequences which Paul has not himself drawn from his own doctrine of predestination, and which if drawn would contradict his explicit teaching regarding the universality of God's purpose of grace, are not a part of his system of thought.

What, then, are the principal motives and elements of

<sup>1</sup> Dico Deum non modo primi hominis casum et in eo posterorum ruinam prævidisse, sed arbitrio suo dispensasse. . . . Non pari conditione creantur omnes: sed aliis vita æterna, aliis damnatio æterna præordinatur. . . . Cadit homo, Dei providentia sic ordinante. *Inst.* iii. 2, 5, 23, 27. Ed. 1585.

Paul's doctrine of God's election of men to salvation? On this question I would make the following suggestions: (1) Religious thought necessarily translates the actual world back into the ideal world. Paul's doctrine of election and predestination is a carrying back of God's actual dealings with men into his eternal purpose. (2) Thus what God does he from eternity intended to do. The principles on which he acts, and the terms on which he blesses and saves men, are grounded in his thought and nature. (3) Therefore God's purpose of salvation must embrace all the elements which the actual process of salvation includes. If God actually saves men on conditions, he intended to save them so. In whatever sense he predetermines those who are to be saved, he must equally predetermine the conditions of salvation.<sup>1</sup> (4) Hence whatever is the relation in fact between man's faith and his acceptance with God, such was the relation in God's purpose. God cannot purpose to save men apart from all conditions, and then actually save them on conditions. (5) Paul's practical aim in his doctrine of predestination is to exalt the divine grace as the efficient cause of salvation. He wants to ground the work of salvation in God's undeserved mercy. Man does not achieve it; God in sovereign freedom and love bestows it. But so far is this from excluding *all* conditions of salvation that faith is, in the Pauline theology, the inseparable correlate of divine grace. (6) God's purpose terminates on the establishment of the gracious plan of salvation. It is "the mystery of his will according to his good pleasure which he purposed in Christ" (Eph. i. 9). "Æterna prædestinatio in Christo et nequaquam extra Christum consideranda" (*Formula Concordiæ*). (7) Hence, in speaking of God's eternal purpose of salvation, Paul never speaks

<sup>1</sup> Kühl in an elaborate essay, *Zur paulinischen Theodicee*, in the volume entitled *Festschrift für B. Weiss*, contends that the election of Rom. ix.-xi. is a pre-temporal election to final destiny, but holds the view expressed in the text that, according to Paul's principles, the divine predestination must include the determination of the manner and content of salvation and the condition of its bestowment. See, especially, p. 88.

of reprobation or preterition. On his principles his eternal purpose as related to the "non-elect" could only mean that God chooses not to do more or otherwise than he does in order to save men, that is, more than perfect wisdom and love permit and require. (8) God's eternal purpose of grace, ideally or virtually, embraces all men. God wishes to save all; Christ comes to save all. He is the head of redeemed humanity. But as in spite of God's choice of Israel some sundered themselves from the sacred tree of the theocracy by unbelief, so it may be in the case of God's gracious purpose of salvation. He cannot annul man's freedom, which is part and parcel of his plan of the world. He cannot override the conditions which are involved in the nature of a moral, as opposed to a mechanical, universe. If it is insisted that "God foreordains whatsoever comes to pass," it must be remembered that freedom and the realization of salvation upon moral terms and conditions "come to pass."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I would especially commend the discussions of this subject by Ménégoz in *La Prédestination dans la Théologie Paulinienne*, and by Bruce in *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, ch. xvii., entitled "The Election of Israel."

## CHAPTER VI

### JESUS CHRIST

CHRIST had been disclosed to Paul in his heavenly glory on the road to Damascus. From that moment Paul knew him as Messiah and Saviour. It was doubtless from this point of beginning that he developed his doctrine of the nature and work of Christ. From his conversion he began to know him *κατὰ πνεῦμα*. He saw him as risen and glorified, as establishing the Kingdom of redemption, and as ruling the world. In this way Paul's doctrine of Christ stands connected, as his whole theology does, with his experience. We must not conceive of the apostle as setting out, after the manner of a philosophical theologian, to define the person of Christ. He has developed no systematic view of the subject. He has not directly discussed such topics as the preëxistence of Christ and the union of divinity and humanity in him. The statements which bear upon such themes as these are incidentally made. Paul is certain that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of men. His doctrine of the person of Christ comes to expression in what he says of his saving work. But it is not on that account less important. What Paul takes for granted is quite as certainly fundamental in his doctrine as what he tries to prove. His doctrine of Christ is found in solution in his various arguments and exhortations. Only in the Epistles of the Imprisonment is the person of Christ the more immediate subject of discussion, and here only so far as is necessary for the refutation of certain errors.

The earliest creed of Christendom consisted of two words, *κύριος Ἰησοῦς* — Jesus is Lord (1 Cor. xii. 3; Rom. x. 9). To make that confession was the mark of a

Christian: "For, whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Rom. x. 13). Accordingly, we find the lordship of Christ greatly emphasized by Paul. He preaches "Christ Jesus as Lord" (2 Cor. iv. 5). But Christ's lordship extends not only over Christians, but over all men: "There is no distinction between Jew and Greek: for the same Lord is Lord of all, and is rich unto all that call upon him" (Rom. x. 12). The rule of Christ is absolute; God will subject all things to him (1 Cor. xv. 27; *cf.* Phil. ii. 10, 11). Not only does Paul apply to Christ the term *κύριος*, the Septuagint name for Jehovah, but he freely applies to him passages from the Old Testament which were spoken of Jehovah (*cf.* Rom. x. 13 with Joel ii. 32, and 1 Cor. x. 22 with Deut. xxxii. 21). Hence the naturalness of the titles so commonly used by Paul: "Jesus Christ our Lord" and "our Lord Jesus Christ." As Lord, Christ is an object of worship.<sup>1</sup> Paul refers to three occasions when he "besought the Lord" (*τὸν κύριον παρεκάλεσα*, 2 Cor. xii. 8), that is, Christ, as verse 9 conclusively shows. "Those who call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" (*οἱ ἐπικαλουμένοι τὸ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ.*, 1 Cor. i. 2; *cf.* Rom. x. 12, 13) is a periphrasis for Christians. This worship of Christ certainly includes prayer directed to him.<sup>2</sup>

We have found good reasons for believing that Paul was not without a knowledge of the historical Jesus. This knowledge enters into his doctrine. He knows that Jesus committed no sin. His was a "spirit of holiness" (Rom. i. 4). He "knew no sin" (2 Cor. v. 21). All

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Seeberg, *Die Anbetung des Herrn bei Paulus*, pp. 32, 33: "Κύριος is, in the writings of Paul, an exclusive designation, involving Deity, for the Christ exalted at the right hand of God, who, in this position, exercises a lordship which brings God's action to expression in saving men on the ground of the historically completed work of redemption, — and who, further, in this position of his as God, is the object, on the part of Christians, of a worship which corresponds to his activity."

<sup>2</sup> See the elaborate investigation of Seeberg, just cited, in which the author concludes that the prayer directed to Christ is not merely relative, that is, as to a Mediator or Intercessor (as Lücke and Meyer hold), but is absolute, that is, contemplates Christ as an independent divine person, pp. 56, 57.

other men are sinful. The human *σάρξ* is a *σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας*, but Jesus did not share it. God sent him into the world *ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας* (Rom. viii. 3); he possessed a real human body and dwelt in human flesh (1 Tim. iii. 16), but without the taint of sin which empirically belongs to all flesh except his. Only such a sinless one could condemn sin in human flesh, that is, destroy the power of sin which reigns in humanity.

Paul is also acquainted with the fact of the human birth of Jesus. He was "born of a woman, born under the law" (Gal. iv. 4). He was "born of the seed of David according to the flesh" (Rom. i. 3). It is frequently asserted that these references to the human birth of Jesus quite exclude the idea of his fatherless generation and virgin birth as recorded in Matthew and Luke; that the phrase *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυείδ* necessarily refers to descent on the father's side.<sup>1</sup> But it seems to me that all that can fairly be said on this point is that Paul gives no evidence of possessing the idea of the virgin birth of Jesus. He says nothing which would be inconsistent with it. Even if no account be taken of the somewhat doubtful tradition that Mary was also of Davidic descent, and if we surrender the position held by some scholars,<sup>2</sup> that Luke's genealogy is intended to be that of Mary, it is still possible that Paul might, for his purpose, indicate the legal and putative descent of Jesus by the words "of the seed of David." The genealogies of Matthew and Luke, assuming them to trace Joseph's line, proceed upon this view; Jesus was "the son (as was supposed) of Joseph" (Lk. iii. 23). If, on the other hand, Paul was thinking of Jesus' descent in Mary's line, there is no great difficulty in his use of the phrase *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυείδ*, since "seed" was a name in common use for posterity, whether of a man or of a woman, *e.g.* Gen. iii. 15: "I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed" (*cf.* Rev. xii. 17). We can only say that Paul does not touch the question of the

<sup>1</sup> So Beyschlag, *N. T. Theol.* II. 67, 68 (Bk. IV. ch. iii. § 8).

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* Olshausen, Godet, *Commentaries, in loco*; Weiss, *Life of Christ*, I. 216 *sq.*; Andrews, *Life of our Lord*, p. 56 *sq.*

virgin birth of Jesus, and that his statements do not prejudice it either way.

The most characteristic designation which Paul applies to Christ is "the second Adam." This title suggests the idea that he is the head and founder of a new humanity; that in him a new human history takes its rise.<sup>1</sup> The relevant passages are in 1 Cor. xv. and in Rom. v. In the former chapter the apostle is contrasting death and life. Adam is the cause of the one; Christ of the other: "Since by a man (Adam) came death, by a man (Christ) came also the resurrection of the dead" (xv. 21); in Adam death, in Christ life. Later (xv. 45-49), he contrasts their natures. The first Adam was made a living soul (*ψυχὴ ζῶσα*) — a creature, sharing the perishable life of nature; "the last Adam" (*ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ*) became (in his resurrection) a life-giving spirit (*πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν*). He is "the second man from heaven" (*ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*); he is "the heavenly one" (*ὁ ἐπουράνιος*). In Rom. v. 12 sq. Christ is the counterpart of Adam. Through him comes to men the abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness which outdoes the power of sin introduced by Adam. "Through his obedience many are made righteous" (v. 19), and "grace reigns through righteousness unto eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord" (v. 21). Combining these expressions, we see that Paul, either directly or by implication, describes Jesus Christ as *ὁ δεύτερος*, or *ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ* — *ὁ πνευματικός, ἐπουράνιος ἄνθρωπος* by whom is undone the work of *ὁ πρῶτος, ὁ χοϊκός Ἀδάμ*. By these terms Paul clearly places Christ within the category of humanity. Did this category exhaust his conception of his person? This question naturally conducts us to Paul's doctrine of Christ's preëxistence.

The personal preëxistence of Christ as Son of God is naturally implied in such statements as that "God sent forth his Son" (Gal. iv. 4;<sup>2</sup> cf. Rom. viii. 3). The same

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Somerville's *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, Edinb. 1897, which makes this idea its starting-point.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lipsius on Gal. iv. 4 in the *Hand-Commentar*: "Ἐξαπέστειλε presupposes the preëxistence of the Son."



conception is involved in the representation of Christ as the spiritual rock of which Israel drank (1 Cor. x. 4). The apostle describes Christ as passing from a previous heavenly life to the poverty of an earthly existence when he says that "our Lord Jesus Christ, though he was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor, that we through his poverty might be rich" (2 Cor. viii. 9). Christ as *ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος* is said to be *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* (1 Cor. xv. 47).<sup>1</sup> The force which I have attributed to these expressions from the earlier epistles is substantially admitted by Beyschlag, who, however, regards the fact that Paul assigns to Christ a heavenly life before his earthly birth, as very surprising.<sup>2</sup> This author adds: "What strikes us in all these statements about preëxistence is, that the apostle really nowhere establishes or teaches the preëxistence of Christ, but, especially in his earlier epistles, presupposes it as familiar to his readers and disputed by no one. It must therefore have been a notion which was not in the least strange even to the primitive apostolic Christians before Paul, such, for example, as the readers of the Epistle to the Romans."<sup>3</sup>

After these representations it is not surprising to find the apostle assigning to Christ a part in the creation of the world and an original relation to mankind: "To us there is one God, the Father, of whom (*ἐξ οὐ*) are all things, and we unto him (*εἰς αὐτόν*); and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom (*δι' οὐ*) are all things, and we through him" (*δι' αὐτοῦ*, 1 Cor. viii. 6). This thought of Christ as the coefficient creator of the world or as the agent of God in its creation, and of his cosmic significance, is most fully set forth in Colossians. The following is the most significant passage: "The Son of his love; in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our

<sup>1</sup> It must be admitted that it is doubtful whether Paul means to refer in this passage directly to the preëxistent Christ. It is so understood by Weizsäcker, Ménégos, and Beyschlag. Most recent interpreters, however, understand it to refer to Christ in his glorified life. So Heinrici, Klöpffer, Sabatier, Weiss, and Holtzmann.

<sup>2</sup> *N. T. Theol.* II. 76 (Bk. IV. ch. iii. § 10).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* II. 78.

sins: who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation; for in him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him, and unto him; and he is before all things, and in him all things consist" (i. 13-17). Beside this passage should be placed the famous description of Christ's condescension in Phil. ii. 5-8: "Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross." It is necessary briefly to examine the terms of these passages. In connection with what is said in the former of the Son of God as the firstborn of all creation, it will be convenient to consider the statement of Rom. i. 4 that Christ "was declared (or determined) to be the Son of God with (or in) power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead." In connection with the terms of the latter passage: "being in the form of God," "on an equality with God," naturally stands the question whether the words: "who is over all, God blessed forever" (Rom. ix. 5), are intended to apply to Christ.

The phrase: "The firstborn of all creation" (*πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, Col. i. 15), cannot be understood as including Christ in the creation, for the apostle immediately adds: "For in him were all things created" (*ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα*). The phrase, therefore, describes the absolute primacy of Christ in relation to the creation. If on behalf of the view that Christ is here ranked within the *κτίσις*, appeal be made to i. 18: "The firstborn from the dead" (*πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*), and Rom. viii. 29: "The firstborn among many brethren" (*πρωτότοκος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*),<sup>1</sup> it must be said that *πρωτότοκος* is a

<sup>1</sup> As by Ménégos: "Le Fils est ainsi la première entité personnelle née de la volonté créatrice de Dieu; . . . un être supérieur, céleste, élevé en

metaphor, the force of which must be judged by the context. In these two passages it relates to the state which is entered at the resurrection, while in i. 15 it refers to Christ's relation to creation and is defined by the words which exclude Christ from the *κτίσις* (*cf.* 1 Cor. viii. 6).<sup>1</sup> As related to the universe, Christ is original. "He is before all things (*πρὸ πάντων*) and in him all things consist" (*συνέστηκεν*, Col. i. 17). As related to God, he is "the image of the invisible God" (*εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου*, Col. i. 15). He is the representation and manifestation of God. The word *εἰκὼν* naturally suggests the notion of essential kinship (*cf.* 1 Cor. xi. 7; xv. 49; Rom. viii. 29), and should be understood in the light of such statements as that in Christ dwells all the plenitude of Deity (*πάν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος*, Col. ii. 9). In both passages Paul probably has in mind Christ's glorified life.<sup>2</sup> Granting, then, that *εἰκὼν* and *πρωτότοκος* are figurative terms, and that it is difficult to determine their precise meaning in application to the person of Christ, we may say with confidence that they are intended to define him as one whose relation to God and to the universe is absolutely incomparable. If they do not categorically assert his absolute eternity and deity, they do, in my judgment, place him outside the category of creation and affirm of him an absolutely unique kinship with God.

Some scholars find a confirmation of the view that, according to Paul, Christ was the highest of created beings in Rom. i. 4: "Who was declared to be the Son of God (*τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ*) with power, by the resurrection of the dead." But we have seen that, for

puissance et en dignité au-dessus de tout le reste de l'univers, mais créé lui-même. Le Christ n'a pas de position intra-divine." *Le Péché*, pp. 161, 190. Beyschlag (*N. T. Theol.* II. 84, 85) draws a similar conclusion from a comparison of Col. i. 15 with i. 18 and Rom. viii. 29, and Briggs says that it must be conceded that, according to these latter passages, we are to think of the Messiah as "the firstborn of all creatures" (*Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 213). *Per contra*, see Sanday on Rom. viii. 29, and Lightfoot and T. K. Abbott on the passages in Colossians.

<sup>1</sup> So Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* II. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Σωματικῶς*, "in bodily form," therefore probably refers to Christ's glorified corporeity; *cf.* Phil. iii. 21, *σῶμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*.

Paul, Christ *is* Son of God, and as such is sent into the world (Rom. viii. 3; Gal. iv. 4). Nowhere does he speak of Christ's *becoming* Son of God. His sonship to God is coextensive with his being. Hence Beyschlag correctly says: "That Christ should have first become Son of God through the resurrection is, according to Paul's view, inconceivable."<sup>1</sup> The passage itself justifies no other conclusion. Paul is describing Christ in two aspects of his being. According to the flesh he is descended from David; according to a spirit of holiness, that is, in his essential life, he was shown to be God's son by the resurrection. The verb *ὀρίζειν* means to set a boundary (*ὄρος*), to bound off anything; hence to define or distinguish anything. Christ was defined as Son of God, that is, distinguished as having that character, by that great act of divine power, the resurrection. The sense is well enough given by saying that, to Paul's mind, Christ's resurrection was the supreme proof of his divine sonship — the act by which he was declared to be God's Son. Here, as in other passages, we see that Paul rises to his conception of Christ from the contemplation of his resurrection and glorified life in heaven.

