

JESUS IN THE TYPOLOGY OF PAUL

THE FIGURE OF JESUS IN THE
TYPOLOGICAL THOUGHT OF PAUL

by

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Abstract

The question of Paul's relationship to Jesus has been debated variously and vigorously for more than a century. Research on the question seems to have moved along three basic lines: 1. Paul's Christian consciousness in the Spirit was virtually independent of Jesus, which accounts for the paucity of references to Jesus in the Letters; 2. Parallels exist between the Gospels and Paul's letters, which points to Paul's awareness of historical continuity between his work and the life and teaching of Jesus; 3. Paul's conceptuality of Christ required only the fact of Jesus, especially his death, to make his preaching the Gospel.

Whereas the arguments generally have sought to uncover elements of continuity and/or discontinuity between Paul and Jesus, the present discussion investigates the interpretive mode by which Paul conceived of the continuity and change between Jesus of Nazareth and the resurrected Christ of faith.

The particular schematism by which Paul conceived of the relationship and identity between the pre-Easter and post-Easter Christ may be described as "typological".

Typological relationship between prefiguration and fulfilment (type-antitype) can be observed in Paul's letters principally in terms of his understanding of the change from the old aeon to the new under the single plan of God for the world. God intended all along to inaugurate the new aeon by raising Christ from the dead; and the divine intention can be traced in the sacred record of Israel's sojourn under God. Typology understood thus

in Paul's letters is readily discerned in arguments that use important figures from Scripture. Three figures in particular are prominent in Paul's letters: Adam who is said to be a type (τύπος) of Christ (Rom. 5:14; cf. I Cor. 15:20ff; 42ff); Abraham who is presented as a type of one who enters the community of Christ by faith (Rom. 4:1-25; Gal. 3:1-18); Moses who comes across as a type of Christian ministers in the new dispensation of the Spirit (II Cor. 3:1-18; cf. I Cor. 10:1-13). In each case the antitype resides in the post-Easter experience of Christ and the Spirit, except perhaps in the case of Adam where change from the old to the new creation is focused more sharply.

In light of Paul's method of associating his post-Easter experience of Christ with figures of salvation-history in the old aeon, we are in a position to test the probability of a similar typological identity between Christ resurrected and Jesus of Nazareth. The two are not synonymous, but are rather on a typological continuum. Christ according to the flesh is type, of which Christ according to the Spirit is the antitype, or fulfilment (Rom. 1:3f; 8:3; cf. Gal. 4:4-6). The identity between the two spheres of Christ may be sought on other levels, but this typological level demands serious consideration in light of the pattern that exists for figures of Scripture.

Further confirmation of this typological identity between the two spheres of Christ's existence comes from Paul's view of Christian existence in the Spirit in anticipation of the resurrection/transformation at the parousia. Christian life in the Spirit, while still in the flesh, is said to be "guarantee," "seal," and "first fruits" (II Cor. 1:22; 5:5; Rom. 8:23), all

terms representative of typological thinking.

This typological schematism, when applied to the pre-Easter Christ according to the flesh, tends to decrease the prominence of the type in favour of the antitypal fulfilment.

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PART I.

PROEM: PERSPECTIVE AND PROPOSAL

CHAPTER I

The Jesus-Paul Question in Historical Perspective

"The nature of Paul's hermeneutic is insufficiently explored," says J.C. Beker. "Tradition for Paul is always interpreted tradition, and is executed in the freedom of the Spirit."¹ Specifically, the insufficiency of which Beker speaks is acutely noticeable with reference to Paul's use of the tradition about the historical Jesus. The multifarious discussion of the Jesus-Paul question over the last century and a half appears to have left no stone unturned except for Paul's typology. That the question has been debated vigorously, even passionately at times, there can be no doubt. Yet Paul's typological cast of thought has received only marginal recognition by those involved in this particular investigation. At best, some scholars have acknowledged that Paul interpreted the preaching of Jesus in a new setting.² This propositional kind of answer falls short of the mark by neglecting to identify any specific category of interpretive thought which would help to account for the way in which the "biographical" data on Jesus, including his preaching, enter the letters of Paul.

The intention of the present study is to examine the typological

¹J.C. Beker, "Contingency and Coherence in the Letters of Paul", Union Seminary Quarterly Review, 33 (1978), p. 148. See also the "Introduction" to his book, Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), pp. 3-19.

²E.g. Arthur Hoyle, "Paul and Jesus", Expository Times, 8 (1896-7), pp. 487-92; and more recently F.F. Bruce, Paul and Jesus (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1974), p. 16 where he states that "Jesus found no more faithful interpreter than Paul."

schema³ in Paul's letters with a view to finding an appropriate pattern of thought within which to understand Paul's thought on Jesus in the letters. This approach puts the debate on another level and should clarify further the multi-faceted question of the relation of Paul to Jesus. The success of such an undertaking relies heavily on results already achieved in this area of research.

The survey which follows has the advantage of giving the question a depth of field against which to advance the thesis that Paul's relation to the historical Jesus can be understood within the parameters of his hermeneutic, specifically typology. This summary of the state of the question will serve to bring the debate up-to-date, and will also assess the extent to which New Testament scholars have taken into account Paul's hermeneutical mode of thought in relation to Jesus.

The debate, it seems, received stimulus by three eminent scholars beginning at about the middle of the last century. These were F.C. Baur, W. Wrede, and R. Bultmann. And the periods of discussion may be set out accordingly.

1. From Baur to Wrede 1831-1905

It is generally admitted that F.C. Baur "gave to the study of Paulinism a new direction."⁴ Included in Baur's larger discussions of problems in Pauline thought was the issue of Paul's relation to the life and teaching of

³Leonhard Goppelt has argued convincingly for the prominence of this typological pattern in the letters of Paul, especially so in an article on "Apokalyptik und Typologie bei Paulus", Theologische Literaturzeitung, 89 (1964), 321-44, which was published twenty-five years after his dissertation on "Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen". The significance of Goppelt's work was recognized in 1969 when the dissertation was reprinted with the article on Paul appended. Then in 1982 the work appeared in English under the title, Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, Co., 1982). This edition will be cited throughout the study. Another important work on typology is the Richard M. Davidson, Typology in Scripture (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1981), pp. 191-316; 388-424.

⁴Albert Schweitzer, Paul and His Interpreters, ET W. Montgomery (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912), p. 12.

the historical Jesus.

The issue began to be focused when Baur's article on "Die Christuspartei in der Korinthischen Gemeinde" appeared in 1831.⁵ The main point of the article, which led inevitably to the question of Paul's relation to Jesus, is that Paul developed his thought quite apart from any significant contact with the primitive community, and even at points in opposition to the teaching of the Jerusalem apostles. The result, according to Baur, was a sharp division of early Christianity into two streams of thought and practice, that of the original apostles on the one hand, and that of Paul on the other, or Petrine and Pauline respectively.

In subsequent works on Paul⁶ Baur consistently affirmed his position, addressing relevant questions in connection with his central thesis on the essential independence of Paul's theology. While Baur's view on the Jesus-Paul relation was not focused sharply in his 1845 work on Paul, his position was clearly stated in 1853 in his Church History of the First Three Centuries. Still firm on the conviction concerning a Petrine-Pauline church, he affirmed that "Paul appears in his Epistles to be so indifferent to the historical facts of the life of Jesus."⁷ Baur accounted for the "indifference" on several fronts. Paul was committed to "the principle of Christian

⁵F.C. Baur, "Die Christuspartei in des Korinthischen Gemeinde", Tübinger Zeitschrift Für Theologie, 1831. In 1835 another article spoke to the question of authenticity and provenance of the pastoral epistles, and yet another in 1836 on the purpose and occasion of Romans. Cf. Schweitzer, Interpreters, p. 12.

⁶Paul: His Life and Work, 2 Vols., ET A. Menzies (London: Williams and Norgate, 1875; first German edition, 1845), and The Church History of the First Three Centuries, 2 Vols., ET A. Menzies (London: Williams and Norgate, 1878; first German edition, 1853).

⁷Baur, History, I, p. 50.

universalism as a thing essentially opposed to Jewish particularism"⁸ of which Jesus was, by force of circumstance, a part. Paul was not a disciple of Jesus, nor did he try to become one by association with the Jerusalem group or by acknowledgement of the tradition about Jesus. Not discipleship, but Christian consciousness characterized Paul's thought. "The consciousness sprang up in him that he was an apostle of Christ"⁹ with a mission to the Gentile world. The great facts of Christ's death and resurrection entered Paul's being and controlled his thought and life to the extent that "his whole Christian consciousness was transformed into a view of the person of Jesus which stands in need of no history to elucidate it."¹⁰

A question arises from Baur's analysis: Is it sufficient to describe the relation of Paul to Jesus as one of indifference which was part of his Christian consciousness as apostle to the Gentiles? Or again, do the terms "indifference" and "Christian consciousness" do justice to the material related to Jesus which does exist in the letters of Paul? The responses to Baur's publications, directly and indirectly, make it rather plain that his treatment of the issue was deficient yet provocative.

In 1858 Heinrich Paret¹¹ rejected Baur's notion of Paul's Christian

⁸Ibid., p. 49. The sense of "universalism" is not expounded, but seems to imply the same line of thought which Montgomery finds in Schweitzer's use of the term for Paul's thought, that is, "the belief in the universal destination of the gospel, not in universal salvation," op. cit., Schweitzer, Interpreters, p. 83, n. 1.

⁹Baur, History, p. 47.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 50.

¹¹Heinrich Paret, "Jesus und Paulus. Einige Bemerkungen über das Verhältniss des Apostels Paulus und seiner Lehre zu der Person, dem Leben und der Lehre des geschichtlichen Christus." Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie, 3 (1858), pp. 1-85.

consciousness independent of historical facts about Jesus. The very fact of the mission, Paret argued, demands that Paul had an acquaintance with the facts of Jesus' life. How else could he have proclaimed the character of the One whom he preached?¹² The consciousness of Christ as Lord can only be accounted for by Paul's knowledge of the historical figure of Jesus (*Geschichte Jesu*)¹³ whose presence in the Letters can, in fact, be discerned.

Paret's article had set out the results of a search he had made in Paul's letters for references to Jesus' life and teaching. Baur took occasion to oppose Paret's approach in a long footnote which he inserted in a later edition of his Church History.

He writes:

Nothing could be more paltry than the attempts some scholars have made to fill up the supposed gap in the evidence of the apostle's legitimation. This is done by collecting from his works as many quotations as possible of the words of Jesus.... The attempt to make out quotations is very defective and unsatisfactory, and it is impossible to help thinking that had the apostle himself felt the need of such credentials for his teaching he would have expressed himself quite differently in his epistles....He would have regarded [the apostles'] communications as a purely human medium, and could not have brought them into connection with the immediate ἀποκάλυψις 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ which had taken place in his own consciousness.¹⁴

Baur's argument on Paul's place in the early Church and in relation to Jesus paved the way for numerous debates from various sides of New Testament scholarship.

By 1878 Baur's two major works had been translated into English, and a new horizon of biblical studies was in full view. George Matheson wrote in

¹²Ibid., pp. 6-8.

¹³Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁴Baur, History, pp. 50-51, n. 2

1881: "The birth of what is called 'the higher criticism' has made it no longer possible for the Biblical scholar to take [the biblical materials] for granted."¹⁵ Matheson was chiefly concerned with the skepticism with which the scholars of the Tübingen school approached the narratives of the four canonical Gospels. Thoroughly convinced that Jesus was the true founder of Christianity he set himself the task of proving the historicity of Jesus in the Gospels from an investigation of the four letters of Paul which Baur has designated genuine. His purpose was to use these earliest documents of the church to confirm the later Gospel writings. He wrote extensively in The Expositor in 1881.¹⁶ His singular purpose in all his articles was to extrapolate every possible allusion to the historical Jesus in the four unquestioned letters.

The significance of Matheson's work is minimal in that it succeeds only in finding material in Paul's letters which matches, in one form or another, material in the four Gospels. From this endeavour Matheson concluded that the historicity of Jesus is intact, independent of the Gospels but in keeping with them nonetheless.¹⁷

Matheson's research was, at least implicitly, against the critical conclusions of Baur and his school with respect to the integrity of the Gospel

¹⁵George Matheson, "The Historical Christ of St. Paul," The Expositor, series one, Vol. 1, p. 44.

¹⁶Ibid, series one. Vol. I, pp. 43-62; 125-138; 193-208; 264-275; 352-371; 431-443; Vol. II, pp. 27-47; 137-154; 287-301; 357-371.

¹⁷Matheson did not aim at making some kind of nexus or parallel with the Gospels, but his work strongly suggests the practice of setting up parallels between the letters of Paul and the Gospels. The idea of finding parallels was developed with more control in later years. See for example, the recent article by Dale C. Allison, "The Pauline Epistles and the Synoptic Gospels: The Pattern of the Parallels", New Testament Studies 28 (Jan., 1982), pp. 1-32.

record about Jesus. Paul presents virtually the same Jesus as the Gospels. Other scholars¹⁸ of the period exhibit an attitude and stance more in touch with that of the Tübingen school on the Paul-Jesus issue. One of these is Karl von Weizsäcker.

While Weizsäcker's views coincided at times with Baur's, he also made his own contribution, limited as it was, to the Jesus-Paul question. He connected with Baur on the idea of Paul's "Christian consciousness" which depended neither on the historical Jesus nor on the primitive community, except that Weizsäcker used the term "intuition." Citing II Corinthians 4:6 he says:

It was not the doctrine of the primitive Church, nor was it the teaching of Jesus to which the Church gave currency....The all-important knowledge of this¹⁹ faith he ascribes...to a creative work in his heart.²⁰

And again where he discusses Paul's dialectic he writes:

The final and supreme principles of his theology rested on...intuitions....The Apostle reached his final intuition by a method that may be described at once as dialectical (as in Rom. 5:12-21; and I Cor. 15:45ff).²⁰

But Weizsäcker's real contribution was given in his treatment of "the Historical Christ" in Paul.²¹ After noting that Paul uses only the sayings of Jesus, not his acts, and the sayings only infrequently in matters of practice, Weizsäcker observed that Jesus as Son of God is true only of Christ's resurrected rank as

¹⁸E.g. Karl von Weizsäcker, The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, ET James Miller (New York: Williams and Norgate, 1894; German, 1886); and later works also, Paul Wernle, The Beginnings of Christianity, Vol. I, ET G.A. Bienemann (London: Williams and Norgate, 1903; German, 1901); and his Jesus und Paulus: Antithesen zu Boussets Kyrios Christos (Tübingen: Mohr, 1915), and Heinrich Weinel, St. Paul: The Man and His Work, ET G.A. Bienemann (London: Williams and Norgate, 1906; German, 1904).

¹⁹Weizsäcker, Apostolic Age, p. 35.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 137-8.

²¹Ibid., pp. 140-4. V.P. Furnish completely ignores this section in Weizsäcker's book in his much-quoted article on "The Jesus-Paul Debate: From Baur to Bultmann", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 47 (1965), 342-381.

Lord (Rom. 1:4). This "leading conception of Jesus as the κύριος in His present rank only influences his representation of the antecedent earthly life /as/ something foreign to him and voluntarily assumed."²² This is not to say that Paul ascribes to Jesus merely an apparent humanity, but rather that even as a natural descendant of David (Rom. 1:3) and born of a woman (Gal. 4:4) Jesus' "humanity was to the Apostle only a figure, ὁμοίωμα, of the flesh of sin which was common to all"²³ (Rom. 8:3).

Jesus as "figure"²⁴ in Pauline thought is a point scarcely raised in previous discussions, and even by Weizsäcker was not sufficiently explored. The insight bears mention here in that it appears again in a more developed form, especially in Bultmann's discussion of the Jesus-Paul question,²⁵ and in another way in later chapters of the present study.

At about the same time that Weizsäcker published in Germany, articles were appearing in England on the Jesus-Paul issue. J.S. Banks²⁶ published a short article in which he proposed a harmony between the teaching of Paul and the teaching of Jesus in the four Gospels. There is what he calls "a deep-

²²Weizsäcker, Apostolic Age, p. 143.

²³Ibid., p. 143.

²⁴Weizsäcker seems to be relying on Luther's German Bible at Romans 8:3 and Philippians 2:7 where *Gestalt* (figure) translates both ὁμοίωμα and μῶρφη respectively.

²⁵Bultmann connects with Weizsäcker's emphasis on "the fact that the Lord appeared as man, the fact of his life, was itself of the greatest importance" to Paul, whereas the actions of Jesus receded into the background, Apostolic Age, p. 144. Cf. R. Bultmann, "The Significance of the Historical Jesus for the Theology of Paul", Faith and Understanding, ET L.P. Smith (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1969; German, 1929), pp. 220-246.

²⁶J.S. Banks, "St. Paul and the Gospels", Expository Times, 5 (1893-4), 413-15.

seated and comprehensive harmony"²⁷ between the central emphases of the Gospels and those of the Letters. For example, the μεταμορφώσθε of Romans 12:2 with which Paul enjoins the Roman Christians is said to be reminiscent of the transfiguration of Jesus.

In the same year (1894) that Banks published his minuscule article, Hans Henrich Wendt²⁸ wrote in a very different vein. He admitted that both Paul and Jesus shared the same essential message of the love of God for mankind. But the message in Paul's mind and preaching was reshaped in theological ways²⁹ which were virtually foreign to Jesus. Paul's soteriology was largely speculative as against Jesus' simple and pure piety. For Wendt, Paul's treatment of the essential religious truth of Jesus' preaching detracted from the "vital and ennobling influences" which Jesus' teaching would otherwise have had on the development of Christianity.³⁰ This conclusion was bound to spark further debate, and it did.

One after another, in the years immediately following, scholars responded. Adolf Hilgenfeld³¹ rejected the implications that one has to go back to Jesus to find "pure" Christian piety. Paul merely expanded the germinal thought of Jesus, and he did so with integrity. With a different aim, but essentially

²⁷Ibid., p. 414. Noticably, the "harmony" occurs more between Paul and the Fourth Gospel and this Gospel is cited uncritically as preserving the acts and teaching of the historical Jesus. Banks traces the origin of Paul's doctrine of flesh and spirit back to John 3:6. A similar stance was taken by J.A. McIlvaine, "Christ and Paul," Bibliotheca Sacra, 25 (1878), 425-60. The difference between Jesus and Paul, says McIlvaine, can be accounted for by the audience in each case, p. 431.

²⁸H.H. Wendt, "Die Lehre des Paulus verglichen mit der Lehre Jesus," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, 4 (1894), 1-78.

²⁹Ibid., p. 77.

³⁰Ibid., p. 78.

³¹Adolf Hilgenfeld, "Jesus und Paulus," Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, 37 (1894), 481-541.

the same conclusion, Otto Schmoller³² maintained that the letters of Paul are so consistent with the historical Jesus that they can be used to settle the question of Jesus' existence in Palestine.³³ Others joined the debate on the side of consistency and development from Jesus to Paul.³⁴ Alexander Mair objected to some attempts of the time to make "Paul the real founder of the Christian faith and Church."³⁵ Rather, Paul "is only the enunciator, the expositor of what is in Christ and he did not originate the doctrines"³⁶....All the fundamental doctrines are already to be found in Jesus and the teaching of Jesus in the four Gospels."³⁷ Mair's work loses credibility, as do similar efforts³⁸ by the neglect (or ignorance) of critical method in dealing with the four Gospels in relation to Paul's epistles.

³²Otto Schmoller, "Die geschichtliche Person Jesu nach den Paulinischen Schriften", Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 67 (1894), 656-705.

³³Schmoller echoes the earlier discussion by Matheson, but he is responding to Bruno Bauer's earlier study of the Pauline letters, Kritik der Evangelien und Geschichte ihres Ursprungs (Berlin: 1850-1), in which Bauer concludes that "there never was any historical Jesus." Cited in Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus, ET W. Montgomery (London: Adam and Charles Clark, 1954; German, 1906), p. 157.

³⁴Among them P. Gloatz, "Zur Vergleichung der Lehre des Paulus mit der Jesu," Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 68 (1895), 777-800; Arthur Hoyle, "Paul and Jesus," Expository Times, 8 (1896-7), 487-92, and Alexander Mair, "The Modern Overestimate of Paul's Relationship to Christianity," The Expositor, Fifth Series, 6 (1897), 241-57; R. Drescher, "Das Leben Jesu bei Paulus," Festgruss aus Stade (1900), pp. 101-161.

³⁵Mair, "Modern Overestimate," p. 241.

³⁶Ibid., p. 243.

³⁷Ibid., p. 248.

³⁸E.g. Matheson, "Historical Christ;" and Banks, "St. Paul and the Gospels," above.

An article by W. Sturm³⁹ identified the methodological problem in finding parallel statements in the two sources. He proposed, rather, that leading ideas should be sought in the Letters and in the Gospels, but in proceeding in this manner, he still espoused the very approach which he questioned in others, only on a different level. His focus on ideas and theological catch words and phrases was shared by many scholars⁴⁰ all of whom sought to prove in one form or another that Paul related to Jesus in ethical intention and in central religious patterns of thought. Taking the relatedness as the mainstay of the bridge between Paul and Jesus, any difference between them was played down. Adolf Harnack, for example, characterized Paul as "Christ's disciple...who understood the Master and continued his work." Yet on the same page he affirmed that "it was Paul who delivered the Christian religion from Judaism."⁴¹ While discontinuity is implied, the continuity is emphasized explicitly. R. Drescher, committed to the same view, enunciated it along somewhat different lines. He maintained that Paul fought his battle for freedom from the law persuasively "because he knew that he had Jesus on his side."⁴²

Some in the early years of this century were not as convinced of the bridge between Paul and Jesus. Schweitzer identified Maurice Goguel as a

³⁹W. Sturm, "Der Apostel Paulus und die evangelische Überlieferung," Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jhresluricht der 2 Städtischen Realschule zu Berlin (Berlin: bei Gärtner, 1900) cited in Furnish, "Debate," pp. 347-8.

⁴⁰Among them, A. Harnack, Das Wesen des Christentums (1900); R.R. Lloyd, "The Historic Christ in the Letters of Paul," Bibliotheca Sacra, 58 (1901), 270-293; A. Titius, Jesus Christus und Paulus (1902); A. Resch, Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu (1904).

⁴¹Harnack, What is Christianity, ET T.B. Saunders (New York: Harper and Row, 1957; German, 1900), p. 176. A similar stance was taken by Julius Wellhausen seven years later: "Paul was really the man who best understood the Master and carried on His work," Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte (Sixth Edition, 1907), cited in Schweitzer, Interpreters, p. 159.

⁴²Drescher, "Jesu bei Paulus," cited in Schweitzer, Interpreters, p. 159.

representative of the view that "a fundamental difference in doctrine is not to be denied....Paul expresses views which go much beyond the horizon of the historical Jesus."⁴³ The "fundamental difference" of which Goguel wrote was expressed variously by those associated with the history-of-religions school of the time. Paul Wernle, in his Beginnings of Christianity, addressed the question of discontinuity in the context of continuity with somewhat contradictory consequences. He spoke, on the one hand, of Paul as "a true disciple of Jesus,"⁴⁴ and on the other, that in Paul "Jesus was presented to the Greeks in the shape of mythical drama....The simple teaching of Jesus of Nazareth had never been able thus to win its way to victory."⁴⁵ Wernle dealt with the so-called paradoxical nature of Paul's thought by positing Paul as "disciple of Jesus" in his own self-consciousness and as Christian apologist in his call to the Gentile mission and for the establishment of the Church.⁴⁶ As apologist Paul created forms of religion which were foreign to Jesus of Palestine but acceptable to the Greek world. Wernle expressed a certain disfavour towards Paul the apologist and enthusiast for his creation of the doctrine of justification by faith.

He writes:

Whoever examines St. Paul's doctrine of justification, laying aside all Protestant prejudices, is bound to reckon it one of his most disastrous creations.... What he really attained was the establishment of the Christian Church with the new legalism of faith and

⁴³ Schweitzer, Interpreters, p. 159.

⁴⁴ Wernle, Beginnings, p. 220.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 254.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 199; 220, 253-4; 263-281. In other words, Paul is obliged to accommodate the Jewishness of Jesus and his preaching to a new world situation in which the Spirit and speculative theology are necessary for the security of the new, developing community in the Greek world, but Paul's object is "the subordination of mysticism under the influence of the Jesus of History," p. 263.

the creed...and the restricted conception of God.⁴⁷

This statement carries a tone which reached crescendo proportions in the history-of-religions school of the period to the point of coining and promulgating the slogan, "Back from Paul to Jesus."

Of all the critical works since Baur none had stimulated such fervent debate on the Jesus-Paul question as Wilhelm Wrede's Paulus.⁴⁸ Historical criticism, engaged as it was in "fixing" Paul in a relational position in the intentionality of the early church, had not spelled out clearly the full consequences of its historical representation of Paul. Wrede did so without apology. Paul, he said—in contrast to Wernle—cannot be called "a disciple of Jesus" in any historical sense.⁴⁹ Between the two is an "enormous gulf"⁵⁰ over which no scholar has found a secure bridge, neither can they, because the origin of Paul's Christology is not connected to the historical man, Jesus, but resides in a belief "in such a celestial being, in a divine Christ."⁵¹ Jesus, the historical figure, became the recipient of all the predicates in Paul's doctrine of Christ which were his before his conversion. The humanity of Christ in Paul is necessary only in so far as it constitutes a formal prerequisite for the crucifixion-and-resurrection event in Paul's preaching of

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 255. See discussion of Wernle's place in the on-going debate in W.G. Kümmel, The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of its Problems, ET S.M. Gilmore and H.E. Kee (New York: Abingdon Press, 1972; German, 1970), pp. 288-9.

⁴⁸ Wilhelm Wrede, Paul, ET E. Lumonis (London: Philip Green, 1907; German, 1905). Says Kümmel, "in the field of Pauline studies the real radical was William Wrede," Investigation, p. 295.

⁴⁹ Wrede, Paul, p. 165.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 147.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 151.

redemption. "What we prize in the man Jesus plays no part whatever in the thought of the Apostle."⁵² And Wrede also rendered those attempts fruitless which tried to find some nexus between the teaching of Jesus and the instruction of Paul to his churches. "Of that which is to Paul all and everything, how much does Jesus know? Nothing whatever."⁵³ In the end, Wrede, for the first time in the history of the question made the bold assertion that "Paul is to be regarded as the second founder of Christianity" and as such "has thrust utterly into the background the greater Person,"⁵⁴ Jesus of Nazareth.

With Wrede the question of Paul's relation to Jesus became radically focused. His conclusion that we have two founders of Christianity marked an apex in a debate which was triggered largely by Baur's theory of two branches in primitive Christianity. As one would expect, Wrede's thesis ignited the debate in a new way and for a long period.

2. From Wrede to Bultmann, 1905-1936

Wrede's forthright statements, even though they betray certain lacunae,⁵⁵ prompted a fresh interest in the question of Paul's connection with Jesus. Before long responses appeared, some in line with Wrede's thesis, only filling in some blanks, and some adamantly opposed to his insistence on the great gulf separating Paul from Jesus. Investigation advanced only slightly

⁵² Ibid., pp. 88-9.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 89.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 179-80.

⁵⁵ For example, he "gives no scheme of the events of the End..." and does not explain Paul's "inconsistent attitude" towards the law. Schweitzer, Interpreters, p. 169.

from the time of Wrede to Rudolf Bultmann's contributions⁵⁶ in this area. Too often the publications represented a theological bias, one way or the other, which tended to hamper thorough investigation of the related questions.

Wrede's book on Paul brought at first a mild reaction in Eberhard Vischer's⁵⁷ article on the topic. Vischer argued from an understanding of the nature of Paul's letters, which were written to congregations already established by his preaching. On this assumption Vischer argued the rest from silence, declaring the probability of a fuller presentation of the life of Jesus in Paul's oral proclamation. The article did little to unseat Wrede's view.

Substantively supportive of Wrede was Martin Brückner's article⁵⁸ of 1906 which drew on his earlier work⁵⁹ on the origin of Pauline Christology. In that earlier study Brückner developed a theory of Paul's image of Christ and how he came to formulate it. Working with Philippians 2:5-11, he concluded that Paul has coalesced two Messianic concepts into one. The first, a pre-existent Christ, he had before conversion, and the second he acquired from the preaching of the primitive Christian community, a resurrected (or post-existent) Christ. The earthly features which were communicated through the early community were

⁵⁶Wrede and Bultmann were, in the strict sense, contemporaries; Bultmann was twenty-two years of age when Wrede died in 1906, but Bultmann addressed the Jesus-Paul question specifically for the first time in 1929, "Die Bedeutung des geschichtlichen Jesus für die Theologie des Paulus", Theologische Blätter, 8 (1929), 137-51, and again in 1936. "Paul and Jesus", Existence and Faith, ET S.M. Ogden (New York: Living Age Books, 1960; German, 1936), pp. 183-201.

⁵⁷E. Vischer, "Jesus und Paulus", Theologische Rundschau, 8 (1905), 129-43; 176-88.

⁵⁸M. Brückner, "Zum Thema Jesus und Paulus", Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, 13 (1906), 112-119.

⁵⁹M. Brückner, Die Entstehung der Paulinischen Christologie (Strassburg: 1903), cited in Klümmel, Investigation, pp. 292-3.

taken over by Paul and function more or less incidentally in the letters. The one Christ from the two conceptions dominates his thought:

When the Incarnation is removed from the Pauline picture of Christ...the concepts of pre-existence and parousia remain undisturbed....The one picture /is that/ of the heavenly Christ and Son of God...who came into being as...the archetypal image of man...and now lives hidden with God as a heavenly spiritual being in divine form, until the end of days.⁶⁰

Brückner's construct in which Paul's Christ took the form of "archetypal man" lacks exegetical depth, and falters also in schematic vision. This is so in the earlier work, but in the later response to Vischer, he asks some further relevant schematic questions on the Jesus-Paul relation. Skeptical of the attempts to find parallel passages in the Gospels and the letters, Brückner asked rather: "How has Paul presented the earthly life of Jesus? And in what relationship to Paul's whole viewpoint do the particular parts of his Christ picture stand?"⁶¹ The answers which Brückner offered appear to be much less responsible than his questions.⁶² Paul, he said, had little use for any biographical data on Jesus since it is not revelation. The humanity of Jesus represents weakness which ends in death and as such holds little interest for Paul. His Christology can and should be understood from his own situation in the early church. On the broad theological connection between Paul and Jesus, Brückner proposed Judaism as the common denominator for both, one from which they drew the general religious concepts of the fatherhood of God and the worth of the individual.⁶³

⁶⁰ Brückner, Entstehung, pp. 96-7 in Klümmel, Investigation, p. 293.

⁶¹ Brückner, Jesus und Paulus, pp. 112-13.

⁶² Concerning the Jesus-Paul relation, the question of the schematic way in which Paul understood and used the historical Jesus in his letters is very much to the point, as the ensuing chapters of this study will attempt to demonstrate.

⁶³ Brückner, Jesus und Paulus, pp. 118-19.

Wrede's thesis, even though supported by scholars like Brückner, "called into being a new literature upon Paul and Jesus which attacked Wrede chiefly on the score of his onesidedness."⁶⁴ Kaftan objected to the separation of Paul from Jesus on the ground of Paul's distinctive doctrinal statements. The commonality between the two is present beneath the literary and conceptual peculiarities of each. But Kaftan overstated the oblique commonality at the expense of the overt difference:

Thus the gospel of Jesus and the preaching of Paul are essentially connected, and proceed upon the same fundamental lines of thought. The difference between them arises from the fact that they are separated by the death and resurrection of Jesus;⁶⁵ it is the difference between Master and disciple.