In the *locus classicus*, Phil. ii. 5–8, there are four principal thoughts: (1) A description of Christ's pre-incarnate state. He was "in the form of God" (*ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ*) and was "on an equality with God" (*τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ*).<sup>2</sup> (2) A statement of his disposition not to retain the advantages or prerogatives of that state. "The mind which was in Christ" was a disposition which led him not to count his equality with God as a booty or prize, something to be grasped and retained (*οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ*), but which, on the contrary, impelled him to divest himself of his heavenly glory (*ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*).<sup>3</sup> (3) A

<sup>1</sup> *N. T. Theol.* II. 68 (Bk. IV. ch. iii. § 8).

<sup>2</sup> I assume that these words refer to the pre-incarnate life of Christ, and not to his historic life — a view which, says Holtzmann, "ist von der grossen Mehrheit der Exegeten, zuletzt auch von Beyschlag (Bk. IV. ch. iii. § 10), mit Recht aufgegeben worden." *Neutest. Theol.* II. 82, 83.

<sup>3</sup> I think it is well established by exegesis that *ἀρπαγμός* here has a passive rather than an active force, and denotes something to be grasped or

description of self-divestiture or *kenosis*. In the transition from heaven to earth he "took on the form of a servant" (*μορφὴν δούλου λάβων*), and "was made in the likeness of men and was formed in fashion (*σχῆμα*) as a man." (4) He then stooped to the deepest depths of humiliation and endured the shameful death of the cross.

It is difficult to reduce to precise doctrinal expression a passage which was written for a purely practical purpose. It is, at any rate, clear that Paul here represents Christ as preëxisting in a divine form of being, which is contrasted with the servant form, in the likeness of men, which he assumed, and as relinquishing a Godlike dignity which is called equality with God in order to suffer and die. Such was Christ's great self-renunciation. He stooped from heaven to earth. He left the divine glory and prerogatives which he possessed to become subject to human limitations and conditions. And this he did voluntarily. He did not cling to the dignity which was his, but freely divested himself of it that he might bless and save men. Here, as in the other passages which we have noticed, the apostle has prominently in mind the glorified Christ. In return for the Redeemer's condescension, God has exalted him to a throne of power and glory and given him the name (*τὸ ὄνομα*) that is above every name. This name must be that of Lord (ii. 11). It is probable that Christ's pre-temporal glory is thought of as the counterpart of his exaltation to sovereignty over the world.

In view of the foregoing passages it does not seem to me incredible that Paul should have applied to Christ the words: "who is over all, God blessed forever" (Rom. ix. 5). That Christ should be called *θεός* does not seem strange

held — a prize or booty. I cannot help distrusting all efforts to distinguish sharply between *μορφὴ θεοῦ* and *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῶ*. The most recent and one of the ablest of these attempts is that made by Dr. Gifford in his study of Phil. ii. 5-11, entitled *The Incarnation*. He holds that *μορφὴ θεοῦ* denotes the "specific character" of Deity which is inseparable from the "nature" which Christ, as divine, could not renounce, while *ἴσα θεῶ* denotes the mode of his manifestation, subordinate to his essence, which he could and did lay aside in the incarnation. The exposition is turned against the various forms of the kenotic theory.

after preëxistence, creatorship, being in the form of God, equality with God, and the fulness of the Godhead have been attributed to him. The principal reasons for holding that our English versions are right in so rendering the passage are: (1) The other rendering, which places a full stop after the words "concerning the flesh," and then reads the remainder of the verse as an exclamation of praise to God, is unnaturally abrupt. As a description of Christ, however, it comes in as a climax in the statement of the glories of Israel as the agent of God in the work of revelation and redemption. (2) As applied to Christ the words form a natural antithesis to τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, thus: In that aspect of his being denoted by σάρξ Christ is descended from the Jewish people, but in his essential nature he is God over all.<sup>1</sup> The principal objection to this view is that Paul does not elsewhere call Christ θεός, much less θεός ἐπὶ πάντων. But it is answered, on the other side, that Paul does elsewhere attribute creatorship and sovereignty over the universe to Christ (e.g. Col. i. 16), and applies to him terms clearly implying θεότης.<sup>2</sup> Those who

<sup>1</sup> I cannot agree with Dr. Cone that the primary question respecting this alleged antithesis is whether it "can be shown to be required or even expected in this connection" (*Paul*, p. 297). The primary question is, whether the structure of the sentence shows that Paul made it. A secondary question is, whether such a contrast is natural in view of the whole course of thought. Dr. Cone's objection to an appeal to Colossians is weakened by an increasing recognition by criticism of its genuineness (cf. p. 326).

<sup>2</sup> A full stop is placed after τὸ κατὰ σάρκα by Lachmann and Tischendorf; a comma by Scrivener, Westcott and Hort, Weymouth, and Weiss. Among interpreters who regard ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός as a doxology to God are Meyer, Lorenz, Ezra Abbot, Beet, Lipsius, and H. J. Holtzmann. Among those who refer the words to Christ are Reuss, Ritschl, Godet, Weiss, Dwight, and Sanday. Several recent writers express themselves doubtfully upon the point. Ménégos, *Le Péché*, p. 193, refers the words to Christ in a *signification flottante*, cf. θεοὶ πολλοὶ (1 Cor. viii. 5). Pfeiderer, who in *Das Urchristenthum* (p. 240) expressed a preference for the first interpretation, in *Der Paulinismus* (2te Aufl. p. 163) inclines to refer the words to Christ in the same sense as Ménégos. Beyschlag, who in his *Christologie* (p. 210) defended the reference to God, in his *N. T. Theol.* (Eng. tr. II. 73) gives it as his opinion that the phrase is intended to express the κυριότης (not θεότης) of Christ. Bovon (*Théol. du N. T.* II. 282), Bruce (*St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 340), and Somerville

hold the genuineness of the Epistle to Titus may appeal to ii. 13: ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, where grammatical considerations certainly favor the application of both appellatives, *μεγάλου θεοῦ* and *σωτῆρος*, which are connected by *καὶ* under a common article, to the same person, thus supporting the rendering of the Revised Version: "The appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

There are two related points in Paul's teaching which create a certain difficulty in view of the representations which we have considered, and which are often urged as requiring a different conclusion from that towards which the passages just reviewed seem to point. The first is the description of Christ as standing in an order of dependence or subordination to God. The principal passages are, 1 Cor. iii. 23: "God is the head of Christ," as Christ is the "head of man" and the husband the "head of the wife"; 1 Cor. xv. 24-28, where Christ is spoken of as "delivering up the Kingdom to God, even the Father" and as finally becoming himself subjected to God "that God may be all in all." The second point is the description of Christ's lordship or glory as a gift conferred on him by the Father, *e.g.* the *κυριότης* of Christ is graciously bestowed upon him (*ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ*) as a reward of his self-humiliation (Phil. ii. 9-11); Christ died and rose "that he might reign (or be Lord, *κυριεύσῃ*) of both the dead and the living" (Rom. xiv. 9). Many times his resurrection is ascribed to the power of God (Rom. vi. 4; 1 Cor. vi. 14; 2 Cor. xiii. 4). Moreover, the indwelling in him of the fulness of Deity is ascribed to a free act of God: "It pleased (*εὐδόκησεν*) [the Father] that in him should all the fulness (*πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα*) dwell" (Col. i. 19).

The thoughts presented in these passages are not to be minimized or explained away. Christ is placed in a

(*St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, p. 143) express themselves doubtfully. For the exegetical considerations on both sides, see the articles by Drs. T. Dwight and E. Abbot in the *Journal of the Society for Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1881. Dr. Abbot's article is reprinted in his *Critical Essays*.

secondary relation to God. But in all these passages, as it appears to me, the apostle is approaching the subject from the historic side, rather than stating what Christ is in himself. Exaltation and lordship are bestowed upon him as a reward of his redemptive work. He has come to his throne by the way of the cross. His surrender of the Kingdom to the Father when his redemptive work shall be complete and his own subjection to God seem to refer to the completion of his function as Saviour. He will surrender his commission as Redeemer when his work is complete, so that, in contrast to the mediatorial rule of Christ, God may be the immediate ruler in all the subjects of his Kingdom. "The fulness" of all divine power to bless and save is, indeed, represented as bestowed upon Christ in his glorification. But this description does not necessarily conflict with the possession by Christ of an essential pre-temporal glory. The apostle certainly did not regard the two ideas as mutually exclusive, since he has clearly expressed them both. John has reported a word of Jesus which combines the two: "Glorify thou me at thy side with the glory which I had with thee before the world was" (xvii. 5). It is quite unwarranted to use the idea of God's glorification of Christ following his redemptive work as a means of discrediting his possession of a glory with God before the world was.<sup>1</sup> In the mind of Paul these two ideas went together and were the counterparts of each other. Nor does it appear that they are in logical conflict except for a Christology which approaches them with purely humanitarian presuppositions.

It would unduly extend the limits of this chapter to review at length the various speculations of critics respecting the sources and motives of Paul's Christology. Ménégoz explains it by reminding us that the apostolic age was the period of the incubation of Gnosticism. Notions of emanations, incarnations, and hierarchies of supernatural beings filled the air. Alexandrian speculations

<sup>1</sup> "The sonship of Jesus to God is for Paul a metaphysical relation of essence, grounded in his pre-temporal being with the Father, and in his spiritual nature." Lipsius on Gal. iv. 4 in the *Hand-Commentar*.



upon such subjects became known to the Jews of the Dispersion. Thus was prepared a soil in which such theories as that of the Logos, the firstborn Son of God and the head of all creation naturally sprang up. Christian thought adopted and worked over for its own purposes the conceptions of its opponents.<sup>1</sup> A favorite supposition of many modern writers, *e.g.* Baur, Dorner, Holsten, Hilgenfeld, Hausrath, Harnack, and Holtzmann, is that Paul adopted the Philonic notion of the ideal, heavenly man, and conceived Christ as existing before his incarnation as an archetypal man. On behalf of this view appeal is made to 1 Cor. xv. 47: "The second man is of heaven" (*ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*) — a passage which, as we have seen, is referred by most recent interpreters, not to the pre-existent, but to the glorified Christ. This view is sometimes combined with certain Jewish elements of thought, such as the personification of the divine word and wisdom.<sup>2</sup> Beyschlag reduces Paul's Christology to a personification of a principle of revelation in God which, he thinks, was due to his unwarranted confounding of an idea with a person. All the elements of Paul's teaching which go beyond a purely humanitarian view of Christ are speculative additions. When these are subtracted, what remains is this: Christ is the ideal man who stands in absolute communion with God and in whom God fully dwells.<sup>3</sup> As we are here concerned only with the exposition and not with the refutation of Paul's Christology, we have no occasion to discuss this theory. Respecting the theories that Paul's Christology was due to the reaction upon him of Gnostic ideas or was borrowed from Philo, I regard them as singularly destitute of proof and intrinsically improbable. Paul approached the subject of Christ's person from his knowledge of him as a historic personality, supplemented by his vivid sense of his exaltation to heavenly glory. He developed his view of Christ

<sup>1</sup> See *Le Péché*, pp. 199-204.

<sup>2</sup> See Pfleiderer, *Der Paulinismus*, pp. 115-123; Beyschlag, *N. T. Theol.* II. 63 sq.; 79 sq. (Bk. IV. ch. iii. §§ 7, 11).

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* II. 60-88 (Bk. IV. ch. iii. §§ 6-13).

over against the errors which were rife at Colossæ, and, to some extent, in terms derived from these speculations. He no doubt saw fully realized in Christ the Old Testament personifications of God's word and wisdom, but it is quite gratuitous to seek the motives of his Christology either in Philo or in Gnosticism.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Weizsäcker says: "We need not turn to Philo's notion of the heavenly man, as ideal man; a conception existing in Palestinian theology is sufficient." . . . "In any case, Paul has stated that he came from heaven, and therefore was previously existent there." *Apos. Age*, I. 145.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE DEATH OF CHRIST

THE crucifixion of Jesus was, for the first disciples, the principal obstacle to belief in his messiahship. After their recovery of faith in him through the resurrection, their chief problem was, how to reconcile his death with his messiahship and to show that the former was essential to the latter. The unbelieving Jews still continued to dwell on the contradiction between an ignominious death and the Messianic vocation. This was "the stumbling-block of the cross" (Gal. v. 11; 1 Cor. i. 23). They seem to have reasoned thus: Jesus is an impostor, for had he been the true Messiah, he could not have suffered the accursed death of the cross. His death is the supreme proof that he is *not* the Messiah.

We have seen in the study of the primitive apostolic theology how the earliest Christians sought to parry this objection. At first they charged the death of Jesus upon the Jews as a crime and, later, sought in the Old Testament some explanation of it as a part of his Messianic work. But the apostle Paul was, so far as we know, the first man who grappled boldly with this problem and sought to prove that the death of Jesus on the cross was the culmination of his saving work and the crowning glory of his Messianic vocation. To the primitive Church the death of Jesus presented itself more as a problem, an event to be explained and defended against the view taken of it by the Jews. To Paul it was the chief glory of the Christian faith, the fact of supreme significance, the primary means of salvation. They came at the subject from the standpoint of the popular Jewish Messianic expectations which they had shared; he approached it in

the light of his experience in which the glorified Christ had appeared to him. This experience had shown him that Jesus was the risen and glorified Messiah. He now approached every question from that fixed conviction. It was, no doubt, from that beginning that he developed his views of Christ's supernatural being and of the mystic communion with him of his followers on earth.

If this was Paul's method of approach to the subject of Christ's death, it will be evident how different was the original motive of his doctrine from that which underlies the abstract problem as to the relation of mercy and justice in the nature of God. The apostle's teaching gives rise to such questions, but it did not start with them. It is, of course, impossible to arrange his references to the subject in an order which will certainly exhibit the logical development of the subject in his own thoughts. A natural point of beginning, however, is found in Gal. iii. 13: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree." It is reasonable to think that we have in these words a reflection of the way in which the apostle met the calumnies of the Jews. They proved Jesus a pretender from the Old Testament, which declared that a crucified one is accursed of God. Paul admits that in enduring the shameful death of the cross he "became a curse," but maintains that he became such, not on account of what he was, but on our account (*ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*). It is as if the apostle had said: Yes, Jesus was accursed, as the Jews say; he was subjected to the most shameful death — not *justly*, as they affirm, but *vicariously*: he bore this shame *for us*. His ignominious death proves nothing against him but, on the contrary, shows to what a depth of shame he was willing to descend in order that he might bless and save men. Thus the cross is not something of which the Christian should be ashamed, but something in which he should rejoice. It is the symbol of a divine condescension and pity which, in order to save men, stopped not short of that pitch of shame and suffering, the death of the cross. Hence the apostle says:

“Far be it from me to glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ” (Gal. vi. 14). “The word of the cross” is the substance of his preaching; it is “the power of God unto salvation” (1 Cor. i. 18), and he will have but one object of knowledge and interest—“Jesus Christ and him crucified” (1 Cor. ii. 2).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor Everett in his study of Paul's doctrine of salvation entitled, *The Gospel of Paul*, very properly started with Gal. iii. 13; but I think he has interpreted it too narrowly, has built too exclusively upon it, and has developed from it a series of unwarranted inferences. His theory is that Christ's endurance of the curse of the law consisted in the *manner* of his death, namely, crucifixion; that *as crucified*, he was accursed, that is, *ceremonially unclean* and so *free from the law*. All his followers, *as being crucified with him*, were also unclean, and hence freed from the law. For him and them the law was abolished. Their redemption from sin followed from their redemption from the law, because sin is not imputed where there is no law (Rom. v. 13). From the abolition of the law follows the breaking down of the wall of partition between the Jews and the Gentiles (Eph. ii. 11-20). Some of the difficulties of this theory are: (1) It lays an exaggerated emphasis upon the *form* of Christ's death. It is the death itself which Paul chiefly emphasizes. The cross is a synonym of the death or the blood of Christ. No special stress is laid upon crucifixion, except to emphasize the ignominy of the death (*cf.* Phil. ii. 8). There is not a single allusion to the cross in the Epistle to the Romans, which contains some of Paul's most significant words on salvation through the death of Christ. *Cf.* Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 137. (2) It emphasizes far more than Paul does the relation of Christ's crucifixion to the ceremonial law. In the theory in question this relation is absolutely central and controlling; with Paul it is quite incidental. Paul does not dwell (unless he does so in Gal. iii. 13), as the Epistle to the Hebrews does (xiii. 10-13), upon the ceremonial pollution involved in the cross. And if he had done so, it is difficult to see how he could have derived from that idea the elements of his doctrine of redemption. (3) It is not natural to ascribe to Paul a view on this subject so contrary to historic fact as is the idea that Jesus was accursed by the Jewish law merely or mainly because he was crucified. From the Jewish standpoint, he was accursed primarily because he was condemned by the constituted authorities as a malefactor. The *form* of his death was determined, no doubt, by the Roman domination. (4) Paul's peculiar mystical idea that Christians are “crucified with Christ” is treated in this theory as if it had primary reference to ceremonial pollution. This is impossible. It refers to spiritual renewal, ethical death to sin. Dr. Everett's theory of the salvation of believers by being crucified with Christ quite overlooks the real genesis and nature of Paul's faith-mysticism. (5) The early Christians did not regard themselves as accursed in the eye of the law by reason of their faith in Christ. The Jews, generally speaking, did not so regard them. The Jewish Christians remained for a long time within the Jewish Church