The Master, according to Kaftan, is divine in Paul, except that the idea did not originate with Paul but with the primitive community before him. Jülicher argued in the same vein, but expressed more forcefully the questionable way in which Wrede had arrived at his "exaggerated"⁶⁶ conclusion that Paul was the "second founder" of Christianity. Jülicher acknowledged the difference between the Christ of Paul's letters and Jesus of the Gospel record, but this is insufficient ground for the claim that Paul is unconnected with the earthly Jesus. The link is the primitive community. Jülicher wrote thus:

The gulf dividing Paul from the primitive congregation had been filled to an extraordinary extent....Paul follows new paths which diverge widely from the Gospel of Jesus, in developing his doctrines concerning justifi-

⁶⁴ Schweitzer, Interpreters, p. 170. Some of the "new literature" includes Julius Kaftan, Jesus und Paulus (Tübingen, 1906); Paul Kälbing, Die Geistige Einwirkung der Person Jesu auf Paulus (Yötlingen, 1906); Arnold Meyer, Who Founded Christianity, Jesus or Paul? ET J.R. Wilkinson (London: Harper and Row, 1909; German, 1907); Adolf Jülicher, Paulus und Jesus (Tübingen, 1907); James Moffatt, "Paul and Jesus", Biblical World, 32 (1908); Johannes Weiss, Paul and Jesus, ET H.J. Chaytor (London: Harper and Brothers, 1909; German, 1909).

⁶⁵ Kaftan, Jesus und Paulus, p. 58. See criticism of Kaftan in Weiss, Paul and Jesus, pp. 6-9; and Moffat, "Paul and Jesus", p. 170-2.

⁶⁶ Jülicher, Paulus und Jesus, p. 27.

cation, redemption, and the nature of Christ; but he has the primitive congregation on his side; he merely represents the new and deep interests of the community believing in Christ, against those who disputed the redemptive nature of Christ's death and the fact of his resurrection.

In essence, then, Jülicher aimed at closing the gap between Paul and Jesus—while admitting certain differences—to preserve the one historically acknowledged founder of the Christian faith, Jesus of Nazareth.

Arnold Meyer set himself a similar task, as the title of his book implies: Who Founded Christianity? Jesus or Paul? He subscribed to the differences already accented by Wrede and others, but he firmly denied the need to go back from Paul to Jesus.⁶⁸ Paul was a disciple of Jesus by his own confession and cannot therefore be set aside as one unworthy to reflect on the nature of Jesus as world-redeemer. Meyer accounted for the difference in terms of Paul's experience in a Hellenistic environment,⁶⁹ carrying as it did a gnostic pattern of thought. Yet this, he contended, is not sufficient ground to posit a second founder, or to view as secondary the teaching of Paul the Christian and disciple of the Master.

Between these two historical characters, which stand in such complete opposition to one another, there exists, nevertheless, a firm inward bond of connection, without which St. Paul would scarcely have thought of calling himself a disciple of Christ, and the disciples of Jesus would scarcely have recognized him as a Christian.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 34-5.

⁶⁸ Meyer, Jesus or Paul, p. 6.

⁶⁹ Meyer also sees part of the contrast in the urban setting of Paul's life over against the rural experience of Jesus, and in the negative influence on Paul of his rabbinic education. In this latter he reiterates Wrede, Ibid., pp. 24; 77-9; 83; 87.

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 84-5.

The thought of Jesus on the law,⁷¹ Meyer believed, does not agree with that of Paul, likewise also the Gentile mission.⁷²

How did Meyer finally answer his question? 1. Christianity goes back to Jesus Christ, not Paul;⁷³ 2. To Paul is credited the form of Christianity which "alone proved capable of subduing the wide world to Christ;"⁷⁴ 3. Paul's mode of thought and expression was necessary for his time, and the Christian motto should be: "Back through Paul to Jesus and God."⁷⁵

At approximately the same time as Meyer's monograph, but with a new focus on the question, Johannes Weiss⁷⁶ endeavoured to correct Wrede's conclusion concerning a bifurcated foundation of Christianity. Weiss had made a case already in an earlier work⁷⁷ for the eschatological in Jesus' preaching. And Paul's thought also, but in a different context, is taken up with the dawn of the eschaton. Paul, however, looks back as the early community did, to the redemptive, reconciling event of Christ's death and resurrection in which

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 30-44; Cf. pp. 68-70.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 108-9.

⁷³Ibid., p. 125. "Our religion in its essence is derived from Christ." On this there can be "absolutely no dispute."

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 132.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 134.

⁷⁶Weiss, Paul and Jesus. It is instructive to note that Bultmann studied under Weiss but, as later discussion will show, departed from him on the central point with which Weiss hoped to lay Wrede's conclusion on the Jesus-Paul relation to rest. See R. Bultmann, "Johannes Weiss zum Gedächtnis", Theologische Blätter, 13 (1939), pp. 242f.

⁷⁷J. Weiss, Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes (Göttingen: 1892); Cf. D.L. Holland, "History, Theology, and the Kingdom of God: A Contribution of Johannes Weiss to Twentieth Century Theology", Biblical Research, 13 (1968), pp. 54ff.

"uncertainty was past and salvation had become an immediate reality instead of a future possibility."⁷⁸ The point Weiss made assiduously is that the power of the resurrection as an eschatological, redemptive occurrence, is possible only if the personality of Jesus impressed itself upon the early apostles. The resurrection became an experience in the lives of those whose convictions about Jesus' Messiahship were already formed, or forming, before the crucifixion.⁷⁹ Weiss placed Paul in this same psychological-historical context and so disagrees with Wrede, who said: "The character of Jesus and of His life and work did not determine the nature of Paul's theology."⁸⁰ Above all else, Weiss attempted to render this position inoperative. Paul had seen Jesus personally, in the flesh, and was impressed with his personality as the other disciples had been. "Where is there a single syllable to show that Paul had *not* seen Jesus in Person?"⁸¹ he asked. Paul's conversion defies explanation apart from some previous encounter with Jesus. And this knowledge of Jesus is supported by 2 Corinthians 5:16 according to Weiss. Paul's knowledge of Jesus κατὰ σάρκα refers to physical knowing in the ordinary sense. Otherwise Paul would have been more concerned to find information about Jesus, following his conversion:

It is contrary to all historical and psychological experience that Paul should have returned to Damascus and solitude, instead of seeking information concerning Jesus,⁸² if he had possessed no knowledge before his conversion.

⁷⁸ Weiss, Paul and Jesus, p. 14.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 16-17.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 17.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 40.

⁸² Ibid., p. 55.

Weiss concluded that the fundamental difference between Paul and Jesus is in eschatological outlook. "With Jesus [Paul] looks to a glorious future, when he will see God face to face; but he also longs to see Christ "manifested" and to "be ever with Christ."⁸³

It is instructive for the present discussion as a whole to draw attention to Weiss's observation of Paul's patterns of thought⁸⁴ which are characterized in typological language. With reference to the parallelism in Romans 5:11-20, between the effects of Adam's act and Christ's, he maintained that in Paul's "way of thinking, there lies the presupposition that the events of primitive times—only in a reverse sense—must be repeated at the end time." Weiss saw here a method of thinking about the divine plan; Adam's action was not merely his own personal experience, but represents the much wider horizon of all his descendants. Adam is "in a certain sense, the archetype of humanity." The same is true of Christ, "he also is an archetype" of all those who are related to him by faith.⁸⁵

Weiss's points lack clarification and delineation. For example, he does not indicate whether Paul "parallels" Adam with Jesus of Nazareth, the resurrected Christ, or Christ in the most comprehensive terms (as in Phil. 2:6-11). These categories are important in Paul, as Weiss himself noted in dealing with 2 Corinthians 5:16, and they deserve careful scrutiny in trying to deal with the place of the historical Jesus in Paul's thought. Weiss, however, did not

⁸³ Ibid., p. 130. Weiss maintained his view on the Jesus-Paul relation until his death in 1914 as evidence in his Earliest Christianity, 2 Vols., ET F.C. Grant et al. (New York: Harper and Row, 1937; German, 1914), Vol. 2, pp. 452-55.

⁸⁴ In Earliest Christianity, Vol. 2, pp. 433-5.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 434-5.

apply this approach to the question of Paul's understanding of Jesus.

It would be in keeping with the foregoing discussion of Weiss on Jesus and Paul to include Albert Schweitzer's view since Schweitzer, in F.C. Grant's opinion, carried the "eschatological school" forward from Weiss "to an extreme and impossible position."⁸⁶ Furthermore, Schweitzer was formulating his position on the Paul-Jesus relation at about the same time⁸⁷ that Weiss's work appeared. In his Paul and His Interpreters Schweitzer concluded that Paul must have had more knowledge of the earthly Jesus than he used in his letters. Schweitzer did not explain, however, why Paul would not have used the teaching of Jesus more overtly if he identified the earthly life of Jesus with the Christ whose bond-slave he has become. Schweitzer merely noted that "as a matter of principle [Paul] desires no longer to 'know Christ after the flesh.'"⁸⁸

Schweitzer did make one very significant point which had scarcely entered the discussion previously. The virtual silence of Paul on Jesus is as though Paul is so conscious of a new world-period that he finds no connection with the period within which Jesus lived and taught. The death and resurrection, for Paul, inaugurated conditions which "were so wholly new that they made [Jesus] teaching inapplicable, and rendered necessary

⁸⁶F.C. Grant, "Preface to the Torchbook Edition," in J. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, P.V. The "impossible position" of which Grant speaks is considered to be much less impossible today than when he wrote in 1958.

⁸⁷Actually, Paul and His Interpreters (op. cit.) came out two years after Weiss, Paul and Jesus; but Schweitzer's own work on Paul, while it was not published until 1929, was written in 1906, three years before Weiss; how much of the manuscript was altered for the later publication is difficult to say. The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, ET W. Montgomery (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931; German, 1929), p. vii.

⁸⁸Schweitzer, Interpreters, p. 245.

a new basis for ethics and a deeper knowledge respecting his death and resurrection."⁸⁹

This eschatological note is more pronounced in The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle. Schweitzer first cites the "endless trouble theology has given itself about the problem of Jesus and Paul" by talking around the problem and thus rendering it more insolvable. The so-called independence of Paul from Jesus simply states the problem; it does not stand as solution. The "independence" must be brought in line with the great sweep of common ground which both share, namely, "the eschatological world-view and the eschatological expectation, with all that these imply. The only difference is the hour in the world-clock in the two cases."⁹⁰ What Jesus anticipates, Paul experiences at least in a preliminary stage, and views as erroneous the attitude that seeks to know Christ according to the flesh. The altered world-circumstances have forced Paul to take an "original attitude alongside Jesus...but he does not abandon Jesus, but continues his teaching" in a reformulated Christ-mysticism "which Jesus had already derived from the predestined solidarity of the Elect with one another and with the Messiah."⁹¹

Schweitzer's eschatological scheme is helpful, as far as it goes. But it still leaves unanswered the questions concerning how Paul uses the "figure" of Jesus, including his teachings, in the new world-period; why the historical Jesus enters the letters to the extent that he does; what other scheme is at work in conjunction with eschatology.

A number of articles appeared in German and English in the years just

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 246.

⁹⁰Schweitzer, Mysticism, p. 113.

⁹¹Ibid., pp. 114-15.

prior to the first World War, but few added anything significant to the existing contributions. James Moffatt accounted for Paul's gospel of justification on the basis of Paul's conversion experience and the psychological impact of Jesus upon him.⁹² With more acute insight, C.A.A. Scott played down the difference highlighted by Wrede and others, and pleaded instead for development of Jesus' teaching in Paul. The apparent lack of interest in the historical Jesus is to be expected since Paul, rather than looking back, is oriented to the future parousia. Aside from this aspect, Paul and Jesus are in harmony in essential doctrine. "The thought of Jesus reaches us through Paul as well as in the records of the Gospels."⁹³ Scott's approach virtually ignored the results of historical criticism and consequently lacked the degree of credibility it might otherwise have earned. Another British scholar, A.C. McGiffert, echoed the view of others before him in affirming that Jesus influenced Paul in religious piety, but that the distinctive Pauline doctrines originate within Paul's peculiar experience, not from the teachings of Jesus.⁹⁴

In support of "orthodoxy," and with polemical rhetoric, J.G. Machen countered the "liberal" arguments in an article published in 1912⁹⁵ in which

⁹² James Moffatt, "Paul and Jesus," p. 173. See also William Morgan, "The Jesus-Paul Controversy," Expository Times, 20 (1908), pp. 9-12; 55-58 where he adopts Meyer's view: back through Paul to Christ and God.

⁹³ C.A.A. Scott, "Jesus and Paul," Essays on Some Biblical Questions of the Day by Members of the University of Cambridge, ed. H.B. Swete (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1909), p. 377.

⁹⁴ A.C. McGiffert, "Was Jesus or Paul the Founder of Christianity?" American Journal of Theology, 13 (1909), pp. 1-20. See Furnish, "Debate," pp. 357-8.

⁹⁵ J.G. Machen, "Jesus and Paul," Biblical and Theological Studies by the Members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), pp. 547-78, reprinted with some editorial refinement in The Origin of Paul's Religion (Grand Rapids: Wm. Eerdmans, 1925), pp. 117-69.

he maintained that the problem of Paul's relation to Jesus exists only in the liberal pattern of thought concerning Jesus. That is, if Jesus is merely a pious man who teaches others how to live pious lives in relation to the Father, God, then, true enough, Paul is not related to that Jesus.⁹⁶ Paul's letters reveal that his knowledge of Jesus is profound, even though they contain little historical detail. The profundity is, in fact, at the centre of Paul's thought, namely, that Christ is the redeemer of mankind. Paul found in Jesus one who loved him and gave himself for him; and that supreme fact occupied his thought and explains the apparent indifference of Paul to the facts about Jesus' earthly life. "The religion of Paul is a religion of redemption. Jesus, according to Paul, came to earth not to say something, but to do something; He was primarily not a teacher but a redeemer."⁹⁷ This, of course, does not answer the crucial question of which Machen is quite aware: Was Jesus, in fact, conscious of his character and role as Redeemer? Machen answered "Yes," on the basis of statements in Paul's letters which correspond with the prevalent views maintained in the Gospels. Jesus is pictured as heavenly Redeemer in both sources. In stating the case thus, Machen was obliged to take the position that "theology," contrary to "liberal" theorists, "is not a product of Christian experience, but a setting forth of those facts by which Christian experience has been produced." And the theological "fact" of Jesus as Redeemer came to Paul through the early Christians who knew Jesus personally.⁹⁸

In the same year as Machen's article, but without the apologetic motive,

⁹⁶Machen, Origin, pp. 156; 160; 168.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 167.

⁹⁸Ibid., pp. 168-9. A similar, but less polemical, stance was taken by a German scholar, Gerhard Kittel, "Jesus bei Paulus," Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 85 (1912), pp. 366-402 cited in Furnish, "Debate," p. 360.

Wilhelm Heitmüller explained Paul's theological distance from Jesus in a way which was to have some far-reaching ramifications in later discussions of issues in New Testament studies.⁹⁹ He contended that Paul was removed from Jesus by two intermediate agents: the primitive Palestinian community and Hellenistic Christianity. Hellenistic Christianity entered the debate for the first time in Heitmüller's article, which argued that this influence should be seen as the major factor in Paul's formulation of Christian dogma. Hellenistic Christianity was already well removed from the thought forms of Jesus, and Paul merely took the theology one further step.¹⁰⁰

In the same article, Heitmüller refuted the idea that Paul must have known more about Jesus than his letters reveal. Paul's theology, by his own admission, does not depend on historical information, but on a revelation of the exalted Lord.¹⁰¹

Heitmüller's work rose above the tone of debate so characteristic of the period following the publication of Wrede's work on Paul. During and after the First War reaction to Wrede's book subsided. Some additional statements¹⁰² on the Jesus-Paul issue did come forward in the twenties, but few advanced the cumulative result beyond that of their scholarly predecessors.

One of the more substantive contributions is to be identified with Adolf

⁹⁹ Wilhelm Heitmüller, "Zum Problem Paulus und Jesus," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 13 (1912), pp. 320-37. Bultmann, for example, dedicated his Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition (1921) to Heitmüller and carried forward the implications of Heitmüller's formulation of the questions pertaining to the place of tradition in the composition of early Christian documents, including Paul's letters, but especially the Gospels. See discussion of Heitmüller's influence in D.L. Dungan, The Sayings of Jesus in the Churches of Paul (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), pp. xxi-ii.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 325-30.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 322.

¹⁰² See Furnish's intimations on these in his "Debate," pp. 361-64.

Deissmann, who published a major work on Paul¹⁰³ in 1911 and revised it significantly in 1925. In the 1925 edition he reaffirmed some of his earlier findings, particularly that Paul was aware of Jesus-tradition, and that the "earthly life of Jesus...was appreciated by Paul," not so much for its details as for "its character as a whole."¹⁰⁴ This latter point, made rather fleetingly by earlier writers, was given substance in Deissmann, to be advanced still further by Bultmann some years later. Said Deissmann:

At the commanding centre of Paul's contemplation of Christ stands the Living One, who is also the Crucified, or the Crucified who is also alive. The death on the cross and the resurrection of Christ...are inseparably united. Here we see in Paul probably one of the strongest examples of that law of mysticism and cult-religion that the past is thought of as still present.

On this basis of the past being active in the present, Deissmann concluded that Paul's Christocentric theology and religion should be considered neither a breach with the preaching of Jesus nor a perversion of his Gospel, but rather a presentation, or proclamation, of the Gospel suited for the many to participate in the One.¹⁰⁶

With a similar commitment to research into social and religious history, Shirley Jackson Case of Chicago University wrote briefly, but pointedly, on the Jesus-Paul question. His publication of 1924 on Jesus:

¹⁰³A. Deissmann, Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History, ET W.E. Wilson (New York: Harper and Row, 1957; German, 1925).

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 195.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 197.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., pp. 255-258. A similar emphasis on the Christ of experience was given again in England by J.E. Rattenbury, The Testament of Paul: Studies in Doctrines Born of Evangelical Experience (London: The Epworth Press, 1930), pp. 49-93. Cf. Furnish, "Debate," pp. 362-363.

A New Biography,¹⁰⁷ moved beyond his earlier work of 1912, The Historicity of Jesus.¹⁰⁸ The aim of the earlier work led Case into a search of Paul's letters for proof of the historical existence of Jesus, whereas in the later volume Paul is consulted with a keen awareness of the distinctive nature of his own thought and life. Paul, Case contended, could have known enough about the historical Jesus from the primitive community to write a Gospel as comprehensive as Luke. But this endeavour did not occur to Paul since his overwhelming thought concerned the universal Christ, the Lord.¹⁰⁹ Case identified two key reasons for Paul's apparent indifference to historical information about Jesus: his futuristic eschatology and his apologetic on his apostleship. Any overt intention to relate to the historical Jesus would thwart this two-fold intentionality. Furthermore, Paul claims to have the mind of Christ and therefore stands in need of no traditional data from Jerusalem on Jesus of Nazareth.¹¹⁰

In the twenties also, but interpreting more existentially, Rudolf Bultmann published his first article¹¹¹ on the Jesus-Paul problem. He asked three questions, the first two of which were given as context for the third:

¹⁰⁷S.J. Case, Jesus: A New Biography (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927).

¹⁰⁸S.J. Case, The Historicity of Jesus (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1912).

¹⁰⁹Case, New Biography, p. 85.

¹¹⁰So Case, like Deissmann and others, sees no radical separation from Jesus to Paul, but accounts for the Pauline peculiarity from the standpoint of Paul's Christian *Sitz im Leben* and from his experience of the present Lord whom he names Jesus Christ. Ibid., pp. 86-7.

¹¹¹R. Bultmann, "Die Bedeutung des geschichtlichen Jesus für die Theologie des Paulus," Theologische Blätter, 8 (1929), pp. 135-7, reprinted in Faith and Understanding, ET O.P. Smith (New York: Harper and Row, 1969; German, 1933), pp. 220-46.

1. How far is Paul directly or indirectly dependent on Jesus? 2. How is Paul's theology related to the proclamation of Jesus? 3. What significance does the fact of the historical Jesus hold for Paul? In answer to the first, Bultmann denied that Paul had any direct contact with Jesus, and that he was not, as Weiss held, influenced by Jesus' life in any way. Indirectly, Paul came in touch with Jesus of history through the preaching of the Hellenistic Church in Syria, but the historical aspects of the Gospel did not determine Paul's theology. Jesus' teaching, even though it appears in the letters a few times, is "irrelevant for Paul."¹¹²

In this regard Bultmann tended to misrepresent the facts in the letters by asserting that the teaching of Jesus is irrelevant (*unerheblich*) for Paul. Paul, in fact, does appeal specifically to sayings material as authoritative in the regulation of the life of the new Christian community; "irrelevant" is hardly an appropriate designation for the phenomenon.¹¹³

In answer to the second question on the relation of Paul's theology to Jesus' preaching, Bultmann claimed that "Jesus and Paul are in complete agreement in their view of the law," proof of which is that "the commandment of love is the fundamental content of the law."¹¹⁴ There is a difference, of course, but it does not lie, as Schweitzer had concluded, in eschatological

¹¹²Bultmann, Faith and Understanding, p. 223. This view was restated again in his Theologie des Neuen Testaments (Tübingen: 1948), ET K. Grobel (London: 1955), Vol. I, pp. 187-9.

¹¹³Cf. the more serious studies of the sayings of Jesus in Paul: Dungan, "Paul's Intimate Relation with the Synoptic Tradition", in Sayings of Jesus, pp. 139-41; W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: SPCK, 1965), pp. 111-146; and Dale C. Allison, "The Pauline Epistles and the Synoptic Gospels: The Pattern of the Parallels", New Testament Studies, 28 (1982), pp. 1-32.

¹¹⁴Bultmann, "Significance," p. 227.

viewpoints. Rather, Paul looks back to the turning point of the ages, an event which was future to Jesus. "The decisive event which Jesus expects, has for Paul already taken place."¹¹⁵ Since Bultmann saw in the preaching of Jesus and the theology of Paul one fundamental element, "the situation of man," he denied any notion of a development of thought.¹¹⁶

On the question of the significance of the historical person of Jesus Bultmann summed it up in one sentence: "The historical person of Jesus makes Paul's proclamation the Gospel."¹¹⁷ Paul proclaims God's act in history, the coming of Messiah, and this Messiah is "identical with the person of Jesus." Again, Bultmann's terms are confusing. What is meant by "the person of Jesus"? And in what manner are the Christ (Messiah) of Paul and the historical person of Jesus in the letters of Paul "identical"? The discussion shows that the "identity" of the two in Paul is not determined by "any evaluation of the personality of Jesus."¹¹⁸ Rather, the decisive question put to Paul by the kerygma of the primitive community was whether he would accept the crucified Jesus as the Messiah, God's saving act in history. Moreover, it is not the *was* of Jesus' life which is decisive, but the *dass*, the fact of his person and act. The reality of the new age is attained, not through Jesus' human character, "or as a 'figure' which embodies an ideal," but as God's fact, accessible through faith.¹¹⁹ This meant, for Bultmann, that the solution to the Jesus-Paul problem resided in the nature and function

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 233.

¹¹⁶ Against Wrede and Jülicher, notes 48 and 66.

¹¹⁷ Bultmann, "Significance", p. 235.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 239.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 245.

of the kerygma, and it is "illegitimate to use the kerygma...to reconstruct a 'historical Jesus'....It is not the historical Jesus, but Jesus Christ, the Christ preached who is Lord."¹²⁰

In 1936, just before Bultmann's second article appeared, Hans Windisch attempted to solve the enigma of continuity and discontinuity between Paul and Jesus by positing two Gospels: one born in Jerusalem and the other in Damascus.¹²¹ He contended that the distinction between "historical Jesus" and "preached Christ" cannot stand scrutiny. The situation in Paul's letters is, rather, the result of a blending of two Gospels, one which arose out of a decisive encounter on the part of the actual disciples with the proclamation of Jesus, and another which originated in Damascus after, and apart from, Jesus and his disciples.

But Windisch went further and sought a correspondence between Paul and Jesus in the sphere of office. Jesus' messianic office as servant of God is a "type" of the apostolic office of Paul who is also servant of God to a greater extent.¹²²

This way of handling the problem in terms of "religious types" has met with severe criticism. Klümmel dismissed the discussion as far-fetched;¹²³ Munck rightly ruled this approach as "dangerous ground" in that it makes too much of recurrence in history. He preferred rather to speak of "comparative

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 241.

¹²¹ H. Windisch, "Paulus und Jesus", Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 106 (1936), pp. 432-68.

¹²² Ibid., p. 467.

¹²³ W.G. Klümmel, "Jesus and Paul", Theology of the New Testament, ET E.T. Steeley (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1973), pp. 244-54.

characteristics" than "types" or "proto-types."¹²⁴

Windisch's failure to gain support for his thesis was to be expected. His work leads one to suspect an imposition of a pattern onto the situation in the literature rather than a search in the literature for a pattern more native to itself.¹²⁵

Bultmann subsequently published his second article¹²⁶ in 1936, but it added little to his earlier one. The concern of this later study focused on the way in which the content of Paul's theology related to Jesus' preaching. On four major counts Paul and Jesus agree: the law, the sinful plight of man, the transcendence of God, and the rule of God. The offence in Paul is also eminently present in Jesus. Both call for decision on the same fundamental basis.

Again, Bultmann's terms require elucidation beyond the bounds of this chapter. What he intended by "agreement" between Paul and Jesus is neither historical connection in the sense of some mediated awareness of the person of Jesus, nor a conscious "following" of his teaching. Rather the agreement is in terms of the issues involving man's decisive existential encounter with God. The question, How does Paul view the historical Jesus in the letters? is still left virtually in suspension.

3. From Bultmann to the Present Day

The impact of Bultmann's work in general was felt on many fronts. His

¹²⁴J. Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1959), pp. 57-8.

¹²⁵A distinction must be made between Windisch's attempt to find "typicalness" between the characters of Paul and Jesus and the object of this study which is to identify some patterns of thought in Paul's letters which will help explain the place of Jesus in the letters.

¹²⁶Bultmann, "Jesus and Paul," Existence and Faith, ET S.M. Ogden (New York: Living Age Books, 1960; German, 1936), pp. 183-201.

solution to the Jesus-Paul problem in particular marked the beginning of a new phase in the discussion. Bultmann forged ahead of previous scholarship in emphasizing the place of the kerygma of the primitive community in Paul's understanding of Christ, and, beyond that, the kerygma in Paul's own Hellenistic thought and life. "The kerygma itself belongs to the fact,"¹²⁷ he insisted. With this emphasis, Bultmann negated earlier ideas such as the separation of Paul's theology from his religious experience, the identification of parallels between religious or ethical ideals in Paul and Jesus, and the exemplary character of Jesus in Paul's letters. With Bultmann, then, the discussion received a new start.

Contrary to Furnish's opinion, the years following World War II have yielded more than "a few scattered articles on the Jesus-Paul question."¹²⁸ In this section of the survey the intention is, first, to select representative works which reflect the influence of Bultmann in handling the Jesus-Paul problem, and second, to examine briefly other contributions which either criticize Bultmann's solution, or answer the question from another angle.

E. Fuchs of the Bultmannian school addressed the Jesus-Paul question¹²⁹ again with an emphasis on the kerygma but with modified emphasis. He observed a continuity from Jesus to Paul and that in terms of the kerygmatic core, which is Jesus. The event (Sache) to which the hearer is directed in the kerygma is the fact of the historical Jesus. Faith links the hearer with Jesus and in a

¹²⁷Bultmann, "Bedeutung," p. 208.

¹²⁸Furnish, "Debate," p. 368, where his comment points to the fact that this article is dated by now. But the work has another weakness in that it assumes Bultmann to have made the last significant contribution, while it ignores the significant work of others, such as W.D. Davies and C.H. Dodd (see below).

¹²⁹E. Fuchs, "Die Frage nach dem historischen Jesus," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, 53 (1956), pp. 210-29. See also Studies of the Historical Jesus (London: 1964; German, 1960).

way that needs no chronological connection.¹³⁰ What Fuchs called "event," therefore, is not a fixed historical phenomenon but an occurrence within the human self-consciousness in the presence of the kerygmatic announcement. It is "speech-event" (*Sprachereignis*).

Another member of the Bultmannian School, Eberhard Jüngel,¹³¹ pupil of Fuchs, and practitioner of "the new hermeneutic,"¹³² presented a dissertation on the Jesus-Paul problem to Ernest Fuchs. Jüngel shifted the Bultmannian categories out of anthropological "law and gospel" from which he deduced the core of Pauline thought to be "justification by faith."¹³³ This thought structure in the Pauline proclamation (or Speech-event) is not different in kind from that of Jesus who proclaimed "the Kingdom of God." The difference is linguistic, not existential or substantive. Inherent in both "speech-events" is "the eschatological yes of God to men at the *extra nos* of the speech of God making both speech events

¹³⁰Hans Conzelmann, also of the Bultmannian School, likewise argues that Christology takes precedence of chronology. "The most important scheme, and most characteristic for Paul, is that of the cross and resurrection... and this is the basis for the certainty of salvation—in faith, not in sight, not even in historical retrospect." An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1969; German, 1968), pp. 203-4 and 205-212. See also Conzelmann's "Current Problems in Pauline Research," Interpretation, 22 (1968), pp. 171-86, and the comment in J.W. Frazer, Jesus and Paul: Paul as Interpreter of Jesus from Harnack to Kümmel (Appleford: The Marcham Manor Press, 1974), p. 25.

¹³¹E. Jüngel, Paulus und Jesus: Sine Untersuchung zur Präzisierung der Frage nach dem Ursprung der Christologie (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1962).

¹³²See a discussion of "The New Hermeneutic at Work" with special reference to Jüngel's book in James M. Robinson, Interpretation, 18 (1964), pp. 346-56.

¹³³Jüngel, Paulus und Jesus, pp. 17-70, and Robinson's critique of Jüngel's method and result in "New Hermeneutic," pp. 347-350.

possible."¹³⁴ Jüngel placed greater weight on the eschatological horizons of Jesus and Paul than Bultmann had done, but was very much in line with Bultmann in the emphasis on the proclamation as "decisive fact."

More recently, Günther Bornkamm, also with Bultmannian leanings, concluded his book on Paul¹³⁵ with a statement on the relation between Paul and Jesus. Essentially Bornkamm used similar existential categories to those of Bultmann, his teacher, in understanding how Paul stands in relation to Jesus. He saw significant agreement in kerygmatic substance. The message of both meets man in the world and brings about an encounter with God. "Paul's gospel of justification by faith alone matches Jesus' turning to the godless and the lost." Both Paul and Jesus work and preach with an understanding that "salvation means deliverance as event and miracle."¹³⁶

Bornkamm, in the end, made it clear that he did not mean to imply that Paul followed Jesus' acts and teaching or that Paul inherited the words of Jesus;¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Jüngel, Paulus und Jesus, p. 134; see also pp. 169-72, 180-2. Kümmel questions the significance of Jüngel's solution in that it represents a generally acknowledged tendency to seek the solution in one direction, and for Kümmel it needs to be refocused: "Es dürfte auch durch dieses vereinfachende Referat denklich geworden sein, dass Jüngel das Problem 'Paul und Jesus' in einer sehr selbständigen und in vieler Hinsicht zu Fragen Anlass gebenden Weise neu aufgegriffen hat, dass damit aber dieses Problem selben Unüberhörbar erneut als Aufgabe gestellt ist....damit stellt sich mir aber die Aufgabe, auf dem Hintergrund der geschilderten Forschungslage in grossen Tühen zu zeigen, welchen Weg zur Lösung des Problems ich für gangbar halte und in welcher Richtung ich die Lösung sehe," in "Jesus und Paulus," New Testament Studies, 10 (1964), pp. 170-1.