Paul's doctrine is, then, that Christ died in order to save men. He "died on behalf of our sins" (*ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*, 1 Cor. xv. 3), that is, to save us from them. But how should a shameful death be able to secure such a result? How does such a result proceed from such a cause? We soon discover that the ignominy of Christ's death is but one aspect of the case, and is significant only as expressing his great self-abnegation. Paul emphasizes the further fact that he was a pure and holy being who

without calling out any such reproach. Paul claimed to be a genuine Israelite to the last, and declared that Christians were the true circumcision and that by faith in Christ the law, which had been preparatory to him, was most truly honored. (6) Dr. Everett takes a passage which is intended to bring out a single aspect of Christ's sufferings and makes it the basis of a whole theory. The passage emphasizes the shamefulness of Christ's self-humiliation to the death of the cross in terms of Deut. xxi. 23. Dr. Everett treats it as if it were meant to be a statement of the saving significance of Christ's death in general, and even carries it over in application to the position of his followers before the law. The inferences drawn from this single passage are made determining for the interpretation of all other passages, so far as they are touched upon. The theory is built upon an undue elaboration of a single verse. Secondarily, the theory makes use of Gal. ii. 19: "I, through the law, died to the law." While many interpreters understand this passage in a sense similar to that advocated by Dr. Everett, I must regard it as having reference to Paul's conception of ethical death to sin. (7) It is not clear how one could abolish a law by undergoing its curse, especially in the mere sense of ceremonial pollution. It is certain that Paul's doctrine of the abolition of the law was not derived from such premises. The law passed away because it had served its pedagogic function, because it was an imperfect institute and could not bestow life. Paul never intimates that it was abolished because Christ and his followers became ceremonially polluted. I can only agree with Holtzmann when he says of Dr. Everett's theory: "Evidently there is here attached to the incidental argument of Gal. iii. 13 — which can only be justly estimated in connection with iii. 10 — an entirely foreign chain of ideas, in the sense of Heb. xiii. 10-13." *Neutest. Theol.* II. 108. See critical notes on Professor Everett's theory in Briggs's *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 136, 137 and in Bruce's *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, pp. 184-186. The fullest review of it which I have seen is by Professor C. M. Mead in the *Hartford Seminary Record* for November, 1896. Dr. Everett replies to Drs. Bruce and Briggs in *The New World* for March, 1896. He still defends his method as "the only true one," and regards the exegetical results of his critics as determined by "dependence upon traditional dogma" and as being "only in the slightest degree the result of New Testament exegesis." One can but wonder whether he would attribute to Holtzmann also a bias in favor of traditional dogma.

submitted to be treated as a sinner for our sakes: "Him who knew no sin God made to be sin on our behalf (*ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν*), that we might become the righteousness of God in him" (2 Cor. v. 21). This passage cannot mean less than that the sinless Christ endured a lot which he did not personally deserve, and underwent an experience of suffering such as belonged to sinful man, rather than to him, and that he did this to secure the salvation of men. I will here place together the principal additional passages which we have to consider, arranging them for convenience as follows: (1) Those which simply connect Christ's death with salvation from sin, *e.g.*: "Who died for us (*περὶ ἡμῶν*), that whether we wake or sleep (that is, live or die), we should live together with him" (1 Thess. v. 10); "Who gave himself (that is, gave himself up to death) for our sins (*περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*), that he might deliver us out of this present evil world" (Gal. i. 4); "Who was delivered up (to death, *παρεδόθη*) on account of our trespasses" (*διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν*, Rom. iv. 25); "God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin (*περὶ ἁμαρτίας*),<sup>1</sup> condemned sin in the flesh" (Rom. viii. 3); "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up (to death, *παρέδωκεν*) for us all (*ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων*), how shall he not also with him freely give us all things? . . . Who is he that shall condemn? (No one shall, for) it is Christ who died" (Rom. viii. 32, 34); "One died for all (*ὑπὲρ παντῶν*), therefore all died" (2 Cor. v. 15); "For to this end Christ died, and lived again, that he might be Lord of both the dead and the living" (Rom. xiv. 9); Christ has "blotted out the bond written in ordinances that was against us (the law's verdict of condemnation) . . . nailing it to the cross" (Col. ii. 14). (2) Passages which express the idea of a redemption (*ἀπολύτρωσις*) or deliverance of men as by purchase,

<sup>1</sup> The R. V. renders these words "as an offering for sin" in consideration of the Septuagint usage which employs this phrase to denote the "sin-offering." It is improbable that Paul uses the phrase in this technical sense. His use of *περὶ* elsewhere (see 1 Thess. v. 10; Gal. i. 4; Rom. viii. 3, quoted above) favors the ordinary force of the preposition here, viz. "on behalf of sin."

*e.g.*: “Christ redeemed (ἐξηγόρασεν) us from the curse of the law, etc. (Gal. iii. 13); “God sent forth his Son . . . that he might redeem (ἐξαγοράσῃ) those under the law” (Gal. iv. 4); “In whom we have our redemption” (ἀπολύτρωσις), the forgiveness of our sins” (Col. i. 13; *cf.* Eph. i. 7; also 1 Cor. i. 30 where Christ is called our δικαιοσύνη, ἁγιασμός καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις); “Ye were bought with a price” (1 Cor. vi. 20; vii. 23; *cf.* 1 Tim. ii. 6 and Tit. ii. 14, where the figure of a ransom is employed); “Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God set forth as a propitiation (ἰλαστήριον), through faith, by his blood, to show his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God; for the showing, I say, of his righteousness at this present season: that he might himself be just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus” (Rom. iii. 24–26). (3) Passages which speak of a reconciliation (καταλλαγῆ, καταλλάσσειν) between God and men by the death of Christ: “For if while we were enemies, we were reconciled (κατηλλάγημεν) to God through the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled (καταλλαγέμεντες), shall we be saved by his life; and not only so, but we also rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received the reconciliation” (καταλλαγῆν, Rom. v. 10, 11); “But all things are of God, who reconciled (καταλλάξαντος) us to himself through Christ, and gave unto us the ministry of reconciliation (τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς); to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself (κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ), not reckoning unto them their trespasses, and having committed unto us the word of reconciliation. We are ambassadors therefore on behalf of Christ, as though God were intreating by us: we beseech you on behalf of Christ, be ye reconciled to God” (2 Cor. v. 18–20). Beside this passage should be placed Col. i. 20–22, where Christ is spoken of as reconciling (ἀποκαταλλάξαι) all things unto God (or unto himself), whether things on earth or in the heavens, making peace between himself and



them by the blood of his cross, and also as reconciling the readers who had formerly been enemies, through his death; also Eph. ii. 16, where Jews and Gentiles are said to have been reconciled and united through the cross. These are the passages from which Paul's doctrine of the saving import of Christ's death must be derived. The problem is bound up with the meaning of four terms or phrases: (1) *ὑπέρ* or *περὶ ἡμῶν* or *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν* — Paul's doctrine of substitution; (2) *ἀπολύτρωσις* and kindred terms — Paul's idea of redemption; (3) *ἱλαστήριον* or propitiation;<sup>1</sup> (4) *καταλλαγή* and cognates — the conception of reconciliation.

We naturally seek the elements of Paul's doctrine of salvation in the Old Testament, but in so doing we encounter two difficulties. The first is the difficulty of determining the exact meaning of the sacrificial system, and the second arises from the fact that Paul has made so few references to this system. The most noticeable instance is Eph. v. 2: "Even as Christ also loved you, and gave himself up for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for an odor of a sweet smell" — a passage in which the sacrifice of Christ is conceived of as a gift pleasing to God. It seems to me clear that while there is important truth in the theories that the sacrifices were gifts to God, and that they expressed communion with God, it is also true that they expressed — at any rate, some of them — the consciousness of sin, and were considered as a means of obtaining its forgiveness. In the later period of Israel, says W. Robertson Smith, "the victim whose life was treated as equivalent to that of a man, was a sacrifice to justice, accepted in atonement for the guilt of the worshipper."<sup>2</sup> There was a certain substitution in the sacrificial system. It was not, however, a strict and literal, but a symbolic and representative, substitution. We naturally look for something similar to this in Paul's doctrine

<sup>1</sup> Of the words kindred to *ἱλεως*, *ἱλάσκεσθαι*, Paul uses only this one, Rom. iii. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion of the Semites*, p. 419. Cf. *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*, pp. 228, 229.

of the death of Christ. He does not, indeed, say that Christ died instead of us (*ἀντὶ ἡμῶν*); no such literal and exact substitution as that phrase would imply, is affirmed. Yet the repeated affirmation that he died on our behalf and for the sake of our sins, taken in connection with other statements, does imply some kind of a substitution of Christ's sufferings and death in place of the sinner's punishment. The desert of sin is penalty; Christ by his death averted that penalty. In that sense his death was substituted for the penalty. Paul uses no expressions which imply a sameness in kind or a precise equivalence between Christ's sufferings and the penalty due to sin. Yet in some way the former are regarded as meeting the ends of the latter. He was "made sin for our sakes" (2 Cor. v. 21). He so far took the sinner's place as to suffer for him. He was treated as a sinner in order that, in consequence of what happened to him, sinners may become righteous before God. Paul's idea certainly is that Christ was so far substituted for us that his sufferings and death accomplish in God's moral order the end which punishment would accomplish, namely, the expression of God's holy displeasure against sin (*ἐνδειξις τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ*, Rom. iii. 26).

But it would not follow that Christ's sufferings would have, in Paul's view, the moral quality of punishment, or that Christ would be, as the sinner is, the object of the divine wrath. Paul's conception of substitution does not involve, but excludes, this conception. Christ remains throughout the holy and sinless Son of God, the object of the Father's good-pleasure. Paul represents God in almost an anthropomorphic way as rejoicing in the work of Christ and as rewarding him for it afterwards (Phil. ii. 8-11). The "one act of righteousness" (*ἐν δικαίωμα*, Rom. v. 18), in which Paul sees the crowning proof of God's favor, was the death of Christ. His tasting of the accursed death, his sharing of the lot of sinners, was not at all personal, but entirely representative. Paul does not say that Christ *was* accursed, but that he "*became* a curse on our account" (*γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα*, Gal. iii. 13).

In this passage the apostle carefully refrains from asserting that the curse which the law pronounced against sin and that which Christ, in his crucifixion, endured are the same in kind. He does not write: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law (ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νομοῦ), having become, or having taken upon himself *the curse of the law*;" but, "having become *a curse*" (κατάρα). If Paul had meant to say that Christ endured the precise curse which the law pronounces upon sin, he should have said that Christ became ἡ κατάρα or ἡ κατάρα τοῦ νομοῦ. That statement would have affirmed the moral identity of the curse pronounced upon sin and that endured by Christ; but such a statement he instinctively avoided. In like manner in 2 Cor. v. 21 it is necessary to understand ἀμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν under the limitations imposed upon the idea by τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἀμαρτίαν and ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. The apostle is careful not to say that Christ *was* a sinner, or that *personally* he was regarded as such; he says that he "*was made sin for us*" (2 Cor. v. 21); that is, he was, for the sake of others, and not for his own sake, treated as a sinner. His experience of the consequences of sin was entirely vicarious and representative. These considerations look towards the conclusion that with Paul substitution means, not the substitution of Christ's punishment for our punishment, but the substitution of his sufferings, which were not of the nature of punishment, for our punishment; in other words, the substitution of another method of revealing and vindicating the divine righteousness in place of the method of punishment. God in his grace adopts another course of procedure with sinful man than that of retributive justice and a course which more fully displays his glorious perfections.

The passages which speak of Christ's saving work under the figure of a ransom or purchase strongly confirm this conclusion. The death of Christ is the price of man's salvation; that is, it represents the greatness of God's self-sacrificing love. It accomplishes the ends of God's moral government more fully than mere retributive justice could do. And the reason why it does so must be

that it is a completer expression of God's entire nature than punishment would be. The price is infinitely great. It represents the absolutely boundless and holy love of God. Punishment would be partial in comparison with this. It would evince but one aspect of God's being. But the humiliation, sufferings, and death of the Son of God, prompted by infinite love, represent and satisfy the total perfection of God. If Paul has expressed this sublime truth in commercial and legal analogies, it need cause us no difficulty. The ancient theology which built upon these analogies as if they were scientific formulas, and the modern theology which rejects them altogether, are equally unjust to the thought of the apostle. The categories of law were the forms of thought in which he had been trained. But for him the judicial and the ethical coincided. When it is said that, according to Paul, Christ rendered satisfaction to God's violated law and so enabled him to suspend its verdict against sinful man, several un-Pauline inferences are likely to be involved. The essence of Paul's thought does not lie in such notions as those of a deified law, quantitative equivalents, and literal substitutions and transfers, but in the conception of a fuller realization in Christ of God's perfections in his treatment of mankind than was otherwise possible.

The nearest approach which Paul has made to a theoretic statement of the principle of redemption through Christ's substitution for us is found in Rom. iii. 24-26. There are two important terms in the passage whose meaning is disputed, namely, *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* and *ἰλαστήριον*. Some would interpret *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* as denoting God's goodness in general or his self-consistency, the accord of his will and action with his love; while others think that it is here a name for his attitude towards sin, the law and penalty side of the divine nature. I hold this latter view on the ground of the context. The passage sets forth the method of God's grace in saving *sinner*s. He seems to have been unduly lenient towards sin in past ages, says the apostle; but his method of salvation in Christ rescues his procedure from such an appearance and

adequately and fully exhibits his righteousness. This righteousness, therefore, is that quality in God which seemed to be in abeyance in the former "passing over of sins," but which is now manifested. It must be the attribute which would have been exhibited in punishment, that is, punitive righteousness. It is here kindred to the *ὀργή θεοῦ*. *Ἰλαστήριον* is understood by some to mean the *Kapporeth* or mercy-seat of the ark of the covenant (as in Heb. ix. 5; cf. Ex. xxv. 17-20). In this case, it is sometimes contended, the meaning probably is: God set forth Christ, in his death, as the antitypical mercy-seat, the one in whom his gracious saving presence was supremely manifested. The principal objections to this meaning are that if the mercy-seat were meant, *ἰλαστήριον* should have the article (as in Hebrews); that it would be incongruous, and without parallel elsewhere, to call Christ the lid of the ark, and that Paul is not so strongly influenced by Septuagint usage as is the author of Hebrews. The word is more commonly, and, in my opinion, correctly, taken in its etymological sense as a means of rendering favorable, *Sühnemittel*, *Expiatorium*. As a *ἰλαστήριον* Christ is designated as a means of effecting a reconciliation between the holy God and sinful man. His suffering and death proclaimed God's righteous displeasure towards sin and removed the obstacle to a favorable treatment of sinful man.<sup>1</sup> How the death of Christ avails to express his repudiation and condemnation of sin, we are not told. But that it does so the apostle plainly asserts. The death of Christ expresses the verdict of the divine holiness upon sin. In that death God's holy nature is satisfied by asserting itself, and by evincing as over against an apparent laxity, the severity of his condemnation against sin. In this way the ends of penalty — the exhibition of God's self-preserving holiness — are met. In Christ God pur-

<sup>1</sup> "It is impossible to get rid from this passage of the double idea: (1) of a sacrifice; (2) of a sacrifice which is propitiatory. . . . And, further, when we ask, who is propitiated? the answer can only be 'God.' Nor is it possible to separate this propitiation from the death of the Son." Sanday, *Comm. on Romans, in loco*.

sues a method which illustrates alike his goodness and his severity, that is, reveals, vindicates, and satisfies his whole moral nature. That this is, in substance, Paul's thought in this passage is the verdict of the great majority of interpreters of all schools.

We have next to notice the passages which speak of reconciliation between man and God by the death of Christ. "We were reconciled to God through the death of his Son" (Rom. v. 10). Is this reconciliation conceived of as accomplished solely by a change *in men*, as is so often said, or is it mutual, involving a changed attitude on the part of God as well as on man's part? The context favors the latter view. The apostle is speaking of men being "saved from the wrath of God" (v. 9). They were enemies (*ἐχθροί*, v. 10) in the sense of being objects of that wrath. The reconciliation, therefore, must have fulfilled the conditions on which this holy displeasure of God might no longer be directed towards sinful man, as well as have secured a change of attitude towards God on man's part. The reconciliation comes to man from God (v. 11); it is not directly ascribed to any act or change in man. Quite as clearly is the Godward aspect of the reconciliation recognized in 2 Cor. v. 18-20. "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself" (v. 19). But how does he do this? The apostle continues: "not reckoning unto them their trespasses." The reconciliation involves a gracious procedure instead of a penal procedure in dealing with sin, on the basis of which men are besought to come into accord with God. In Col. i. 20-22 the thought is more general. Here the reconciliation is the unifying and harmonizing of all things in heaven and earth, and no intimation is given respecting its method beyond the statement that it is to be accomplished by the death of Christ. In Eph. ii. 16 the death of Christ is regarded as a means of uniting Jew and Gentile.

Such are the principal representations of the saving significance of the death of Christ in the teaching of Paul. It would be unjust to suppose that Paul found this meaning in Christ's death considered merely as an

isolated event. The person of the Saviour gave divine meaning to his sufferings, and Paul perpetually regarded them in the light of his resurrection and glorified life in heaven. Hence he can say that Christ "was raised for our justification" (Rom. iv. 25) and that "we are saved by his life" (Rom. v. 10), that is, by the union of faith and love with him who lives and reigns in heaven. Paul seems to have conceived of the death of Christ as fulfilling a condition precedent to salvation, not, indeed, in time, but in principle, for God had always been saving men. The death expresses for his mind the fulfilment of a condition of the operation of God's grace, namely, such a satisfaction of the claims of righteousness that this righteousness need not be manifested in punishment. It is regarded as an initiation or founding of salvation, and, in that sense, as the primary saving deed. It safeguards the divine self-consistency in forgiveness. Paul conceives of the death of Christ as doing this, because it is experienced in place of our punishment, and, even more completely than punishment could do, attests and vindicates the inviolable holiness of God, which is the premiss of salvation. If theology will follow Paul beyond this point, and elaborate, on Pauline principles, a philosophy of atonement, it must seek to show the *rationale* of this substitution; how the sufferings and death of Christ were competent to meet the ends of penalty and so to prove an *ἔνδειξις τῆς δικαιοσύνης θεοῦ*. For the philosophy of religion Paul carries us only to the beginning, and not to the end, of the problem of atonement to which his own principles give rise.<sup>1</sup>

The principal elements of Paul's thought on the subject in hand are as follows: (1) Salvation originates in the divine love and mercy (Rom. v. 8; viii. 32; Eph. ii. 4, 5). (2) But there is an aspect of God's ethical nature which leads him to disapprove sin (*ὀργή* or *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*). This also must be expressed in any method of salvation which he adopts. (3) The *ὀργή θεοῦ* would by itself

<sup>1</sup> In my *Pauline Theology*, pp. 243-258, I have followed out the logical implications of Paul's doctrine somewhat further than my present purpose requires me to do.

lead to the punishment of sin; but it is *not by itself*. God saves according to his whole nature. (4) In the sufferings and death of Christ the self-respecting holiness of God, his necessary attitude towards sin, is revealed and satisfied. Thus the attribute which conditions the operation of the divine grace in forgiveness realizes its most perfect expression. (5) God does not substitute Christ in punishment for sinners. He substitutes for punishment another course of proceeding with sinners which is not punishment, but which, even more adequately than punishment would do, expresses the ill desert of sin. The sufferings of Christ, which are graciously substituted for the sinner's punishment, are not regarded by Paul as themselves penal. (6) Thus sin is pardoned in accord with absolute righteousness. Benevolence and holiness are equally manifested and realized in the work of Christ. What is done is righteously, as well as graciously, done. Mercy and justice are equally satisfied, and both "the goodness and the severity of God" equally illustrated.



## CHAPTER VIII

### JUSTIFICATION

THE death and resurrection of Christ represent, to Paul's mind, God's objective provision for man's salvation. Justification is a name for the way in which the saving benefits of Christ's work are made available for the individual. The motive of the doctrine in the form which it has assumed with Paul is found partly in the Old Testament and partly in his polemic against the doctrine of salvation by works of the law. The Old Testament frequently portrays God's approval of men under the form of a judgment or verdict of acquittal. God's relation to men is often represented according to legal analogies. In the later Judaism the juristic method of thought concerning God and his relations to men was the prevailing one. "Justification" and "justify" were common terms in the vocabulary of Jewish thought. Paul naturally carried them over into his exposition of Christian doctrine. But the use which he made of the idea in question was largely determined by the demands of his controversy with the Judaizers. They conceived justification as a result of human achievement; he conceived it as a free gift of God's grace. To their minds the condition of its attainment was a strict performance of the requirements of the law; to his it was an act of self-surrender and of trust.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ménégos connects Paul's doctrines of expiation and justification by means of Rom. vi. 7: "He that hath died is justified from sin." His exposition is: Christ by his death has satisfied the law, has gone free from it, and is justified before it. And the proof of this justification of Christ is his resurrection. In like manner the sinner who dies with him partakes in his justification and is himself justified. Hence he "was raised for our

Justification means essentially the same as the forgiveness of sins (*ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν*). Paul uses them synonymously in Acts xiii. 38, 39. In Rom. iv. 5-8 justification, the reckoning of faith for righteousness, the imputation of righteousness apart from works, the forgiveness of iniquities, and the non-imputation of sin, are all equivalent expressions. Why did the apostle speak so infrequently of forgiveness — the term which the primitive preachers so constantly used to denote the inception of salvation? I think that the term "justification" was better adapted to express the idea of a *state* of grace in which the believer stands (Rom. v. 2); it served to emphasize the secure position of acceptance with God occupied by him, notwithstanding the sin which still cleaves to him. It stood for the completeness and the permanence of salvation. It is the verdict of God, which none can annul or gainsay.

These thoughts were also rooted in Paul's experience. He had tried the Pharisaic way of salvation and had proved its insufficiency. He had once been ignorant of the righteousness which God graciously gives (*ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνη*), and had sought to establish his own (*ἡ ἰδία δικαιοσύνη*, Rom. x. 3; *ἐμὴ δικαιοσύνη ἢ ἐκ νομοῦ*, Phil. iii. 9), namely, a righteousness achieved by legal works, and had failed. The coveted acceptance with God he had at last secured through faith in Christ. In this personal experience his polemic against Pharisaism was

justification" (Rom. iv. 25), *Le Péché*, p. 251 sq. This is ingenious, but I cannot accept it as reproducing the form of Paul's thought. In Rom. vi. 7 Paul is not speaking of Christ's death, but of the believer's ethical death to sin. It is quite unwarranted to apply the passage to Christ's death as a satisfaction to the law and to deduce from it the idea of a justification of Christ by the resurrection. Moreover, the phrase *δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας* would be very strange in application to Christ. Christ's death in its substitutionary aspect and the believer's death to sin (moral renewal) are very different categories and cannot be treated as one. From this identification several unwarranted inferences are drawn and a confusion of ideas (see p. 259) needlessly attributed to the apostle. Rom. iv. 25 more naturally means that Christ's death is the ground of salvation (*Heilsbegründung*), and that his resurrection is the ground of faith (*Glaubensbegründung*).

grounded. He knew that salvation was not by works from his own pre-Christian struggle after a sense of peace with God and with his own conscience. He knew that it was by faith in Christ from the experience which had transformed him from an enemy into a disciple of Christ and had begotten in him the certainty of salvation. The sense of sin, whose power he realized more and more as he contemplated the holy requirements of God, also contributed to this conviction. How could man ever achieve or deserve salvation in the face of such a hindering power? From this point of view the apostle felt certain that if man was to be saved from sin it must be by a gratuitous act of God. He can present to God no adequate righteousness of his own. He must renounce dependence upon his own merits. Salvation cannot be received on the basis of debt, but only on the basis of grace. The idea of salvation by meritorious deeds would imply that God bestows forgiveness as something due (*κατὰ ὀφείλημα*, Rom. iv. 4). The watchwords of the Pharisaic doctrine are "works" and "debt"; those of Paul's system are "faith" and "grace." The motive of salvation is God's mercy to the undeserving; faith is the attitude, on man's part, which corresponds to grace; it is the disposition to accept God's gracious gift. Salvation is possible because God treats men better than they deserve.

We have now to consider more particularly the meaning of the terms "justification" and "faith," and to study their mutual relation to Paul's doctrine. As has been observed, justify is a legal term. In the Old Testament its prevalent significance is forensic. It belongs to a type of religious thought which is accustomed to represent God as a sovereign or judge, and his acts in relation to men under the analogy of decrees or verdicts. Paul was familiar by his training with these Jewish forms of thought concerning God, and he did not deem it necessary to abandon them in his Christian teaching. In fact, the use of them put him at a great advantage with his Judaizing opponents. In important respects he and they occupied common ground; they had, to some extent, common conceptions and a com-

mon vocabulary. Paul meets his opponents on their own plane and discusses with them the question: On what conditions does God pronounce his verdict of acceptance? I do not mean to intimate that Paul retained this form of thought and expression merely by way of accommodation; it was his own thought-form also, but it was not his only one and is in no sense the measure of his doctrine of salvation.

Paul uses "righteousness" in two senses. Sometimes it is a quality or attribute, as in Rom. iii. 5, where he asks the rhetorical question: "But if our unrighteousness commendeth the righteousness of God, what shall we say?" Likewise in Rom. iii. 25, 26 the righteousness of God which is exhibited by the death of Christ is that quality of God's nature which stands opposed to the lenient treatment of sin. It is the quality which expresses itself in the *ὀργή θεοῦ*. But more commonly in Paul — especially in his discussion of the appropriation of salvation — the righteousness of God (*δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*) means a state of acceptance with God into which one enters by faith. It is objectively conceived as a gift or bestowment from God. It is so used in Rom. i. 17, where we are told that in the gospel is revealed a righteousness from God by faith. This is God's free gift of righteousness (*δωρεὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης*, Rom. v. 17). In Rom. iii. 21, 22 a righteousness of God is said to have been manifested and made available through Christ. In the epistle up to this point the apostle has been describing the sinfulness of mankind and the wrath of God which is revealed against their wickedness. Here he turns to a gracious gift of God of which man, on condition of faith, may be the recipient, whereas, otherwise, he would have been the object of the divine wrath. In Phil. iii. 9 the righteousness which is available through faith is called *ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνη* and is contrasted with man's own righteousness (*ἐμὴ δικαιοσύνη*), as in Rom. x. 3 *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* is contrasted with *ἰδία δικαιοσύνη*. The righteousness of works, were it possible, would be a righteousness which would proceed from man's own doings and strivings, but the righteousness of faith proceeds, on the contrary, from

God as a gift of grace. The genitive *θεοῦ* must therefore be taken as denoting the source or author. These two conditions of God's righteousness — as a quality and as a gift of God — are essentially related. The righteousness which God confers is grounded in the ethical righteousness which is an attribute of his character. The state of acceptance which is opened to the believer is a state of harmony and fellowship with God. The conditions of being accounted righteous are such as accord with God's perfect character.

The terms "justify" (*δικαιοῦν*) and "justification" (*δικαίωσις*) must be understood in accord with this objective sense of righteousness. They are terms derived from legal analogy. To justify means to declare righteous, to acquit, to pronounce a sentence of acceptance. They illustrate the fact that religious language must be largely analogical. This is true of such terms as "moral governor," "redemption," and "judgment." Religious truth must often be conveyed in terms which reflect human relations. In such cases we never think of regarding the forms of expression as scientific definitions. Nor do we, on the other hand, repudiate such analogical expressions as false and misleading so long as they convey the particular truth which we wish to teach. Such terms are more concrete and realistic than the more abstract language which we should employ in efforts at precise definition. The forensic concept of justification was a favorite analogy with Paul, and was admirably adapted to convey the idea of a purely gracious salvation freely offered and fully possessed in spite of sin, as well as to place the apostle *en rapport* with the forms of argument which it was most necessary for him to combat.

That which completely saved Paul's doctrine of justification from formalism and externality, such as belonged to the Pharisaic theology, was his conception of the believer's relation to Christ. We might suppose, from Paul's doctrine of substitution, that faith would be presented as a passive acquiescence in a vicarious righteousness. In fact it is not so. If Paul lays stress upon the idea of

Christ *for us*, he lays even a greater emphasis upon the idea of Christ *in us*. Paul's doctrine of salvation is sure to be misconceived unless his conception of faith is clearly and correctly apprehended. With Paul faith is a very rich conception. It is a trust or repose of soul in God or in Christ — an attitude at once of receptivity and of sympathy towards the divine. It is an affair of the heart and is closely kindred to love. It is "with the heart that man believeth unto righteousness" (Rom. x. 10). Through (*διά*) faith Christ dwells in the heart (Eph. iii. 17). Faith worketh by love (Gal. v. 6); that is, it is an active and energetic principle as well as a receptive attitude. Faith is therefore a powerful motive to obedience and to every good work. Paul speaks of "the work of faith" (*τὸ ἔργον τῆς πίστεως*) alongside of "the labor of love" and "patient continuance in hope" (1 Thess. i. 3; *cf.* 2 Thess. i. 11). Faith stands in no contradiction with action, or with works in the sense of the deeds and services required by the gospel. It is opposed to works only in the sense of deeds of legal obedience contemplated as the meritorious ground of salvation. "What is not of faith is sin" (Rom. xiv. 23), says the apostle. Faith must therefore be the inseparable accompaniment of all good choices and actions. It involves the will. It includes the choice and pursuit of the truth (2 Thess. ii. 12). It implies subjection to the righteousness of God (Rom. x. 3). It is, in short, that attitude and disposition on man's part which correspond to God's love and grace. In faith man enters into fellowship and sympathy with God. It is not a mere passive receptivity; it does not simply receive; it uses what God bestows.

Such is Paul's general idea of faith. But he connects it more closely with Christ who is the specific object of the Christian's faith. One of his characteristic phrases is, "to believe on Christ" (*πιστεύειν εἰς Χριστόν*, or *ἐν Χριστῷ*, or *πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, Gal. ii. 6; Eph. i. 13; Rom. iii. 22). And this faith is a personal relation of fellowship and love. To live by faith on the Son of God is synonymous with living in Christ and with Christ's living in the

believer (Gal. ii. 20). To be in the faith is equivalent to having Christ dwell in the heart (2 Cor. xiii. 5). Hence for the apostle faith in Christ involves a reciprocal indwelling of Christ in the believer and of the believer in Christ. It denotes a mystic union, a mutual fellowship. His favorite phrase to describe the Christian life is *ἐν Χριστῷ εἶναι*. To be in Christ is to be a new creature (2 Cor. v. 17). It will thus be seen that justification by faith is not Paul's only formula for the way of salvation. Quite as characteristic of him is the idea of entering into life-fellowship with Christ. No judicial analogy could fully convey his doctrine of the Christian life. He uses the vital, quite as much as the forensic, analogies to describe the appropriation of Christ's saving benefits. He has no consciousness of any incongruity between them. Indeed, he can combine them in a single conception and write of a "righteousness in Christ" (*δικαιοσύνη ἐν Χριστῷ*, 2 Cor. v. 21), and of the "righteousness which is through faith in Christ, that is, the righteousness which is from God" as synonymous with "being found in Christ" (Phil. iii. 9). To be justified by faith is to obtain God's gift of righteousness, to enter into a state of acceptance with God, through living union with Christ. Justification by faith means the reception of Christ into the heart (Eph. iii. 17); the forgiveness of sins means becoming a new creature in Christ (2 Cor. v. 17). These terms differ only formally — as terms based on one kind of analogy differ from those based on some other kind — and for the consciousness of the apostle they differ not at all.

Another formula for the way of salvation — quite as characteristic of Paul as justification by faith — is, dying to sin and rising to holiness. The apostle seems, at least in one case, to have employed this representation as a means of refuting unwarranted inferences from the idea of justification. He had taught in the earlier chapters of Romans that upon believing in Christ man has a verdict of acquittal pronounced in his favor, and goes free from the condemnation proclaimed by the law against sin.

He is then entitled to rejoice in his liberty. Yes, but, says an imaginary objector, what about sin itself? Is it still there the same as ever? If God in his grace acquits, may not the believer safely go on in sin? It might seem as if the verdict of justification was only a formal affair; as if, after all, the grace of God conferred in its decree did not really destroy, but rather encouraged, the sin itself. The objection was of Paul's own making. He saw that a particular terminology was liable to leave some side of the truth unguarded; that his discussion of justification, up to that point, had not fully safeguarded all the elements of his belief. He replies (Rom. vi. 2 *sq.*) that the objection cannot hold against his real doctrine. To be accepted with God involves a new life; it means a new heart as well as a new standing. The Christian dies to sin, that is, breaks off all relation to the old sinful life as one breaks relation with earth when he dies. This dying to sin Paul identifies with baptism because that rite symbolized for his mind union with Christ, and because the idea of death, burial, and resurrection naturally suggested an analogy with immersion into and emergence from the waters of baptism. As Christ when he died ceased to hold those relations to the sinful world which he sustained before, so we must die to the sinful world and rise to a holy life. The justified man must be a holy man; there is no separation possible between justification and moral renewal. So completely are they one for the apostle's mind that he can blend the language of the two representatives (as in the case mentioned above) and write: "He that hath died is justified from sin" (Rom. vi. 7). In my judgment, the context makes it certain that by *ὁ ἀποθάνων* here is meant: he who has died to sin, he who has ceased from the old sinful life. Justification from the verdict of the law is, at the same time and equally, justification from sin. The verdict of acquittal is also the effective realization of an actual deliverance from sin itself. The cancellation of guilt takes place only on terms that involve, at the same time, the breaking of the power of sin. This, then, is Paul's



answer to the possible objection to his doctrine of gracious justification. It endangers no ethical interest. It permits no toleration of sin. Justification is justification *from sin* as well as acquittal from guilt and condemnation. There is no such thing as a judicial acquittal which is not also an effective moral deliverance.

This representation of dying and rising with Christ is also figurative or analogical. But it is adapted to convey an aspect of Paul's doctrine of salvation which the forensic term "justification" does not convey. Justify was a term derived from Paul's Jewish and Rabbinic training. The phrases, to be in Christ and to die and rise with Christ, were a part of his Christian vocabulary. He retained the juridical term, we may believe, because it answered to an aspect of his own experience, and because it was especially serviceable in his polemic against Judaizing teaching. But it is evident that in his constructive thought upon the method of salvation he preferred his Christian terminology. It was based upon his consciousness of union with Christ. Justification emphasized well the completeness and the graciousness of God's forgiveness; it accentuated the precious truth of God's favor and lifted the sense of condemnation; but dwelling in Christ and rising with him into the heights of his own holiness, expressed the inner nature of the Christian life and correlated it with Christ as the living power who rules in the Christian man. When the apostle was not refuting the doctrine of salvation by meritorious works, but wished to show that to receive God's gift of grace in Christ means to enter on a holy life, he instinctively preferred the phrases denoting mystic communion. He makes effective use of the figure of dying and rising with Christ in 2 Cor. v. 14 *sq.*, where he is urging upon his readers the claims of the new life of holiness and love. He died, exclaims the apostle, that we might live holy and unselfish lives. Now all died with him; that is, the purpose of his death is realized when men die to sin and live to holiness. Virtually, all died (to sin) when he died; actually, all Christians thus die to sin. Let us then see to it that we live as

new creatures in Christ. Here Paul employs both his characteristic mystical terms — dying with Christ and living in Christ (*vv.* 15, 17). In Gal. ii. 19, 20 and in Col. ii. 20 and iii. 3 he employs the figure of dying with Christ — in all cases to emphasize the idea that the Christian life is a holy life. This death means the cessation of the sinful life and the living of a new life in Christ. We have observed elsewhere that the basis of this figure was, no doubt, the conviction that salvation was established through the death and resurrection of Christ. Here the appropriation of salvation is so far identified with its ground as to be described in terms of Christ's saving deeds. Thus the phrases, to die and to rise with Christ, epitomize both Paul's doctrine of the founding and his doctrine of the realization of salvation, and suggest the genetic connection between them. In Gal. ii. 19, 20 and Phil. iii. 9, 10 we see the equivalence of the ideas, dying with Christ and being in Christ.