¹³⁵ Günther Bornkamm, Paul, ET M.G. Stalker (New York: Harper and Row, 1971; German, 1969), pp. 228-39.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 137.

¹³⁷ F.F. Bruce, for some reason, misreads Bornkamm's position in his comment on the jacket of Bornkamm's Paul: "He shows /that/ Paul inherited the mind of Jesus in rare degree" (italics mine). On the contrary, says Bornkamm, "We today probably know more about Jesus of history than did Paul," p. 238.

"everything suggests that they were unknown to him."¹³⁸ But what Paul did know, the death and resurrection of Christ, he proclaimed as God's liberating action, even as Jesus proclaimed freedom in his gospel of the kingdom. In this way Bornkamm rejected the notion that Paul and his theology are somehow wedged between Jesus and Christianity. It must be acknowledged, however, that Bornkamm made no serious attempt to adduce evidence to show any historical connection between Jesus and Paul. Likewise, virtually no effort was made to show a mode of thought by which Paul interprets the historical Jesus in the letters. And in this sense he stands in the same hermeneutical arena as Bultmann.

W.G. Kümmel criticized Bultmann's method in raising three distinct questions when two of them deal with the singular problem of continuity from Jesus to Paul. Consequently, Kümmel formulated the issues into two categories: "(1) Der geschichtliche Zusammenhang zwischen Jesus und Paulus (d.h. das Problem der Kontinuität), (2) die sachliche Übereinstimmung oder Differenz zwischen Jesus und Paulus (d.h. das Problem der Identität)."¹³⁹ He dealt with these issues within the framework of salvation-history. Paul is conscious of living in the end time. God's saving act in the death and resurrection of Jesus is the fact of the past which inaugurated the experience of the present reality. Paul has the crucified-resurrected Christ in the kerygma, and for him the unity and identity of the earthly and the heavenly Christ is evident in Paul. The historical Jesus reached Paul through the kerygma of

¹³⁸ Bornkamm, Paul, p. 238.

¹³⁹ W.G. Kümmel, "Jesus und Paulus", p. 171. His earlier article is substantially incorporated in this later one, and also in his The Theology of the New Testament According to its Major Witnesses: Jesus, Paul, John. ET John E. Steeley (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1973; German, 1969).

the early church. And, contrary to Bultmann, the historical Jesus in Paul is more than "fact" (*dass*). Paul knows words of Jesus, refers to him as an example, carries much of Jesus' teaching in his theology. "Thus there can be no doubt that Paul was convinced that his message referred to the historical Jesus and included Jesus' work and message."¹⁴⁰ On the substantive agreement, Kummel cited "the idea of God" and "the law" as two key areas upon which both Paul and Jesus stand together. To a lesser degree—and with some formal difference—Paul is in line with Jesus' proclamation of salvation as the forgiveness of God, and with his messianic claim. The differences in these and other areas are understandably so in light of the changed historical and salvation-historical situation.¹⁴¹

Against Kummel's insistence on historical and substantial continuity, yet other than Bultmannian, a Jewish scholar, Joseph Klausner, saw an irreconcilable disparity between Paul and Jesus. The missionary intentions of the two are radically different. In sharper language than Wrede's, Klausner portrayed Paul as "the clearly self-conscious creator and organizer of Christianity as a new religious community."¹⁴² Jesus unwittingly became recognized as the founder of the Christian Church, but historically his intention was to radicalize Palestinian Judaism. His untimely death, viewed by the primitive church as that of a suffering Messiah, became the authoritative source for the new world-religion founded by Paul.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Kummel, Theology, p. 246.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 246-52.

¹⁴² Joseph Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, ET W.F. Stinespring (London: George Allen and Universe Ltd., 1944), p. 582.

¹⁴³ Ibid., pp. 588-590.

The work of H.J. Schoeps,¹⁴⁴ another Jewish scholar, exhibited substantially more disciplined control in handling the subject and the material than did Klausner. He raised two questions, the first of which was reminiscent of Bultmann's chief concern: "(1) What significance has the Jesus who walked on earth, and whose preaching is preserved particularly in the Synoptic Gospels, for Paul and his theology? (2) What place is occupied by the exalted Jesus in Pauline thought?"¹⁴⁵ Schoeps' answer assumed that Paul's "Damascus event" is crucial for understanding the situation in the letters. The earthly Jesus has virtually no significance for the apostle who received his gospel by revelation. But Jesus is not a mythical hero for Paul; his earthly existence is simply acknowledged as "fact."¹⁴⁶ Why is this "fact" now explored and exploited more fully by Paul? Because the last age has dawned and the times are now post-messianic. Meaning for the church at the end of the age resides in the exalted Lord, Jesus Christ, not in words and acts of the earthly Jesus.¹⁴⁷

Schoeps, like Schweitzer, stressed Paul's eschatology and that of the primitive community as a context within which to understand the Jesus-Paul relation. For Anton Fridrichsen,¹⁴⁸ however, the *historical* connection,

¹⁴⁴H.J. Schoeps, Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History, ET H. Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961; German, 1959), pp. 53-59.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁴⁶Here Schoeps reflects the influence of Bultmann.

¹⁴⁷Schoeps adopts W. Boussett's view of the place of "Lordship" in Paul's Christian thought: "The picture which Paul really draws of the κύριος Ἰησοῦς is not taken from the earthly life of Jesus of Nazareth. The Jesus whom Paul knows is the pre-existent supernatural Christ...the Fulfiller of the prophecies and the promises," cited from Boussett, Kyrios Christos (Göttingen: 1921) in Schoeps, Paul, p. 58.

¹⁴⁸Anton Fridrichsen, "Jesus, John, Paul," The Lutheran Quarterly, iii (1951), pp. 243-53.

which had slipped into the background, is present in the Pauline materials. Paul, he argued, stood in historical solidarity with the primary apostles in Jerusalem who transmitted the tradition of Jesus. Paul was obliged to interpret the tradition in Hellenistic categories in the Gentile mission. But the link is genuinely historical, the theological aspects developing from that Jerusalem base which goes back to the earthly Jesus himself.¹⁴⁹

Louis Martyn, on the other hand, carried forward the more prevalent approach of finding in Paul's Christian *concept* of history—rather than historical continuum—at least part of the solution.¹⁵⁰ The value of his article lies mainly in its treatment of Paul's epistemology as it is cryptically couched in II Corinthians 5:16-17. Paul, said Martyn, holds that there is a Christian way of knowing, one which the Corinthians have misconstrued from the gospel. "The cross is the epistemological crisis for the simple reason that while it is in one sense followed by the resurrection, it is not replaced by it."¹⁵¹ Paul conceives of himself and the emerging Christian community as being at the turn of the ages, and the "turning" involves the way of knowing which is no longer *κατὰ σάρκα*. That is, the meaning of life in relation to the cross is no longer found in the categories

¹⁴⁹Two of Fridrichsen's students developed this thesis further. H. Riesenfeld, The Gospel Tradition (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1970), pp. 24-29 and B. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript. Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity (Copenhagen: 1961), pp. 214-245.

¹⁵⁰J.L. Martyn, "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages: II Corinthians 5:16," Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox, ed. W.R. Farmer et al. (Cambridge: University Press, 1967), pp. 269-287. Martyn, however, is not avowedly committed to finding a solution in whole or in part to the Jesus-Paul problem.

¹⁵¹Ibid., p. 286.

of sense-experience, but in the realm of the Spirit.

The value of Martyn's article lies not so much in its constitutive conclusions as in the direction which it takes. For example, the reader is led to ask, What is to be made of Paul's formulae κατὰ σάρκα and κατὰ πνεῦμα elsewhere in the letters? Does the historical Jesus figure only in the sphere of σάρξ to which belongs also the law? Is there a schema by which one can "know" (as Paul knows) the elements of sacred history, including the historical Jesus?

Numerous other articles and monographs on our subject have come out in recent years, most of them tending towards a harmony of Paul and Jesus. This approach necessarily involves research in the two sources, Paul's letters and the Synoptic Gospels. The results are not all of equal value in that the method, in some cases, is not commensurate with the focus of the question.¹⁵² Some again have drawn on the achievements of others, selecting and synthesizing what they consider worthy. In general, these scholars view Paul as a faithful interpreter of Jesus.¹⁵³

¹⁵²For example, some draw a loose parallel between the contents of Paul's letters and those of the Gospels: C. Lattey, "Quotations of Christ's Sayings in St. Paul's Epistles", Scripture, 4 (1949), pp. 22-4; D.M. Stanley, "Pauline Allusions to the Sayings of Jesus", Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 23 (1961), pp. 26-39; H.E. Turlington, "The Apostle Paul and the Gospel History", Review and Expositor, 48 (1951), pp. 35-66. Cf. the critiques in Furnish, Debate, pp. 368-9, and, more generally, S. Sandmel, "Parallelomania", Journal of Biblical Literature, 70 (1962), pp. 1-13. Equally untenable is the denial of any connection between Paul and Jesus on the speculative basis that the Gospels are late second century corruptions of Paul's sophisticated gospel, R. Knight, "Gospels and Epistles", Hibbert Journal, 45 (1947), pp. 304-8, and "Jesus or Paul? In Continuation of Gospels and Epistles", Hibbert Journal, 48 (1948), pp. 41-9.

¹⁵³Of this group are G.S. Duncan, "From Jesus to Paul", Scottish Journal of Theology, 2 (1949), pp. 1-92; H. Ridderbos, Paul and Jesus: Origin and General Character of Paul's Preaching of Christ, ET D.H. Freeman (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1958; Dutch, 1952); F.F. Bruce, "Paul and Jesus", Canadian Journal of Theology, 5 (1959), pp. 78-86; F.W. Fraser, Jesus and Paul: Paul as Interpreter of Jesus, From Harnack to Kilmel (Appleford: Marcham Manor Press, 1974); F.F. Bruce, Paul and Jesus (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1974).

Two eminent scholars of the post-war period, C.H. Dodd¹⁵⁴ and W.D. Davies,¹⁵⁵ are together in the view that Paul adopted "a new law" to which he refers in his phrase in Galatians 6:2, "the law of Christ." Dodd read the "new law" of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount as representative of "the law of the Kingdom of God" which has its roots in Jesus and its expression in the teaching of the early church and in the letters of Paul. The act of God in Christ, which has the quality of ἀγαπή, leads to "an obligation to reproduce in human action the quality and the direction of the act of God by which we are saved."¹⁵⁶ Indirectly, then, Dodd made "the new law" the historical connection between Paul and Jesus.

Davies was more explicit in addressing the Jesus-Paul relation. He criticized Reitzenstein's view that the historic Jesus is of no significance to Paul since he is led of the Spirit. But in identifying the significance Davies went beyond the Bultmannians by affirming that "the words and life of Jesus were normative for Paul."¹⁵⁷ But the sequence of Paul's thought ran from resurrected Christ to historical Jesus. "It was his experience of the living Christ...that compelled Paul to reconsider the significance of the Jesus of history."¹⁵⁸ And the significance involved the teaching of Jesus, his mind and words. "Paul is steeped in the mind and words of his Lord"¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴Particularly Gospel and Law: The Relation of Faith and Ethics in Early Christianity (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

¹⁵⁵Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology (London: SPCK, 1965), pp. 147-284.

¹⁵⁶Dodd, Gospel and Law, p. 71.

¹⁵⁷Davies, Paul, p. 195.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., p. 226.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 140.

as evidenced in "the amazing number of places where Paul echoes or offers parallels to the Evangelists."¹⁶⁰ With Dodd, Davies understood Paul in the context of New Covenant which involves a New Torah and/or New Moses and hence a new obedience.¹⁶¹ Here, then, is a clear case where a scholar has identified a category—a new meaning and application of Torah—in which Jesus, the early church and Paul meet. The argument would carry more weight, it seems, if Paul's hermeneutical thought were explored more acutely.

The hermeneutical perspective entered David Dungan's investigation,¹⁶² as the title of his book indicates: The Sayings of Jesus in the Churches of Paul: The Use of the Synoptic Tradition in the Regulation of Early Church Life. Dungan concentrated on two explicit command-citations from Synoptic tradition (I Corinthians 9:4-18 and 7:10-11) and carried out a thorough-going form-critical analysis which was followed by an investigation of the way in which Paul applies the commands of the Lord in the life of the Christian community. From the two examples Dungan reached the conclusion that Paul depends on the sayings material only allusively and indirectly. But Dungan was convinced that Paul is incontrovertably allied with the primitive community which transmitted the Synoptic material:

The alleged contrast between Pauline Christianity and that branch of the early Church which preserved the Palestinian Jesus-tradition that finally ended up in the Synoptic Gospels is a figment of the imagination. In fact, they are one and the same branch.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 137. Davies cites Resch favourably, if cautiously, in his discovery of 1096 parallels in the Pauline epistles with the Synoptics.

¹⁶¹ See discussion of each of these aspects in Paul, pp. 147-284.

¹⁶² D.L. Dungan, The Sayings of Jesus in the Churches of Paul: The Use of Synoptic Tradition in the Regulation of Early Church Life (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971).

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 150.

This view was expressed again very recently in an impressive article by Dale Allison.¹⁶⁴ He searched Paul's letters not simply for statements parallel with those of the Synoptics, but rather for a discernable pattern in which the various allusions and citations occur. The existence of such a pattern could lead to the conclusion that Paul was dependent on a collection (or collections)¹⁶⁵ of material—oral or written—resident in the primitive church. The evidence is fairly convincing, but the conclusion reached in Allison's article oversteps the bounds of the evidence. For example, that "Paul is dependent on the historical Jesus"¹⁶⁶ is not proven by the investigation; neither is it demonstrated that "the tradition stemming from Jesus well served the apostle in his roles as pastor, theologian, and missionary."¹⁶⁷

In the summer of this year (1984) a publication appeared under the title, From Jesus to Paul.¹⁶⁸ The thirteen articles therein written by Canadian scholars deal with various aspects of the Jesus-Paul question in an illuminating way. But even though the collection of essays makes a valuable contribution to an understanding of the Jesus-Paul relation, one fact remains: the diversity of opinions and viewpoints reveals that the final decision on the question has not yet been reached.

¹⁶⁴D.C. Allison, Jr., "The Pauline Epistles and the Synoptic Gospels: The Pattern of the Parallels", New Testament Studies, 28 (1982), pp. 1-32.

¹⁶⁵Allison believes Paul knew three collections of logia. "Parallels", p. 15.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁶⁸Richardson, Peter and John C. Hurd, editors, From Jesus to Paul: Studies in Honour of Francis Wright Beare (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984).

The survey as a whole reveals several lines of argument which have been followed in dealing with the question of Paul's relation to Jesus. Prevalent in the search was the attempt to demonstrate some kind of historical continuity on the one hand, or discontinuity on the other. The tendency towards "debate" can be found with increasing intensity from Baur to Wrede. Wrede carried the argument for discontinuity to the outer edge of the spectrum, and found in Paul a second founder of Christianity. The other side, fueled by Wrede's book, continued the search for links between Paul and Jesus, usually by way of parallels between the letters and the Gospels. Weiss maintained that Paul must have known Jesus (II Cor. 5:16) to the extent that Jesus' personality overcame Paul and culminated in his conversion to Jesus as the resurrected Christ. Eschatology was advanced (Schweitzer) as a schema in which both Paul and Jesus shared, Jesus proleptically and Paul experientially. The notion of development appeared to many as a plausible synthesis in which Paul was seen as the faithful interpreter of the Master (Harnack, Duncan, Bruce, et al.) in a new historical context. But discontinuity and change were persistently detected. Paul's position necessitated independence from the other apostles who knew Jesus in the flesh (Case), and, more, Paul's gospel required only the kerygmatic fact of Jesus' death-and-resurrection (Bultmann et al.); biographical data was irrelevant. Yet connections continued to be found, if not historical, then religious, ethical or theological. Especially prominent on the side of "continuity" was the view of the law which Jesus and Paul shared (Davies, Dodd). Both were committed to a reinterpretation of the Torah under the rubric of love (ἀγάπη) in the freedom of the Spirit.

The cumulative result of research on this question is impressive and

infinitely valuable. Its worth lies especially in the fact that it provides a sufficient base on which to construct another kind of question, one which appears to have received only passing comment: the question of Paul's typological mode of thought in the interpretation of sacred tradition. The tradition about Jesus belongs in Paul's Christian horizon together with Scripture, and there is good reason to believe that the typological interpretive scheme which applies to Scripture applies also to Paul's thought on Jesus of history vis-à-vis Christ of revelation and faith.

CHAPTER II

A Hermeneutical Approach: Typology in Paul

The question to which the last chapter leads is this: What direction is the discussion on Paul's relation to Jesus to take now? The positive gains achieved by the various scholars, far from being invalid, are sufficiently bountiful as to summon attention to another side of Paul's life and thought: his typology. Often enough Paul has been referred to as an interpreter of Jesus,¹ but this assertion is not sufficiently well defined to lead to meaningful results. By comparison, Paul as interpreter of Scripture has been investigated at some length and with illuminating results,² but this endeavour has been held too much in isolation from Paul's interpretation of

¹See above p. 1 and note. More often than not in the discussion, the idea of Paul interpreting Jesus ranks rather low. The tendency of the Bultmannian school, by contrast, has been to reduce the figure of Jesus together with his preaching to "irrelevancy". Cf. above p. 30 and notes.

²Much of the work on Paul's use of Scripture appears in volumes dealing with the use of the Old Testament in the New. The following is a partial list of the rather extensive literature on this issue: E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1957); H.M. Shires, Finding the Old Testament in the New (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974); C.H. Dodd, According to Scriptures (London: Nisbett, 1952); *idem.* The Old Testament in the New (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963; first published, 1952); R.N. Longnecker, Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1975); Goppelt, Typos. Similar studies appear in works on hermeneutics and theology. Note especially, Claus Westermann, ed., Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1963; German, 1960); and Gerhard von Rad, Old Testament Theology, Vol. II, ET D.M.G. Stalcken (New York: Harper and Row, 1965; German, 1960), pp. 319-429; J.M. Efrid, ed., The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972); D.E. Neneham, ed., The Church's Use of the Bible, Past and Present (London: SPCK, 1963).

Jesus. One is left with the impression that an unidentifiable veil hangs between Paul the interpreter of Scripture and Paul the interpreter of Jesus. This impression of dichotomy in Paul's hermeneutical thought, if unintentional in the research, needs to be lifted to allow a holistic investigation of Paul's hermeneutic as applied to his sacred tradition in general, Scripture and Jesus. If it can be demonstrated that Paul has a consistent pattern of hermeneutical thought, the result for the Jesus-Paul question could be promising. The basic contention of this study is that such a pattern exists in Paul as evidenced in the letters, and that the pattern can be appropriately designated "typological".³ It remains for this chapter to delineate the task involved, to define the character of typology in Paul, and to set out the purpose and plan of the study.

1. The Task at Hand

One of the difficulties—perhaps the major difficulty—in any modern study of Paul rests with the interpreter himself.⁴ A conscious effort is required to transcend the interpreter's horizon so as to examine the letters in a manner appropriate to Paul's own *Sitz im Leben*, and in doing so, to recapture as nearly as possible what was actually moving forward in his particular circumstances of life, thought and expression. The endeavour, as I understand it, is the task of historical understanding and explanation, the aim of which,

³By far the most substantive research into the "typological" in Paul is the work of Leonhard Goppelt—although even here Paul is combined with other New Testament materials—who was satisfied that "typology is the method of exegesis that is the characteristic use of Scripture in the New Testament", and that "the typological approach has put its stamp on /Paul's/ total understanding of Scripture," Typos, pp. 200, 225.

⁴On the role of the interpreter as subject, Bernard Lonergan's discussion is highly instructive. See especially, Method in Theology (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972), pp. 3-25; 57-81; 125-173.

as Lonergan puts it, "is an intelligent reconstruction of the past, not in its routines, but in each of its departures from the previous routine, in the interlocked consequences of each departure, in the unfolding of a process that theoretically might but in all probability never will be repeated."⁵ This procedure will mean that the "intelligent reconstruction" will not include a value judgement⁶ on Paul's method, world-view, mode of expression or any other element native to his own life and time. Vested interest, so to speak, is by the nature of the case ruled out. Certain kinds of questions are therefore absent from this task, such questions as: How can we appropriate Paul's hermeneutic today? Was Paul's method of interpretation valid?

The task is not to justify Paul or condemn him, but to understand and explain him. Gerhard von Rad,⁷ for example, attempts to adapt Paul's typological outlook into his own modern historical-critical understanding, but the effort exhibits a certain tension in von Rad's experience.⁸ On the other extreme, Rudolf Bultmann freely reckons Paul's typological interpretation in-

⁵Lonergan, Method, p. 230.

⁶"Value judgement" here should be distinguished from one of the rules of "positivism", namely, that "the historian must pass no judgement on the facts; he must only say what they are"; in R.G. Collingwood, The Idea of History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 131. For this study, the intention is not to judge the value of Paul's hermeneutical way of thinking for the present day.

⁷In his Theology of the Old Testament, Vol. II, especially pp. 357-429.

⁸A very helpful unpublished essay on von Rad's attempt to do justice to Israel's view of history, while holding to the historical-critical method, became available to me. Spencer Estabrooks, The Place of the Historical-Critical Method in the Theology of Gerhard von Rad, for McMaster University. Estabrooks concludes that von Rad's Theology "shows the increasing working out of a personal and intellectual dilemma that von Rad had from the beginnings of his writings," pp. 15-16.

valid because it stems from an erroneous view of history.⁹ While the question of appropriateness (or inappropriateness) of Paul's method for a modern hermeneutic could be worthy enough under certain aims, it is beyond the limits of this study.

Another part of the task will be to allow Paul's letters to have their appropriate chronological place in the historical development of the canonical literature of the New Testament. This point deserves emphasis in that Paul's hermeneutical concerns, especially with reference to Jesus, are distinctively his, not those of later writers of the New Testament, for example, the Evangelists. And herein lies a weakness of otherwise valuable research under the rubric: "The Use of the Old Testament in the New."¹⁰ Even Earle Ellis's book on Paul's Use of the Old Testament bears the mark of other works on New Testament hermeneutics in which Paul is brought in line with what is conceived to be "New Testament exegesis."

The edge is taken off Ellis's treatment of typology in Paul, for example, by his repeated reference to categories beyond Paul's horizon such as, "New Testament typological exegesis,"¹¹ "New Testament Usage,"¹² "New Testament writers."¹³ The acuteness of this canonical problem, as it may be called, is seen particularly where the Scripture is interpreted in various parts of the New Testament with reference to Christ. What Paul means when he says

⁹R. Bultmann, "Ursprung und Sinn der Typologie als hermeneutischer Methode," Theologische Literaturzeitung (1950), columns 47-53. See Walther Eichrodt's critique of Bultmann in "Is Typological Exegesis an Appropriate Method?" ET James Barr, Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics, pp. 224-245, and also Goppelt's objection in Typos, pp. 225-229.

¹⁰See note 2 above.

¹¹Ellis, Paul's Use, p. 127.

¹²Ibid., p. 126.

¹³Ibid., p. 132.

that the Scripture speaks of Christ should be distinguished from a similar statement in Matthew, for example. Matthew's meaning is peculiarly his, not Paul's. More specifically, Matthew's theological interest in Jesus as the Son of David hardly corresponds to Paul's virtual lack of interest in the Davidic prophecy-fulfilment motif.¹⁴ What can be said of the comparison between Matthew and Paul applies to similar comparisons with the other Gospels. The assumption that the Evangelists and Paul have identical purposes when they interpret Scripture to point to Jesus Christ cannot be maintained. Paul has virtually no explicit use of Scripture in support of a specific event in the earthly life of Jesus, except in the confessional formula of I Corinthians 15:3-5 in which Christ's death and resurrection are κατὰ τὰς γράφας. The Evangelists do use Scripture for events in Jesus' life. Paul, on the other hand, shows no interest in writing a Gospel, as Shirley Jackson Case affirmed.¹⁵ Paul's experience of Christ together

¹⁴The title "Son of David" occurs in the birth narratives of Matthew and Luke, but in a pronounced way in Matthew, e.g. Matt. 1:1, 6, 17, 20-21; cf. Luke 3:31. In Paul the title appears in what is widely recognized as a pre-Pauline confessional formula in Romans 1:3-4 but there it carries only marginal significance as the development of the argument in Romans demonstrates. What is important for Paul in the confessional statement is the enthronement motif in which the Son in humiliation "according to the flesh" is "designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead." Käsemann's comment illustrates the point well that Paul's way of thinking about Christ should not be connected and thus confused with a composite New Testament idea on the nature of Jesus. "The one described in earthly terms as the Messianic king /Rom. 1:3/ is destined for appointment and enthronement as Son of God and thus follows a course which is divided into two stages by the Resurrection. It can be seen that this understanding has been constantly obscured by the influence of the doctrine of the two natures and the consequent reference to Jesus' two modes of existence. Unlike Paul himself the formula does not presuppose the preexistence and divine sonship of the earthly Jesus." Ernst Käsemann, Commentary on Romans, ET G.W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1980, from the fourth German edition of An Die Römer, 1980), pp. 11-12.

¹⁵See above p. 28 and notes.

with his understanding and use of Scripture with reference to Christ demands investigation in Paul's terms of reference. Moreover, the assumption is scarcely tenable which holds that when Paul views Adam as a type of Christ (Rom. 5:14) or the Rock which followed the Israelites as Christ (I Cor. 10:4) he has in mind Jesus of Nazareth, son of Mary and Joseph, who performed miracles, spoke in parables, disputed with the Pharisees, was tried by Jewish and Roman authorities, etc. It is more in keeping with the evidence in the letters to think of Christ as the inaugurator of the new creation, or aeon, by the resurrection from the dead to universal lordship. This is the Christ of Paul's experience, the Christ of revelation (Gal. 1:16), the Christ of the kerygma (Phil. 1:17-18; I Cor. 1:18), and the Christ to whom prophetic Scripture bears witness. A significant part of the task at hand is to underscore this Pauline view of Christ to which Paul's use of Scripture attests and to hold in suspension any intrusion of the canonical view of Christ, especially that of the Gospels. This effort is necessary to maintain consistency. If Paul is an interpreter of Scripture on the one hand and of Jesus-tradition on the other, both sources pointing coherently to his present experience of the resurrected Lord in the new age of the Spirit, then the Christ and the community of Christ, to which the prophetic Scriptures point, is the post-Easter Christ of the kerygma and the Church of Christ, not Jesus of Nazareth and his disciples.¹⁶

¹⁶Goppelt's 1969 article on "Apocalypticism and Typology in Paul" shows more concern for Paul's distinctive typology relating to Christ than is evidenced in his earlier work (1939), but the Christ of actualized "type" in Paul is still not sharply distinguished from the Christ of fulfilment in the Gospels, even in this later article. For example, he criticizes Schoeps' picture of the Pauline Christ as a "Christ metaphysic" (adopted from Schweitzer's view), but leaves his own picture of the Pauline Christ without a frame suited to Paul's own self-understanding and *Sitz im Leben*. Consequently, the Christ of the Adam-Christ typology is not completely qualified as to pre-Easter, post-Easter, pre-existent, incarnate, post-incarnate or any combination

The work also entails the examination of the relation of Paul's interpretation of tradition to salvation-history. The merit of Beker's conclusion that Paul "recasts the tradition in the freedom of the Spirit...so that it can correspond to the new event in his life, God's action in Christ for the sake of the liberation of creation"¹⁷ is somewhat devalued by the openedness of the emphasis on the "apocalyptic cosmic coordinates of Paul's thought."¹⁸ By calling attention to the apocalyptic "triumph of God"¹⁹ in Paul, Beker has rendered a praiseworthy service. But the exclusiveness with which he presents Paul as an "apocalyptic theologian"²⁰ whose hermeneutic is governed by the "future horizon"²¹ of God's final triumph, "of which Christ is the proleptic manifestation,"²² tends to diminish too many other significant aspects of Paul's interpretive process. In particular, Beker does not elaborate on the relation of the apocalyptic to the typological in Paul, as Leonhard Goppelt in his own way, seeks to do.²³ Briefly put, the relation

of these and other ideas consonant with the "in Adam—in Christ" understanding in Paul. See Typos, pp. 211-215; 218-225; cf. Schoeps, Paul, pp. 104-109.

¹⁷ Beker, Paul, p. 352.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 354.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 355. Beker selects this phrase, "the triumph of God", to capture the coherent centre of Paul's thought, as the sub-title of his book indicates: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 356.

²¹ Ibid., p. 355.

²² Ibid., p. 356.

²³ Goppelt, "The Relationship between Typology and Apocalypticism in Paul", Typos, pp. 233-237. Beker's single remark about Goppelt's treatment of typology and apocalypticism in Paul does not reflect accurately the case which Goppelt's article presents. Says Beker: "Leonhard Goppelt...argues that typology is the crucial category in Paul and *opposes* it to apocalyptic," p. 144 (emphasis mine). Says Goppelt: "Paul uses both apocalypticism

between the two lies in the way in which Paul views redemptive history (typological) as prefiguring cosmic victory (apocalyptic).

The concept of a redemptive, or saving, history is embedded in Paul's use of Scripture to bear witness to God's saving action in Christ. The Scripture is not merely a non-historical authority for Paul, recognized by Jews and Christians alike. Rather, it appears in the letters, sometimes explicitly, but more often allusively, as the witness to God's redemptive events among the people of Israel, events which contain a prophetic/proleptic quality oriented toward eschatological actualization in the resurrection of Christ and the newness of life in the community of Christ.²⁴ The redemptive activity of God is changeless in character, but comes to new and greater manifestation with the change from the old aeon to the new. C.J.A. Hickling²⁵ has concluded that this concept of the change of aeons is a central conviction in Paul. And we should add that the change of aeons, and the fact that Paul

and typology/ as a means of interpretation...to present and to interpret the entire history that leads to Christ and, especially, the eschatological character of Jesus' coming, its consequences, and its consummation at the parousia.... Paul explains the presence of the eschaton by means of typology," Typos, pp. 234-235 (emphasis mine).

²⁴C.H. Dodd calls the use of Scripture in the New Testament, "the sub-structure of New Testament Theology," and supports the view that "the quotation of passages from the Old Testament is not to be accounted for by the postulate of a primitive anthology of isolated proof-texts. The composition of 'testimony-books' was the result...of the work of early Christian biblical scholars. The evidence suggests that at a very early date a certain method of biblical study was established," According to Scriptures, p. 126. See also C.K. Barrett, "The Bible in the New Testament Period," The Church's Use of the Bible, pp. 12-18.

²⁵C.J.A. Hickling, "Centre and Periphery in the Thought of Paul," Studia Biblica 1978 Vol. 3. Papers on Paul and Other New Testament Authors, edited by E.A. Livingstone (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), pp. 199-214. Paul conceives of the existence of the church in continuity with the history of Israel, but in a typological, and theological sense. That is, chronological continuity is charged with the dynamic of typological connection under the

lives in the awareness of the change, constitutes a significant place in the dynamics of Paul's typological thought.

An important task of the study will be to present evidence for the presence of this pattern of thought in Paul's letters. In so doing, it should become clear that the two-part character of typology—type and antitype—is largely dependent upon, or is conditioned by Paul's understanding of the old and the new aeons, and of the change from one to the other.²⁶ Prominent as this thought appears in Paul (e.g. II Cor. 3:7-18; 5:17; Gal. 6:15), his typology has been defined recently with only minimal appreciation for the influence of the two-aeon theology on his typological way of thinking. I refer particularly to the work of Daniel Patte. In his discussion of typology in Paul he tends to dilute its eschatological pungency into example of faith. "Paul and earlier believers," presumably figures in Scripture as well, "are types for later believers only insofar as they themselves are Christ-like."²⁷ Paul, rather, seems to construe the death-resurrection event as the eschatological act of God which transforms time²⁸ and inaugurates the new creation in Christ (καὶ νῦν κτίσις, II Cor. 5:17).²⁹

plan of God. See C.K. Barrett, "The Bible in the New Testament Period," The Church's Use, pp. 15f; and W. Pannenberg, "Redemptive Event and History," ET S. Guthrie, Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics, p. 323; cf. von Rad, "Typological Interpretation," pp. 17-19.

²⁶ Thus, Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 208f. Cf. the idea of Christ as the "mid-point of history," in Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History, ET Floyd V. Filson (London: SCM Press, 1951), pp. 81-106; 121-130.

²⁷ Daniel Patte, The Faith of the Apostle to the Gentiles: A Structural Introduction to Paul's Letters (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), pp. 359f; cf. Davidson, Typology in Scripture, pp. 191-316.

²⁸ Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 208f.

²⁹ Beker, Paul the Apostle, p. 152. Cf. von Rad, "The Actualization of the Old Testament in the New," Theology, II, pp. 320-335; F.F. Bruce,

The divine plan of salvation, in other words, is singular, changeless and oriented towards the eschatological outcome in the resurrection-life in Christ of Paul's present Christian self-understanding.³⁰ Moreover, the Scriptures and the Christian tradition, both of which Paul knows,³¹ should not be viewed as two separate streams, but as one, the former being captured and heightened in the latter, and both bearing consistent witness to Paul's experience of God's eschatological, redemptive action in Christ. This view of a divine purpose expressing itself salvifically in events, persons, utterances and institutions of the people of God in history is linked intrinsically with Paul's pattern of thought in reading the Bible. At least this is what the ensuing chapters hope to prove.

Paul's way of reading the text of Scripture, if it is divorced from the salvation-historical scheme, will appear to a modern interpreter as artificial and devoid of probative force.³² But his method of exegesis follows his idio-

"Promise and Fulfilment in Paul's Presentation of Jesus," Promise and Fulfilment (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963), pp. 36-50.

³⁰For Paul, the purpose of God is fulfilled in part in the present in terms of "first fruits" (I Cor. 15:20, 23; Rom. 8:23) and "guarantee" in the Spirit (II Cor. 1:22; 5:5), and in this sense Christians are those "upon whom the end of the ages has come" (I Cor. 10:11).

³¹Both sources are authoritative. A word of Scripture is called to witness in similar form with that of a word from the Lord. Both have a present power of meaning in the community. See e.g., I Cor. 9:8-72; cf. I Cor. 9:14; 7:10. "For Paul, any contested question of doctrine or faith or life is answered by 'a word of the Lord' as categorically as by a 'word of Scripture'." W.G. Kümmel, "The Authorities in Primitive Christianity," Introduction to the New Testament, ET H.C. Kee (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975; German, 1973), p. 477.

³²E.g. F.W. Farrar was known to speak of the interpretation of Sarah and Hagar in Gal. 4:21-31 as follows: "It may be merely intended as an *argument ad hominem*; it does not seem to be more than a passing illustration; it

syncratic pattern of thought and will not yield to an alien construct.

Attempts have been made to classify Pauline exegesis in the letters. D.

Moody Smith summarizes "Paul's Use of the Old Testament"³³ under four heads:

1) a "general prophetic and kerygmatic understanding of the Old Testament as the precursor, prefiguration, and promise of the Gospel." This, says Smith, is the most important; 2) an "ecclesiastical-parenetic" usage by which Paul enforces regulation of community life, or encourages ethical behaviour; 3) for understanding the "historical-eschatological situation" in which Paul finds himself; and 4) an "unlabelled" category which encompasses various uses in which Paul seeks to prove a point on the authority of Scripture.

In the final analysis, Smith is not prepared to admit that the categories are water-tight compartments.³⁴ Together they represent a pattern of thought which is identified in "the most important"³⁵ group. The pattern most naturally belongs in the general schema of salvation-history, and one might reasonably expect to find the pattern of hermeneutical thought consistently

is not at all essential to the general argument; it has not a particle of demonstrate force", in K.J. Woolcombe, "The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology," Essays on Typology (London: SCM Press, 1957), pp. 54-5. Cf. C.H. Dodd, "The relevant Scriptures were understood and interpreted upon intelligible and consistent principles, as setting forth 'the determinate counsel of God' which was fulfilled in the Gospel facts, and consequently as fixing the meaning of those facts," According to Scripture, pp. 126-7.

³³D. Moody Smith, Jr., "The Use of the Old Testament by New Testament Writers," The Use of the Old Testament in the New, pp. 35-40.

³⁴Ibid., p. 39. Cf. Ellis, "The Pauline use of the Old Testament appears in three distinct forms: quotations proper, intentional and casual allusion, and dialectical and theological themes," Paul's Use, pp. 10-11. He goes on to say that "Paul's exegesis fits into a pattern which, when properly understood, forms a cogent and systematic whole," p. 114.

³⁵Smith, Use, p. 37.

operative on all occasions of interpretation of salvation-historical tradition, whether Scripture or Jesus. The question is: What would be an appropriate designation for the pattern?

The pattern may be called appropriately "typological."³⁶ The appropriateness of the term will be defined more precisely below where the character of typology in Paul is explored. For the present, it must be submitted that when the terms "type" and "antitype" appear they should be read with the dynamic of Paul's Christian self-understanding in mind. Aside from this necessary qualification, the terminology of typology will conform to accepted English usage.³⁷ The term "typology," even though it is viewed with suspicion in some circles, is used to specify a certain dynamic of Paul's hermeneutical thought which broader designations such as Christology, eschatology, apocalyptic, saving-history, kerygmatic revelation, etc. would not accommodate.³⁸ An examination of the character of typology in Paul's letters should help establish the usefulness of "typology" as a term of reference for the discussion to follow.

³⁶ Following Goppelt, Typos, e.g. p. 236; von Rad, Theology, II, e.g. pp. 319-335; idem., "Typological Interpretation," pp. 36-39; and with modification, J.C.K. von Hofmann, Interpreting the Bible, ET C. Preus (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959), pp. 168-204.

³⁷ See H.W. Fowler, A Dictionary of Modern English Usage (Oxford: University Press, 1965), pp. 655f.

³⁸ It will be recalled, that Beker prefers "Apocalyptic" and that Goppelt believed typology to fit the interpretive data best where past saving-history corresponds to Paul's Christian understanding of the Christ-event, apocalyptic being more in keeping with the eschatological, cosmic future to which the present experience points (p. 52 above).

2. The Character of Typology in Paul

To understand the nature of the hermeneutical pattern of thought in Paul, here called "typology", it will be necessary first to deliver the term from the encumbrances it gained from its use in the history of Western Christian thought, and to give the reason for the use of this one term, in particular, in seeking to understand Paul's interpretation of salvation-history.

K.J. Woollcombe, in his criticism of T.W. Manson's broad definition of typology,³⁹ cautions against a free-for-all use of the term to designate the various linkages between the New Testament and the Old. He writes: "While it is indisputably convenient to use one word to embrace the study of all such linkages, it is open to question whether typology is the right word."⁴⁰ The warning is well taken. The term requires definition, or redefinition, and the definition must square with the state of affairs which the term is made to identify. Gerhard von Rad shares Woollcombe's concern for the functional usefulness of "typology" for the hermeneutical phenomena in the New Testament: "Whether the very word is perhaps too heavily burdened with wrong connotations, or has here in this article been so far broadened beyond its established usage...is open to question."⁴¹ Then he adds: "Should the term prove to be intolerable, it will then be

³⁹ T.W. Manson, Manchester Guardian, June 11, 1956, cited by Woollcombe, "Biblical Origins," p. 39.

⁴⁰ Woollcombe, "Biblical Origins," p. 39.

⁴¹ von Rad, "Typological Interpretation," p. 38.

equally incumbent on its opponents and on its friends to give their precise reasons for this."⁴² The present discussion is an attempt to take up von Rad's challenge as "friend" of the term and to account for its semantic functionality in identifying a hermeneutical phenomenon in Paul with which its etymological ancestor, τύπος, is attached (Rom. 5:14; I Cor. 10:11). It must be acknowledged, first, that the term "typology" does have the problem of being laden with meanings from history which are inappropriate for understanding Paul.⁴³ Redefinition of typology with reference to Paul entails the removal of some of the cargo with which the term was burdened in the course of its use.

Among the New Testament writers, the Greek cognates of our English term, "typology," do not take on a stereotyped, technical function for denominating a category of interpretation of Scripture.⁴⁴ Paul uses τύπος

⁴²Ibid., pp. 38-39.

⁴³The history of typological interpretation specifically appears, for the most part, in works devoted to the history of interpretation in general. The list here represents only those sources upon which the discussion on the history of "typology" has drawn. Ursula Brumm, American Thought and Religious Typology (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970); Nineham, ed., The Church's Use of the Bible, Past and Present; Robert M. Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1963); Beryle Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952); Goppelt, Typos, pp. 1-20; von Hofmann, "The History of Scriptural Interpretation," Interpreting the Bible, pp. 4-17; Davidson, Typology in Scripture, pp. 15-93.

⁴⁴In Romans 5:14 and I Corinthians 10:6-11, τύπος does have a hermeneutical function. "Paul describes Old Testament events as τύπου in order to show hermeneutically that they point to the present eschatological saving event"; L. Goppelt, "τύπος," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (TDNT), Vol. VIII (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1972), p. 251. Goppelt is correct in noting that Paul adopted the basic meaning of the term in these two passages "for a technical use consonant with the basic meaning" (p. 252), and he is probably correct also in concluding that "under Paul's influence τύπος became a hermeneutical term in the

twice (I Cor. 10:6; Rom. 5:14) with reference to Scripture tradition, and I Peter has ἀντίτυπος with reference to fulfilment of a tradition of Scripture (I Pet. 3:21). But τύπος, or "typology," as a technical name for a specific system or method of interpretation is not indicated by its occurrence in the writings of the New Testament.⁴⁵ The same is not true of the Christian literature in the centuries following. The Epistle of Barnabas⁴⁶ for example, uses τύπος in a manner which is more reminiscent of the widespread practice of allegorizing the text of Scripture. Barnabas is concerned with details of a given event, or person, with reference to a specific Christian belief. For example, the detail of Moses' outstretched hands in prayer is interpreted as a reference to the cross of Christ.⁴⁷ The procedure in this and many other instances in Barnabas⁴⁸ is one of comparison

whole church," I Peter 3:21 bearing witness to the fact that at that time of writing ἀντίτυπος was being used in a sense of present correspondence (p. 253). But it must not be concluded that a technical use equals a fixed or formal use, and certainly not in Paul. He can use the more general term ἀλληγορούμενα in Gal. 4:24 where a correspondence between situations in Scripture and situations in the church is in view. Or he can engage in this kind of interpretation, as in Gal. 3, without labelling his approach. It should be noted also, however, that Paul does not have a battery of terms which he uses interchangeably for the same approach. For example, he does not use εἰκῶν or ὁμοίωμα in the same sense that he uses τύπος in Rom. 5:14 and I Cor. 10:6-11.

⁴⁵ τύπος is used in the New Testament with a variety of meanings, most of them other than hermeneutical: τύπον τῶν ἡλῶν (Jn. 20:25); καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον (Phil. 3:17); cf. II Thess. 3:9; I Thess. 1:7; I Pet. 5:3; I Tim. 4:12; Tit. 2:7); εἰς ὃν παραδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς (Rom. 6:17; cf. Acts 20:32); ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Μωϋσῆ ποιῆσαι αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸν τύπον ὃν ἐώρακει (Acts 7:44; cf. Heb. 8:5). See Davidson, Typology in Scripture, pp. 141-190.

⁴⁶ The Epistle of Barnabas, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers; Vol. I, eds. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1956), pp. 137-149, hereafter referred to by chapter and page.

⁴⁷ Ibid., XII, p. 145.

⁴⁸ E.g. Moses commanded not to make graven images, so he made a brazen serpent "so that he might reveal a type of Christ," XII, p. 145;

of details to prove a point of doctrine. Typology in Barnabas leans noticeably toward a method of interpretation found in Philo,⁴⁹ the Alexandrian Jew, and Origen,⁵⁰ the Alexandrian Christian. This tendency toward the outright association of typology with allegorization increased in the Church—the Western Church at least—into the Middle Ages, even up to the period of the Reformation.⁵¹ The Reformers worked at separating allegory from typology, discarding the former and redefining the latter.⁵² Luther's negative disposition toward the viability of the allegorical method⁵³ in favour of the literal sense of the text, opened the way for "a new epoch in the typological interpreta-

Chapter XI lists a series of texts from various parts of the Old Testament all of them are said to reveal how "the Lord took care...to foreshadow the water of baptism and the cross....What says He? 'And there was a river flowing on the right, and from it arose beautiful trees; and whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever.' This meaneth, that we indeed descend into the water full of sins and defilement, but come up, bearing fruit in our heart, having the fear of God and trust in Jesus in our Spirit" (XI, p. 144).

⁴⁹E.g. especially in De Opificio Mundi (op.), Legum Allegoriarum (L.A. I, II, III) and De Migratione Abrahami (Mig.). Reference to Philo will be taken from The Loeb Classical Library, Philo, ET F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971).

⁵⁰On Origen's discussion of this method of interpretation see De Principis, IV, A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds. The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. VI (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1956), pp. 349-382.

⁵¹On the place of typology in the interpretation of the Bible in the Middle Ages, B. Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952); idem., "The Bible in the Middle Ages," The Church's Use of the Bible, pp. 57-71.

⁵²E.G. Rupp, "The Bible in the Age of the Reformation," The Church's Use of the Bible, pp. 73-87. "The Reformation brought a new hermeneutic in the train of a new critical method" (p. 82), Luther's lectures on the text of Scripture used "at first the old threefold, fourfold hermeneutic, then /sought/ one authentic sense" (p. 77).

⁵³Luther's view of allegory in the Bible is accommodating. His comments on Galatians 4:21-31, the allegorical treating Sarah and Hagar,

tion of the Old Testament."⁵⁴ Typology was employed quite technically in Calvin's methodical exegesis and reached its zenith with Cocceius in the seventeenth century.⁵⁵ The typological method of the Reformation period was guided primarily by the theological emphasis of the time. Christ was the central focus of theology and the reference point in the interpretation of the Old Testament texts, including the events, persons, institutions, etc.⁵⁶ With the rise of rationalism, typology was reevaluated. Symbolism and "religious truth" seemed to replace the language of types, allegories, etc., so that the earlier notion of the typological significance of events

reveal this attitude: "The people are greatly delighted with allegories and similitudes....For they are, as it were, certain pictures which set forth things as if they were painted before the eyes of the simple, and therefore they move and persuade very much, especially the simple and ignorant....If Paul had not proved the righteousness of faith against the righteousness of works by strong and pithy arguments, he should have little prevailed by this allegory." Martin Luther, A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, Philip S. Watson, ed. (London: Fleming H. Revell Co., reprint, 1953, first published in German, 1535), pp. 414, 417. Cf. Philo, who exhibits a similar attitude toward the literal sense, especially anthropomorphisms, in favour of the spiritual or allegorical. Quod Deus Immutabilis Sit, pp. 51-55.

⁵⁴ von Rad, "Typological Interpretation," p. 22.

⁵⁵ Ibid, and Davidson, Typology in Scripture, pp. 33-37.

⁵⁶ The Reformers developed principles of interpretation, but it is fair to say that the Christ of Reformation theology played a major role in the approach to the text of Scripture. Of Luther, for example, W.J. Kooiman writes, "When it comes to the content of Scripture, Luther is so deeply enthusiastic about its one theme that all variations vanish, as the great light in the centre illumines and merges everything with its brilliance. Christ is the dominant fact in the totality of the Bible," "Christ at the Centre of Scripture," Luther and the Bible, ET John Schmidt (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1961), p. 207. See also A.S. Wood, Luther's Principles of Biblical Interpretation (London: The Tyndale Press, 1960); Ronald S. Wallace, Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1957), pp. 71-90; 96-114.

in the Old Testament fell increasingly into disuse or was openly ridiculed as imaginative and fanciful.⁵⁷ In general, the historical-critical method of the nineteenth century had little use for typology in any form.⁵⁸ Yet some attempt was made to accommodate biblical typology to the current view of history, but with less than convincing results. Franz Delitzsch is characteristic of this approach. In his "Introduction" to his commentary on Psalms he writes:

There is a class of Psalms which we call typico-prophetically Messianic....Such Psalms are typical, in as much as their content is grounded in the individual, but typical, history of David....The old theologians, especially the Lutheran, contended against the supposition of such typological citations of the Old Testament in the New: they were destitute of that perception of the organic element in history granted to our age, and consequently were lacking in true counterpoise to their rigid notions of inspiration.

Typology, attached as it was in Delitzsch with a philosophy of history as an organic process, failed to capture the attention of serious biblical

⁵⁷ For a discussion of the shift in emphasis and change of terminology in theological work in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Emil G. Kraeling, The Old Testament Since the Reformation (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955), pp. 43-163. Kenneth Cauthen outlines the "formative factors" which gave rise to liberal theology of the period: The Impact of American Religious Liberalism (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), pp. 3-25. Cf. also Peter Stuhlmacher's "Scripture Interpretation in the Past," Historical Criticism and Theological Interpretation of Scripture (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), pp. 22-60.

⁵⁸ See B.S. Child's evaluation of the historical-critical interpretation of the Old Testament in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), pp. 27-45, and Davidson, Typology in Scripture, pp. 37-45.

⁵⁹ Franz Delitzsch, "Introduction to the Psalter," Old Testament Commentaries, Vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Associated Publishers and Authors Inc., n.d.), p. 881.

scholarship of the period. For the most part, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ignored or devalued the term and the method associated with it. Yet a few significant attempts⁶⁰ were made to recapture the theological significance of τύπος in the New Testament in its understanding of the Old, and in the process, to reinstate the term "typology" into theological language but in such a way as to reflect the *Weltanschauung* of the New Testament. J.C.K. von Hofman⁶¹ is exemplary of this move. His insight merits quoting at length for its bearing on the discussion:

The events of the New Testament are not new as contrasted with the old, which dissolved and vanished as they came to pass, but are rather antitypes which bring a preliminary history to its conclusion and fulfil a prophecy. New Testament events belong to the same process as that by which they were foretold, yet they are not a mere serial continuation of that process, but rather on the same line they begin a new series which contrasts with the earlier one....⁶² It is in this way that the New Testament history has to be read. One has to notice how the new things which take place therein are molded by the typological connection in which they stand with the history of the Old Testament and the prophetic Word.⁶³

Von Hofmann's understanding of typology in the New Testament was grounded on a concept of *Heilsgeschichte* combined with an Idealist philosophy of history

⁶⁰See Goppelt's survey of "the way typology has been defined and used in the church's interpretation of Scripture and in its hermeneutics," *Typos*, pp. 4-17 and notes.

⁶¹J.C.K. von Hofmann, Interpreting the Bible, ET Christian Preus (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959); the book contains a series of lectures which Hofmann delivered at the University of Erlangen in 1860. They were edited and published in 1880: Preus, "Preface," p. xi.

⁶²Ibid., p. 169.

⁶³Ibid., p. 180.

from his own time.⁶⁴ Since he was concerned with a "scholarly interpretation" he found it necessary to incorporate "a certain scientific qualification." The result was that biblical typology became associated with an idea that history "gradually realizes itself in [reciprocal] processes and tends toward its full actualization."⁶⁵

With the publication in 1939 of Leonhard Goppelt's doctoral dissertation, Typos: Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments in Neuen, typology was reexamined in the context of its original habitat in the thought-world of the Bible. Goppelt's book was reprinted in 1969 with an additional chapter on "Apokalyptik und Typologie bei Paulus." Since the appearance of Goppelt's work on typology more and more attention has been paid to the hermeneutical subject matter in biblical studies which the term "typology" has come to represent. Above all, these recent studies⁶⁶ recognize that biblical typology

⁶⁴So Otto Piper who wrote the "Foreword" to Interpreting the Bible, pp. v-ix, and Goppelt, Typos, pp. 11-13.

⁶⁵Von Hofmann, Interpreting, p. 134. Patrick Fairbairn of England wrote in the same vein on typology, but without the influence of German idealism. He understood the typological interpretation in the New Testament in the context of prophecy and fulfilment, but more so in the sense of human failure in the old economy to live up to the divine call. He concluded that one controlling view dominates the writers of the New Covenant and conditions the way they interpret Scripture. "They saw everything in the old pointing and teaching towards the manifestation of God in Christ; so that not only a few leading prophecies and more prominent institutions, but even subordinate arrangements and apparently incidental notices in matters connected with the ancient economy, were regarded as having a significance in respect to Christ and the Gospel" (p. 470). "The Old Testament in the New," The Typology of Scripture, Vol. I, fifth edition (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1870), pp. 427-470.

⁶⁶Note particularly, Richard M. Davidson, Typology in Scripture; von Rad, "Typological Interpretation"; Walther Eichrodt, "Is Typological Exegesis an Appropriate Method?" Martin Noth, "The 'Re-presentation' of the Old Testament in Proclamation," Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics, and also the recent study of a professor of English literature at the University of Toronto, Northrop Frye, "Typology," The Great Code: The Bible and Literature (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1982), pp. 78-138. Cf. Bultmann's skepticism in "Ursprung."

belongs with the biblical concept of saving events in history, and that the usefulness of "typology" as a term of reference demands re-definition in accordance with the material evidence which it is called upon to represent. On this note, we take up the task of defining the specific character of typology in Paul.

First, typology in Paul is a pattern of thought and point of view. More than *midrash*,⁶⁷ or rule of exegesis, typology belongs in Paul's view of how God acts in history; it belongs in theology. The typological pattern expresses itself in the letters particularly where Paul is reflecting on his experience of God's action in the resurrection of Christ from the dead, and on the nature of the church as the community of the resurrected Christ. The pattern, as such, is reflected in II Corinthians 1:19-20:⁶⁸ "The Son of God, Jesus Christ, whom we preached among you...was not yes and no; but in him it is always yes. For all the promises of God find their yes in him. That is why we utter the Amen through him, to the Glory of God." The statement is non-specific in the sense that no promise in particular is cited in the text, but rather, the whole sacred record of divine promise finds its unequivocal affirmation, or attainment, in the Christ of the kerygma.⁶⁹

⁶⁷Paul's letters show little interest in a running commentary of the Scripture in the manner of Jewish commentators. "In Rom. 9-11 and Gal. 3 Paul employs the ancient midrashic form of commentary; but his incisive manner and compact, integrated treatment is quite at odds with the rabbinic system," Ellis, Paul's Use, p. 46.

⁶⁸The texts cited in this section will come under more detailed scrutiny in later chapters where their particular significance to the Jesus-Paul question will be in focus.

⁶⁹R.H. Strachen's comment on I Cor. 1:20 is instructive: "All the promises of God are, in Paul's view, another name for the whole message of the Old Testament...By 'the promises of God' are meant, not merely individual utterances, but the whole significance of the history of Israel," The Moffatt New Testament Commentary: The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), p. 56. Strachen's choice of "message" here is questionable.

The typological point of view in this respect may then be described as one of promise-attainment.⁷⁰ The divine promise, viewed as active in historical event in which person and word combine in episode,⁷¹ bears the stamp of God's saving plan in Christ as understood from present Christian experience. Here the basic meanings of τύπος⁷² as stamp, imprint, mark, etc. take on a particularly theological and metaphorical sense, which the term acquires at times in Paul, as the discussion below will indicate. The appropriateness of this sense for the "promise-attainment" idea in Pauline typological thinking is virtually self-evident. The mark or sign of the present salvation in Christ, God's yes, can be found in the promises of the sacred episodes in Scripture. Of the Abrahamic promise Paul can say, "The Scripture... preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham" (Gal. 3:8), that is, the gospel which Paul was preaching among the Gentiles. The two correspond in type; the earlier contains the characteristic element of the later gospel of Christ in which the promise is actualized. But the divinely ordained character of the two is the same. This idea of divine decree inherent in "the promise" is further illustrated in Paul's understanding of "the gifts and the call of God" pertaining to the eschatological salvation of Israel:

⁷⁰Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., drawing on Willis J. Beecher's work, speaks of "promise" as "the New Testament catchword" for the "quintessence of the Old Testament teaching...; there is only one promise; it is a single plan." In "The Old Testament and the New Testament," Toward an Old Testament Theology (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1978), p. 264. Kaiser overstates the case, cf. James D. Smart, The Interpretation of Scripture (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961), pp. 65-92.

⁷¹For the use of "episode" here cf. C.H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: University Press, 1953), p. 384.

⁷²See Goppelt, "τύπος," TDNT, Vol. VIII, pp. 246-8; W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (Chicago: University Press, 1957), p. 837.

they are irrevokable (Rom. 11:29).

The correspondence between the promise as "type" of the present reality of salvation in Christ should not be reduced to mere analogical thinking on Paul's part.⁷³ He can and does express himself analogically at times (e.g. Rom. 7:1-6). But this mode should not be confused with typological thinking in which Paul sees the activity of God at work proleptically in the saving episodes of history to accomplish the divine purpose in the Christ-event. Neither is it enough to say that these episodes of saving-history—involving persons, acts, institutions, promises, words, gifts and call,—are merely "God /writing/ His parables in the sands of time."⁷⁴ In Paul's mind the link is stronger than parabolic imagery. It arises out of an understanding of the character of the present experience of salvation of God in Christ in relation to the same type of salvation of God before the present experience of Christ.

Paul views the saving-events in Scripture as prefiguring their greater reality in the experience of Christ. A descriptive phrase from the typological thinking of Paul which emphasizes the heightened glory of the present salvation is "much more" (πολλῷ μᾶλλον, Rom. 5:15; 17; II Cor. 3:9; 11). This is reflective of a relationship, not merely of earlier time to later time of salvation, but of earlier time to the end time. Von Rad has it: *Urzeit und Endzeit*.⁷⁵ Looking back to that earlier time of

⁷³ See the helpful study by A.M. Gate, The Use of Analogy in the Letters of Paul (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964), where he deals with analogy in distinction from typology in Paul; cf. H.M. Shires, The Old Testament in the New, pp. 49-51, where typology is viewed as theological comparison or illustration.

⁷⁴ Ellis, Paul's Use, p. 128. It is to the credit of S.J. Brown that he does not include "type" in his study of imagery in Paul: Image and Truth: Studies in the Imagery of the Bible (Rome: Catholic Book Agency, 1955), pp. 45-61; 100-123.

⁷⁵ Von Rad, "Typological Interpretation," p. 19.

saving events, Paul considers his experience of Christ and that of the community at the end of the age in a kind of dynamic, redemptive relationship with the community of Israel in Scripture. The events, he can say, "were written down for our instruction upon whom the end of the ages has come" (I Cor. 10:11; cf. 9:11).

What we mean, then, by Paul's typological pattern of thought and point of view is related to his experience of a new age of salvation inaugurated by Christ's resurrection. This new age, or new creation (II Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15), is present to Paul's consciousness through the Spirit of the Lord. It is from this vantage point that Paul is able to interpret the saving-events in Israel's history in Scripture as purposefully "typical" of the saving-event of Christ preached by Paul and experienced in the new community of the new age. But this typological mode of experience is not restricted to the interpretation of the past from the Christ-experience of the present. The present still embodies an element of promise and prefigurement of the impending *denouement* of salvation-history. Paul still lives in the flesh. He has not yet attained the final resurrection (Phil. 3:10-12), but "Christ has been raised from the dead as first fruits" (I Cor. 15:20; 22). And Paul can say of himself and the new community of faith: "God has put his seal upon us and given us his Spirit in our hearts as a guarantee" (II Cor. 1:22).

What has been sketched above as a pattern of thought and point of view in Paul may be called typological in principle.⁷⁶ In principle, all of God's saving acts in Israel's history recorded in Scripture contain the prefigurement, or preresentation, to use Eichrodt's idea,⁷⁷ of the new eschatological

⁷⁶Goppelt, *Typos*, pp. 198-200; Lampe, "Reasonableness," pp. 10-11; Ellis, *Paul's Use*, p. 127; Davidson, *Typology in Scripture*, pp. 94-100.

⁷⁷Eichrodt, "Is Typological Exegesis an Appropriate Method?" p. 228.

community of the Spirit of Christ. The "newness" of the Christian community is not in terms of difference or disconnectedness from the old community, but in the actualizing of the saving purposes of God through Christ's death and resurrection.⁷⁸ The bond between the old community and the new is characteristically understood in Paul "by means of the bracket of promise and fulfilment."⁷⁹

What is true of Paul in principle, is true also in specific instance. He does select from Scripture cases in which a particular Christian understanding has its prefigured form and expression. On two such occasions Paul uses the term τύπος with reference to the way in which he understands the earlier event relating to its corresponding reality in Christian experience. These are in Romans 5:14 and I Corinthians 10:6. An expanded treatment of these passages will be given in the chapters following. For now, it must suffice to point out merely that in each instance at least one element is taken from the account in Scripture and is referred to as τύπος of an element in present Christian understanding. In Romans 5:14 Adam is a τύπος of the one to come, usually taken to mean Christ. In I Corinthians 10:6-11, experiences in the Exodus community are τύποι of the Christian community. This specific correspondence is often referred to as "type-antitype,"⁸⁰ taken perhaps from the mention of ἀντίτυπος in I Peter 3:21. Paul, however,

⁷⁸"Both proof from Scripture and typological interpretation are equally concerned to bring out a continuity between Israel's previous experience of Yahweh and what has come to pass 'at the end, in these days', with the coming of Jesus Christ....The small part played in the New Testament by the question of hermeneutic method, are certainly all bound up with this characteristic type of actualization," von Rad, Theology, pp. 329-332.

⁷⁹Pannenberg, "Redemptive Event and History," p. 323.

⁸⁰Goppelt, Typos, p. 18 makes the point that the antitype must contain "a heightening of the type"; a simple repetition of the type can only be considered typology in special instances. The antitype must also have been somehow foreordained in the type, otherwise the correspondence could be called symbolic, "correspondence between fact and idea;" cf. David

does not speak of "antitype". With regard to these two instances of τύπος in Paul (Rom. 5:14; I Cor. 10:6-11), Goppelt regards both of them as a technical, hermeneutical use of the term.⁸¹ However, this observation should not be allowed to suggest that the term has been standardized in Paul. He has other ways of labelling this pattern of interpretation, as for example in Galatians 4:24 where the interpretation is said to be ἀλληγορούμενα. Here also the typological element is clearly evident in conjunction with allegorical elements. At other times, the same kind of interpretation is left without a label, as in the interpretation of Abraham in Romans 4 and Galatians 3. The Scripture in each case contains episodes of salvation which anticipate the new community of Christ at the end of the age which was ushered in by the resurrection. Specific texts from Scripture—often referred to as proof-texts—undergird the typological understanding of the fact in Scripture and make it episodic⁸² in the Christian self-understanding. Often a given

L. Baker, who rejects the "heightening" factor together with the notion of prefiguration. He proposes that typology, if it is to be free from triviality, must operate on two basic principles, namely, that "typology is historical..., /and/ implies a real correspondence". In "Typology and the Christian Use of the Old Testament," Scottish Journal of Theology, 29 (1976), pp. 152-3. The problem with Baker's approach is that he is trying to establish a definition of "typology" which will serve him as interpreter of the Old Testament.