What, now, is the relation of faith to righteousness? We have seen that, to Paul's mind, righteousness is a state of acceptance with God, but that such a relation involving the divine approval is inseparable from the right moral attitude of the soul towards God. Such an attitude is faith. Faith introduces to right standing before God because faith is the receptive and obedient attitude of the soul towards the grace of God in Christ. Righteousness is God's approval and acquittal from guilt, but it is equally a right moral disposition towards him and his holy requirements. It is both of these, and equally. Thus righteousness may be defined as in its essence Godlikeness. Now faith is life-union with Christ, and such union insures increasing Godlikeness. Is faith, then, synonymous with righteousness? If by righteousness is meant the actual and full realization of our moral ideal, faith certainly is *not* righteousness. Faith is the opening of the life to God's mercy; it means facing the right way; it is the condition on man's part of realizing the status and character of righteousness. It does not procure righteousness as a reward of merit, for faith is self-surrender and the

renunciation of merit. But it does not follow that faith is without moral value. It has all the moral value of a right, instead of a wrong, attitude towards God. As such it does not procure salvation as a compensation, but it does morally condition its bestowment. It is inconceivable that the gifts of God's grace could be bestowed on any other terms. What Paul is concerned to prove is, that God's favor and forgiveness are not given as a reward for some meritorious act of man; they are purely gracious. But it is not warranted, on this account, to deny the moral excellence of faith in the interest of maintaining that it is not regarded as a work of merit.

No just exegesis will try to separate the subjective and the objective factors in Paul's doctrine of salvation. Too long have they been arrayed against each other. We observe that several recent writers on the subject have not escaped the onesidedness which denies or disparages one of them in the supposed interest of the other. Such a procedure is based, not upon a just estimate of Paul's teaching as a whole, but upon an unwarranted emphasis upon some passages to the neglect of others. If dogmatic bias has long favored a onesided forensic interpretation, an equally strong preconception is observed in many expositions of the ethical theory. But why should there be any contradiction between a juridical and an ethical form of expression? All writers on religion, whose thought is marked by any richness or vivacity, employ a variety of figures and analogies to convey their ideas. We have seen that Paul has at least three favorite forms of expression for his idea of salvation. His language was not subject to that leaden uniformity which many of his interpreters would impute to him. But the essence of his doctrine is the same in all these forms of teaching. I have elsewhere called the forensic representation of his doctrine the form or formal principle of his teaching, the ethical and mystical expressions of it the essence or material principle of it.<sup>1</sup> But the use of such an analogy exposes one's meaning to misapprehension and easily gives rise to unwarranted in-

<sup>1</sup> *The Pauline Theology*, p. 275 sq.

ferences.<sup>1</sup> It would, perhaps, be less liable to misapprehension to say that, like every vital thinker, Paul uses analogies. One is drawn from legal relations; another from the phenomena of life and death. The analogies are not to be taken as formally precise. They express a great moral and spiritual fact. They stand for great realities. But the realities are ethical and spiritual. The analogies in question are good and true so far as they go, but, in the nature of the case, they cannot be accurate and perfect expressions of spiritual relations and processes. Each of Paul's forms of expression for his doctrine should be read in the light of the others, and all should be understood in accord with the characteristics of his mind and the method of his teaching as a whole.

I accordingly hold that Paul's teaching regarding the way of salvation is not two, but one. I cannot, therefore, entirely agree with Dr. Bruce, who thinks that Paul's juristic doctrine was developed first, in point of time, and that his "doctrine of subjective righteousness, its causes and hindrances, was of later growth than his doctrine of objective righteousness."<sup>2</sup> This view describes the objective and the subjective in Paul as "two revelations" which did not, however, cancel each other, but "lived together peaceably in Paul's mind." Elsewhere Dr. Bruce reminds us that "St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans does not refer to the subjective aspect of faith as a renewing power till he has finished his exposition of the doctrine of justifi-

<sup>1</sup> Professor Bruce, one of the fairest of critics, infers from my use of this analogy that I suppose Paul to have regarded objective righteousness as a *mere form* and not as "a great essential reality," and that I consider the doctrine of juridical justification to have been for the apostle "a mere controversial weapon." These inferences seem to me quite unwarranted by my discussion, and are certainly contrary to my opinion. Perhaps they may serve to illustrate the risks of misapprehension which are involved in the use of analogical language — a point of importance for our present investigation. I observe, however, that Professor Bruce himself makes use of the same distinction in his exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "We must distinguish," he says, "between the form and the substance of the writer's thought, between his essential idea and the mode in which he states it in an argument constructed for the benefit of others." *The Expositor*, 1888. (Third series.)

<sup>2</sup> *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, pp. 214, 215.

cation.”<sup>1</sup> There is, of course, no question that the apostle views the way of salvation mainly in a forensic manner in Rom. i.–v., and that he develops the ethical aspects of his doctrine in chapters vi.–viii. But this fact in no way favors the idea that for Paul the objective and the subjective were “two revelations,” or separate forms of doctrine, one of which followed the other chronologically. The ideas which Paul expresses in Rom. vi.–viii., were certainly in his mind when he began to write. The manner in which his thoughts are unfolded was determined by the purpose of his argument. In the early chapters he is concerned to prove the true method of justification, as against the false method. His point is: All men being sinful, we must hold that God accepts them, not on the basis of their good deeds, but on condition of a self-surrender. It is only after this point is fully established that the apostle has occasion to develop his thought of the inner nature of the Christian life. Quite inconsistent with the theory of two doctrines, chronologically separate, is the fact that in Galatians (written before Romans), as well as elsewhere (*e.g.* Phil. iii. 9–11), the different forms of expression are used interchangeably.

I therefore hold that, in justice to Paul’s thought, we should refuse, on the one hand, to minimize the juridical form of his doctrine in the supposed interest of an ethical idea of justification, and, on the other, should decline to rest in the forensic analogies alone as if they were precise, scientific definitions of the spiritual realities. We should rather hold that for Paul the juridical and the ethical coincide. His doctrine does not in the least fall short in point of ethical reality. In whatever various terms it is presented, it is ethical to the core. Modern religious thought lays great stress upon the importance of reading all Christian doctrines in ethical terms, and rightly; but this requires no break with Paul. His conception of salvation is ethical through and through, because it is intensely real and personal. Faith is imputed for righteousness because it sets a man in the way of righteousness; it is the soul’s entrance

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

upon right relations to God as revealed in Christ.<sup>1</sup> A legal analogy is in no way inconsistent with ethical and spiritual reality when, as in this case, the lawgiver is the God of all grace, the law itself holy love, and the condition of acquittal before God union with Christ.

<sup>1</sup> That the old theological formula, "the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the believer," does not correctly render Paul's thought of justification is now so generally recognized by exegetes that I have not thought it necessary to refer to it in the text. See my *Pauline Theology*, p. 263.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE HOLY SPIRIT

IN the Old Testament the Spirit is hardly more than a name for the power or presence of God. His Spirit broods over creation, educing order out of chaos (Gen. i. 2). He sends forth his Spirit, and men are created (Ps. civ. 30). By his Spirit God bestows strength upon heroes (Judg. xiv. 6), skill upon artificers (Ex. xxxi. 3, 4), inspiration upon poets (2 Sam. xxxii. 2), and the knowledge of his will upon prophets (1 Sam. x. 10, etc.). The Spirit is mainly correlated with extraordinary gifts and endowments, although its relation to the ethical and religious life is not unrecognized (Ps. li. 11; Is. lxiii. 10). In the later Jewish period the Spirit was more distinctly correlated with the life of man. It was not, however, in his moral and spiritual life that the Spirit was supposed to be operative so much as in unusual states and experiences, such as prophecy, ecstasies, and visions. God was in the thunder and the whirlwind of man's life rather than in the stillness of his daily growth and common experience. The extraordinary and the marvellous were the marks of the Spirit's presence and power. The Spirit is regarded as an adequate cause for phenomena which are deemed supernatural and inexplicable. Not practical religious value, relation to holiness in thought and life, but the mysterious and miraculous is the test and proof of the Spirit's operation. Hence the prophet with the ecstatic inspiration which was commonly attributed to him was the typical example of a Spirit-filled man.<sup>1</sup> Such were

<sup>1</sup> The popular Jewish ideas of the workings of the Spirit of God are very fully illustrated and discussed by Gunkel in Part I. of his very instructive work, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes nach der popu-*

some of the current ideas concerning the working of the Spirit in the time of Paul. It is interesting to observe how far he accorded with them and how he modified them.<sup>1</sup>

In the New Testament we meet with clear traces of this popular view of the Spirit's activity. In the early chapters of Acts the work of the Spirit is mainly seen in the miraculous and the marvellous. The speaking with tongues at Pentecost (contemplated in Acts ii. as a miraculous endowment with the ability to speak foreign languages) is regarded as a signal exhibition of the Spirit's power (vv. 4, 17). Here it is the marvellous which is magnified and regarded as the supreme proof of the Spirit's operation. The Spirit of the Lord catches away Philip and transports him from the place where he baptized the eunuch to Azotus (Acts viii. 39, 40). The miracles of the apostles are especially regarded as works of the Spirit. It was the "signs" which Philip did which excited the desire of Simon Magus to possess, for his own use, the gift of the Holy Ghost (Acts viii. 18). For the Christians, indeed, the possession of the Spirit involved that the heart should be "right before God" (v. 21), but it was the Spirit of *power*, rather than that of *holiness* upon which primary stress was laid.<sup>2</sup> The same association of the Spirit with the unusual in the religious life is reflected in the circum-

*lären Anschauung der apostolischen Zeit und nach des Lehre des Apostels Paulus.*

<sup>1</sup> Respecting the origin and motive of Paul's doctrine of the Spirit wide differences of opinion exist. Sanday says: "The doctrine of the Spirit of God or the Holy Spirit is taken over (by Paul) from the O. T." *Comm. on Romans*, p. 199. With this view agree, substantially, Wendt, *Fleisch u. Geist*, p. 152 sq. and Gloël, *Der Heilige Geist*, p. 238 sq. Gunkel, on the contrary, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-90 thinks that Paul's doctrine has very little connection with the O. T., and explains it from his experience and his originality. Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 206 sq.; Cone, *The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretations*, p. 167; and Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* II. 145, think it stands connected with Hellenistic thought, especially with the Book of Wisdom. *Per contra*, see Gunkel, pp. 86, 87. I hold that the historic root of Paul's doctrine is in the O. T., but that Gunkel correctly emphasizes the great importance of his personal experience and originality in determining its development.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 245.



stance that the Spirit was regarded as a special gift which did not always accompany baptism and faith. The Samaritans are not regarded as having "received the Holy Ghost" when they "received the word of God." They had believed and had been baptized, but it was only when Peter and John went down and prayed for them and laid their hands on them that the gift of the Spirit was bestowed (Acts viii. 14-17). Evidently some special endowment or experience is here in view. The same conception emerges even more clearly in the narrative concerning the disciples of John whom Paul found at Ephesus (Acts xix. 1-7). Not only did they not "receive the Holy Ghost" when they believed, but after they had been baptized into the name of Christ, it was only when Paul had laid his hands on them "that the Holy Ghost came upon them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied" (v. 6). Here it is obvious that the gift of the Spirit is regarded as synonymous with the ecstatic *charismata* of speaking with tongues and prophesying. Such circumstances can only be rightly understood and estimated in the light of the popular conceptions of the Spirit's agency.

What attitude did Paul assume towards this idea of the work of the Spirit? We shall find, I think, that he shares it in part, but that he has modified it in important respects and has given to it quite a new form and proportion. What he says that bears upon our present inquiry is mainly found in his discussion of the gifts of tongues and of prophecy in 1 Cor. xii.-xiv.

The apostle so far shares the current views as to think of miracles, visions, and charisms as special products of the Spirit's action. A mysterious sacredness attaches to these phenomena. Paul is reluctant to speak freely about them. Only when compelled to do so by the aspersions of his enemies, does he refer to his "visions and revelations of the Lord" (2 Cor. xii. 1). The words which he heard in the ecstatic experience which he proceeds to describe were "unspeakable words which it is not lawful for man to utter" (v. 4). Paul feels himself to be a *πνευματικός*

(1 Cor. ii. 15; Gal. vi. 1) — a man endowed with unusual powers and gifts and, upon occasion, when he “must needs glory,” he puts forth this claim boldly and rejoices in his charismatic endowments and experiences. “I thank God,” he exclaims to the Corinthians, “I speak with tongues more than ye all” (1 Cor. xiv. 18), and to the Romans he declares that he will dare to speak only of those things which Christ wrought through him by word and deed, “in the power of signs and wonders, in the power of the Holy Ghost” (xv. 18).

From these general indications of Paul’s attitude towards the pneumatic gifts, as popularly conceived, we turn to his fullest discussion of the subject in 1 Cor. xii.—xiv. The Corinthians were an excitable folk, who readily yielded themselves to those rapt states which were regarded as seizures of the Spirit. Paul saw that their fondness for ecstatic excitement produced an unhealthy effect upon their religious life, and he proceeded to instruct them upon the whole subject. His first point is that the primary gift of the Spirit is the recognition of the lordship of Christ. Formerly they recognized idols; now as spiritual men they must recognize Jesus as the only Lord (xii. 1–3). He next reminds them that the many gifts and operations of the Spirit are one in source and aim. The various endowments must be made to minister to unity. Wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, miracle, prophecy, glossolalia, — “all these worketh one and the same Spirit” (v. 10), and “to each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal” (*πρὸς τὸ σὺμφερον*, v. 7). Unity and utility define the aim of all the gifts and prescribe their legitimate exercise (vv. 4–11). By these principles the apostle sets strict limits to the religious enthusiasm which was rife at Corinth, and provides against excesses to which he saw the Corinthian greed for the marvellous and extravagant to be tending. The diversity of gifts from the same Spirit furnishes an occasion to dwell upon the unity of believers. Thus the rule, that all religious exercises are to be used for the practical benefit of all, is further enforced. This splendid plea for Christian

unity we shall have occasion to notice in another connection. It is only necessary now to observe how Paul applies it to the right use of the gifts. Each person has his own place and work. Each has his special endowment. Let him use it for the general good. Gifts are good in proportion as they are practically good for something. Therefore let the most useful gifts be held in highest esteem.

But how shall this comparative value of the gifts be determined? It was in answer to this question that Paul wrote the most splendid passage to be found in all his epistles (1 Cor. xiii). The subject of the charismatic gifts has in itself, for the modern mind, hardly more than an antiquarian interest. It is well to remember that it was the discussion of that subject which called out the passage which the Christian world esteems as the gem of all his writings. And what is this "way of surpassing excellence" (*καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδόν*, xii. 31), this principle by which the desire for the best gifts is to be regulated, by which the usefulness and value of all charisms are to be tested? It is love, answers the apostle; "Follow after love" (xiv. 1). Paul then institutes a comparison between the gift of tongues and the gift of prophecy. The former was a species of ecstatic speech and was most highly esteemed by the Corinthians. Prophecy was a plainer and simpler expression of religious feeling in exhortation or instruction. For this exercise the apostle expresses a strong preference on the principle: "All things for edification" (*πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομήν*, xiv. 26). Paul does not call in question the reality of the gift of tongues. He believes in the gift and in its use upon occasion. But it is of little or no use in the public assembly. It edifies the speaker himself, but not the congregation. No one understands it, for it is a speaking in mysteries (v. 2). If it is used at all, the meaning of what is said should be interpreted, either by the speaker himself or by some one else, so that what is said may be understood (vv. 5, 13, 28). Otherwise the exercise is profitless and may even prove harmful, since unbelievers who are present would naturally interpret such

incomprehensible fervors as madness (v. 23). The apostle's conclusion is that while the glossolalia is not to be wholly discouraged, the exercise of prophecy should be preferred. By so doing the interest of decorum and utility will best be promoted.

We thus observe that Paul shares the popular view that the Spirit bestows extraordinary gifts and experiences, but that he judges and regulates their employment in the assembly by their adaptedness to edify all. Utility is not so much the test of their reality as of their use. Paul rejoices that as a speaker in tongues he surpasses all those to whom he is writing; but in the assembly he would rather speak the fewest words in plainness, in order to edify others, than "ten thousand words in a tongue" (v. 19). "Herein we observe," says Gunkel, "the difference in principle between the Pauline and the popular conception. For the congregation the charisms are astounding wonders; the most valuable is that in which the miraculous is most clearly manifest. No thought is given to its *purpose*. But for Paul the charisms have a divine aim — the edification of the Church. By this test the worth of the various gifts is estimated."<sup>1</sup> Paul treats the subject in a practical, ethical interest. Thus the representations which we have been reviewing pave the way to what we should call a more purely spiritual conception of the Spirit's working. The emphasis of the apostle's teaching concerning the Spirit is found to lie within the ethical life. The Spirit is, indeed, the cause of the marvellous, but the most truly marvellous is found in the inner life. His own conversion and his experience as a Christian were always before his mind as the typical example of the Spirit's work. The holy life was to Paul the greatest marvel, the most convincing evidence of the Spirit's power. Accordingly, we find scarcely any references to these outward "gifts" except in the letters to Corinth where he had found a peculiarly excitable type of religious life. Taking his references to the subject as a whole, we find the work of the Spirit distinctly correlated with a holy, Christlike

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

life. The Spirit is holy (*πνεῦμα ἅγιον*), and the work of the Spirit is sanctification (*ἁγιασμός*). Paul speaks of "salvation in sanctification of the Spirit," that is, sanctification wrought by the Spirit (2 Thess. ii. 13). The life in the Spirit is the counterpart of that justification by which the believer was accepted and forgiven. With Paul these are inseparable elements or aspects of the process of salvation. They are organically related to each other. Justification opens the way into the new life; sanctification is the development of that life through the union with Christ which is entered into by faith. Sometimes he blends them together in what must seem to a schematic theology a most reckless disregard of the normal *ordo salutis*, as when he exclaimed to the Corinthians: "But ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God" (1 Cor. vi. 11).

The truly "spiritual" man, the man in whom the Spirit truly predominates, is the man whose life, inner and outer, is Christlike. "If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk" (Gal. v. 25). Although love is not spoken of in 1 Cor. xiii. as a "gift of the Spirit," it is evident that it is such for the apostle's mind because in Gal. v. 19 it is first named in the list of the "fruit of the Spirit," and because the consciousness of God's love to us is ascribed to the action of the Holy Spirit in the heart (Rom. v. 5). The same influence which quickens man's sense of God's love must also kindle man's love to God. To "walk by the Spirit" is the surest guaranty against the sinful life (Gal. v. 16), and the truly spiritual man will be the bearer of others' burdens (Gal. vi. 1, 2). How radically different was Paul's attitude towards "spiritual things" (*πνευματικά*, 1 Cor. xii. 1; xiv. 1) from that of the vain and contentious Corinthians! To them he was most "spiritual" who evinced the most showy gifts, who revelled most in visions and raptures and in frenzied utterance. To Paul he is most spiritual who shows compassion towards the erring, seeking to restore such in a spirit of meekness, remembering his own liability to temptation;

who enters by sympathy into the suffering lot of others and "parts their burdens, taking half himself." "For if," adds the apostle, "a man thinketh himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself" (Gal. vi. 3). In the popular sense of "spiritual," Corinth was the most "spiritual" church in the apostolic age; but it was the most factious, contentious, and immoral church of the period. Similar tests of "spirituality" have always been in vogue — showy gifts, frantic enthusiasm, extravagant self-assertion. All need to be tested by the standard which Paul applied. Without the love which is modest and humble, and which serves and bears, they are worthless. They foster only the self-deception of him who thinks himself to be something when he is nothing.

Paul insists that the Holy Spirit sanctifies not only the inner life, but the body as well. "Know ye not," he exclaims, "that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have from God" (1 Cor. vi. 19)? This is the keynote of his argument against the defilement of the body by sensuous sins. The Christian has been cleansed by the divine Spirit; he has received a spiritual life to which such sins are utterly contrary. "The body is for the Lord" (vi. 13). The Spirit of God dwells within it. Hence sensuality is sacrilege. In Corinth sensuous sins were lightly regarded. A fornicator was harbored in the church. Hence special emphasis upon the relation of the Spirit to the body was necessary. "Know ye not," writes the apostle, "that ye are a temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man destroyeth the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are" (1 Cor. iii. 16, 17). And as the individual believer, alike in his inward and his outward life, is an abode of the Spirit, so also is the body of believers "builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit" (Eph. ii. 22). The Church is a spiritual and holy temple, reared "upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner-stone" (ii. 20). Each believer is a stone built into this temple, which is

founded in truth, shapely in its proportions, and radiant in its beauty. When we contemplate the deformed "spirituality" of the churches of the apostolic age, we can but admire the splendid and persistent optimism of the apostle which enabled him still to cherish such a lofty ideal and prophetic hope for the Church at large.

Paul's doctrine of the Spirit is at once ideal and practical. It deals with the commonest and homeliest virtues, and regards them as the products of the Spirit's indwelling. Not devout fervors alone, not dreams of far-off ideals alone, but the every-day qualities which one needs most in his commonplace life, are the Spirit's work. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control" (Gal. v. 22). These are the virtues which men need for every day's common life and experience. They are the very substance of a good and useful life. They make up the value and dignity of life. And see how Paul ennobles them by assuring us that the plainest qualities, such as sympathy, generosity, patience, and helpfulness, are divine; yes, they are, in his view, the divinest things in man's life. They are the ripe fruitage of the Spirit's life in man. They are the fulfilment of God's law. Their possession is heirship in the Kingdom of God, for "the Kingdom of God is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost" (Rom. xiv. 17). This Kingdom is, indeed, a dream, a perfected society, an ideal life; but it is also a present reality in so far as men live the life of the Spirit and produce the fruits of the Spirit in their character and action. Thus we see how Paul refuses to connect the Spirit only with the miraculous and the extraordinary. The spiritual covers man's common life and daily duty. It embraces his plainest virtues, and dignifies them by connecting them with God and with God's presence and power in human life. When the religious ideas of the apostolic age are considered, this correlation of the Spirit with man's ethical and practical life seems to be Paul's greatest contribution to the doctrine under consideration. In Judaism and in primitive Christianity the work of the

Spirit was viewed as sporadic and special; with Paul it is constant and general. Popularly, the Spirit was correlated with extraordinary deeds and experiences; by Paul it is correlated with the whole religious and ethical life. On this point Gunkel aptly says: "The community regards as pneumatic the extraordinary in the life of the Christian, Paul the ordinary; they that which is peculiar to individuals, Paul that which is common to all; they that which occurs abruptly, Paul that which is constant; they the special in the Christian life, Paul the Christian life itself. Hence the value which the primitive Church attaches to miracles, Paul attaches to the Christian state. No more is that which is individual and sporadic held to be the divine in man; the Christian man is the spiritual man." This author justly adds: "We do not hesitate to pronounce this thought one of Paul's most ingenious and truly spiritual conceptions."<sup>1</sup>

We reach the apostle's most characteristic thoughts in his doctrine of the Spirit's witness in the believer assuring him of his sonship to God. It is not quite clear, at first sight, whether the Spirit is conceived of as the cause of the *fact* of sonship, or as the cause of the *assurance* of it. I hold the latter to be Paul's thought. Adoption is a synonym for justification. It is conceived as a single act of God by which the believer is received into the divine favor and fellowship. This view is rendered quite certain by such passages as Rom. viii. 14: "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God;" and, especially, Gal. iii. 26, 27: "For ye are all sons of God, through faith, in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ." Then the apostle adds: "And because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father" (Gal. iv. 6). The sinner becomes a son of God in justification by faith. To this fact the Spirit bears witness, enabling him to realize the certainty of his sonship to God. With this agrees Rom. viii. 15-17, where the believer is said not to have received "a Spirit of

<sup>1</sup> *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, p. 82.



bondage," but "a Spirit of adoption"; that is, the Holy Spirit which he received is not a Spirit which accompanies bondage and causes fear, but a Spirit which accompanies adoption and enables the believer to rest in the consciousness that he is a son of God. "The Spirit beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God, and if children, then heirs," etc. In Gal. iv. 6 it is the Spirit who is said to cry, "Abba, Father," but it is evident that the meaning is: The Spirit inspires in the heart the conviction of sonship which is expressed in the cry, "Abba, Father." The matter is so presented in Rom. viii. 15, where it is the believers who, under the inspiration of a Spirit of adoption, are enabled to cry, "Abba, Father." I understand the apostle to use this expression, which was probably a current formula in prayer, as a symbol of the conviction of sonship. I see no reason for supposing, with Gunkel, that the utterance of this cry was one of the ecstatic phenomena of the glossolalia.<sup>1</sup> The thought of both passages where the Abba-cry is mentioned is quite remote from the subject of speaking with tongues.

The Spirit, then, is a powerful aid and comfort in the life of the Christian. The Spirit is the "Spirit of life" (Rom. viii. 2), by whose power the Christian is made free from sin. "According to the Spirit" he is to walk (v. 4), since in him the Spirit dwells (v. 9). The life-giving Spirit is also the guaranty of the resurrection life (v. 11). Christians "have the first-fruits of the Spirit" (v. 23), the pledge of greater blessings to come. The Spirit strengthens the inner life of the believer. By the Spirit he is aided to pray as he ought, and the apostle adds: "The Spirit himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered; and he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to God" (vv. 26, 27). Here, as in Gal. iv. 6, the utterance of the believer in aspiration and prayer is described

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 66. Gunkel, p. 67, refers the groaning of creation (Rom. viii. 22) and of the Spirit (v. 26) to the same category. The explanation seems to me far fetched in both cases.

as an utterance of the Spirit. The meaning is that the Spirit inspires it (*cf. v. 23*); that even in the believer's inarticulate sigh the Spirit's voice is heard. The believer's yearning desire may be very ill defined; it may be none the less genuine; the Spirit inspires it, and, although the believer himself may not be able to interpret his own prayer, God can interpret it, for the Spirit's work is all according to his will. It is God who is supervising all that happens in the life of the believer, and making all things coöperate for his good (*v. 28*). This intercession or entreaty on our behalf by the Spirit is conceived of as taking place through an inspiration of the believer's own thought and feeling and as uttering itself in inarticulate sounds. The whole passage means that, although we do not definitely know what we ought to desire from God, and cannot state our wishes in adequate language, but can only disclose them in such expressions as sighs and groans, yet God will receive such prayers inasmuch as they come from a heart which is inspired by his own Spirit.

What, then, is the Spirit, according to Paul? From 1 Cor. ii. 10 *sq.* we might be led to suppose that the Spirit is a name for the divine self-consciousness. It is the spirit of a man, says Paul, which knows the man; just so it is the Spirit of God which knows God and searches the deeps of the divine nature (*vv. 10, 11*). Here we must remember that we have to do with an analogy, and that the analogy is used for a particular purpose. Paul is discussing earthly and heavenly wisdom. The former is taught in the schools and by the rhetoricians; the latter is bestowed by the Spirit. He then refers to the depths of this divine wisdom which the Spirit searches and reveals, and in order to emphasize that thought appeals to the analogy of a man's own self-knowledge in comparison with the knowledge which others have of him. The point of the argument here is: The Spirit knows the heavenly wisdom as much better than the sophist or philosopher does as a man knows his own inner thought and feeling better than another man does. By this analogy Paul does not mean to teach anything concerning the nature of the Spirit.

Does Paul identify the Spirit with the glorified Christ? He certainly applies the term *πνεῦμα* to Christ: "The last Adam [became] a life-giving spirit" (*πνεῦμα ζωοποι-οῦν*, 1 Cor. xv. 45); "Now the Lord is the Spirit" (*τὸ πνεῦμα*); "as from the Lord the Spirit (*ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύ-ματος*, 2 Cor. iii. 17, 18). Certainly the first of these passages is not available as a proof of the identity of the Spirit with Christ. The apostle is contrasting Adam as, by his creation, a natural man, with Christ who became by his resurrection a life-giving Spirit who, as such, is heavenly (*ἐπουράνιος*) and in whose likeness men shall be when they receive the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. It cannot be maintained that by *πνεῦμα ζωοποιῶν* here Paul means the same as elsewhere by *τὸ πνεῦμα* and its equivalents. In the second passage the Lord is called *τὸ πνεῦμα* (2 Cor. iii. 17, 18), but the apostle immediately adds, "the Spirit of the Lord" (*τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου*). When we consider the connection, we see that he is contrasting the old and the new covenants. The former was a dispensation of outward commandments; the latter a dispensation of spiritual principles and laws; the word to describe the former is "letter" (*γράμμα*); that to describe the latter is "spirit" (*v. 7*). Now the apostle sums up the nature of the gospel in the words: "The Lord is the Spirit;" he is the life-giving Spirit of the new dispensation. It is evident that Paul is not here giving a theoretic description of the essence or substance of the Lord, which justifies a metaphysical identification of Christ with the "Holy Spirit," but is describing him as a source of spiritual blessing to those who turn to him. Christ sums up the spiritual system in himself, as Moses sums up the legal system. If one were to seek here theoretic determinations concerning the metaphysics of Deity, it would be as legitimate to call attention to the distinction observed between the Spirit and the Lord as to their identification (*v. 17*). In either case we should be quite transcending the apostle's thought.

But how, then, does Paul think of the nature of the Spirit? Is the Spirit a generalization of man's religious

experience, a force, a substance, a person?<sup>1</sup> We must admit that Paul's language does not furnish us with the materials for an accurate definition of the Spirit.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, certain that the Spirit was to him an objective divine reality and power. Perhaps he did not more sharply define his own conception. His language is, for the most part, general and practical, and does not lend itself to our aid in the metaphysics of the subject. Regarding the personality of the Spirit, the question should be, not whether Paul thought of the Spirit as a person distinct from God and Christ, but whether what he says of the Spirit naturally involves that conclusion *for us*. In general we must say that the Spirit is distinguished from God and from Christ. God sends the Spirit of Christ into the hearts of men. He works (*ἐνεργεῖ*) in believers (1 Cor. xii. 11) as he wills (*καθὼς βούλεται*), and dwells (*οἰκεῖ*) in them (Rom. viii. 9). He leads believers (*v.* 14) and bears witness in them (*v.* 16); he helps (*v.* 26) and teaches them (1 Cor. ii. 13). To such expressions should

<sup>1</sup> Respecting Paul's view of the *nature* of the Spirit opinion is much divided. Holsten, *Zum Ev. d. Paulus u. Petrus*, p. 378, defined it in accordance with the supposed metaphysical dualism of Paul, as a material substance. This view of spirit in general as "superterrestrial material substance" (*überirdisch-stoffliche Substanz*) has been extensively applied to Paul's eschatology by Richard Kabisch, *Die Eschatologie des Paulus*, p. 188 sq. For Wendt, *Fleisch u. Geist*, pp. 139-146, the Spirit is a name for the totality of those supernatural operations of power in which God reveals himself. Pfeiderer says, *Paulinismus*, p. 207: The Spirit is "an independent divine power and reality," "a supernatural divine life-power." Similarly Beyschlag, *N. T. Theol.* Bk. IV. ch. vii. § 2, *πνεῦμα* = *δύναμις* (1 Cor. ii. 4), and Gunkel, *op cit.*, 51: "The principal idea in the conception of the Spirit is always that it is a supernatural power. This is the most exact definition of the Spirit." Issel, *Der Begriff d. Heiligkeit im N. T.* p. 56, reduces the Spirit to the consciousness of sonship in believers. Ritschl, *Rechtf. u. Versöhn.* iii. 562, defines the Spirit as "the common thought of God as our Father, so far as this is a comprehensive motive of our moral and religious life," etc. Gloël, *Der heil. Geist*, pp. 376, 377, holds that although Paul has not explicitly predicated personality of the Spirit, he does ascribe to this power functions which we can interpret only as the functions of personal life.

<sup>2</sup> Dazu kommt, dass wir es bei dem Geiste überhaupt mit einer Grösse zu thun haben, die wir wohl *beschreiben*, nicht aber im eigentlichen Sinne *definieren* können. Gloël, *Der heil. Geist*, p. 370.

be added Paul's coördination of the Spirit with the Father and with Christ in such passages as 2 Cor. xiii. 14: "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all;" 1 Cor. xii. 4-6: "Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of ministrations, and the same Lord. And there are diversities of workings, but the same God, who worketh all things in all;" and Eph. iv. 4-6: "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all."

The problem to which these passages give rise lies in the field of doctrinal theology. It is only necessary here to point out the considerations derived from Paul's writings, which have contributed to the theological doctrines of the personality of the Holy Spirit and of the Trinity. By some this personification of the Spirit is regarded as purely poetical and rhetorical.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, quite certain that there are important differences between Paul's personifications of sin and death and his personification of the Spirit. The operations of the Spirit are, in any case, really personal whether the Spirit is distinguished from God and Christ or not. To say that the Spirit is a power, as Beyschlag does, defines nothing. It is to take refuge in an abstraction. God is also called a power (Mt. xxvi. 64) without detriment to the conviction of his personality. I am confident that no such coördination with God and Christ as we observe in the case of the Holy Spirit in the three passages above cited (2 Cor. xiii. 14; 1 Cor. xii. 4-6; Eph. iv. 4-6) can either be found, or even reasonably imagined, in the case of any of Paul's other personifications. It seems to me that reflective thought can most naturally construe the functions of the Spirit, as Paul describes them, upon the view that the Spirit is a self distinct from God and from Christ.

<sup>1</sup> So Beyschlag, *N. T. Theol.* II. 207 (Bk. IV. ch. vii. § 2): "Our apostle has, indeed, poetically and rhetorically personified the Holy Spirit now and then, just as he has personified the flesh, sin, and death."

## CHAPTER X

### SOCIAL MORALITY

THE logical root of Paul's ethics is found in his doctrine of love, the most fundamental and comprehensive virtue. But the apostle does not rest in a general subjective principle. The outer life must be conformed to the requirements of truth and righteousness. The life of the Spirit must be expressed in outward relations. "If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk" (Gal. v. 25). Paul lived at a time when society was extremely corrupt. His description of heathen morals in the first chapter of Romans, and his allusions to the state of Greek society in the Epistles to the Corinthians, throw a lurid light upon the gross perversions of natural life which obtained in his age, especially in regard to the relations of the sexes. Chastity had almost ceased to be required of men, and the honor of woman was lightly esteemed in the Græco-Roman world. The apostle insisted upon both. He taught that man and woman were upon the same plane as respects their personal dignity and value before God (Gal. iii. 28; 1 Cor. xi. 11), and he uncompromisingly demanded sexual purity in both. "The body is for the Lord," he exclaims; "flee fornication" (1 Cor. vi. 13, 17; *cf.* 1 Thess. iv. 3, 4). He required that the incestuous man in the Corinthian church should be expelled (1 Cor. v. 7). He was, indeed, aware that in heathen society, as then constituted, it was not possible for the Christians to avoid all associations with those who were guilty of such sins, "for then must they needs go out of the world" (1 Cor. v. 10). But within the church no one guilty of such sins as fornication, idolatry, and drunkenness was to be tolerated (v. 11).

Paul presupposes that the family should be monogamous (1 Cor. vii. 2). He assumes that marriage is a natural relation, founded in the divine order for human life, and he knows that Christ expressed himself with regard to its nature and sanction (1 Cor. vii. 6, 10, 40). The Corinthians had submitted to the apostle certain questions respecting the relations of the sexes on which he proceeds to express his personal conviction and feeling. They had asked whether, in general, the married or the unmarried state were preferable (1 Cor. vii. 1); whether, for example, virgins and widows had better marry or remain single (vii. 8); and whether Christian and heathen partners should remain united (vii. 10). In each case the apostle disclaims having any word of Christ which furnishes an explicit answer to this question. He believes, however, that he has the Spirit (vii. 40), and that he can answer the questions in accord with the demands of Christian expediency.