⁸¹Goppelt, "τύπος," pp. 251-2. Many scholars would agree up to a point. "Technical" may not be as appropriate as "hermeneutical" simply. See, e.g. C.T. Fritsch, "Biblical Typology: iv: Principles of Biblical Typology," Bibliotheca Sacra, 104 (1947), p. 214; Smart, The Interpretation of Scripture, p. 112.

⁸²"Episode" is used rather than "event" in that the person, institution, action, etc. in the past is viewed in the context of salvation-history in which the "event" of God is taken in union with the "word" of God, the two then being regarded as a kind of saving episode. This does not mean that a given narrative in which the "type" appears has the two combined. Rather, a "type" is found and with the "type" a word of Scripture taken, perhaps, from another part of Scripture altogether. The two, "type" and "word" become episodic in Paul's mind. The use of Abraham in Galatians 3 would be an example of this way of thinking, or the experience of the Israelites in I Corinthians 10:6-11. See note 71 above, and cf. Baker, "Typology," p. 149. "Typology is not exegesis...not prophecy"; Goppelt, Typos, p. 16-18, and John W. Drane, "Typology," The Evangelical Quarterly, 4 (1978), pp. 200-201.

text of Scripture is present by way of allusion rather than by citation. When a specific citation is given in a typological scheme as described above, the text too is combined with the event in a sense of divinely planned correspondence between act of God and Word of God. In this manner, the experience in the community of Israel is made to correspond with the new Christ-event in the Church. Later discussion will seek to elucidate further the interconnection between text and type in the saving activity of God in the past in relation to the present activity of God in Christ at the turn of the ages.

The ideas of the attainment of promise, of a heightened⁸³ revelation of the divine plan of salvation, lead to some pertinent questions: How is typology related to allegory? Where did the whole schema originate?

Goppelt, Ellis and others have diligently drawn a quite sharp distinction between allegory and typology.⁸⁴ There are differences, to be sure, but these should not be accentuated unduly at the expense of some similarity which could account for the appearance of allegory alongside typology in Paul, as in the interpretation of events pertaining to Sarah and Hagar and their sons (Gal. 4:21-31). Both modes of interpretation, allegorical and

⁸³Baker, "Typology," rejects the necessity of "heightening" as a characteristic of typology in the New Testament. With "heightening" goes several other characteristics. "The suggestions that divine design, specific limits, connection with Christ and redemption, prefiguration of the future and progression /or heightening/ from type to antitype are necessary characteristics of typology are rejected," p. 152. Baker is left with a very basic definition: "*Typology* is the study of types and the historical and theological correspondences between them; the *basis* of typology is God's consistent activity in the history of his chosen people," p. 152. The "type" in this case is reduced to "example" or "analogy." The question is: Is this satisfactory for Paul? On "analogy" see Smart, Interpretation, pp. 125-129 where he deals largely with Karl Barth's analogical method of interpretation.

⁸⁴Goppelt, Typos, p. 18; Ellis, Paul's Use, p. 127; Lampe, "Reasonableness," pp. 33-35; Woollcombe, "Biblical Origins," pp. 50-56.

typological, point to a higher reality beyond the intrinsic meaning of the elements in the text. Allegory⁸⁵ finds a deeper, hidden meaning in keeping with contemporary categories of the understanding of truth. The allegorical mode shows little concern for the historical event as event, but pays close attention to details, including words. The details of the text serve more as pretext for the truth already known to the interpreter. In typological mode, the historical means something. The action in any bracketed situation—Adam, Abraham, Exodus—counts in that it represents a divine interaction in that particular circumstance, whether in redemptive judgement or deliverance, with a view to the greater realization of salvation in the new eschatological situation in Christ.⁸⁶ Typology, in this sense, has a more horizontal scheme. Allegory is virtually non-historical, in favour of truth

⁸⁵ Scholars are not agreed on a definitive difference between allegorical interpretation and typological, and some would not allow any distinction as in Friedrich Büchsel's article, "ἀλληγορέω," TDNT, Vol. I, p. 263, in which he lists four instances in Paul of allegorical interpretation (I Cor. 5:6-8; I Cor. 9:8-10; I Cor. 10:1-11; Gal. 4:21-31), one of which (I Cor. 10:1-11) is designated τύπος by Paul and another (Gal. 4:21-31) ἀλληγορούμενα. A similar stance is taken by R. Bultmann, "Ursprung," 47-51, and R.P.C. Hanson, Allegory and Event (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1959), pp. 79-80. Recent studies tend to repudiate this indiscriminate combining of allegory and type, e.g., Schoeps, Paul, p. 233, where Paul's typology is "in contrast with Philo"; so also R.M. Grant, The Letter and the Spirit (London: SPCK, 1957), pp. 48-51 and Goppelt, Ellis, von Rad, Lampe, Woollcombe, as cited above. On the development of allegorical thinking see J.G. Griffiths, "Allegory in Greece and Egypt," Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 52 (1966), pp. 79-84.

⁸⁶ Schoeps' comment to this effect deserves attention: "The fact is that Paul sees all earthly happenings as cohering with the continuity of a concrete divine plan of action....Their typological patterns, which are central to his whole picture of history, reveal plainly that Paul read the Old Testament not simply as historical or doctrinal literature but as it were with prophetic eyes, in order to extract from it its hidden typological content and suggestions of saving history," Paul, pp. 231, 233. This emphasis supports the view that Paul has a typological pattern of thought. Cf. Goppelt on Paul's selection of events as "typical," Typos, p. 202.

which transcends the mundane. The lack of historical connection in allegory has led to its ridicule (perhaps more than it deserved) as fanciful and far-fetched. Allegory, as such, is noticeably rare in the letters of Paul, the interpretation of Sarah and Hagar being an exception.⁸⁷

The origin of the typological in Paul has been debated. If typology can be distinguished from allegory as the above discussion proposes, then Philo is not a likely candidate for the source of Paul's use of τύπος in Romans 5:14 or I Corinthians 10:6-11, or his typological mode of thought in general. Philo has the term, τύπος, but it belongs in his expressed allegorical method which was developed along the lines of Platonic categories of Idea and copy, Reality and shadow.⁸⁸ Paul is not altogether devoid of something that looks like the Platonic model. His idea of "Jerusalem above" and "present Jerusalem" (Gal. 4:26) bears striking resemblance to a Platonic notion of archetype and form, but Paul handles the idea in a way peculiar to his own Christian self-understanding. Besides, the view of a heavenly archetype behind material entities such as rivers, mountains, temples, cities and the like was common in the Ancient East.⁸⁹ Such a view was present already

⁸⁷ Büschel aligns Paul with Philo inappropriately. He says: "Formally the distinction from Philo is only one of degree. He allegorizes in the true sense," "αλληγορέω," p. 263. Cf. note 85 above. Philo's treatment of Hagar and Sarah is plainly not comparable to Paul's treatment of the same persons. In Philo, Abraham = mind; Sarah = virtue; Hagar = education; De Congressu Quaerendae Eruditionis Gratia, 23. In Paul, the women are two covenants in a historical context, i.e. Judaism and Christianity.

⁸⁸ This conceptuality is more characteristic of Hebrews; see L.K.K. Dey, The Intermediary World and Patterns of Perfection in Philo and Hebrews (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974), pp. 31-233.

⁸⁹ Mircea Eliade, "Archetypes and Repetition," The Myth of the Eternal Return (Princeton: University Press, 1954), pp. 3-48; J.B. Pritchard, ed., "Akkadian Myths and Epics," ET A.K. Grayson, The Ancient Near East, Vol. II; An Anthology of Texts and Pictures (Princeton: University Press, 1975), pp. 1-28; S.H. Hooke, "Babylonian and Assyrian Mythology," Babylonian and Assyrian Religion (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), pp. 56-70.

in Exodus 25:40 where God is said to have shown Moses the pattern of the Tabernacle before it was made. It is not characteristic of Paul, however, to interpret specific earthly entities as forms of heavenly archetypes. On the other hand, it is characteristic of Paul to think of the Christ who was crucified and raised as having his origin in God. He can say, for example, that "God sent forth his Son" (Gal. 4:4) or that "Christ Jesus...was in the form of God" (Phil. 2:6). In so saying, Paul regards the saving reality of Christ to be supramundane, prior to the realm of flesh, and that the saving purposes of God for mankind were in Christ before the Christ-event and are now being realized in the new age of the Spirit of Christ among those whom God "predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son" (Rom. 8:29).

Paul's thought on the saving purposes of God in Christ before the act of God in Christ is important for an appropriate understanding of his typological frame of reference. On the strength of this view, for example, Paul can say concerning the spiritual Rock which followed the Israelites that "the Rock was Christ" (I Cor. 10:4).⁹⁰ That is, the kind or type of saving experience in the community of the Exodus corresponds to the saving purpose of God actualized in the Christ of Christian experience. Where may one search for the origin of this pattern of thought and interpretation?

⁹⁰ So Hans Conzelmann, A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, ET J.W. Leitch (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), p. 167: "The 'was' of the typological statement, of the interpretation of the rock as being Christ, means real preexistence, not merely symbolic significance." Also Johannes Behm, "κλάω," TDNT, Vol. III, pp. 738-9. "The miraculous gifts of manna and water from the rock given to Israel in the wilderness are types of the Lord's Supper, and the rock that followed is Christ now present." In Philo the rock is the preexistent "Wisdom of God, which He marked off highest and chiefest from His powers and from which He satisfies the thirsty souls that love God," L.A. ii, 86.

Rudolf Bultmann finds little more significance in Paul's typology beyond its resemblance to a cyclic idea of recurrence.⁹¹ In various parts of the Ancient Orient the notion was held that events can be expected to be repeated, just as repetition in nature is observed. And Bultmann sees no value in such an idea since it represents a false view of history. But the cyclic concept hardly does justice to Paul's thought. Other scholars find Paul's typological thought reflected in the Old Testament view of a God-directed course of events.⁹² The prophetic eschatology, especially that of Second Isaiah and Jeremiah, expected a new saving act of God based on the saving events of the past. Von Rad develops, quite convincingly, the position that this eschatological way of thinking may be classified "typological," and that the typological pattern of thought continued, with modifications, in Palestinian Judaism.⁹³ The character of typology in Paul, moreover, most naturally has its background in the Scripture to which it is so inextricably bound.

In terms of a summary definition, then, the character of typology which one finds in Paul's letters is 1) a pattern of thought and point of view which 2) regards the episodes of salvation-history as 3) instances of the saving purpose of God by way of 4) proleptic prefiguration of 5) the new eschatological reality of the resurrected Christ already present in 6) the community of the Spirit of Christ of the new age. On the strength of this understanding, the purpose and plan of the project can be set out.

⁹¹Bultmann, "Ursprung," pp. 206-11; idem., "Prophecy and Fulfilment," ET J.C.G. Greig, Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics, ed. C. Westermann (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1963; German, 1960), pp. 50-75.

⁹²Especially von Rad, Goppelt, Ellis, Eichrodt, and Davidson.

⁹³von Rad, Theology, pp. 365-387.

3. Purpose and Plan of the Study

The purpose of the study grows out of an understanding of Paul's typological schema. As it is defined above, typology in Paul's thought can be acknowledged as one appropriate heuristic category by which to discover how Paul viewed his connection with Jesus. The result can not be expected to satisfy all of the demands of the historical-critical question of Paul's link with Jesus. That would lie outside the scope of the present study. Rather, the express purpose of the research is to account only for the way in which Paul interpreted the plan of God for the ages, and so to deduce the typological mode of thought by which Paul regarded himself and the Christian community in relation to the earthly Jesus.

Coupled with this overall aim is the endeavour to demonstrate that the typological pattern of thought is consistent throughout the letters generally regarded as Pauline.⁹⁴ That is, the citation of any figure, event, institution, etc. from the record of saving-history up to the inauguration of the new age functions on the same plain of understanding. The letters exhibit that Paul conceived of a certain bond of identity between the experience of salvation present and a similar, but proleptic *type* of experience past. The present salvation is "much more" than that of the past, but is nevertheless identified with it as to type.

It will be recalled from Chapter I that Bultmann⁹⁵ argued that Paul

⁹⁴Included are I Thessalonians, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians and Romans. Philemon, while regarded as genuine, will not be used because of the paucity of its relevant subject matter. The other epistles traditionally attributed to Paul—II Thessalonians, Colossians, Ephesians, I and II Timothy and Titus—are too severely contested to have probative value for a question pertaining to the thought of the historical Paul. See Kümmel, Introduction, pp. 255-387; Calvin J. Roetzel, The Letters of Paul: Conversations in Context (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982), pp. 50-80; 93-116; Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 431-33; Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 25-28.

⁹⁵See above pp. 30-1. Cf. Bultmann, "Significance," pp. 235-6.

identified the Christ of the kerygma with the historical Jesus. And so it should be argued. But Paul also identified Christ in some way with Adam, and in some way also with the rock which followed the Israelites in the desert. What Bultmann failed to make clear on this matter of identity was 1) the *kind* of identity Paul conceived between the Christ of the kerygma and Jesus of Nazareth and 2) whether Paul has the two-fold Christ thus identified in mind when he makes other kinds of identifications, such as that in the Adam-Christ typology.

A significant part of the purpose in this research is to produce evidence from the letters to show that Paul consistently regarded the post-Easter experience of Christ as eschatological fulfilment of the divine plan of the ages. Consequently, the identity which Paul makes of the present saving experience of Christ in the new age with that of former saving events is theological in nature, God being the supreme principle of connection, and the past saving events of God as typical of the present. Jesus of Nazareth, therefore, would not belong in the sphere of present eschatological fulfilment for Paul, but in the range of type. The nature of this typological/theological link between Jesus of Nazareth and the resurrected Christ of the kerygma will come under investigation in the chapters which follow.

The plan is quite straightforward. An examination of the typological/theological nexus which Paul makes between himself and saving episodes in Scripture will constitute the context for the further understanding of Paul in relation to Jesus. Specifically, texts dealing with Adam (Rom. 5:12-21; I Cor. 15:20-22; 42-50), Abraham (Gal. 3:6-16; Rom. 4:1-25), and Moses (I Cor. 10:1-13; II Cor. 3:4-18) will be investigated for evidence of the kind of

typological linkage between salvific episodes in the old aeon and eschatological salvation in the new aeon. This discussion will constitute part two.

Evidence thus produced in part two will be used to establish the extent to which the letters reveal a similar typological pattern of thought and point of view with reference to Jesus Christ. Chief among the texts to be examined will be those which explicitly refer to Jesus of history vis-a-vis the resurrected Christ of revelation (e.g. Rom. 1:3f; 8:3; Gal. 4:4ff). A section will be devoted to a discussion of texts which refer specifically to the kind of relation which Christians are said to have with Jesus Christ (e.g. I Cor. 7:10f; 9:12-14; Rom. 15:1-6; II Cor. 8:9; Phil. 2:5-11; II Cor. 5:16). The target of the investigation of this material will be to find the hermeneutical dynamic of thought within which this material falls, and to determine the degree to which the interpretive mode compares with that of material from Scripture discussed in part two. Does this material about Jesus reflect anything of the typological schema associated with the saving episodes from Scripture? The point of the whole endeavour will be to discover the directional nature of typological thinking in Paul and to determine as far as possible the effects of this thinking on Paul's understanding of his relation to Jesus of history. It will be argued that from Paul's perspective such a typological understanding of the relation by definition results in a diminishing of the type, in this case Christ according to the flesh, in favour of the antitype, Christ according to the Spirit.

A final chapter will bring together the conclusions and will indicate the consequences of Paul's typological thought for his presentation of Jesus Christ in the letters.

PART II.

TYPOLOGICAL THOUGHT ON FIGURES IN SCRIPTURE

CHAPTER III

Adam and Christ: The Old and the New Creation

Paul's typological scheme comes to deliberate expression in his interpretation of the figure of Adam in relation to Christ ('Αδάμ, ὅς ἐστιν τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος, Romans 5:14). Adam occupies a crucial place in Paul's thought¹ insofar as the name (Adam) is understood by Paul to represent, on the one hand, the historical progenitor of the human race and, on the other, the condition of mankind apart from Christ.²

Acknowledged immediately is the fact that the study of Adam in Paul is difficult, and calls for more in depth investigation than the scope

¹Beker, in Paul, the Apostle, underscores the prominence of Adam by noting that even "the Abraham story of Galatians has more features in common with the Adam story of Rom. 5:12-21 than with its parallel story in Romans, notwithstanding the common emphasis on the promise" (p. 102). However, Beker stresses exclusively the discontinuity involved in the Adam typology: "The Adam typology...operates not in terms of continuity but in terms of discontinuity....The Adam typology underscores the radical newness of God's act in Christ.../and/ centres on the ontological antithesis of death and life" (p. 100). Cf. Karl Barth, in Christ and Adam, Man and Humanity in Romans 5, ET T.A. Small (New York: Harper Brothers, 1956; German, 1952), where he places the emphasis too heavily on the other side, on continuity between the two humanities. ("Continuity" and "discontinuity" are less than appropriate terms, as indicated below.)

²The two ideas do not seem to function independently of each other in Paul: "in Adam all die" contains both concepts (I Cor. 15:22) whereas "the first Adam became a living being" has the idea of historical figure but in the context of I Cor. 15 that idea of 'Αδάμ is eventually absorbed into the larger concept of ἄνθρωπος man. See especially Conzelmann's excursus on "Adam and Primal Man," A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, ET I.W. Leitch (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp. 248-286.

of this chapter allows. Much time could be spent exploring the ways in which Adam enters Paul's apocalyptic vision,³ his anthropology,⁴ his soteriology and his Christology.⁵ In line with the over-all purposes of this study, however, the present chapter will limit the focus to the typological pattern by which Adam in relation to Christ is understood by Paul. The central point which the investigation intends to confirm is that Paul found the reversal of the Adamic condition of the Old Creation to have taken place in the resurrection of the crucified Christ, the new Adam.

The discussion will follow three principal lines: 1) that Paul views the plight of sin and death of the "first Adam" from the perspective of life in Christ, the "second Adam"; 2) that the solution in terms of new creation in Christ (second Adam) is set forth in the form of typological reversal of the character and destiny of the old creation of the first Adam; and 3) that between first Adam and second there is also an inherent typological correlation, or correspondence. First, then, we enquire concerning the direction of Paul's typological thinking on Adam and Christ.

1. From New Creation to Old

While Paul can say that Adam is a "type of the one who was to come" (Rom. 5:14), this Adam also captures a central conviction of Paul concerning the condition of humanity without Christ: all men are caught in the plight of sin (Rom. 3:9, 23). In this regard, Rudolf Bultmann's criticism⁶ of Karl

³So Beker, Paul, pp. 100ff. "Adam typifies the dualistic apocalyptic theology of the two ages."

⁴Bultmann's emphasis, The Old and New Man, ET K.R. Crim (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1967; German, 1964), pp. 33-78; idem., Theology I, pp. 190-269.

⁵See e.g. E.P. Sanders, "Salvation of Mankind and the World," Paul and Palestinian Judaism (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), pp. 472-74.

⁶Bultmann, "Adam and Christ in Romans 5," The Old and New Man, pp. 49-78.

Barth's Christ and Adam⁷ is justified. Bultmann correctly rejects Barth's treatment of the thought of Romans 5:12-21 as "the secret and the truth of human nature as such;" Barth does not give full weight to Paul's earlier statements in Romans about the lost condition of mankind.⁸ Unambiguously, Paul associates Adam of Genesis with the human predicament as he perceives it from his Christian vantage point in Gentile mission. The two passages in which Adam appears explicitly (I Cor. 15:21-22, 45-49; Rom. 5:12-21) contain unmistakable reference to the universal plight in contrast to the exclusive solution in Christ: "by a man came death," "in Adam all die" (I Cor. 15:21f), "sin came into the world through one man and death through sin," "death reigned through that one man" (Rom. 5:12, 17). Paul has concluded that *all*, Jews and Gentiles, stand condemned in Adam. By way of preliminary concern, then, we will enquire as to how Paul came to this view of the old creation as represented in Adam. And by so doing, we hope to locate one of the major factors involved in Paul's Christian typological thinking. If his thinking moved from an analysis of the human condition to his acceptance of Christ, then his interpretation of the Adam of Genesis may also be considered as taking the same route. By careful examination of Paul's arguments in the letters, several scholars have found that Paul's thought, in fact, works back from his experience of Christ to his view of the human situation, from new creation to old. I shall refer briefly to three significant contributions on this issue.

First, E.P. Sanders⁹ has argued persuasively, against Bultmann, that

⁷ Barth, Christ and Adam, Man and Humanity in Romans 5, note 1 above; cf. Robin Scroggs, The Last Adam (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), who holds that Adam in Paul cannot be a type of Christ, but of Moses. The issue will be discussed below.

⁸ Bultmann, The Old and the New Man, pp. 73-75; and Barth, Christ and Adam, p. 86.

⁹ Sanders, "The Solution as Preceding the Problem," Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 442-447; idem., Paul, the Law and the Jewish People (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), pp. 84-86, 149-52.

"Paul's thought did not run from plight to solution, but rather from solution to plight."¹⁰ By marshalling evidence from numerous texts, some more explicit than others, Sanders has adduced that the content of Paul's missionary preaching was that of solution rather than plight. The letters, he says, "give some indication that Paul did not start from man's need but from God's deed."¹¹ This helpful insight has definite implications for this study of Adam as a type of the one (Adam) to come, as the ensuing discussion will seek to illustrate. Indeed, Sanders could have made even more of the "backward" direction of Paul's thought. The solution in the gospel which Sanders describes as the death and resurrection of Christ, the lordship of Christ, the parousia, the destruction of the *apistoi*, the salvation of believers,¹² could also include what I conceive to be a vital part of Paul's understanding of God's action in Christ: the inauguration of a new creation in Christ resurrected.¹³

It seems quite in keeping with "the truth of the gospel" (Gal. 2:14) that the concept of a new creation in Christ could occupy a central place in Paul's thought and preaching. "New creation" does figure in the letters.¹⁴ The statement of II Corinthians 5:17 has the ring of a summons: "If anyone

¹⁰ Idem., Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 443.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 444.

¹² Ibid., pp. 445-6.

¹³ Elsewhere Sanders discusses "The Old Dispensation and the New," Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People, pp. 137-41.

¹⁴ Even though "new creation" (*καὶνὴ κτίσις*) occurs only twice in the letters (I Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15) the theological concept is present in other terms, such as "dispensation of the spirit" (*διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος*, II Cor. 3:8), "new covenant" (*καὶνὴ διαθήκη*, II Cor. 3:6), "in Adam, - in Christ" (*ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ - ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ*, I Cor. 15:22).

is in Christ, he is a new creation (καὶνὴ κτίσις); the old has passed away, behold, the new has come." In any case, the new creation belongs in Paul's experience of being "in Christ," and it is from that vantage point that he considers the old to be passing away (τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν) or coming under "the wrath of God" (Rom. 1:18). It is from this position also that the Adam typology comes to expression. This backward train of thought is integral to Paul's interpretation of sacred history, in my judgement, not only with reference to Adam but also with regard to other figures, events, etc. And here we call in a second contributor, C.J.A. Hickling.

Hickling, in an illuminating article, "Centre and Periphery in the Thought of Paul,"¹⁵ has contended that the centre of Paul's thought is to be found more fundamentally in his Christian consciousness of the change of aeons¹⁶ than in statements of faith apart from this conviction of the "transformation of time."¹⁷ God acted decisively in Christ to alter the course of history and inaugurate the end of the age, a new time-frame in which Paul stands and from which his Christian thought and interpretation springs.

¹⁵ C.J.A. Hickling, "Centre and Periphery in the Thought of Paul," Studia Biblica 1978, Vol. 3. Papers on Paul and Other New Testament Authors, edited by E.A. Livingstone (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), pp. 199-214.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 200: "A centre may be found not in a single theological proposition, but in an aspect of Paul's experience of being Christian."

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 208f. "God has already brought about in Christ a decisive and final *transformation of time*....In Paul's imagination of this *Aeoneuwende* it always bore the predominantly dualistic colour provided by the world-view of apocalyptic....Here is the centre of Paul's thought, and indeed of his religion: not simply, or even principally, in the content of his assertions about God and Jesus and his own calling, but in the sense of a fundamental and paradoxical contrast, as of one standing at a cosmic frontier, with which this content was perceived."

The change of aeons, it should be urged, is integral to Paul's typological way of thinking. It is from this standpoint that he views and interprets Adam and the plight (Rom. 5:12-21; cf. 1:18-3:20), Abraham's righteousness by faith (Rom. 4; Gal. 3)¹⁸ and Moses' glory in the old dispensation (I Cor. 3).¹⁹ Paul thinks from new creation to old, from *Endzeit* to *Urzeit*. Further confirmation of this "backward" direction of Paul's thought comes from the work of John Knox²⁰ who found the same pattern internal to the solution in Christ.

Knox's observation on this point is particularly instructive for a proper understanding, not only of Adam in relation to Christ resurrected, but also of the earthly Jesus in relation to Christ resurrected. Knox writes:

Paul's thought about Christ the person always moves from the "Christ who lives" to the "Jesus who died," always from the one known to the one remembered....We suppose Paul's thought was moving, as ours customarily does, in a forward direction. When we read the phrase "Christ and his crucified" we think first of the human Jesus...and our minds then move forward to the cross; but when Paul wrote the phrase, he was thinking first of all of the risen, exalted Christ, and his thought moved *backward* to the cross.²¹

In later chapters, there will be occasion to return to Knox's observation of the "reverse" direction of Paul's thought. It is important here to observe that Paul's picture of the figures in Scripture is determined primarily by his experience of Christ, together with his work as an apostle of Christ in

¹⁸See chapter 4 below.

¹⁹See chapter 5 below.

²⁰John Knox, "The New Creation," Chapters in the Life of Paul (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), pp. 128-131.

²¹Ibid., pp. 130-1.

the end-time.

Paul's view of Adam and the human condition which Adam comes to represent is formulated against the consciousness of being in Christ and of living and working at the dawn of the end-time. At points where Paul elaborates the human plight, apart from any explicit mention of Adam, even there, Adam hovers in the background. I refer especially to Romans 1:18-32.²² Although a discussion of this text could possibly help to fix the Adamic character of the old creation which is reversed by Christ (the second Adam), I have relegated that treatment to a separate section at the end of this chapter, so that we may proceed to the texts where an Adam-Christ typology is more prominent (I Cor. 15:20-22; 42-50; Rom. 5:12-21).

2. Typological Reversal

The name, Adam, occurs in two of Paul's letters, I Corinthians 15:22, 45 and Romans 5:14. The name actually designates not one, but two individuals, and with them two classes of humanity (I Cor. 15:45-50). The first Adam, and with him all humanity, is constitutive of the old creation²³ which stands under the power of sin and death. Paul was not concerned to develop the idea of a fall of Adam from a state of perfection to one of corruption.²⁴

²²See Morna Hooker, "Adam in Romans 1," New Testament Studies, 6 (1960), pp. 297-306.

²³Paul may have been aware of the notion of Adam as *microcosmos* which is implied in II Enoch 30:8-10, 13, and Sibylline Oracles III, 24-26. See Robin Scroggs, "Adam as Microcosmos," The Last Adam, pp. 113-14, and Hans Conzelmann, "Adam and Primal Man," A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp. 284-286. Paul, however, conceives of Adam's identity with the old creation along Christian lines of thought, as the discussion below illustrates.

²⁴Although some commentators insist on referring to the Fall in their understanding of Paul, e.g. Sanday and Headlam, Romans, pp. 142f; Barrett, Romans, pp. 112ff; but cf. Dodd, Romans, pp. 80f; and Käsemann, pp. 147f.

His concern with the first Adam (and man in Adam) is persistently that of man in need of salvation, a salvation which man in Adam could not secure by his own initiative in the old aeon, since the old aeon is under the dominion of sin (Rom. 3:9).²⁵ Salvation, for Paul, was at God's initiative, and was accomplished by God's triumphant action in the last Adam, Christ.

This part of the discussion will attempt to capture Paul's understanding of the way in which the malaise associated with Adam in the old aeon is reversed by the eschatological Adam (Christ) of the new aeon. Particular attention will be given to the typological linkage between Adam and Christ, and it will be noted that the two figures in the typological thought-structure are Adam of history and the resurrected Christ, not Adam of history and Jesus of history.²⁶ The event of the death of Jesus marks the break with the first Adam in the old aeon, and results in the inauguration of the new creation by the resurrection of Christ, the eschatological Adam.²⁷ Undoubtedly, the typological relationship between Adam and Christ emphasizes the change from

²⁵"An old and a new world are at issue," Käsemann, Romans, p. 147; see also G.O. Griffith, "The Apocalyptic Note in Romans," Expository Times, 56 (1945), pp. 153-55; John G. Gibbs, Creation and Redemption (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), pp. 33-58; Nygren, Romans, pp. 206ff.

Swee-Hwa Quek's term "Analogy," therefore, is ill-chosen for what he himself describes as Paul's "juxtaposing Adam and Christ in a dialectical pattern," in "Adam and Christ according to Paul," Pauline Studies, edited by Donald A. Hagner and Murray J. Harris (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1980), pp. 67-79, quotations from p. 67.

²⁶Barrett is misleading when he says that at Rom. 5:14 "Paul was certainly thinking of the historic figure of the incarnate Christ," although his thought may "include also the Christ who is yet to come," From First Adam to Last, p. 92; the resurrected One rather occupies Paul's Christian thought as Knox has argued, Chapters, pp. 128-135; and in a different way, R.C. Tannehill, Dying and Rising With Christ (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1967), pp. 7-43.

²⁷This places the death of Christ within Paul's apocalyptic horizon as critical, cosmic, and soteriological; so G.O. Griffith, "Apocalyptic Note," pp. 154-5; Beker, Paul, pp. 100-1; Nygren, Romans, pp. 206-217; and with more existential characteristics, Ernst Käsemann, "The Saving Significance of the Death of Jesus in Paul," Perspectives on Paul (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971; German, 1969), pp. 32-59.

the old to the new and therefore takes the form of dialectic.²⁸ Some scholars have difficulty understanding how the pronounced ontological contrast between Adam and Christ can be called typology at all in the usual sense of the term. Beker, for example, rightly recognizes the contrast, but concludes that "in Romans 5:14 the context dictates the translation of *typos* not as type but as antitype."²⁹ Robin Scroggs,³⁰ following J.A.T. Robinson,³¹ rejects the idea that the contrast between Adam and Christ can be called typology. Subsequent discussion of the passages in question should prove that the Adam-Christ construction in Paul can rightly be called typology, and that the observed "contrast" is understandably punctuated by Paul, but is not *exclusively* contrast, as Scroggs maintains.³² There is a correspondence within the "contrast". In fact, a careful reading of the texts will show that "contrast" is probably not a sufficient term of reference for the intention of Paul in setting out the typological relationship between Adam and Christ. The idea appears to be more that of ontological reversal³³ by which *renewal* is

²⁸Barrett, From First Adam, p. 5; F.F. Bruce, Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1977), pp. 114, 122-3; Swee-Hwa Quek, "Adam and Christ," p. 67.

²⁹Beker, Paul, p. 101; similarly J. Jeremias, "'Αδάμ," TDNT, Vol. I; but cf. Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 136: "That which comes first in order of time is properly the type, that which comes afterwards the antitype." Cf. A.T. Hanson, Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), p. 152.

³⁰Scroggs, Last Adam, p. 80.

³¹Robinson, The Body, p. 35; so also idem., Romans, p. 65.

³²Scroggs, Last Adam, p. 80.