In answer to the first question he recommends, in general, the celibate state. Marriage is permissible and is even useful as a preventive of unlawful desire, but the unmarried state is to be preferred. What is the ground of this preference? Many scholars answer that it is found in an ascetic view of the natural life based on Paul's dualism of flesh and spirit.<sup>1</sup> The apostle's view certainly wears an ascetic appearance. But did it have its root, for his mind, in an ascetic view of the world? He has not connected it with the contrast of flesh and spirit, and even if he had done so, it would not follow that marriage, if it belonged to the former category, would be unholy, since flesh and spirit are not necessarily synonymous with evil and good. When he commends celibacy in preference to marriage he does not add that marriage is evil, but says that it is, at least, a relative good. One man may have his

<sup>1</sup> So Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* II. 153, who speaks of Rom. viii. 13, as an "asketisches Schlagwort"; Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 259, who thinks that Paul, in consequence of his dualism, regarded marriage as less holy than celibacy, because it belonged to the earthly life. Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age*, ch. iii. sec. ii. § 7, expresses, in guarded language, a similar view.

“gift from God” after that manner, another after the manner preferred by the apostle (1 Cor. vii. 7). But is marriage, then, good only because it prevents incontinence? Is it, after all, but the lesser of two evils? Paul does not say this, and such a meaning does not agree with what he writes concerning marriage in Eph. v. 22–33, where the whole subject is transferred into the ethical sphere and treated as a realization of the life of love analogous to the communion between Christ and his Church.<sup>1</sup> After a digression (1 Cor. vii. 10–24) upon mixed marriages and social classes, Paul resumes the subject (vii. 25 *sq.*) by taking the specific case of virgins—no doubt in answer to a special question. Now for the first time does he give a reason for his advice against marriage. It is this: “I think therefore that it is good by reason of the impending distress, namely, that it is good for a man to be as he is” (vii. 26). Paul expects the return of the Lord in the near future. This event is to be preceded by the “woes of the Messiah” (*cf.* 2 Thess. ii. 1–12)—a fearful manifestation of the powers of evil, which will tax and try the souls of the faithful. This is the “impending distress” (*ἡ ἐνεστῶσα ἀνάγκη*) which the apostle sees as imminent, and in view of which he thinks all changes of one’s social state, and especially the assumption of new responsibilities, inexpedient. The married will experience special tribulations in that great coming trial (*v.* 28). But even the conditions already present point, for Paul, to the same conclusion. The married are more encumbered with cares than the unmarried, and are not so well able to devote themselves entirely to whatever duties the present and future may bring. The married must have responsibilities to one another which render undivided service impossible. It is better, urges the apostle, that the unmarried person remain so, “in order that he may attend upon the Lord without distraction” (*vv.* 32–35).

These are the only reasons which Paul himself gives for

<sup>1</sup> The scholars cited in the previous note do not, of course, admit the genuineness of Ephesians.



recommending celibacy. All other supposed reasons are conjectural. He insists that if his "judgment" is disregarded, no sin is committed. He does not intimate that marriage is sinful. How, then, can it be essentially "less holy" (Pfleiderer) than celibacy? He says that if the father or guardian of the virgin shall deem it wise to give her in marriage, he "doeth well"; though he adds that if he does not give her, he shall "do better" (v. 38). "She is happier if she abide as she is, according to my judgment" (v. 40), says Paul. But this is not presented as a question of *good* and *bad*, or even as one of *better* or *worse*, but as one of *well* or *better*, that is, as a question of wisdom and expediency in view of present and prospective conditions, as the apostle interprets them. It is quite true that in 1 Cor. vii. marriage is not placed upon high ground, and that the apostle's expediency was the product of a natural, but mistaken, eschatology which cut off all hope of the world's continued progress and made the propagation of the race seem unimportant. In these views, not in asceticism, I find the motive of what he says about marriage.<sup>1</sup>

Paul knows that Jesus discountenanced divorce (1 Cor. vii. 10, 11). He repeats the same principle, and adds the inference that if separation does, nevertheless, take place, remarriage is not thereby permitted. But what shall be said of cases where Christians and heathen are united in marriage? Shall they separate? In general, Paul's answer is negative (vv. 12, 13). If they can be content to dwell together, they should do so. The Christian partner "sanctifies," that is, brings within Christian influence, the non-Christian partner, as well as the children of the union (v. 14). But what if the heathen partner refuses to dwell with the Christian and departs, thus sundering *de facto* the marriage bond? The apostle does not think that Jesus' general principle of non-separation furnishes an answer to

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Beyschlag: "Paul nowhere urges in support of this view of his an ascetic motive, or regards the unmarried life as a higher stage of morality; his reasons for preferring it are plainly of another character." *N. T. Theol.* II. 221 (Bk. IV. ch. vii. § 5).

this question; and he gives it as his own judgment that, in such cases, the believing party may acquiesce in the separation. In this way the interests of peace will best be conserved (*v.* 15). If it is argued that such a separation forfeits the opportunity which the Christian would have of winning the heathen party to Christ, the apostle replies that such a result is not at all certain (*v.* 16). His view seems to be that obvious present interests, rather than mere possibilities, must govern action in such matters. It seems clear that in such instances the apostle would not regard the Christian party as at liberty to marry again. It is rather a separation in the interests of peace than a divorce in the proper sense of which Paul is speaking. Against the idea of remarriage would be Paul's counsel that Christians should not enter into new relations in view of the near parousia (*v.* 20), and, especially, the principle that only death really dissolves the marriage-bond (*v.* 39).

Incidentally Paul makes frequent reference to the subject of slavery. He frequently exhorts masters and slaves to perform their respective duties to each other (Col. iii. 22-iv. 1; Eph. vi. 5-9); and the Epistle to Philemon is an appeal to the owner of a runaway slave, Onesimus, urging a kind reception of him, on the ground that he has become a Christian and will make all possible restitution. Paul's churches were largely composed of slaves. With the institution of slavery he had always been familiar. He assumed it as a part of the order of society. He made no protest against it. It is wholly improbable that the thought of its abolition ever occurred to him. Questions of social transformation could hardly arise in a mind which was so preoccupied, as was Paul's, with the idea that the course of history was soon to be terminated. His maxim was: Let each man remain in that state or relation in which he was when converted (1 Cor. vii. 20). This principle he applies to slaves. If one is a bondservant, let not that trouble him; let him not seek freedom, but rather use his position as a slave for the Lord's service, knowing that spiritually he is Christ's freeman (*vv.* 21, 22). Outward condition is of small account, in view of the approaching

end. "Let each man, wherein he is called, therein abide with God" (v. 24).

It is quite unwarranted to suppose that Paul refrained from disapproving of slavery from considerations of expediency. It is equally incorrect to say that he attempted any theoretic justification of it. There is no reason to think that the question of its abstract rightfulness or wrongfulness was before his mind at all. He certainly could not have considered it as wrong *per se*; for in that case he could not have recognized it without protest, as he did by giving directions for its regulation. We must conclude, I think, that Paul assumed that it was legitimate for one man to own another. He has presented no objection to such ownership. What he aimed at was to secure the just and humane treatment of bondmen. He sought to arouse in those to whom he wrote the sentiment of human and Christian brotherhood. Especially in writing to Philemon did he insist that the converted slave was "more than a slave, a brother beloved" (v. 16), whose fellowship and friendship Philemon should have forever (v. 15). Such sentiments as these were certain to place the relation of master and slave upon quite a different plane from that on which it rested in antiquity. So far as such ideas prevailed, they were certain to abolish the abuses of slavery; and the destruction of its abuses would go a long way towards the ultimate destruction of the institution. At the destruction of the institution, however, Paul did not consciously aim. But by treating the relations involved in the light of the principles of Christian love and brotherhood, he aided to set forces at work which have, as matter of fact, accomplished the abolition of slavery on almost a world-wide scale. Paul did not define to himself such a task, or even such a possibility, as belonging to the mission of Christianity in history; but he did clearly apprehend the moral principles which have, in fact, accomplished this result wherever Christianity holds sway, and which, we can now see, must logically conduce to it whenever they become lodged in the heart of society.

With respect to the state Paul took up an attitude

different alike from that which was common among the Jews, and from that towards which his doctrine of Christian liberty might seem to tend. To the Jewish mind the Roman Empire was the embodiment of cruelty and oppression, and its overthrow was the fond dream of every Jewish heart. Paul does not discuss the character of the Roman power as such. He contents himself with urging the general principle that the state is a divinely constituted order of human society, and that it is an instrument of God for accomplishing his ends among men (Rom. xiii. 1-7). The state derives its authority from God (*v.* 1), and to resist its power is to resist God's ordinance (*v.* 2). It exists for the good of its people; its function is to protect the law-abiding and to restrain the lawless; hence it possesses the right to punish (*vv.* 3, 4). In order to carry out this purpose it may exact tribute of its citizens. This right gives rise to the duty to pay taxes (*vv.* 6, 7). Paul's maxim: "Render tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom," is probably a reminiscence of the saying of Jesus: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's" (Mk. xii. 17). The duty to obey the laws of the state and to contribute to its maintenance is a duty to God, since the state is God's instrument for the regulation of society, and his will is the source and original of all legitimate civil law and authority among men. The immediate practical aim of the apostle in these verses probably was to check any tendencies to antinomianism which might develop in the Roman church or elsewhere, through the perversion of his doctrine of Christian freedom. He is not attempting a political philosophy. He does not mention the defects of existing governments or express any view respecting the fate of the Roman Empire which he doubtless regarded as nearing its end (2 Thess. ii. 7). He says nothing of the limits of obedience or of the right of revolution. It is enough for him to emphasize those considerations which were adapted to save his readers from the practical errors and perils to which they were exposed.

The apostle's references to the institution of private property are entirely incidental. He insisted upon honest industry in order that each man might supply his own needs (1 Thess. iv. 11), and set the example by working at his trade that he might not be a burden upon others (1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Cor. xii. 13, 14). He severely rebuked the disposition of the Thessalonians to abandon their daily employments in their ardent hope for the Lord's speedy coming, and exhorted them in quietness to work and to eat their own bread (2 Thess. iii. 10-13). The apostle assumes that men have a right to the products of their labor. His exhortations to liberality in giving rest upon that assumption (Gal. vi. 6; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; 2 Cor. viii. 14, etc.). What one gives is to be given voluntarily, that is, by the free relinquishment of that to which he has a right (2 Cor. ix. 7); yet such bestowments of one's possessions (*ὑπάρχοντα*) for the relief of the needy is morally valueless unless done from love (1 Cor. xiii. 3). Paul thus assumes the right of private property. But in view of the near advent of the Lord it is regarded by him as relatively unimportant. He counsels his converts to be free from concern about such things, since the present world-period is near its end (1 Cor. vii. 31). For the Christian the right of private possession will be held subject to the motives of liberality (*ἀπλότης*, 2 Cor. viii. 2; ix. 11, etc.) and equality (*ἰσότης*, 2 Cor. viii. 13, 14), an equitable regard for the needs of others. If, as some critics have observed,<sup>1</sup> the apostle has not dwelt upon the dignity of man's work as such by describing it as his moral task, and as the divinely appointed means of attaining his true goal in life, it is sufficient to say that such considerations scarcely fell within the sphere of his thought, the less so as he believed himself to be living in a vanishing world. To me the wonder is not that Paul did not dwell upon such views of man's daily tasks, but that, with his eschatological expectations, he still continued to value human life with its various

<sup>1</sup> Von Soden, *Die Ethik des Paulus in Zeitschrift für Theol. u. Kirche*, 2 Jahrg. 2 Heft, p. 142; Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* II. 156, 157.

duties and relations so highly as he did. In many others the parousia-expectation developed a rank fanaticism (2 Thess. ii. 1-3 ; iii. 6-15). The most disastrous consequences might easily follow from such a view of the future as Paul entertained, unless it was accompanied by a strong and healthy sense of the sacredness of human life as at present constituted. Such a sense of the divineness of those obligations and ties which constitute man's social life was possessed by Paul. Hence for him human society was sacred, however soon its fabric should be dissolved. Its institutions — marriage, the state, the rights of possession — are of divine appointment, and must be upheld and honored, however short the time before the order to which they belong shall pass away forever.

One of the most perplexing questions with which the apostle had occasion to deal was that which arose in connection with the distinction between "clean" and "unclean" meats. Such "cases of conscience" he found in the Roman and the Corinthian churches. In the former there appear to have been certain persons of Jewish education who were still affected by scruples as to what food might lawfully be eaten. The practical question was whether those who had no scruples on that subject should refrain from the use of their liberty out of regard to the scrupulous. In Rom. xiv. the apostle discusses this question and lays down the following principles : (1) Such differences as that between those who freely "eat all things" and those who will eat only herbs (*v.* 2) should be charitably tolerated. Those who so differ should not harshly judge and condemn one another. God has received both, and the responsibility of each for his own action is to God and not to man (*vv.* 3, 4). Such differences should not be allowed to divide the Church and to undermine Christian fellowship. (2) Christ is the sole judge. Believers are not to assume the right to judge one another. There may be differences respecting the observance of days and respecting liberty of personal conduct. Such differences are not fundamental. Let each hold his own conviction and pursue his own course con-

scientifically in such matters, having regard, not to human but to divine judgment (*vv.* 5-12). (3) Theoretically, Paul sides with the strong minded, who refuse to believe that any particular kind of food is in itself unclean. But since there are some who cannot adopt this view, it is the dictate of Christian love to refrain from courses of action which create moral hindrances for such Christians. Christian liberty should not be so used as to injure the consciences of the scrupulous (*vv.* 13-15). (4) The Kingdom of God is righteousness, peace, and joy. Let these ends be supreme. Love is the law of the Christian life, and love may require concessions in conduct in such cases, so that the scrupulous may not be led by the example of the "strong" to do what their consciences cannot yet clearly approve (*vv.* 16-21).

But it was at Corinth where this question of the rights of Christian liberty took on its most perplexing form. Some of the newly made converts, fresh from heathenism, could not wholly cease to regard the gods whom they had formerly worshipped as real beings. Hence they continued to conceive of the meat of animals which had been killed at idol-sacrifices as defiled by contact with powers which were now regarded as evil. Such meat was sometimes offered for sale in the shops, and might unwittingly be bought and eaten. Was the Christian at liberty to eat of such meat? Many thought not; others had no hesitation. The former class Paul calls the "weak brethren" (1 Cor. viii. 10, 12), that is, the scrupulous, the perplexed, those who were not clear in their consciences as to what they might safely do in such matters; the latter class were the "strong," those who, like Paul, knew that an idol was nothing and could not really defile meat.

The apostle treats the weakness in question as due to ignorance, and the concessions to it which he recommends are based entirely upon benevolence towards the "weak," and not at all upon their rights to demand them. If these concessions are demanded, they are no longer due, since then the "weak brother" would be no longer "weak," but "strong," that is, positive and certain as to the rightness

of his course. But where this hesitation really exists it must be tenderly dealt with, until, by teaching, the weak may attain to that knowledge of God in the light of which all such conscientious scruples as those about meats will fade away. But here again love is the guiding principle. We cannot always wisely do what we know we have a right to do, since we may thereby mislead those who are influenced by our example (1 Cor. viii. 1-3). Absurd though it is to suppose that an idol can defile meat, yet many still retain that conviction, and the question is, how they may best be helped on to a better conception (*v.* 7). Here the problem for the strong is not one of absolute right and wrong. It is a question of Christian expediency. If a "strong" man should sit down to meat in an idol's temple, he might thereby influence a "weak" man to do the same, and in so doing the latter would violate his conscience and suffer a moral injury, because he would be doing what he is not clear that he has a right to do (*vv.* 8-11). From such considerations the apostle deduces the maxim: "If meat maketh my brother to stumble, I will eat no flesh forevermore, that I make not my brother to stumble" (*v.* 13). In order to make the principle plainer, he supposes that both "strong" and "weak" Christians are together at a meal in a private house. Meat of the kind previously described may be on the table. Paul advises that no inquiry respecting it be raised. But suppose some "weak brother" knows that it is sacrificial meat and calls your attention to the fact. He hesitates to eat of it from conscientious scruples. Do not by your example embolden him to do so, says the apostle. By so doing you would encourage him to do violence to his conscience and so to inflict upon himself a moral injury (1 Cor. x. 27-33). Paul's whole philosophy on such questions is: The interests of love and peace are primary; knowledge must be tempered with benevolence; the rights of Christian liberty must be held subordinate to the obligations of Christian charity.

The apostle is urgent that the duties which spring out of man's natural relations shall be conscientiously ful-



filled. Wives are to be in subjection to their husbands; husbands are to love their wives (Eph. v. 22-33; Col. iii. 18, 19). Children must obey their parents, and parents are to beware of provoking their children to wrath (Eph. vi. 1-3; Col. iii. 20, 21), that is, of needlessly irritating them and fostering in them angry passions. Servants and masters should remember their reciprocal obligations, the former rendering their service as a Christian duty (Eph. vi. 5-8; Col. iii. 22-25), the latter doing that which is "just and equal," and both classes should know that "their Master is in heaven, and that there is no respect of persons with him" (Eph. vi. 9; Col. iv. 1). All these duties and relations the apostle distinctly connects with the religious life by reminding his readers that they are all comprehended within the service to be rendered to the common Lord. The family relations are "in the Lord" (Eph. v. 22; vi. 1; Col. iii. 18, 20), and the mutual duties of the master and slave are embraced within the common obligation of both to "serve the Lord Christ" (Col. iii. 24). The inequality of social condition seemed to Paul of slight moment in view of the equality of both before the Master to whom they shall give account, and before whom there "can be neither bond nor free" (Gal. iii. 28). With equal energy does Paul insist upon just and upright conduct on the part of the Christian in all his relations with his fellow-men. The truth must be spoken on the ground that we live in a plexus of common rights and duties (Eph. iv. 25). Angry and revengeful passions are to be repressed (*vv.* 28, 29, 31), industry exemplified (*v.* 29), and kind, generous, and forgiving dispositions cultivated (*v.* 32). If the apostle has not given us a formal list of virtues and duties, or a full discussion of the principles and grounds of moral obligation, it is but fair to say that such a task lay quite outside his purpose; and that he has, nevertheless, given us, incidentally, the essential elements of a system of Christian ethics. Nothing is more unfair than to represent the apostle as so engrossed in certain theological theories that he is indifferent to the ethical life. His religion is, above all things, the religion of a good life.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE CHURCH

PAUL speaks of the Church much more frequently than of the Kingdom of God. We may find a natural reason for this in the fact that the apostle was concerned with organizing his converts into societies and with equipping them for self-government. He does not lose sight of the greater idea of Jesus—the Kingdom of God; but his special mission is to promote the reign of God by making converts and organizing churches. He knows of a Kingdom of God which is “righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost” (Rom. xiv. 17), that is, a reign of heavenly truth and law in the heart such as Jesus had described in his beatitudes. But for Paul’s mind, the phrase Kingdom of God pointed mainly to the future. It is a state which will be completely realized only at the parousia. Then Christians will “inherit the Kingdom of God” (1 Cor. xv. 50; Gal. v. 21). This eschatological sense is the prevalent one in Paul’s use of the title; we must, therefore, seek for his views respecting Christian society in connection with other terms. Of these the word “church” (*ἐκκλησία*), which occurs more than sixty times in his epistles, is the most prominent.

The term “church” sometimes denotes a local organization of Christian believers, as “the church which is at Corinth” (1 Cor. i. 2), “the church of the Thessalonians” (1 Thess. i. 1). It may be applied to a portion of the Christians in any city who assemble in a private house for worship, “the church that is in the house” (1 Cor. xvi. 9; Rom. xvi. 5; Col. iv. 15). But the term has also a wider meaning and denotes the whole body of believers (1 Cor. xii. 28; xv. 9; Gal. i. 13). This two-

fold meaning of the term — the local and the general — we shall consider in order.

Respecting the organization of the churches of Paul's time, the prevalent view has been that there were in them, when they were regularly organized, two well-defined offices: that of bishops or presbyters, and that of deacons. The Epistles to the Galatians and to the Corinthians contain no references to official leaders. From the nature of the disorders which existed in these churches, and from the fact that no one is held especially responsible for regulating them, we should naturally conclude that these churches were not yet officered when Paul wrote his letters to them. Where officers are found, as at Philippi (Phil. i. 1), they are bishops and deacons. The former are generally supposed to have administered the affairs of the congregation and to have taught; the latter to have had charge of the alms. Bishops (ἐπίσκοποι) and presbyters, or elders (πρεσβύτεροι), are regarded, on this theory, as synonyms, the former being of Greek, the latter of Hebrew origin and associations. This view has been defended with great ability and learning by Bishop Lightfoot<sup>1</sup> and by Dr. Hatch,<sup>2</sup> who considers the identity of bishop and presbyter practically certain.<sup>3</sup> This theory has been assailed, within recent years, on every side. I can only express my conviction that it has not been disproved, and that no other theory accords so well with the facts which are known to us. The investigation of the subject does not belong to the Pauline theology.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In his essay on the Christian Ministry in his *Commentary on Philip-  
pians*.

<sup>2</sup> In his Bampton Lectures on *The Organization of the Early Christian  
Church*, 1882.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Brief reference should, however, be made to the principal recent theories. Dr. Hort (*The Christian Ecclesia*) holds that the word "bishop" or "overseer" (ἐπισκοπος) was not the designation of an office, but of a function. The elder (πρεσβύτερος) is the officer, and oversight (ἐπισκοπεῖν) is his function. In this view bishops and elders were the same persons; the bishop was not a higher officer than the presbyter. Indeed as bishop he was not an officer at all. Dr. Allen (*Christian Institutions*) holds that both bishop and presbyter primarily designate functions. He thinks

The apostle gives no detailed directions regarding the regulation of the affairs of the local assembly. He inveighs against the toleration of social immorality in the Church, and urges the importance of reverence and decorous conduct in the congregation, especially in the observance of the Lord's supper (1 Cor. xi.). The apostle was particularly anxious that his churches should not expose themselves to criticism by such applications of the principle of liberty as would offend the ideas which were current in antiquity regarding the place and function of woman. The sexes are on a plane of equality in Christ upon whom both are alike dependent; in Christ "there can be no male and female" (Gal. iii. 28). The wife is to be loved as Christ loved the Church (Eph. v. 25). Even in natural relations Paul does not forget that the sexes are mutually dependent (1 Cor. xi. 11, 12). But in spite of these facts, he places woman in a position of natural and social dependence upon man (Eph. v. 23; 1 Cor. xi. 3). This view he carries over into his regulation of the Christian congregation. The woman is to be veiled in the public assembly as a sign of her dependence (1 Cor. xi. 5). She should wear her hair long because nature has given it to her as a kind of veil (xi. 15). To Paul's mind these proprieties are based upon the divine order of creation (Gen. ii. 18-20), since man was created by God immediately, and woman mediately, from man. In 1 Tim. ii. 14 the dependence of woman is deduced from the circumstance that she first yielded to temptation. In view of this secondary position of woman, she must not speak or teach in the public assembly (1 Cor. xiv. 34; 1 Tim. ii. 12), not even to the extent of asking

bishops were presbyters who exercised certain special prerogatives. Dr. McGiffert (*The Apostolic Age*) and Dr. Vincent (*Commentary on Philip-  
pians*) reverse the view of Hort and hold that presbyters in the apostolic Church were not Church officers; that there was no such thing as an official eldership in the early Church. The elders were simply the older and more experienced Christians. From this class the bishops were commonly chosen, so that "to appoint elders" (Acts xiv. 23; Tit. i. 5) means to elevate some of the more mature Christians to the office of bishop. This interpretation seems to me quite unnatural.

questions. If she wishes instruction upon the subject under consideration in the assembly, she should ask her husband at home (1 Cor. xiv. 35). Some have held that the apostle's prohibition of women from praying or prophesying in public without a veil (1 Cor. xi. 5, 13) implies that they might properly do so *if veiled*. But this supposition involves an explicit contradiction between 1 Cor. xi. 5, 13 and 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. Moreover, we observe that in the former passages Paul says nothing of how women may, *with propriety*, speak in public, but is merely denouncing the obvious impropriety of speaking without the veil. It is quite certain, as appears later when Paul takes up the subject of women's speaking in general, that for his mind the requirement to appear in the assembly only with veiled head would preclude, by its very significance, the public speaking in question. These views are due in part to a literal interpretation of the narratives of the creation and the fall in Genesis, and in part to the idea of woman's relation to man which was common in Paul's age.

The ordinances of the apostolic Church were baptism and the Lord's supper. The former symbolized the bestowment of the divine grace through union with Christ; the latter was the memorial of his sacrificial death and the sign and pledge of the believer's participation in his life. Baptism is "into the name of Christ" (*cf.* 1 Cor. i. 13-16) or "into Christ" (Rom. vi. 3).<sup>1</sup> It is a symbol of union with Christ. Paul calls it baptism into death and into Christ's death, and explains his meaning by speaking of the baptized as united with the likeness of Christ's death and resurrection (Rom. vi. 5). It is not baptism considered as an outward rite, but baptism considered in its inner import, which portrays this ingrafting into

<sup>1</sup> In 1 Cor. xv. 29, 30 Paul alludes to a custom of baptizing the living in behalf of (*ὕπερ*) persons who had died without baptism. He gives no explicit sanction to this custom, although the use which he makes of it in his argument seems to show that he felt no objection to it. We can only conjecture the motive of this vicarious baptism. Dr. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 272, suggests that it was meant to express the idea that those who had died without baptism had died with Christ and would rise with him.

Christ. His point is that baptism commits one to a holy life. It betokens a moral renewal—a death to sin and a life to holiness. The baptized should regard himself, as it were, as buried out of sight of the sinful world, and as risen with Christ into the world of the spirit. This moral import of baptism Paul figuratively represents as a dying, burial, and resurrection with Christ, because, as we have seen, these are Christ's supreme saving deeds. It is sometimes said that Paul considers the form of baptism as a picture of Christ's death, burial, and resurrection. This view is not warranted by his language, and, indeed, misconceives his point in Rom. vi. 1–7. Baptism is a symbol of moral renewal which is figuratively represented as a dying to sin and a rising to holiness; or, in a mystical manner, as a dying with Christ on his cross and a rising with him from the grave. The characteristic thing in Paul's thought here is the cessation from the sinful life, which he calls dying with Christ, and the realization of the holy life which he calls rising with Christ. With these he starts out in his reply to the supposed objection to his doctrine (Rom. vi. 1, 2). Then baptism as fitly symbolizing such a death and burial occurs to him. He never speaks of baptism as a symbol of the historic facts of Christ's death, burial, and resurrection.

We are repeatedly reminded in the Acts of the Apostles that the early Church was largely built up by the accession of households (xi. 14; xvi. 31; xviii. 8). These came into the Church from without. But in due time the Christian family would develop within the Church. It would be a matter of great interest if we possessed the means of clearly tracing the process by which the comparative individualism of the first days gradually gave way to a recognition of the saving significance of Christian family life and of the social operation of the divine grace. Did Paul in any way take account of this? Are his principles favorable or unfavorable to a ritualistic recognition of it by the Church? He speaks, as the Book of Acts does (xvi. 15, 33, 34), of the baptism of households (1 Cor. i. 16). But, of course, it cannot be proved that they contained young children.

In 1 Cor. vii. 14 the children of Christian parents are termed "holy" (*ἁγιά*). This can hardly mean less than that they stand in a special relation to the grace of God which is mediated through a Christian inheritance and a Christian nurture. It is very doubtful, however, if the baptism of such children was thought of by Paul, since he also says that the unbelieving partner in the marriage relation is rendered holy (*ἡγιάσται*, vii. 14) by the believing one. He is thinking of the organic life of the family as a means for the transmission of spiritual blessing. The Christian wife may be the medium of the divine grace to the un-Christian husband, and *vice versa*. If even one parent is Christian, the child will be born within the "household of faith" (Gal. vi. 10) and will be the presumptive inheritor of a Christian environment and training. Whether these and similar considerations which emerge in both the Old Testament and the New, and bear upon the significance and function of the family in the Kingdom of God, are a sufficient warrant for the early and widespread practice of household baptism is a question which carries us over into the field of doctrinal theology and is not pertinent to our present investigation.

Paul has preserved to us, in 1 Cor. xi. 23-25, the earliest narrative of the establishment of the Lord's supper which we possess. It is as follows: "For I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is for you: this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me." That the bread and wine were regarded, both by our Lord and by Paul, as symbols is evident, not only because Jesus was bodily present with his disciples when he spoke the words of institution, but because it is impossible to take the words: "This cup is the new covenant" literally, as the words: "This is my body" have been so extensively taken. There can be no doubt that for Paul

the supper was a perpetual memorial of the Lord's sacrificial death. It is a visible witness to the believer of the saving grace of God bestowed in Christ's death. But we have seen that, to Paul's mind, this death does not simply affect man's life externally and legally. There is a "fellowship of his sufferings" by becoming conformed unto his death (Phil. iii. 10), in which the believer is to participate. Hence the supper does not merely denote something wrought *for us*, but also something wrought *in us*. He calls it *κοινωνία*: "The cup of blessing is communion or participation in the blood of Christ" (1 Cor. x. 16). Spiritual fellowship with Christ, entrance into his life, is, for the apostle, an essential element in the meaning of the supper. Hence it symbolizes the spiritual unity of all believers in Christ: "Because there is one bread, we, the many, are one body; for we all partake of the one bread" (1 Cor. x. 17). All Christians are one because they draw their life from a common source. They are bound together because they are bound to Christ.

Recurring now to Paul's use of the word "church" in its wider sense, we observe that it is a name for the total company of all believers on earth. At the parousia the present world-period (*αἰὼν οὗτος*, Gal. i. 4; 1 Cor. iii. 18) will terminate and the Messianic age (*αἰὼν μέλλων*, Eph. i. 21) will begin. To the former age belongs the Church; to the latter, the Kingdom of God. The Church is the partial realization of Christian society here on earth — ideally perfect, indeed, but never really so. The Kingdom will be the perfected society in the life to come.

In Paul's view the Church is one. It is made up of many local assemblies, people of many lands, speaking diverse languages. There are differences of opinion and of practice, but it never occurred to Paul that these differences constituted a basis of division. The common salvation and lordship of Christ bind all believers together into one fellowship. "Is Christ divided?" (1 Cor. i. 13) he exclaims when the Christians of Corinth began to draw apart in consequence of their preferences for different Christian teachers. Paul's favorite figure for expressing



the unity of the Church is that of the body, which is an organic unity, though composed of many and diverse parts: "We, who are many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another" (Rom. xii. 5); "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ" (1 Cor. xii. 12). Christ is the bond which unites all the members of the Church into one. Each is a member of his body, and no one can cast the other out. "The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee: or again the head to the feet, I have no need of you" (1 Cor. xii. 21). If the parts of the body could thus separate themselves off one from another, there would soon be, as Paul says, no *body* left. But this cannot be. So long as there is a body of Christ at all, it must be one. The Church is one in spite of itself. All who are joined to Christ rightfully belong to it, and no one can really cast him out, for Christ hath received him (Rom. xiv. 3; xv. 7). Some may "eat all things" without scruple; others may "eat herbs" (xiv. 2). Such differences do not divide the body of Christ. The Church is one in Christ, and it cannot divide itself, any more than it can divide Christ. It may try to divide itself, but its division is only in outward seeming; it is a human pretence and not a reality. On Paul's principles, what we call "the holy Catholic Church—the communion of saints" on earth—is one as Christ is one, and no human power can destroy that indivisible unity. In Ephesians this thought receives a magnificent development where the apostle depicts Christ as the unifying bond of all saving powers and processes. It is the purpose of God to unite all things under the headship of Christ and in union with him, to put all things under his feet, and to make him head over all things to the Church, which is his body (Eph. i. 10, 22). Here we note an expansion of the idea of the Church so that it approximates the conception of the "Church triumphant." The attainment of the ultimate goal of redemption is comprehended in Christ's function as head of the Church. Here "the Church" virtually coincides

with "the Kingdom of God," as used in the earlier epistles.

As the figure of the body is Paul's favorite representation of the unity of the Church, so that of a temple, or other building, is that by which he sets forth its symmetry and sanctity. The Church is a spiritual sanctuary (*ναός*), whose defilement by jealousy and strife is sacrilege (1 Cor. iii. 16, 17). The Christian who is a part of this temple must have no association with idol-shrines, for "what agreement hath a temple of God with idols?" (2 Cor. vi. 16). The apostle uses this idea of the sacredness of the Church to emphasize the sin of conformity, on the part of believers, to heathen customs and of marriage with unbelievers (2 Cor. vi. 14, 15). In Ephesians Paul uses the same figure to picture the process of redemption and the goal which it contemplates. Believers are built up into a spiritual house "on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone." Each part of this spiritual building is so adjusted to its own place and use that the whole rises into a temple hallowed by the presence of the Lord — a sanctuary in which the Spirit of God dwells (ii. 21, 22). Another figure for the Church is that of a tilled field (*θεοῦ γεώργιον*, 1 Cor. iii. 9) — a figure which is especially adapted to suggest that each member has his own work, for example, that of tilling or of irrigating, and that he should do this without disparagement or jealousy of others. In any case the laborers are but the instruments of God in accomplishing his work; they are God's "fellow-workers." "But God giveth the increase" (1 Cor. iii. 6-9). He is the efficient cause of all growth and progress. Hence the laborers in his field should respect one another as all alike are his husbandmen. Each should regard his work as supplementing that of others. The toil of all should coöperate to a common end.

The Church in this general sense in which we are now speaking of it was not formally organized into an outward unity in the apostolic age. The local congregations which composed the Church at large were, in most cases, far

apart. They were scattered over an immense range of territory stretching from Jerusalem to Rome. The unity among these widely separated congregations was spiritual. They shared a common truth and a common life. They all partook of the same spiritual food, and drank the same spiritual drink, and the common source of supply for them all was known to be Christ (1 Cor. x. 3, 4). A common participation in God's spiritual benefits made the Church of Paul's day and that of the Old Testament times one: the little companies of Christians, dispersed over a large part of the Roman world, were similarly bound together, but by a more definite and tangible bond of union. There was no central government which extended over them all, no officers who possessed authority over them all, or even over all those comprised within a given district. Whatever the functions of bishops and elders, — whether they denote the same persons or not, — the sphere of their official activity was local.

But was each local church, then, left entirely alone to take care of itself? Not wholly so. The apostle Paul, for example, was a kind of overseer to all the Gentile churches. He concerned himself for their welfare; he wrote them letters, even if he had not personally founded them, as in the case of the Roman and the Colossian churches; he visited them when he was able. Through him one Church learned about the progress and devotion of others. Mutual interest was fostered. The apostle was a kind of medium of communication and bond of connection between these widely scattered churches. No doubt other apostles performed, on a smaller scale, the same office. Such oversight would be sure, as occasion demanded, to grow into a more definite supervision, as in the work of Timothy at Ephesus and of Titus among the churches in Crete.

There were other Christian preachers and teachers whose labors were not always confined to any one place. Besides apostles Paul speaks of "prophets and teachers" (1 Cor. xii. 28), and, again, of "prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers" (Eph. iv. 11). These titles are introduced to