³³So Beker, Paul, pp. 100-1, although he also uses the terms "continuity" with reference to Abraham and "discontinuity" for Adam, even though in Gal. 3 Abraham is associated with both. The result is somewhat confusing.

³⁴As in Gibbs, Creation and Redemption, pp. 34ff, and R.A. Harrisville, "The Concept of Newness in the New Testament," Journal of Biblical Literature,

accomplished. Too sharp a distinction is connoted in the term, "contrast". The new creation is eschatologically new; it is not a heterological creation³⁵ in isolation from the old. The death of Christ was *in* the old aeon and *for* its renewal and redemption. In Paul's apocalyptic thought the old creation "waits with eager longing for the revelation (ἀποκάλυψιν) of the Sons of God" when the situation of futility will be reversed, and "the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay" (Rom. 8:20-23). Moreover, while this section will be devoted to the typological reversal in Paul's thought on Adam and Christ, it anticipates a further discussion on what may be called "typological correspondence" between the two figures.³⁶

As indicated already, two passages in particular speak to the issue: I Corinthians 15:20-22; 45-50 and Romans 5:12-21. It is generally agreed that I Corinthians was written before Romans, and no doubt Paul's thought on Adam in Romans 5 is an extension of the ideas in I Corinthians 15 in line with the circumstances surrounding the writing of Romans.³⁷ Given

74 (1955), p. 74; it must be acknowledged that "reversal" is at the heart of Adam-Christ thinking and "renewal" is implied.

³⁵ I.e. totally "other" and unrelated.

³⁶ Karl Barth places too much emphasis on the "correspondence," to the extent that the "contrast" is overshadowed by the common denominator of true "humanness" in both Adam and Christ, viewed from the vantage point of Christ. Christ and Adam, ET F.A. Smail (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957; German, 1952), pp. 46ff. It is very peculiar, indeed contradictory, that Scroggs believes Barth "to be correct in his general conclusions" (p. 101), yet he earlier concluded that wherever Adam and Christ "are juxtaposed, they are strongly contrasted," Last Adam, p. 80. Cf. Otto Piper's "Review of Barth's Christ and Adam," Journal of Biblical Literature, 77 (1958), pp. 180f.

³⁷ For the time of writing of I Corinthians and Romans, see Klümmel, Introduction, pp. 278-9; 311-14; on occasion and purpose of Romans, Beker, Paul, the Apostle, pp. 69-71; 84-5; 100-102; G. Bornkamm, "The Letter to the Romans as Paul's Last Will and Testament," Australian Biblical Review 11 (1963), pp. 2-14; John Drane, "Why Did Paul Write Romans," Pauline Studies, pp. 208-227; cf. T.W. Manson, "St. Paul's Letter to the Romans," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 21 (1948), pp. 224-40.

that I Corinthians was written prior to Romans, and since the argument in I Corinthians tends to be less complex, we shall examine that passage first for marks of a reversal of the status and destiny of Adam through Christ.

I Corinthians 15:20-22; 42-50.

The Adam-Christ typology of I Corinthians 15 falls within the sustained, expository argument for the resurrection of Christians. It should not surprise us to find reversal typology in a chapter on resurrection: "Resurrection language is end-time language,"³⁸ and the end-time is characterized by change, or exchange.³⁹ The concept of "exchange," or transformation, is particularly poignant at the conclusion of the argument on resurrection (15:51-57). It is an apocalyptic mystery: "we shall all be changed...and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we shall be changed" (15:51-2). But the change has set in already with the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the "first fruits"⁴⁰ (v. 20) of the final harvest. This is the language of new creation out of the old; it is a reversal of the state of corruption represented in Adam in whom "all die" (v. 22). But the change is initiated within the old creation, within history, in the death and resurrection of Christ.⁴¹ The Corinthians, apparently, were not persuaded about the future resurrection of the dead, and it is quite probable that

³⁸Beker, Paul, p. 152.

³⁹Cf. Rom. 1:23, 24, 26 where another kind of "exchange" is indicated, a negative response to the Creator.

⁴⁰"The history of the concept ἀπαρχή, 'first fruits,' is of little help in regard to the meaning....He uses it as an eschatological term.... Jesus is the first of a series...and constitutive for the others." Conzelmann, I Corinthians, pp. 267-8.

⁴¹John Knox is substantially correct: "Paul's idea is not a new mankind *created*, but the old mankind *redeemed*." The Humanity and Divinity of

Paul, in I Corinthians 15, is answering a question from the Corinthians on this subject.⁴²

The argument appears to fall into two parts, in answer to two basic questions: 1) Is there a resurrection of the dead? (3-28); 2) How are the dead raised? (35-50). But the telling observation is that the answer to both questions is clinched by the Adam-Christ typology.

The argument as a whole is grounded in the kerygmatic formulation of verses 3-5,⁴³ and supplemented with Scripture, especially Genesis 3 (v. 45), analogy (vv. 37-41) and experience (v. 8; cf. Gal. 1:16). The present discussion will, of necessity, focus on the way in which Paul conceives the resurrection of Christ, and the resurrection of believers, in relation to the old creation in Adam.

In verses 20-22 Christ is said to be "first fruits" (ἀπαρχή; cf. Rom. 8:23; II Cor. 1:22)⁴⁴ of those believers who have died. For Paul the resurrection of Jesus was factual, an act of God in the midst of the old aeon of sin and death (cf. 15:54-56) by which the state and destiny of man in the old aeon were radically reversed. This man, Christ, as compared to Adamic man,

Christ (Cambridge: University Press, 1967), p. 82. See also Gibbs, Creation, p. 51; cf. Goppelt, Typos, p. 135, where he judges, without sufficient evidence, that "the church as the new creation is related typologically to the first creation" (emphasis mine). By implication the church as "the body of Christ" (I Cor. 12:27) is part of the new creation, as in Rom. 8:18-25, but "new creation" is an apocalyptic term with cosmic associations.

⁴²On the interchange of correspondence between Paul and the Corinthian Christians, and on Chapter 15 in particular, see John C. Hurd, The Origin of I Corinthians (London: SPCK, 1965), pp. 114-209, and Roetzel, Letters, pp. 53-69.

⁴³Hans Conzelmann's treatment of verses 3-5 is instructive, "On the analysis of the Confessional Formula of I Cor. 15:3-5," ET M. Rissi, Interpretation, 20 (1966), pp. 15-25; cf. also B.F. Meyer, The Aims of Jesus (London: SCM Press, 1979), pp. 60-3 and notes.

⁴⁴See above, note 40.

emerged out of the old and into the new, thereby inaugurating the eschatological age of salvation and newness of life (cf. Rom. 6:4).⁴⁵ This "fact" of the resurrection of Christ is placed alongside the other stark fact of death. Two *men* head up both orders of human existence in the cosmos; "in Adam" of history (for Paul he was historical) *all* die, but "in Christ" resurrected *all* will be made alive. In each case solidarity with the initiator of the respective order of death and life is implied with the use of "all".⁴⁶ Both inclusiveness and exclusiveness are indicated by "all" in the two cases. That is, *all* "in Adam" (ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ) are subject to the old aeon of death and on the other side, *all* "in Christ" (ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ) are subject to resurrection and life. "All" should be considered as inclusive as the characterization to which it belongs.⁴⁷ Paul has the universal plight in mind when he speaks of all in Adam, and in parallel *construction* he has "all" made alive in Christ. But his conclusion, which can be gathered from numerous other passages, is that only those who are in Christ will be made alive.⁴⁸

Moreover, in answer to the question, "Is there really a resurrection?"

⁴⁵Paul nowhere speaks of believers as having been raised *already*; the resurrection of Christians is held in eschatological reserve, especially so in the Corinthian letters (cf. Col. 2:12; 3:1; Eph. 2:6), but Christians have the Spirit as "guarantee" (II Cor. 1:22; Rom. 8:23) and when they are baptized into Christ's death and resurrection they should "walk in newness of Life" (Rom. 6:4).

⁴⁶The phrase "in Christ" captures the idea of solidarity, if not "corporate personality"; that is, the phrase is inclusive, not individualistic; so Robinson, The Body, pp. 49-83; however, Robinson appeals also to Colossians and Ephesians; cf. Tannehill, Dying and Rising, p. 69 on the "one" and "all".

⁴⁷Cf. the individualism, or selfhood, which Bultmann finds in Paul's use of the anthropological term σῶμα, "body", Theology I, pp. 192-203.

⁴⁸A similar situation exists in the other passage on Adam, Rom. 5:12-21; see discussion below on this passage and on distinguishing between Paul's conclusions and his arguments.

Paul simply rests his case on the resurrection of "a man," Christ, by which the deathward destiny of man in Adam was radically reversed, transformed into a new quality of life, a new creation out of the old. The pattern of thought here is typological and apocalyptic;⁴⁹ typological in that the old contains the element, man (Adam), from which the new is destined to come; apocalyptic in that the resurrection is the act of God by which the old order of creation is dramatically reversed to bring in the new. G. Stählin may be cited with some caution: "The new creation is not *creatio ex nihilo* like the old creation; for the old creation will be changed and incorporated into the new."⁵⁰ The last part of Stählin's statement may not hold for Paul. For Paul, the old passes away (παρηλθεν, II Cor. 5:17) when the new comes into being. But the first part is correct; and this point precisely makes the pattern of thought typological, and not merely ontological and apocalyptic. Adam pre-figures Christ, and this is true for Jew and Gentile, for they are all "in Adam" just as they should all be "in Christ," if they hope to be "made alive" (v. 22). "Israel is subsumed under the patriarchy of Adam only as a subdivision of the humanity of death."⁵¹ The other passage in Romans 5 will confirm this point further.

The answer to the second question, "How are the dead raised?" carries forward the idea of the typological exchange between Adam and Christ in terms

⁴⁹Goppelt, Typos, pp. 233-7; cf. Beker, Paul, pp. 135-81, where he conceives the resurrection of Christ to be interpreted by Paul in apocalyptic categories: "The apocalyptic world view is the *fundamental carrier* of Paul's thought" (p. 181, emphasis mine). I propose that apocalyptic is never far removed from typological in Paul's thought; the two operate at I Cor. 15 where Adam and Christ are brought together.

⁵⁰G. Stählin, "On the Third Day," ET P. Todd, Interpretation, 10 (1956), p. 249.

⁵¹Scroggs, Last Adam, p. 106.

the nature of resurrected life.

The typological argument, beginning at verse 42, is connected with the analogy of the seed which is transformed when it is sown in the ground. The connecting term, "sown," in verses 42-44 should not be taken to mean death, but more likely a coming into existence in the sphere of death in the old creation.⁵² Then the two realms of death and life are lined up under two key terms: ψυχικόν (the realm of death) and πνευματικόν (the realm of life).⁵³ Genesis 2:7 comes to play a significant role as proof for Paul's claim that the resurrection of Christians is assured. Paul quotes the text from his eschatological stance of Christian experience, incorporating the necessary eschatological elements to make his case. Paul's additions are underlined as follows: ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἸἸσσαακκ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ὁ ἕσχατος ἸἸσσαακκ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν. The additions, it seems, are dictated by his eschatological consciousness at the dawn of the end time inaugurated by the resurrection of Christ.⁵⁴ Whether he is

⁵²Following James Moffatt, The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), p. 259: "The argument implies that to be sown is to be born, not to be buried...The seed of mankind is dropped into the present material order, which is mortal, corruptible and corrupting;" cf. Robertson and Plummer, First Corinthians, p. 372; it is "the corpse which is sown."

⁵³The use of both terms is significant in light of their previous use against Corinthian pneumatics in 2:10-3:1. "Paul's apocalyptic argument collides with the Hellenistic enthusiastic world view of the Corinthians," Beker, Paul, pp. 163-4.

⁵⁴Scroggs has argued that "Paul may conceivably be giving the Corinthians a transformed version of a rabbinic discussion about Gen. 2:7 found in Gen. R XIV," Last Adam, p. 86. On the basis of two *yods* in "he formed," the rabbinic answer is that one is man's nature in the present age and the other in the age to come. See also Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 43-57; C.K. Barrett, A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1968), pp. 372-74.

opposing a Philonic concept of an archetypal Man,⁵⁵ or modifying a Gnostic myth of *Urmensch*,⁵⁶ is open to question. It is clear, however, from verse 46 that Paul does not entertain the idea of an ideal Man behind Adam; Adam in his world of τὸ ψυχικόν is first and Christ in his world of τὸ πνευματικόν is last. Under these two rubrics of ontological reality, and from the nature of the two Adams which head them up respectively, Paul hopes to prove the nature of the future resurrection of believers "in Christ." The first Adam is characterized as earthly ("of the dust," v. 48), perishable, weak and dishonourable (vv. 42-43) and as such is subject to death (cf. v. 22). The last Adam reverses all of these in his resurrected character as "life-giving spirit" (v. 45), as the "man from heaven" (v. 47). This last term has given rise to much debate as to its origin and association for Paul.⁵⁷ Suffice it

⁵⁵ Philo, *De Opificio Mundi*, pp. 134-5; *Legum Allegoria*, I, p. 31. Philo interpreted Genesis 1 in terms of ideal man, and Genesis 2 as individual empirical man. See discussion in Scroggs, *Last Adam*, pp. 87-8; 121-2; Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, pp. 47-49; C.H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), pp. 149-152.

⁵⁶ Bultmann held that Paul took up "the gnostic myth of primordial man (*Urmensch*) in order to be able to express the present reality of life;" *The Old and New Man*, p. 64. The myth is described in *idem.*, *Primitive Christianity in Its Contemporary Setting*, ET R.H. Fuller (New York: World Publishing, 1956), pp. 162-171; Davies, *Paul*, p. 47, thinks that Paul is opposing Philo's exegesis of Gen. 1-2; so also, Matthew Black, "Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 7 (1954), pp. 171-72; similarly, R.A. Horsley, "How Can Some of You Say That There is No Resurrection of the Dead: Spiritual Elevation in Corinth," *Novum Testamentum* 20 (1978), pp. 216-223; whereas Scroggs contests the *Urmensch* myth of gnosticism or Hellenistic Judaism as background for Paul's thought. He locates the background in II Enoch 30:8-10, 13 and Sibylline Oracles, III, 24-26 which do not exhibit the influence of the doctrine of *Urmensch* in Hellenism; *The Last Adam*, pp. 113-14; Oscar Cullmann maintains that Paul's concept of the Heavenly Man agrees with Jesus' self-consciousness as the Son of Man, which is in sharp contrast to Philo's Heavenly Man, *The Christology of the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1959), pp. 166-81.

⁵⁷ See Horsley, "Spiritual Elevation," pp. 216-229; cf. Bultmann, *Old and New Man*, p. 64; *idem.*, *Theology* I, pp. 172-183; Barrett, *I Corinthians*, pp. 372-76.

to say here that Paul considers Christ to be the Son of God⁵⁸ whom God "sent forth" (Gal. 4:4; Rom. 8:3) to redeem humanity and create a new order to reality (Rom. 8:18ff) through the resurrection. As such he is the man from heaven whose image (εἰκῶν, v. 49)⁵⁹ Christians are destined to bear in their "spiritual body" (v. 44) at the resurrection. The first Adam can only *pre-figure* this last Adam;⁶⁰ he cannot be a life-giving spirit in that he belongs to the realm of ψυχικόν, the old creation of perishable flesh and blood which cannot inherit the imperishable kingdom of God (v. 50).⁶¹ The change has already taken hold in the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

One might ask already at this point how the earthly Jesus figures in this typological change of aeons. Could it be that Paul's conviction about the resurrection does not give the earthly man, Jesus, an eschatological/soteriological status equal to that of the resurrected Christ whose character as Lord and Spirit (II Cor. 3:17-18) is that of power, immortality and glory? Or to put it otherwise, Was Jesus part of the old creation in that he was "born of a woman"? And was his earthly humanity not also subject to death, "even death on a cross" (Phil. 2:8)? Answers to these questions will be attempted in more detail in a later section. For the moment we may simply indicate that if the view stated above for the change of aeons in Paul's thought is correct,

⁵⁸Cullmann's discussion of Paul's concept, "Son of Man" (as compared to Son of God) is misleading and inconclusive. Christology, pp. 166-181. Paul actually does not use the title, and it is doubtful if he is consciously working with Jewish conceptions associated with this title when he speaks of "the man from heaven." The question must be left open. Cf. Schweitzer, Mysticism, pp. 75-100; Martin Hengel, The Son of God (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), pp. 7-10; idem., Between Jesus and Paul (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), pp. 65-77; Cortes and Gatti, "Son of Man or Son of Adam," pp. 457-502.

⁵⁹Cf. Gen. 1:27 and Phil. 2:6; Rom. 8:29 and n. 56 above.

⁶⁰So correctly, Barth, Christ and Adam, p. 29.

⁶¹See J. Jeremias, "Flesh and Blood Cannot Inherit the Kingdom of God,"

then Jesus of Nazareth stands in the realm of the old aeon, "descended from David according to the flesh" (Rom. 1:30); and Paul has judged that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.

An effort must now be made to unravel the argument of Romans 5:12-21. It bears repeating that Romans 5:12-21 has an enlarged, or perhaps somewhat different, version of the Adam-Christ typology. While we cannot hope to do full justice to every question to which the passage gives rise, we shall at least attempt to lay out the typological reversal reflected in the various turns of thought which the argument takes.

Romans 5:12-21.

Considerable scholarly energy has been expended on the exegesis of Romans 5:12-21.⁶² Yet the results of investigation to date have not solved completely some of the difficulties in grammar, syntax and argument.⁶³ Neither does this examination presume to offer the final solution. Having acknowledged the limitation, an effort must be made to clear up some details before the typological reversal of Romans 5:12-21 can be set forth meaningfully. Three details in particular in verses 12-14 still lack scholarly consensus and call for decision before the principal lines of the typology can be confirmed. One of the details questions whether there is an Adam-Christ typology in Romans 5:12-21 at all. Some doubt has been cast on the identity of the second member

New Testament Studies, 2 (1956), pp. 151-59. Reference will be made again to this thought (and to Jeremias' article) in Part III of this essay where we shall address the question of Paul's view of "the flesh" or "according to flesh."

⁶² See the list of studies in C.E.B. Cranfield, The Epistle to the Romans, Vol. I (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), pp. 270-1.

⁶³ As the discussion in Käsemann admirably demonstrates, Romans, pp. 140-158.

in the phrase in verse 14: 'Αδάμ, ὃς ἐστὶν τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος ("Adam who was a type of the one who was to come").⁶⁴ Since Christ is not specifically named as the antitype, some have concluded that τοῦ μέλλοντος refers to someone, or something, other than Christ. Robin Scroggs, whose book on the Adam-Christ connection in Paul is generally commendable, prefers Moses as τοῦ μέλλοντος. Scroggs has maintained that he could not find anything appropriate in the contrast between Adam and Christ in verses 15-21 to support the idea that Paul has Christ in mind as an *antitype* of Adam. Says Scroggs:

The most natural use of the word τύπος suggests a certain *similarity* between the figures compared. Paul nowhere gives any indication that he wants to show any positive relation between Adam and Christ. Wherever the two are juxtaposed, they are strongly contrasted.⁶⁵

Scroggs attempted to prove further by reference to Jewish sources, and to the abrupt intrusion of the phrase at verse 14, that any kind of typological similarity between Adam and Messiah is highly unlikely.⁶⁶ For Scroggs, "the phrase τοῦ μέλλοντος refers not to Christ but to Moses."⁶⁷ What is puzzling about Scroggs' conclusion is that he finds similarity between Adam and Moses on the general basis of Torah. That is, "both figures were in a Torah relationship with God."⁶⁸ But in Paul the main

⁶⁴The RSV rendering disregards the presence of ἐστὶν, thus making the τύπος more a figure of history and τοῦ μέλλοντος also historical to Paul. This may not represent Paul's perspective of present salvation in relation to future, with Adam recorded in Scripture as τύπος (cf. Rom. 4:23f; I Cor. 10:11).

⁶⁵Scroggs, Last Adam, pp. 80-1.

⁶⁶See note 36 above.

⁶⁷Scroggs, Last Adam, p. 81.

⁶⁸Ibid.

point of the argument on Adam, surely, is that he stands at the head of a humanity which comes under the power of sin and death. The *figure* of Moses, on the other hand, appears in Paul in a positive light,⁶⁹ as he most certainly does in Judaism.⁷⁰ In any event, such an understanding of typology in Paul misses the mark. Paul's interest in typological interpretation is conceived in terms of eschatological attainment in the sphere of Christ,⁷¹ and it should become clear later that such an interpretive mode does, in fact, involve a contrast. Further discussion of this point need not detain us here. Scroggs and Robinson are not representative of the broader scholarly opinion on this issue. It is much more widely acknowledged that by the phrase τοῦ μέλλοντος Paul means the Adam to come, namely Christ;⁷² in I Corinthians 15 he is "the last Adam" (v. 45). The term has a connotation similar to the more common apocalyptic designation of Messiah as ὁ ἐρχόμενος.⁷³

Another problem exists in the opening connective of verse 12, δὲ

⁶⁹Moses as distinguished from "the law" in Paul; in II Cor. 3, for example, Moses turned to the Lord, his face shone with a certain glory, etc. See the discussion in Chapter 5.

⁷⁰Cf. Davies, Paul, pp. 147-176 and notes; George F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 3-28.

⁷¹Goppelt, Typos, pp. 127f; P.J. Cahill, "Hermeneutical Implications of Typology," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 44 (1982), pp. 270-75.

⁷²E.g. Goppelt, Typos, p. 129; Nygren, Romans, pp. 207f; Käsemann, Romans; Gibbs, Creation, p. 51; Bultmann, "Adam and Christ," p. 59. Cf. Beker, Paul, p. 101.

⁷³As in Matt. 11:3; Heb. 10:37; so Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 136; Barrett, From First Adam, p. 92; Nygren, Romans, p. 217; but cf. Käsemann, Romans, p. 151: "Unlike ὁ ἐρχόμενος in Matt. 11:3 the participle is hardly a mysterious messianic prediction."

τοῦτο, usually translated "therefore." Barrett assigns to it the function of "a particle of transition, including only a loose relation between what has gone before and what follows."⁷⁴ Many more scholars⁷⁵ find in δὲ τοῦτο a link between the preceding thought of 5:1-11 (the ones who are justified by faith in Christ have peace with God and will be saved by the grace of God) and the comparison of Adam and Christ in 12-21. The link between 1-11 and 12-21, according to this reading, is mainly in the use of the same contrasting terms of salvation (ἀμαρτωλος/δύκαλος/ἀποθνῆσκω/ζωή/κύριος/χάρις) in both sections.⁷⁶ A third possibility is that Paul is making a significant transition in the argument as a whole which started at 1:17.⁷⁷ He has argued that man sins and is trapped under the power of sin, but can enter into the salvation of the new aeon⁷⁸ by faith in Christ whom God raised from the dead.

⁷⁴ Barrett, Romans, p. 110; also Bultmann, Adam and Christ, p. 62; cf. Nygren, Romans, p. 210, who rejects the idea, and then suggests that "the reference is not to any particular verse or statement, but *precisely* to the *unstated* presupposition which underlies all that has been said" (p. 212, emphasis mine).

⁷⁵ Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 131; Cranfield, Romans, p. 271; *idem.*, "On Some Problems of the Interpretation of Romans 5:12," Scottish Journal of Theology, 22 (1969), pp. 324f; Michel, Römer, p. 138; Käsemann, Romans, p. 146; John Murray, The Epistle to the Romans (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), p. 180.

⁷⁶ So Gibbs, Creation, p. 48; and Cranfield, "Problems," pp. 324f; N.A. Dahl, "Two Notes on Romans 5," Studia Theologica, 5 (1951-2), pp. 37f.

⁷⁷ See especially Beker, Paul, p. 85. "Romans 5:12-21 is both a summary of 1:18-5:11 and a transition to 6:1-8:39: it sums up in apocalyptic, typological language the plight of human kind *before* Christ and its new life in Christ."

⁷⁸ It must be admitted that the idea of "new aeon" or "new creation" is only implied in the text in light of other passages in Paul. Nygren makes much of the two aeons in Rom. 5:12-21, but Käsemann cautions that "to talk of two ages or forms of existence obliterates the constitutively apocalyptic aspect of the text," Romans, p. 142. The intention of the present discussion is to keep the apocalyptic and the existential in appropriate balance as the text dictates, especially in light of I Cor. 15:22f. Cf. Barth, Christ and Adam, pp. 49ff.

And now at verse 12 Paul takes up the whole argument in another form, advancing further the thought that the law belongs with Adam and the plight.⁷⁹ The phrase, $\delta\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$, is thereby a transition to a summary statement which, in turn, leads into the argument of chapters 6 to 8. This way of understanding $\delta\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ has found support.⁸⁰

Perhaps a middle-ground position somewhere between "only a loose relation"⁸¹ in $\delta\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$, and a strong transition from one stage to the over-all argument to another⁸² is to be preferred. Moreover if we accept "therefore" of the RSV we should probably not assume a substantially logical transition to a conclusive statement, but rather a move to another way of understanding the central issues of man's salvation by the grace of God in Christ apart from the works of the law.

A final critical detail of exegesis calls for decision. The meaning of the phrase $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\prime\ \tilde{\phi}$ of verse 12d is not at all clear. The Latin Vulgate translated the construction, *in quo*, a phrase which probably influenced Augustine's idea that the antecedent of the relative $\tilde{\phi}$ was Adam and that

⁷⁹This view of the structure of Paul's argument (only briefly sketched here) proposed that the law enters this argument of 12-21 in a different way from chapter 4. Paul begins to address the Jewish question in a new way at 5:12; so Beker, Paul, p. 85; cf. F.W. Danker, "Romans 5:12: Sin Under Law," New Testament Studies, 14 (1968), pp. 424-39. See further on Paul and the Law in relation to the human plight, Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 474-511; cf. Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 259-69.

⁸⁰Ernest Best, The Letter of Paul to the Romans (Cambridge: University Press, 1967), pp. 60-5; Robinson, Romans, pp. 60f; and Beker, Paul, p. 85, note 77 above.

⁸¹Barrett, Romans, p. 110; note 74 above.

⁸²Beker, Paul the Apostle; p. 85, note 77 above.

the text supported the doctrine of inherited original sin.⁸³ J. Cambier has argued, rather, in favour of the patristic interpretation which posits εἰς ἀνθρώπου of verse 12a as the antecedent.⁸⁴ But in addition, Cambier assumes that ἐφ' ᾧ has a causal force with only relative implications. In this view, the rendering would be to this effect: "because of the one by whom..." This understanding of ἐφ' ᾧ avoids some of the difficulty of a straight causal significance.⁸⁵ However, the antecedent εἰς ἀνθρώπου is remote and does not have much more to commend it over ὁ θάνατος, the closer antecedent. Better still, ἐφ' ᾧ may have the whole human condition in Adam, as indicated in 12a-c, as an implicit antecedent of ᾧ, in which case ᾧ would be taken as neuter.⁸⁶ Furthermore, the tenor of verse 12 is reminiscent of the over-all charge of 1:18-3:20 in which the predicament of all men, both Jews and Gentiles, is death through sin and sinning.

F.W. Danker's option for the function of ἐφ' ᾧ in 12d should also be recognized. He has argued that the relative has the strongly implied ante-

⁸³On this, and other, interpretations of ἐφ' ᾧ see Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 133; J. Cambier, "Péchés des Hommes et Péché D'Adam en Rom. v. 12," New Testament Studies, 11 (1964), pp. 217-55; Danker, "Sin Under Law," pp. 424-39; Cranfield, "Problems," pp. 324f; Nygren, Romans, p. 214; Augustine's doctrine of inherited sin finds little support in Paul outside this text, and if ἐφ' ᾧ is in some sense causal, the doctrine has virtually no solid ground. Cf. Käsemann, Romans, pp. 147-8.

⁸⁴Cambier, "Péchés," pp. 219ff. Cambier has argued, however, that Paul's anthropology is to be interpreted apart from the statement of a later ecclesiastical period.

⁸⁵Käsemann finds the answer in the problem, namely that ἐφ' ᾧ signals a break in thought at v. 12d, Romans, p. 148. Cf. W. Hamilton, "The Punctuation and Rendering of Rom. 5:12-14," Expository Times, 24 (1912-13), p. 234.

⁸⁶Cf. the preface to I John where the neuter relative ὃ has an implicit antecedent.

cedent, νόμος. He found some confirmation in the fact that the phrase was used with legal connotation elsewhere in Hellenism, especially in a fragment of Menander.⁸⁷ Such an understanding of ἐφ' ᾧ would shed light on verses 13-14 and 20 where the law seems to intrude arbitrarily.⁸⁸ The difficulty in verse 13 is well recognized by Bultmann who says that it is "completely unintelligible."⁸⁹ But if verse 12d could be understood to have νόμος as the implied antecedent then verses 13, 14 and 20 are quite intelligible.

Danker paraphrases 12 and 13 thus:

Sin came into the world through one man and death through sin. And so death passed on all men, on the legal basis in terms of which all (including Gentiles) sinned. This must be maintained, for until the law (of Moses) sin was in the world, and one must⁹⁰ admit that sin cannot be charged up in the absence of law.

The defect in Danker's analysis, it seems, is that it finds an all-too-specific implied antecedent. If an antecedent is implied, it is more likely to be an all-embracing condition which could indeed include law which both Jew and Gentile possess (cf. 2:12-16). But the condition also involves the *power* of sin in the old creation in which sin reigns in death, even with the coming of the law. In such a condition of plight in the old aeon all men sin (Rom. 3:23). This way of understanding ἐφ' ᾧ in the context of Paul's thought on the plight and the law in Romans up to 5:12 seems to fit Paul's twin concepts of 1) sin

⁸⁷Danker, "Sin Under Law," pp. 429f.

⁸⁸Danker noted that such a possibility for ἐφ' ᾧ was "completely overlooked in the history of exegesis"; "Sin Under Law," p. 428. It should be added that the bulk of exegesis subsequent to Danker's has overlooked his view as well, perhaps too readily.

⁸⁹Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 252.

⁹⁰Danker, "Sin Under Law," p. 431.

as reigning power over all men (Rom. 3:9; cf. 5:21), and 2) the culpability of those who sin and fall short of the glory of God (Rom. 3:19, 23).

In summary to this point, $\delta\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ τοῦτο signals a fresh approach to the question of sin/salvation, death/life; $\acute{\epsilon}\phi'$ $\tilde{\omega}$ has the implicit antecedent of the condition of all men under sin, law and death; Adam is a type of Christ, the Adam to come. An amplified rendering of 12-14 could run thus:

To put it another way, as sin entered into the cosmos⁹¹ by one man, and death through sin, so also death became the lot of all men, on the basis of which condition (of sin, law, death) all men commit sin. For sin was in the cosmos up until the Law, but sin is not calculated (as transgression) when there is no law code in existence. But death reigned (in any case) from Adam until Moses, even upon the ones who had not sinned (against a specific law) in a manner similar to that of the trespass of Adam, who is a type of the (Adam) to come.

Bultmann is probably correct in saying that the last clause of verse 14, "could stand at the head of the entire passage,"⁹² the main point of which is to set forth the magnitude of the grace of God in Christ ($\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\tilde{\omega}$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, 5:9, 15, 17) over against the situation of man in Adam.⁹³ Genesis 2-3 is reflected in the passage, and it has been contended that Paul is also

⁹¹ $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ is an eschatological term here as also in I Cor. 7:31 and Gal. 1:4. "It denotes the world of men and the sphere of human activity as being on the one hand, a temporary thing hastening toward its end (I Cor. 7:31), and on the other hand, the sphere of anti-godly power under whose sway the individual who is surrounded by it has fallen," Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 256 (the emphasis on "the individual" in Bultmann is less apparent in Paul); cf. Gibbs, Creation, p. 51.

⁹² Bultmann, The Old and the New Man, p. 64. As Gibbs observes, "the great problem in the interpretation of Rom. 5:12-21 is how do justice to both the formal parallel and material contrast between Adam and Christ," Creation, p. 50.

⁹³ See Dahl, "Two Notes," p. 44 on the significance of $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\tilde{\omega}$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ as conveying the logical certainty of the grace of God in Christ for mankind, against the power of sin in the Adamic world.

drawing on anthropological mythology from Hellenism and Judaism.⁹⁴ Bultmann believed Paul to have had the gnostic myth of *Urmensch* in mind in the development of his thought on Adam and Christ.⁹⁵ Others have thought that Paul was either opposing Philo's interpretation of the Genesis story of Adam, or misinterpreting Philo.⁹⁶ More probably, Philo is not Paul's primary source on Adam; the Genesis story is. It must be granted as well that ideas about Adam, especially his fall, were in circulation and accessible to Paul in one form or another.⁹⁷ But it is doubtful from the text of Romans and I Corinthians that he consciously drew on gnostic sources concerning *Urmensch*. The principal concern at the moment is to determine the way in which Paul thinks of Adam as type of Christ, the Adam to come, in Romans 5:12-21.

Barrett's notion that "Paul is using analogy (rather than 'typology')"⁹⁸ is less than adequate. "Analogy" scarcely captures the character of Paul's concept of transformation from old to new creation.⁹⁹ On the other hand N.A. Dahl designates the pattern "antithetical analogy,"¹⁰⁰ and Jeremias

⁹⁴ See above n. 56. Richard Horsley has noted the confusion of terms here: "*Urmensch* is a scholarly construct used to cover a variety of material; it is historically imprecise and is inconsistently applied by modern scholars," the idea of a Gnostic *Urmensch* should not be imposed on Philo's concept of the heavenly man, "Spiritual Elitism," pp. 216f and notes; and also Juan Cortés and Florence Gatti, "Son of Man or Son of Adam," *Biblica*, 49 (1968), pp. 457-502.

⁹⁵ Bultmann, *The Old and New Man*, p. 64. Cf. Cortes and Gatti, "Son of Man or Son of Adam," pp. 470-90.

⁹⁶ See note 105 below, and Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, p. 167 where he rejects the proposed backgrounds; "The Second Adam is, in Paul, an eschatological not a mythical conception;" likewise Gibbs, *Creation*, p. 55.

⁹⁷ E.g. Jubilees, 3:21-35; Sibylline Oracles, 5:228-246; II Enoch 31:1-32:1; and Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 143-147.

⁹⁸ Barrett, *Romans*, p. 112.

⁹⁹ See Harrisville, *Newness*, p. 73.

¹⁰⁰ Dahl, *Studies*, p. 42.

antithetical typology.¹⁰¹ In point of fact, the so-called "contrast" need not cause such concern within typology, if typology is understood along the lines discussed in chapter two above. Paul, in Romans 5:12-21, is carrying out a typological interpretation involving the change of aeons,¹⁰² and by this typological mode he can show the reversal of conditions from the old aeon of Adam to the new aeon of Christ. What is perceived as contrast is, for Paul, eschatological newness (II Cor. 5:17; 3:6; I Cor. 11:25; Gal. 6:15). And this eschatological renewal should not be confused with a cyclical pattern.¹⁰³ R.A. Harrisville captures the distinctive of eschatological newness by pointing to its two-fold element of continuity and contrast which together heralds finality.¹⁰⁴ This idea needs to be borne in mind in seeking to understand the contrast of Romans 5:12-21. The change takes place within the realm of Adam's world and on behalf of Adam's world; and the One to bring about the change assumes the earthly form of Adam (Phil. 2:7; cf. Gal. 4:4) in Adam's world of flesh, sin and death (Rom. 8:3-4) in order that God might inaugurate the new creation by the power of the resurrection¹⁰⁵ of Christ to universal lordship (Phil. 2:9-11; cf. Gal. 4:4-6).¹⁰⁶

Paul noticeably declines any mention of Adam in the image (εἰκὼν) of

¹⁰¹Jeremias, "'Αδάμ," p. 143, cf. Michel, Römer, pp. 141-2.

¹⁰²See p. 85 and notes 15-17 above.

¹⁰³"Something entirely new has occurred; in [Christ] a new time phase, a 'new aeon' has begun by which the redemptive activity of God comes to its conclusion," Harrisville, Newness, p. 73. The eschatological accent is on *finality* which includes both contrast and continuity.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁵H.A.A. Kennedy, St. Paul's Conception of Last Things (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904), p. 297.

¹⁰⁶Schoeps, Paul, pp. 97-110, describes Paul's eschatological thought

God;¹⁰⁷ he is type (τύπος) only, belonging to the old aeon, whereas Paul elsewhere describes Christ as "the image of God" (II Cor. 4:4). The term εἰκών τοῦ θεοῦ carries virtually the same meaning as μορφή θεοῦ of Philippians 2:6.¹⁰⁸ The implication is that only Christ can rightly be "designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead" (Rom. 1:4). Adam, then, would be a type, not of the earthly Jesus according to the flesh (Rom. 1:3), but of the Christ resurrected in power to universal lordship "according to the Spirit of holiness" (Rom. 1:4). This pattern of thought is imprinted on the typological reversal of Romans 5:12-21 (as well as I Cor. 15); recognition of this pattern of thinking in the passage paves the way for understanding the various turns which the argument takes.

The central thrust of the argument, it seems, is that the cosmic consequences of Adam's act¹⁰⁹ resulting in sin and death (vv. 12-14) for "the many"¹¹⁰ (v. 15; cf. "all," v. 18), have been radically reversed by the

from the standpoint of "the post-messianic situation.... (p. 97) With the resurrection of the Kyrios, a new act in the drama of saving history has opened; the transformation of this aeon into the future aeon, of earthly existence into the heavenly has already begun" (p. 108).

¹⁰⁷ For representative discussion of the concept "image of God" in Paul see, G. Kittel, "Christ as εἰκών τοῦ θεοῦ," TDNT, Vol. II, pp. 395f; Kennedy, Last Things, pp. 298-305; Käsemann, Romans, p. 144; Jeremias, "'Αδάμ," p. 161; J. Jervell, Imago Dei (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1960), pp. 263ff.

¹⁰⁸ Kittel, "εἰκών," TDNT, II, p. 395.

¹⁰⁹ Beker, Paul, p. 101; Jeremias, "'Αδάμ," p. 143.

¹¹⁰ οἱ πολλοὶ could come from a semitic background and carry the inclusive sense of "all;" J. Jeremias notes that "hebrew *kol*/Aramaic *kolla* is distinguished from our word 'all' in that it designates the totality, but not the sum. Accordingly it has no plural," The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, ET Norman Perrin (London: SCM Press, 1966; German, 1964), p. 179, note 4. In any case, πολλοὶ appears to have the inclusive meaning in 5:15, 18-19 "the many died" = "all died"). Cf. Black, Romans, p. 90.

act of God (πολλῶ μᾶλλον, v. 15, 17) in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, resulting in righteousness and life for "the many" (v. 17; cf. 18-19). The status of the two classes of people in relation to the two Adams becomes the centre of gravity for the argument as a whole. The change of status (from sin to righteousness, from death to life) is undergirded by the consciousness of God's action in Christ for the inauguration of the new aeon. Adam can only be τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος; that is, he *prefigures* the eschatological attainment in the new creation when the position of man in Adam will be changed to that of man in Christ.¹¹¹ The impression of "contrast" could be construed if elements of the argument are abstracted from the larger scheme of the inauguration of the new creation out of the old.

In arguing for the status of man in Adam and man in Christ, Paul ends up making statements which appear to contradict his main conclusions. This condition is most noticeable, perhaps, at verses 18-19. In these verses, the universality of the plight of man is strongly implied in the use of "all men" (πάντας ἀνθρώπους, v. 18), as also with "the many" (τοὺς πολλοὺς, v. 15).¹¹² A problem arises, however, in that Paul, on the winning side of the typology, universalizes salvation in Christ. The question is: Does Paul actually hold that *all men* are acquitted and given life through Christ? From numerous other texts which predicate Paul's Christian thought, the idea persists that only those in Christ by faith are saved, righteous,

¹¹¹I Cor. 15:21-22; 45-50; Rom. 8:19-25; Gibbs, Creation, pp. 57-8; cf. Karl Hein, Jesus the World's Perfector, ET D.H. van Daalen (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1959; German, 1952), pp. 166-173; and B.W. Anderson, Creation Versus Chaos (New York: Association Press, 1967), pp. 164-177.

¹¹²See note 110 above.

etc. (Rom. 3:21-26; 4:4-5; 1:16; II Cor. 5:17; Gal. 3:9; I Cor. 1:20-29).

A distinction is called for between that which gives rise to Paul's argument and the various statements internal to the argument.¹¹³ The statements within the argument are not always consistent with Paul's conclusion. And here is a case in point. Paul wants to say that all men sin and die in Adam. That is the status of all men who are not Christian. But the form of the argument leads him to say that all men are made righteous in Christ. The *a fortiori* structure of the argument determines the statement about "all men" in Christ (v. 18b). What, in fact, is urged in the whole passage is that the status of man in Adam (sin and death) is radically reversed by God's action in Christ, so that the new status of man in Christ is acquittal and life.

Guided by this central thrust of the argument we may proceed to a more detailed examination of the key points. One that has been discussed variously is Adam's disobedience and Christ's obedience. The disobedience/obedience, however, should not be divorced from the central intention of the argument which appears to aim at setting out *the character and destiny* of man in the new creation as compared to the character and destiny of man in the old creation.

Christ's obedience is said to be "much more" (μολλῶ μᾶλλον, v. 19) certain "to reverse the situation which resulted from Adam's disobedience."¹¹⁴ The argument is a *fortiori*: whatever the state of affairs promulgated by Adam's disobedience, the new state brought by Christ's obedience to a

¹¹³E.P. Sanders has insisted on this point repeatedly in Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 4, 35, 150. Working with this distinction can lead to meaningful results; this passage is a good case in point.

¹¹⁴Knox, Romans, p. 468.

greater degree more efficacious. On Adam's side, the act of disobedience to the command of God (probably referring to Gen. 3:16-17) resulted in condemnation, sin and death for all men (v. 18f); on the side of Christ, his obedience signalled acquittal, righteousness and life. A question arises: To what precisely does the obedience of the "one man," Christ, refer in Paul? Barrett has maintained that "Jesus' obedient life, which reversed... the sin of Adam, was the life of one man only. No other...achieved the same relation with God."¹¹⁵ C.E.B. Cranfield has also argued that "the term (ὁποκοχή) covers [Jesus] whole life, not just his passion and death."¹¹⁶ Both of these men start with the obedient life¹¹⁷ of the earthly Jesus which ended in obedience to death. We have urged already that Paul did not start with Jesus of history, but rather with the resurrected Christ, the "man from heaven" (I Cor. 15:47, 49) who "was in the form of God."¹¹⁸ This is the Adam in Paul who "became obedient unto death" in the old creation so as to reverse the cosmic consequences of Adam's sin. And the reversal is set out in typological categories.¹¹⁹

Still on the matter of Christ's obedience we ask: What does Paul mean by stating that by Christ's obedience many will be made righteous? W.D. Davies finds that

¹¹⁵ Barrett, Romans, p. 93. Likewise, Best, Romans, pp. 62-3.

¹¹⁶ Cranfield, Romans, p. 291.

¹¹⁷ See p. 86 and notes 20-21.

¹¹⁸ So Schoeps, Paul, p. 107; Knox, Chapters, pp. 129ff.

¹¹⁹ Dahl believes that "in the course of his argumentation [in Rom. 5: 12-21], Paul changes direction, going from an argument from analogy to an argument from a minor to a major cause (*a minori ad maius*)....The law is the factor which disturbs the analogy in contrast between Adam and Christ." Studies, pp. 90-1. The discussion below intends to show that this view arises

Paul in true Rabbinic fashion interpreted the death of Jesus as a triumph of obedience and that in Rom. 5 he employed categories rooted in ideas of solidarity familiar to Rabbinic Judaism,¹²⁰ to expound the efficacy of that obedience to others.

Davies appealed to the so-called Doctrine of Merits in Judaism, and argued that in Romans 5 Paul "is governed by those conceptions of solidarity which the doctrine of merits implied."¹²¹ One of these conceptions of the doctrine is that the merits of one can be transferred to another in the community. In the first place, it is doubtful whether Davies has demonstrated unequivocally the way in which the doctrine was held in Judaism,¹²² and even more important, whether Paul is drawing on such a doctrine. The text of Romans 5:19 actually does not mention the transfer of the merit of Christ's obedience, and the passage as a whole does not indicate such a thought. Rather, Paul's terms reflect the idea of *the status* of the saved in relation to Christ as compared to the state of those in Adam. The whole frame of reference is an "apocalyptic Adam typology"¹²³ which springs from a consciousness of the change of aeons.¹²⁴ For Paul the old creation is passing away and the

out of the misapprehension of typology as analogy; the "much more" signals a typological mode, a "break" with the former figure in salvation-history; "much more" occurs in 5:9 also where the law does *not* disturb the comparison between "now justified" and "shall be saved."

¹²⁰ Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 273. On the concept of solidarity in Paul, cf. J.A.T. Robinson, The Body (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1952), pp. 34-83.

¹²¹ Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 273.

¹²² E.P. Sanders' research has produced evidence that Tannaitic literature lacks explicit teaching on the transfer of merit for salvation, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 183, 197f.

¹²³ Beker, Paul the Apostle, p. 101.

¹²⁴ Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 200f; 207f.

new is dawning (II Cor. 5:17). The reversal is accomplished by Christ's obedience and the result is a new status for "the many" in relation to Christ. They are "made righteous" (δύκαλοι κατασταθήσονται, v. 19b).¹²⁵ As compared with the state of those in the plight as a result of Adam's sin, Christians have been acquitted and transferred into a new state of life and salvation. Christians are righteous (δύκαλοι, v. 19); those in Adam are sinners (ἁμαρτωλού, v. 19). This change is characteristic of the dawn of the new creation. "The obedience of Christ, which cancelled the disobedience of the primal man...stands at the beginning of the kingdom of fulfilment."¹²⁶ While it appears that the character of the two classes of persons in the old and new creations is set one against the other, the forensic implication is not completely absent, especially not in verse 18.¹²⁷ But the goal of the whole treatment of Adam and Christ is to show that the relationship, character and destiny of man in Adam has been reversed by the

¹²⁵The phrase can indicate relationship, especially in this context where man in relation to Adam and man in relation to Christ are juxtaposed. C.K. Barrett takes the position that "the words 'sinner' and 'righteous' are words of relationship, not character" (Romans, p. 177). As the discussion will indicate, I take the words to mean both relationship and character. If the verb form in 19 is "the eschatological future," we may take it that the righteousness granted to faith is the sign of the dawn of the new creation for "the many" (Käsemann, Romans, pp. 157f). But the future κατασταθήσονται, should be understood not simply as projecting forward to the Last Judgement but as pointing to the fact that all Christians will benefit from Christ's act of obedience (presumably death on the cross) which initiated the eschaton (Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 142).

¹²⁶Käsemann, Romans, p. 158.

¹²⁷δικαίωσις, translated "acquittal" in the RSV, has almost certainly the idea that "man must be found righteous in God's court, even though it be by the grace of the Judge" (Barrett, Romans, p. 116). Yet there is more to the phrase, δικαίωσις ζωῆς. The genitive, ζωῆς (not translated as such in the RSV) is qualitative, and verse 19 confirms the same (Käsemann, Romans, p. 156); cf. Brandenburger, Adam und Christus, p. 233.

obedience of Christ. The verb, καθύστημι (verses 18 and 19) in the passive means "to become something." Albrecht Oepke has affirmed that

there is hardly any linguistic or material difference between κατεστάθησαν and ἐγένοντο. The meaning /in Rom. 5:19/ is that 'as the many became sinners through the disobedience of the one man so the many became righteous through the obedience of the one.'¹²⁸

Oepke goes on to say, correctly, that the principal matter is not exclusively the quality of the individual but the overarching character of the old and the new creation.¹²⁹ The individual belongs in one or the other, and his destiny is settled on this condition and relationship. In Paul God, through the obedience of Christ, initiates both the change of aeons and the quality of life for those in the new creation. Acquittal (δικαίωσις, v. 18) is only part of the total transaction; the result of the act of God in Christ's obedience is that the acquitted "will be made righteous" (δικαίος, v. 19). That is, they will be transferred out of sin in Adam to righteousness in Christ.¹³⁰

Having set out what appears to be the objective of Paul's argument in Romans 5:12-21, we may give some attention to points in the argument which further confirm the motif of typological reversal.

With Adam's trespass, Paul accents the entrance of sin as a power into the cosmos where man lives (ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθεν, v. 12),

¹²⁸ Albrecht Oepke, "καθύστημι," TDNT, Vol. III, p. 445.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 446.

¹³⁰ E.P. Sanders has emphasized the importance of the δικ-root in Paul, especially in connection with the "transfer" into Christ from the power of sin (Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 470-72; 492-97; Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 6f, 10).

and against that the entrance of the new power of Christ as a gracious gift of God (ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ἐν χάριτι τῆ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, v. 15). "But the free gift is not like the trespass," in that the universal certainty which results from the gift is "much more" than that of the trespass (v. 16). The κατὰκριμα, which is the state of man in sin and sinning, is radically banished by the superabundant grace of God in Christ for δικαίωμα (v. 16),¹³¹ the state of those who have been transferred in- to the new creation in Christ.¹³²

Paul further complicates matters by introducing a member which he can hardly avoid: the law. It too entered *alongside* (παρεισῆλθεν, v. 20) sin "to increase the trespass," but not to give life (cf. Gal. 3:21).¹³³ Consequently, the law of Moses is not a prototype of Christ as Adam is, neither is there a point of comparison between the law and the salvation which comes with Christ.¹³⁴ Rather, "Christ is the end of the law" (Rom. 10:4).¹³⁵ Moreover, the law belongs on Adam's side in association with sin.

¹³¹Käsemann, Romans, pp. 154-56; Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 141. Barrett's statement lacks textual support in Rom. 5:12-21, "The main point is that, like Adam, Christ is the progenitor of a race," Romans, p. 114.

¹³²See p. 114 above and note 129.

¹³³Paul's view of the law has been debated at length. It is not the purpose of the present discussion to engage in the debate. A comprehensive treatment of the subject has appeared recently in E.P. Sanders' work, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 17-135, 143-167.

¹³⁴But see the discussion of "The Old and New Torah," in Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 147-176; cf. Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 512: "Christ is called the second Adam, but not the new Moses."

¹³⁵Cf. Schoeps, Paul, pp. 171-175 on "Christ, the End of the Law."

"The law radicalizes sin, by allowing it to increase through transgression."¹³⁶ But "sin was in the world before the law was given" (v. 13), and its effects were felt in terms of death. The law did not alter the situation of sin and death, except to increase the trespass (v. 20) and hold man more accountable (ἐλλογεῖται, v. 14).¹³⁷ The main point, it seems, is to place the law in the old aeon alongside Adam's sin. However varied its function may be in Paul,¹³⁸ it is certain that the law is not life-giving (cf. Gal. 3:21), neither does it constitute a third aeon. Paul's soteriology here, as elsewhere, determines his view of the law; salvation from the power and condemnation of sin is exclusively Christological and eschatological, everything else in salvation-history, including the law, being subordinated typologically to this apocalyptic Christian understanding.

One final point in the reversal concerns the replacement of lordships. The reign of death through sin is typologically replaced by the reign of Christ in life through righteousness (5:20). By the very fact that men live in Adam's world death reigns, and death reigns because men sin in Adam's world (5:12), even when the law enters the scene (5:13-14; 20). "To be human is to be subject to a servitude (Rom. 6:16), a dominion (Rom. 6:9) at the hands of death."¹³⁹ But the act of God in the death of Christ brought the power of sin and the reign of death to an end. Yet the

¹³⁶Käsemann, Romans, p. 158. "...the only point for the moment is that between Adam and Christ and the world inaugurated by them, there is no third alternative...The law belongs in both fact and effect to the side of sin and death." Cf. E. Jüngel, "Das Gesetz zwischen Adam und Christus: Eine theologische Studie zu Röm. 5:12-21," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche 60 (1963), pp. 42-74.

¹³⁷Beker, Paul, pp. 85-86.

¹³⁸See Gal. 3:19-29; Rom. 7:7-25.

¹³⁹Robinson, The Body, p. 35; likewise Bultmann, Theology I, pp. 330ff.

two regimes, rather than being completely antithetical one to the other, are typologically related to each other, the first to the last, the old to the new, "so that as sin reigned in death, grace also might reign through righteousness to eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." Moreover, certain lines of correspondence, or perhaps better, correlation, are definitive between Adam one and Adam two. At this point, we may explore this aspect as well.

3. Typological Correlation

That there is a correlation, by which is meant a formal and material correspondence and continuity within the typological scheme, has been implicit throughout the discussion on typological reversal. It remains now to explicate the basic lines of correlation which make the Adam-Christ motif typological. Most scholars tend to agree that the motif is one of *material* contrast with only a *formal* parallel (the one and the many).¹⁴⁰ But it is my contention that contrast and "parallel" meet in τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος and πολλῶ μᾶλλον¹⁴¹ (Rom. 5:10, 14-17), and they meet materially as well as formally.¹⁴² But it cannot be maintained, as Karl Barth supposed,¹⁴³ that Christ forms the main connecting link between type and antitype in addition to being himself the antitype. Christology, in Barth, is understood in terms of

¹⁴⁰So Gibbs, Creation, p. 50; Scroggs, Last Adam, p. 80.

¹⁴¹Gibbs, Creation, p. 50.

¹⁴²Against Gibbs who believes the parallel to be formal—one man's act, the other man's act, etc.—and the contrast to be material (Creation, p. 50).

¹⁴³In fairness to Karl Barth, he did catch something of Paul's "backward" way of thinking; Paul assessed Adam (Man) from the perspective of life in Christ. But Paul was at pains to stress the *difference* between man in Adam and Man in Christ; the correlation of which we speak in this section is subordinated in Paul to the reversal about which we spoke in the previous section.

anthropology, in that "Jesus Christ is the secret truth about the essential nature of man,...¹⁴⁴ for Christ stands above and is first, and Adam stands below and is second."¹⁴⁵ This in effect makes anthropology the correlative point,¹⁴⁶ other aspects being subordinated. But as we saw in the section above the state of man in Adam is reversed by Christ in accordance with the plan of God for mankind. And this concept of the plan of God requires emphasis in dealing with the issue of correlation in the Adam-Christ typology.

Paul recognizes one overarching reality by which history is brought to its destined end: God. And the texts we have studied give ample evidence to this effect. Man's sinning and dying has, from the beginning (Adam), come under the superintending action of God, the Creator, whose righteousness was revealed ultimately and graciously in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (e.g. Rom. 1:17-3:20). This is fundamental to Paul's understanding of man in history, of the change of aeons, and of the typological motif of Adam-Christ. Yet most scholars¹⁴⁷ in studying this motif have neglected to emphasize the importance of *theology* for Paul.¹⁴⁸ Robert Jewett, on the other hand, has noted this emphasis. "Paul," he says, "will acknowledge

(See Barth, Christ and Adam, pp. 20-25; 80-90; also idem., The Humanity of God, ET J.W. Thomas (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960), pp. 37-65).

¹⁴⁴ Barth, Christ and Adam, p. 86.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁴⁶ As compared to the contrast made by Paul in I Cor. 15 that "the first man was from the earth; the second man is from heaven" (v. 47).

¹⁴⁷ E.g. Barth, Scroggs, Brandenburger, Barrett, Bultmann, Cullmann.

¹⁴⁸ Beker has emphasized theology along the lines of Paul's apocalyptic thought, but he has minimized the place of typology in theology. Paul, pp. 135-181; 335-360; cf. Cullmann, Christology, pp. 2-3: "Christian theology is in reality almost exclusively Christology."

only one actor and guarantor of continuity and that is God who raises the dead."¹⁴⁹ It is God who reconciles the world to himself *through* Christ (II Cor. 5:18f); it is God who will subject all, even the Son, under him so that he "may be everything to every one" (I Cor. 15:28). And the passages on Adam and Christ, examined earlier, contain the same connecting link between *Urzeit* and *Endzeit*, between Adam and Christ.

The sin of Adam, and the sinning of man in Adam (Rom. 5:12, 19), did not cancel the purposes of God in and for creation. God elected to create a new order out of the old one of sin and death which had spread to all men from the one man, Adam (Rom. 5:12). God's intention became more focused in the giving of the law (the trespass was increased, Rom. 5:20) between Adam and Christ (5:13-14; 20); but the Law came to its end (τέλος) in Christ (Rom. 10:4). For Paul, it seems, the consistent principle is the plan of God which has been operative in history, and now "much more" manifest in that the grace of God and the free gift in the grace of that one man Jesus Christ has abounded for the many (5:15). The plan of God comes to fulfilment in Jesus Christ. Consequently, all aspects of correlation (or continuity) involved in the typological configuration of Adam and Christ must be subsumed under this all-embracing one: God accomplishes his will through Christ.

Another important point of the typological correspondence is that both Adam and Christ are ἀνθρώπος (Rom. 5:18-19; I Cor. 15:21, 47). And the death of Christ, which for him was an act of obedience to God's will (v. 19), corresponds to the death-plight of all men in Adam. The death of Christ is therefore continuous and discontinuous concurrently. It is

¹⁴⁹ Jewett, Anthropological Terms, p. 267.

continuous in that it is participation in the old creation of Adam, and the one who dies is really the second Adam, the last one. It is discontinuous in that the sequel, the resurrection, inaugurates a new reign of righteousness and eternal life (Rom. 5:21).

"Death is an intruder in God's universe,"¹⁵⁰ and is encountered by God in Christ on its own cruel terms, "even by death on a cross" (Phil. 2:8). But God raised Christ from the dead to lordship over the universe (Phil. 2:10-11).

The same basic pattern of correspondence exists in I Corinthians 15, with one or two additional elements. God is still very much the chief actor in the apocalyptic drama of the ages; it is God who raises Christ from the dead as first fruits, "then at his coming those who belong to Christ" (vv. 20, 22); and it is he who is ultimately responsible for the destiny of man. Adam is a type of the last Adam, in that both are constitutively ἄνθρωπος, human (vv. 45ff), and both die, the first because of sin (15:21a, 22a; cf. Rom. 3:9, 23; 6:23) and the last on behalf of sinners (15:3a; cf. Rom. 6:5-11; II Cor. 5:14-15).

The new element of typological correlation in I Corinthians 15 is located in the term σῶμα, body.¹⁵¹ Both first and last Adam have a "body." Paul here may be accommodating the Corinthians' rejection of the resurrection of the flesh (σάρξ) which belongs to the mortal world of ψυχή (v. 45). Even so, it is evident that he himself does not believe in the resurrection of

¹⁵⁰Robinson, Body, p. 35.

¹⁵¹On Paul's use of σῶμα see E. Schweitzer, "σῶμα," TDNT, vii, pp. 1060-74; Jewett, Anthropological Terms, pp. 250-304; Bultmann, Theology I, pp. 192-203.

mortal flesh (cf. v. 50).¹⁵² But he does believe in the resurrection of the body. That which once was a ψυχικόν body in the first Adam will become a πνευματικόν body at the resurrection of Christians who are in the last Adam, Christ. "Paul uses the body concept as the basis of existence in the resurrected state."¹⁵³ In more Bultmannian terms, personhood¹⁵⁴ is preserved and continuous from old creation to new, and again this element is part of the correspondence necessary to a typological mode of thought. Resurrected Adam is not a naked seed (15:37) suspended between heaven and earth, but is rather "body" (σῶμα), related to the physical (ψυχικόν) world of Adam first and to the spiritual (πνευματικόν) world of the last Adam, second. The first corresponds to the second, and precedes the second as type to antitype. The whole discussion of the resurrection, it seems, rests on the basic assumption "that the body is the basis of relationship,"¹⁵⁵ and that God provides the body as the *element* of correlation between first Adam and last, while God himself remains the supreme actor of both continuity and change (cf. 15:51-56).

To conclude, the chapter has sought to demonstrate that Paul's Adam-Christ motif takes a typological configuration of thought which interprets Adam in relation to Christ from the perspective of the new age of life in

¹⁵²Actually Paul's view is in keeping with IV Ezra 7:26-31 and II Baruch 50-51; but cf. II Maccabees 7:11-24.

¹⁵³Jewett, Anthropological Terms, pp. 265-6.

¹⁵⁴Bultmann, Theology I: "Man, his person as a whole, can be denoted as *soma*... (p. 195) the *soma* transformed,—i.e. released from the dominion of the flesh—is the vehicle of the resurrection-life. The *soma* is man himself, while *sarx* is a power that lays claim to him and determines him" (p. 201).

¹⁵⁵Jewett, Anthropological Terms, p. 267. Cf. Schweitzer, TDNT, VII, p. 1063; on the extension of the concept of "the body" to include the corporate members of the elect in Christ see A. Schweitzer, Mysticism, pp. 115-125; and Käsemann, Perspectives, pp. 114-121; Robinson, The Body, pp. 67-83; and M.E. Dahl, The Resurrection of the Body (London: SCM Press, 1962), pp. 59-73.

the resurrected Christ. Interpreting as he does from the vantage point of *Endzeit*, Paul conceives of the old creation as bearing the τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος which gives way to the new. Moreover, the study has sought to lay an initial foundation for the thesis that for Paul the earthly Jesus necessarily took his place in the old creation in the first Adam to which the terms ψυχή, σάρξ and νόμος apply. This is the sphere of "type" or prefiguration in which God's plan for man, caught as he is in the human predicament of sin and death, is worked out by God's free gift of grace toward the attainment of promise in the new creation of life in Christ Jesus by the resurrection from the dead. . The continuity between the man of earth (whether Adam or Jesus) and the man of heaven (whether the resurrected Christ or resurrected Christians) may be called typological, in so far as the earthly contains both human identity and divine intention. There is a degree to which the earthly carries over into the heavenly in terms of a "body" appropriate to the particular sphere of existence as God provides.

It was argued that Paul thought God to be the principal actor from beginning to end, and that he alone was responsible for reversing the state of man in Adam. God, above all, constituted the continuity from first Adam to last, from the old age to the new, from death to life. Chapter IV on Abraham's faith will give further support to the idea that Paul's thought operates very much along typological lines in all aspects of salvation-history.

Appendix: Romans 1:18-32

At one or two points in the discussion of Adam and Christ in Paul, I have made oblique reference to Romans 1:18-32. Although Adam is not actually named in the passage, some scholars¹ have concluded that Adam's sin against God in the Genesis account underlies the whole section on the plight of sin in which man (especially Gentiles in 1:18-32) is entrenched. Romans 1:18-32, however, belongs with 2:1-29 and the whole passage creates significant difficulties for exegesis.

Many of the statements, especially in chapter 2, cannot easily be reconciled with the preponderance of Paul's conclusions in the letters concerning the state of Jews and Gentiles apart from Christ. It is beyond the intention of the present discussion to debate the issues arising out of Romans 2. Yet the indictment of Romans 2 against Jews is an extension of, and belongs with, the indictment of Gentiles in 1:18-32. The passage as a whole is, for Paul, a way of setting forth the all-inclusive plight. And before the section (perhaps alluding to Adam) can be analysed, its place with Romans 2 needs to be acknowledged.

Among the several attempts to solve the enigmatic statements of Romans 1:18-2:29, I wish to focus on a recent observation made by E.P. Sanders.² He thinks

¹Morna D. Hooker, "Adam in Romans 1," New Testament Studies, 6 (1960), pp. 297-306; C.K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last, pp. 17-19; N. Hyldahl, "A Reminiscence of the Old Testament in Rom. 1:23," New Testament Studies, 11 (1956), pp. 285-8; and somewhat qualified, Käsemann, Romans, pp. 42, 45.

²E.P. Sanders, "Appendix: Romans 2," Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 123-135.

that in Rom. 1:18-2:29 Paul takes over to an unusual degree homiletical material from Diaspora Judaism, that he alters it in only insubstantial ways, and that consequently the treatment of the law in chapter 2 cannot be harmonized with any of the diverse things which Paul says about the law elsewhere.³

Sanders goes on to deal with the points of difficulty (2:4, 7, 10, 13-16, 25-29) and maintains further

That the best way to read 1:18-2:29 is as a synagogue sermon. It is slashing and exaggerated....The Christian viewpoint plays no role and the entire chapter [2] is written from a Jewish perspective.⁴

Even if we concede Sanders' conclusion, we are still left with the passage, not as an interpolation, as Sanders admits,⁵ but as a piece of material which Paul somehow found conducive to his argument in Romans. If we accept the conclusion that Romans 1:18-2:29 is a synagogue sermon from Diaspora Judaism, we could go further and suggest that Paul himself could have preached this, or a similar sermon, at one time when he still preached circumcision (Gal. 5:11).⁶ The overall effect of the whole passage is to charge Jews and

³Ibid., p. 123.

⁴Ibid., p. 131.

⁵Ibid. Although admitting that the passage is not an interpolation to be dismissed from the Pauline corpus, Sanders differentiates this passage in Romans from other pre-Pauline Christological material, e.g. Phil. 2:6-11 and Rom. 1:3f. Romans 2 in particular, "at no point reflects specifically Christian thinking" (pp. 131f).

⁶ Assuming that Paul preached in Diaspora synagogues during his pre-Christian experience in Judaism, it is not impossible to conceive that he recalled his own sermons, and incorporated one of them into the early part of Romans. However, if his *Christian* experience transformed his Jewish thinking so as to cast off some of its basic tenets (e.g. justification by observing the law), one wonders why he would incorporate an old Jewish sermon into his profoundly Christian letter to the Romans. Worse still, one wonders why he would incorporate the sermon of a non-Christian Jew without more serious correction than is evident in Romans 2. (See Käsemann, Romans, p. 13 on Paul's correction of incorporated tradition.)

Gentiles alike guilty before God.⁷ But the parts internal to the argument, even if Paul incorporated the passage, call for analysis, if for no other reason than to determine the nature of the material which Paul consciously incorporated into a letter of such strategic importance for him.⁸

Our particular concern with Romans 1:18-32 is to discover the degree to which Adam of Genesis 1-3 is embedded in the passage. As mentioned earlier, the passage was not discussed in the body of the chapter because it does not name Adam explicitly, and now it has been noted further that the passage may not even have been original with Paul. These things considered, it still seems worthwhile to include some discussion of the passage, if only in a separate section at the end of the chapter on Adam.

The verdict of the whole section from 1:18-3:20 is "that all men, both Jews and Greeks, are under the power of sin" (3:9) and that "no human being ($\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha$ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi$) will be justified in $\overline{\text{God's}}$ sight by works of the law" (3:20). Commentators generally agree that 1:18-32 is part of the larger context in which finally both Gentile and Jew stand in need of salvation beyond the old creation.⁹ Few, however, would place the Jew in the accusation

⁷ Paul's own *Christian* conviction comes through at 3:20, after he has charged "that all men, both Jews and Greeks, are under the power of sin" (3:9). Cf. Käsemann, *Romans*, p. 76; he says that the intention of Romans 2 is found in verse 29 in the idea that "real circumcision is a matter of the heart."

⁸ A.J.M. Wedderburn proposes another reason for the examination of Romans 1:18ff: the passage (together with 7:7ff) "*complements* our understanding of Rom. 5:12-21." But he also recognizes that "strangely Paul makes no use of the argument of 1:18ff...nor indeed of the idea of 2:14f" ("Adam in Paul's Letter to the Romans," *Studia Biblica 1978: Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 3* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), pp. 413-430; quotations from p. 424).

⁹ See, e.g. Käsemann, "The Need for the Revelation of the Righteousness of God (1:18-3:20)," *Romans*, pp. 33-36; Sanday and Headlam, "Transition from Gentile to Jew. Both Alike Guilty," *Romans*, p. 53; G. Bornkamm, "The Revela-

of 1:18-32.¹⁰ Yet there is a sense in which all people, including Jews, stand judged and condemned for their service of "the creature rather than the Creator" (1:25).¹¹ Paul's understanding of the statement is probably that of a universal plight, over against his belief in the universal Lordship of Christ in salvation. The universality of the plight of man "in Adam" (I Cor. 15:22) is *implicit* at least in 1:18-32.¹²

A more detailed examination of the passage may now be attempted.

tion of God's Wrath, Romans 1-3," Early Christian Experience (London: SCM Press, 1969), pp. 47-64; John Knox, "The World's Need of God's Saving Act in Christ (1:18-3:20)," The Interpreters Bible, pp. 395ff; C.E.B. Cranfield, "In the light of the Gospel there is no question of man's being righteous before God otherwise than by faith (1:18-3:20)," Romans, Vol. I, pp. 104ff.

¹⁰ If the Wisdom of Solomon is indicative of Hellenistic Jewish sentiment regarding the condition of the Gentile world, and if the passage echoes the words and ideas of Wisdom (see below), then the charge here is against Gentiles, not Jews. Wisdom states that the wrath of God is directed to Gentiles, but not to Jews: "For when /the holy people/ were tried, though they were being disciplined in mercy, they learned how the ungodly were tormented when judged in wrath. For thou didst test them as a father does in warning but thou didst examine the ungodly as a stern king does in condemnation" (1:9f); "While chastening us then scourgest our enemies ten thousand times more" (12:22); "For even if we sin we are thine, knowing thy power, . . . for to know thee is complete righteousness" (RSV). On the Jewish view of Gentile wickedness, as compared with Jewish righteousness, see further Anders Nygren, Commentary on Romans (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1949; Stockholm, 1944), pp. 113ff.

¹¹ Markus Barth, "Speaking of Sin: Some Interpretive Notes on Romans 1:18-3:20," Scottish Journal of Theology, 8 (1955), pp. 288-96, may have overstated the case: "Paul does not speak of Gentile only in 1:18ff but of the Jew first and the Gentile—All have deviated from the original revelation of creation" (p. 291). Beker seems to have come closer to the overall intention of Paul in the whole passage; "Rom. 1:18-32 and 2:1-29 are not simply juxtaposed indictments of Gentiles and Jews but are interwoven. Although Paul employs a traditional Jewish/Hellenistic scheme in Rom. 1:18-32 . . . it seems that he generalizes the scheme so that it is applicable to the whole world," Paul, p. 79.

¹² The plight of man is stated differently in Romans 7. See Bultmann, "Romans 7 and Paul's Anthropology," The Old and the New Man, pp. 33-48, and Wedderburn who thinks Rom. 1:18ff and 7:7ff are both from Paul, both have Adam somehow in the background and both are complementary statements of the plight, "Adam in Romans," pp. 413, 417, 422f.

First, there is a question of literary and/or conceptual dependence. In thought, the passage reflects Hellenistic/Jewish concepts of revelation and ethical judgement, especially Stoic.¹³ The notion underlying the text seems to be that since man lives in the created universe he is obliged to respond to, or to live in harmony with, the revelation of the Creator in the cosmos.¹⁴ As it stands in the text, the statement is reasonably consonant with Paul's concept that man does not respond to the Creator, but rather sins against him. It is also generally agreed that the concepts here can be identified with a similar kind of accusation in the Hellenistic Jewish Wisdom of Solomon (12-14).¹⁵ Both texts, Rom. 1:18-32 and Wisdom 12-14, focus on idolatry, and both emphasize that the ungodly are without excuse.¹⁶ Sanday and Headlam claim that "there are clear indications of the use by the Apostle of the book of Wisdom."¹⁷ They then proceed to line up numerous parallels between the two sources to prove Paul's dependence on Wisdom.¹⁸ This procedure is

¹³This point is generally acknowledged by scholars, particularly with reference to Paul's use of a catalogue of vices grouped under a) sensual (1:29a); and b) anti-social (1:29b-30). See, e.g. Matthew Black, Romans, pp. 50-1; H.P. Owen, "The Scope of Natural Revelation in Romans 1 and Acts XVII," New Testament Studies, 5 (1958-59), pp. 133-43; Barrett, Romans, pp. 36-44; and Dodd, Romans, p. 27.

¹⁴Cf. the Hellenistic Jewish apologetic of Philo which is virtually devoid of the apocalyptic element present in Romans 1. Quod Deus immutabilis sit, 23-25; De opificio Mundi, 3.

¹⁵Cf. I Enoch 91:7 which is more closely parallel with the apocalyptic element in Romans 1: "The Lord comes forth with wrath and chastisement to hold judgement on the earth." So Käsemann, Romans, pp. 17-38; Bornkamm, "Revelation," pp. 54-58; Michael, Römer, pp. 60-63, et al.

¹⁶Romans 1:20; cf. Wisdom 13:8; I Enoch 99:8-9.

¹⁷Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 51.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 52; they cite ten parallels but not one is exact wording. Yet they conclude that "there can be no question of direct quotation.../and/ that at some time St. Paul must have bestowed upon the Book of Wisdom a considerable amount of study."

somewhat questionable and quite unnecessary.¹⁹ Even if Wisdom had been in circulation and was available to Paul, the text of Romans 1 actually does not indicate conclusively that Paul had the text of Wisdom before him when he wrote Romans, and Paul nowhere cites Wisdom by name. It would be much more fitting to say with Samuel Holmes that "a parallel in expression or thought may be only coincidence or go back to a common source....Both writers may be using a well-known argument of the Stoics."²⁰ Reliance on Wisdom becomes even more understandable if, in fact, the provenance and original *Sitz im Leben* of the passage was a synagogue sermon in Diaspora Judaism.²¹

With even more long-standing scholarly consent, the text of 1:23 is said to have its literary ancestry in Psalm 106:20 (LXX 105).²² The following parallel illustrates the verbal similarity:

Psalm 106:20
καὶ ἠλλάξαντες τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν
ἐν ὁμοιώματι μύσχου ἔσθοντος
χόρτον

Romans 1:23
καὶ ἠλλάξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου
θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνης φθαρτοῦ
ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετελυῶν καὶ τετραπόδων
καὶ ἐρπετῶν

¹⁹Note Sandmel, "Parallellomania," Journal of Biblical Literature, 80 (1962), 1-13. It must be recognized here, though, that Sandmel was criticizing superficial parallels between isolated texts, especially those by Strack and Billerbeck. The situation with Romans 1 and Wisdom 12-14 appears to be other than superficial. Still, proof of Paul's dependence on Wisdom is another matter.

²⁰Samuel Holmes, "The Wisdom of Solomon: Introduction," The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, Vol. I, ed. R.H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 256; "It is almost impossible to adduce a proof of connection which will satisfy everybody,...but it seems perverse to deny connection."

²¹Sanders, "Romans 2," p. 131.

²²See the discussion in M.D. Hooker, "Adam in Romans 1," New Testament Studies, 6 (1960), p. 297. Says Barrett, Romans, p. 38, Paul "has adapted his quotation to a Hellenistic setting."

²³"The allusion probably accounts for the obscure expression 'the mere shadowy image of'" (ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνης, 1:23), Barrett, Romans, p. 38.

But parallel terms, striking as they are, are less arresting than the idea which both texts carry, namely the nature of *idolatry* as an exchange of the glory of God for that of an idol. Dissimilarity must also be acknowledged. The "glory" in Psalm 106 is that of deliverance by the hand of God (102:21ff); in Romans 1:23, it is the glory of the incorruptible Creator, God (1:25).²⁴ The idol in Psalm 106 is specifically that of a calf; in Romans 1:23 it is variously corruptible man, birds, quadrupeds and snakes. The provenance of the idolatry here appears to be in Egypt.

Then in 1960 M.D. Hooker²⁵ argued persuasively that Paul had Adam of the Genesis story in mind when he wrote Romans 1. She followed the lead of N. Hyldahl²⁶ who proposed that Paul probably had a train of thought in motion which linked several texts of Scripture including Psalm 106, Jeremiah 2:11 and Deuteronomy 4:15-18. But Hyldahl argued (all too briefly) that Paul had Genesis 1:20ff uppermost in his mind when he wrote Romans 1. Both Hyldahl and Hooker focused on Genesis 1:26 in relation to Romans 1:23 and found more verbal parallels there than elsewhere.

Genesis 1:26 (LXX)
καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός, ποιήσωμεν
ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ
καθ' ὁμοίωσιν καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῇ ἰχθύων
τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν, καὶ πάσης
τῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἑρπετῶν τῶν
ἑρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

Romans 1:23
καὶ ἥλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφάρτου
θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνοσ φθαρτοῦ
ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων
καὶ ἑρπετῶν

²⁴It is difficult to understand how H.P. Owen can say that "Paul does not describe God as the maker of the world" in Romans 1:19ff. His article misses the eschatological focus of this passage, mainly because of his questionable method of combining it with the Areopagus speech of Acts 17, "The Scope of Natural Revelation," p. 134.

²⁵Hooker, "Adam in Romans 1," pp. 297-306 (note 1 above).

²⁶N. Hyldahl, "A Reminiscence of the Old Testament of Rom. 1:23," New Testament Studies II (1956), pp. 285-8.

Hooker paid special attention to the two puzzling terms in Romans 1:23, ὁμοιώματι and εἰκόνας,²⁷ and concluded that their use in Romans 1 could best be explained by assuming that Paul, in fact, had Genesis 1:26 in mind when he wrote. Verbal similarity itself, it must be urged, is hardly sufficient ground for saying that the writer (Paul or someone else) intended to have Adam silently embedded in the statement. Hooker did go beyond the verbal parallels to suggest that Romans 1:18ff echoes the movement from Genesis 1 to 3, and that "according to Paul's account here the sin into which man originally falls is that of idolatry,"²⁸ or at least it "has opened the way to idolatry."²⁹

Since the publication of Hooker's article, more and more scholars are prepared to acknowledge (to a greater or lesser degree)³⁰ the presence of the Genesis story of Adam in the background of Romans 1. Yet Hooker's thesis has not gone uncontested. Recently, A.J.M. Wedderburn, although admitting the allusion to Adam, has pointed out that "the Old Testament allusions to a fall in Rom. 1:18ff are the accounts, *not of Adam's fall, but of Israel's fall into*

²⁷The meaning of each of the terms is virtually the same. Barrett is probably correct: "the reduplication emphasizes the inferior, shadowy character of that which is substituted for God," Romans, p. 38.

²⁸Hooker, "Adam in Romans 1," p. 298.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 300f.

³⁰It is interesting, for example, that in 1957 C.K. Barrett made no mention of Adam or the Genesis story in his commentary on Romans, but in 1964, in his book, From First Adam to Last, he acknowledged Hooker's conclusion as "fundamentally correct," pp. 17ff. Note also Käsemann's qualified acknowledgement of Hooker's thesis; Romans, pp. 42, 45.

idolatry,"³¹ and that the allusions to Adam of Genesis "are to chapter 1, not to chapter 3."³² Even so, Wedderburn is obliged to acknowledge some allusion to Adam in Romans 1:18ff, and we may enquire further concerning the part Adam appears to play in the passage.

Adam as implied in Romans 1 is a created being whose capacity for appropriate knowledge of the invisible God was (and is) perverted by an impossible grasping after divinity (cf. Phil. 2:6f).³³ Men, following in the footsteps of Man in Genesis, "although they knew God they did not honour him as God or give thanks to him,...but exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling mortal man or birds or animals or reptiles" (1:21-23; cf. Phil. 2:6f). All men stand in solidarity with "the first man Adam" as we saw in I Corinthians 15:45, and they come under the judgement of God "since all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God" (Rom. 3:23). There is therefore a moot connection between Romans 1 and Romans 5 where Paul judges that "sin came into the world through one man and death through sin; and so death spread to all men because all men sinned" (5:12).³⁴ At the same time, it must be observed that the argumentation of Romans 1:18ff differs from 5:12ff. In Romans 1 the concern is mainly with the *inexcusable* state of affairs in human kind. "Ever since the creation of the world /God's/s/ invisible nature (τὰ ἀόρατα), namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived (καθαρῶτα) in the things that have been made." So "they

³¹Wedderburn, "Adam in Romans," p. 414.

³²Ibid., p. 416.

³³In Phil. 2:6-11 the nature and work of Christ stands in sharp contrast to the rebellion of Adam who counted "equality with God a thing to be grasped" (2:6). So Barrett, First Adam, p. 16.

³⁴Wedderburn, "Adam in Romans," pp. 423f.

are without excuse" (1:20f). This is not the thought of Romans 5:12ff where Paul argues that "sin came into the world by one man and death through sin."³⁵

It may be possible to deduce a notion of natural revelation from some statements in the passage,³⁶ but the overall intention, surely, is to hold man in the old creation completely accountable: "They are without excuse." The Adamic predicament in this passage is that men "suppress the truth" (1:18b) about God while they live as creatures in the creation in which the Creator's power and divinity (θεολότης) are evident, and they resist the truth deliberately and hopelessly "by their wickedness" (ἐν ἀδικία, 1:18b). The whole argument gives the impression of man's frontal attack on God, and it is judged with horror as sacrilege.³⁷

It may be noted further that the thought of the passage seems to turn on the basis of law operating in the universe. The Gentiles are held accountable for their unrighteousness on the same basis as the Jews, on the basis of law. Certain branches of Judaism believed that the Gentiles also had the law of God, but in a different form from that of the law of Moses.³⁸

³⁵"In 5:13f Paul deals with the question of the sense in which those between Adam and Moses could be held to have sinned. His answer seems to be that they did." This is confirmed by the fact that they died. Wedderburn, "Adam in Romans," p. 424.

³⁶So Owen, "The Scope of Natural Revelation," pp. 133-43.

³⁷Käsemann, Romans, p. 38; so also Schlatter, Gerechtigkeit, pp. 59-60.

³⁸The Jewish doctrine of the universality of the law has its background in the Hellenistic view of law in nature, man's life being a microcosm related to the macrocosm of the universe. Hellenistic Judaism conducted its apologetic on the strength of this view, "The world is in harmony with the Law, and the Law with the world," Philo, de Opif. Mundi, 3, cf. The Letter of Aristeeas, and IV Maccabees. Rabbinic Judaism, at least in some branches, likewise adopted the theory that God had given the law to the Gentiles and they were without excuse; so H.L. Struck und P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament

This idea comes up in 2:14-16, and it could be that the concept of a universal law of God underlies the statements of 1:18ff as well.³⁹ The accusation in the text of Romans 1:18-32—including the characteristically Hellenistic-Jewish catalogue of vices⁴⁰—seems to be motivated from categories found elsewhere in Hellenistic Jewish literature such as Wisdom or Philo. The created universe in Philo "is in harmony with the law, and the law with the world," and the law in creation is open to human reason so that man can come to know God and be "constituted thereby a loyal citizen of the world."⁴¹ Granted that the thought of Romans 1:18ff is not exactly the same as these ideas, there is nevertheless a kinship which is undeniable.⁴²

The matter of the parallel statements about revelation in 1:17-18 now requires explanation, and with this the alleged allusion to Adam in Romans 1:18ff may be brought to a conclusion. How do the propositions, "the righteousness of God is revealed," and "the wrath of God is revealed" relate to each other? It would probably not be correct to say, as Markus

aus Talmud und Midrasch (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926), pp. 36ff: "Diese Grundgebote empfing Adam in einer Sechszahl u. Noah samt dem, so sagte man weiter, habe gott am Sinai die Tora sämtlichen Heidenvölkern zur Annahme angeboten u. ihnen auch noch später am Ebal Gelegenheit gegeben, von der Tora Kenntnis zu nehmen. Dass die vor - u. ausserisraelitische Welt weder jene Grundgebote gehalten, noch später der Tora irgendwelche Beachtung geschenkt hat u. deshalb dem Götzendienst anheimgefallen ist, das bleibt ihre Schuld, die durch nichts gerechtfertigt werden kann." Cf. Bornkamm, "Revelation," pp. 50-53, and Lohmann, Der Römerbrief, pp. 13-15.

³⁹ One of the difficulties of attributing Rom. 1:18-2:29 to Paul lies in this notion of the law by which Gentiles are judged and condemned or saved. See Sanders, "Romans 2," pp. 125ff.

⁴⁰ See Barrett, Romans, p. 40; Knox, "Romans," p. 403; and Dodd, Romans, p. 27.

⁴¹ De Opificio Mundi, 3.

⁴² Cf. Bornkamm, "Revelation," p. 54: "Paul alters this completely, not by contesting the knowledge of God but by understanding it radically." Similarly Käsemann, Romans, p. 46.

Barth seems to do,⁴³ that the two represent the two sides of the gospel. That is, that the second, the revelation of the wrath of God, is as much a part of the summons to faith as the first, the revelation of God's righteousness. Even if we allow Barth's connection between the two phrases, "the wrath of God" of 1:18 is not unique to Romans (or to Paul). The "wrath of God" is an apocalyptic term with roots in the prophetic Scriptures. It signals the day of the Lord, the Judgement of God upon the unrighteousness of men.⁴⁴ Paul's way of understanding ἀποκαλύπτεται, present tense, is almost certainly not that of an ongoing process of judgement in human existence,⁴⁵ but as the inbreaking of God's judgement initiated with the inauguration of the new creation in Christ in which the righteousness of God is being revealed (present tense).⁴⁶ The fact is that "the wrath of God" stands at the head of a statement on Gentile sins and is not interpreted in the usual Christian, Pauline fashion. Judgement appears to be ongoing, and the sentence already in place: "God gave them up" (1:24, 26, 28).

⁴³M. Barth, "Speaking of Sin," p. 296: "Paul's way of speaking about sin is a decisive and indispensable part of the Gospel of God's righteousness." Cf. Schlatter, Gerechtigkeit, pp. 48ff, and Nygren, Romans, p. 99: "The wrath of God stands in juxtaposition to the righteousness of God. Even though the context of the revelation is diametrically opposite in the two cases, the revelation is nevertheless of the same active, dynamic kind in both." Cf. D.H. Van Daalen, "The Revelation of God's Righteousness," Studia Biblica 1978 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1980), pp. 383-389.

⁴⁴So Käsemann, Romans, pp. 37f; Barrett, Romans, p. 34; and Black, Romans, pp. 48-9, et al.

⁴⁵Against Dodd, Romans, p. 29: "Evil in society is presented as a natural process of cause and effect, and not as a direct act of God."

⁴⁶On the inbreaking of the new aeon, see Nygren, Romans, pp. 47f; and Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 203ff.

To elaborate further on this passage would not serve any meaningful purpose for this study. The brief examination has signalled, merely, the fact that some scholars have found allusions to Adam in Romans 1:18-32. And while this observation is not denied, it remains that the passage highlights the sin of idolatry of which Adam was *not* guilty, and the passage, in any case, does not actually *name* Adam as the original culprit. The whole matter is further complicated by the possibility that Paul has taken over the whole argument from 1:18-2:29 with only slight alteration, and that the thoughts as they stand are not completely representative of Paul's Christian way of thinking. With all of these factors in mind, this passage, with Adam implied, has received this separate and brief treatment.

CHAPTER IV

Abraham and Christians: Righteousness by Faith

Some principal lines of Paul's thought identified in the discussion of Adam-Christ typology carry over to that of Abraham. These may simply be repeated here by way of introduction to the typological aspects relating to Abraham. First, *God's plan* of salvation is perceived in the episode of Abraham's faith by which he was reckoned righteous before God. God is found to be the principal actor¹ in the drama of salvation between *Urzeit* and *Endzeit*.² Second, the idea of the two aeons continues to play a significant

¹In his analysis of "the structure of Paul's argument in Romans 4," Halvor Moxnes has shown convincingly that Paul's use of Gen. 15:6 throughout the chapter accents the role of God as principal actor in reckoning Abraham righteous. Abraham's faith in God's promise "stresses God's initiative in acting...." Theology in Conflict: Studies of Paul's Understanding of God in Romans. Supplements to Novum Testamentum (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), pp. 108-116 (quotes from pp. 108, 116). The analysis of Abrahamic typology in Paul will illustrate further the significance of the divine initiative in the overall scheme in which typology operates.

²Whereas the Adam-Christ thinking, discussed in the preceding chapter, was characterized mainly by reversal, or change, from *Urzeit* (Old Creation) to *Endzeit* (New Creation), Paul's argument from Abraham represents continuity in salvation-history, Abraham marking the initial act of God in reckoning righteousness. See Käsemann's helpful discussion, Romans, pp. 128-129: "Verse 23 establishes the correspondence between primal-time and end-time.... In the patriarch as the prototype of faith...God's plan of salvation is announced in accordance with the law of the end-time" (p. 127). Käsemann elsewhere points out correctly that "Paul does not establish *unbroken* continuity between Abraham and Christ or promise and fulfilment" (p. 117, emphasis mine), and on this point Paul moves away from a Jewish understanding of salvation-history. Cf. Ulrich Wilckens, "Die Rechtfertigung Abrahams nach Römer 4," in Rechtfertigung als Freiheit: Paulusstudien (Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener, 1974), pp. 121-7, where he emphasizes continuity. See further, Bornkamm, Paul, pp. 148-9.

part in the argument. The change³ from the old to the new has been inaugurated by the act of God in raising Christ from the dead. Third, and characteristic of the typological pattern, *the past is understood in the light of the present*. Paul's thought interprets "backward"⁴ from his experience of Christ in the mission to the Gentiles to the episode of Abraham's relationship to God.

But from the Adam-Christ typology we should not expect to find the pattern of reversal, or contrast, so evident there. Rather, Abraham appears as a positive type in the *Urzeit* of salvation-history of the way in which both Jews and Gentiles will be made righteous at the *Endzeit* in Christ.⁵ The use Paul makes of Abraham in the midst of his argument against the efficacy of the law for salvation, whether in Romans or Galatians, is almost certainly a deliberate attempt to reverse a line of argument based on Abraham already in existence in Judaism.⁶ That Abraham was viewed as an exemplar of

³Hickling's argument on the centre of Paul's thought, noted in the previous chapter, may be recalled again with reference to Abraham. The "time-change" is perhaps less pronounced in the passages on Abraham; nevertheless the old-new motif still exists, but in this case the argument turns on the idea of God's primal act of salvation *in connection with His eschatological act in raising the crucified Jesus Christ*. "Centre and Periphery in the Thought of Paul," pp. 199, 200, 207-9.

⁴Knox, "The New Creation," Chapters, pp. 130-1; Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 442-447; cf. Samuel Sandmel, The Genius of Paul: A Study in History (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 114-119.

⁵Between *Urzeit* and *Endzeit* of Pauline salvation-history stands the law; but in Paul the law is non-salvific and does not therefore represent an episode in the positive plan of salvation; the faith-righteousness of Abraham and the law of Moses are juxtaposed in Rom. 4:15, 17, "the law brings wrath...", "God gives life to the dead." See Moxnes, Theology in Conflict, pp. 269-282; Käsemann, Romans, pp. 126f: Paul's is an apocalyptic use of typology. John W. Drane, Paul, Libertine or Legalist (London: SPCK, 1975), p. 28.

⁶So Moxnes, Theology in Conflict, pp. 117-206; also Sandmel, A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1956), p. 75: "Christianity has travelled from its inherited Judaism even in the early age of Paul, as led by him. What it has carried over is the Jewish Scripture, though interpreted now in a new and unique way."

Jewish faithfulness to the Torah was widely acknowledged in Jewish literature of the time.⁷ Paul's use of Abraham, by contrast, is that of type within the scheme of Christian eschatology and soteriology,⁸ in which the law has been rendered inoperative since righteousness is by faith in Christ whom God raised from the dead.

It should be emphasized again that what we have called the "attainment side" of typology in Paul resides in his post-Easter missionary experience, not in the earthly life and ministry of Jesus with his disciples,⁹ that is, Jesus "according to the flesh" (cf. Rom. 4:1 and 9:5). This observation will become evident throughout the exegesis.

The particular shape of the conceptions in Paul's thinking on Abraham comes to expression in two key passages, Romans 4 and Galatians 3. Primacy will be given to Romans 4 in so far as scholarly consensus recognizes that Romans exhibits a less polemical thrust than Galatians, and the argument of Romans, while it is not by any means devoid of polemic, is less tortured than Galatians 3 and somewhat more reflective.¹⁰ However, Galatians 3 contains

⁷ See discussion below and note 15.

⁸ Käsemann, Romans, pp. 110-112, 125-6; idem., Perspectives, pp. 87ff.

⁹ Against A.T. Hanson, C.K. Barrett, and to a lesser degree, L. Goppelt. The notion that for Paul fulfilment of the types and prophecies of Scripture is located in the Incarnation as a whole—the earthly life, works, words, death and resurrection of Jesus—is to use a modality of thought which is uncharacteristic of Paul, whatever his motivation. See Hanson, Jesus Christ in the Old Testament (London: SPCK, 1965), p. 29; Barrett, From First Adam to Last, p. 92; Goppelt, Typos, p. 128. Cf. Sandmel, A Jewish Understanding, p. 51; idem., The Genius of Paul, p. 110: In reply to the opponents at Corinth who renounce Paul as one who never knew or saw Jesus, "Paul responds, 'I never saw Jesus, but I saw the risen Christ. That exceeds by far simply having known Jesus when he was alive.'"

¹⁰ Klümmel, Introduction, pp. 298-304; 311-314; Jacob Jervell, "The Letter to Jerusalem," The Romans Debate, pp. 61-74.

elements of Abrahamic typology not evident in Romans,¹¹ at least not in the same form, and the passage will therefore come under consideration at several points.

In view of the fact that the central focus of the present discussion, as indicated in the foregoing introductory statements, is on the form and substance of Abrahamic typology in Paul, an extensive treatment of the disputed issues to which the argumentation of Romans 4 and Galatians 3 has given rise cannot be attempted. I refer to such important concerns as: righteousness by faith as the centre of Paul's thought,¹² the curse of the law, the purpose of the law,¹³ the meaning of faith.¹⁴ Nevertheless, where the typology touches these issues, as it inevitably does, we will be obliged to acknowledge the pertinent results of exegesis and use them appropriately.

To open the discussion, some brief attention may be given to the place of Abraham in Judaism at the time of Paul. The purpose is to provide a framework for understanding Paul's conceptions of Abraham in Romans and Galatians. Only those ideas which can be considered cognate (at least terminologically so) to Paul's will be intimated. Following this overview,

¹¹According to Beker, Abraham in Galatians 3 appears to take on some of the function assigned to Adam in Romans 5:12-21: "It seems as if the Abraham story of Galatians has more features in common with the Adam story of Romans 5:12-21 than with its parallel story in Romans, notwithstanding the common emphasis on the promise." Paul the Apostle, p. 102.

¹²Käsemann, Perspectives, p. 164: "Paul had a theme which dominates the whole of his theology: justification by faith." On the representative attempts to locate the centre of Paul's thought, see Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 13f; Beker himself identified the centre as the apocalyptic triumph of God in the Christ-event (pp. 362f).

¹³Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 65-122.

¹⁴E.g. Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 314-330.

typological "clues" in Paul's argument will be identified, and then the substantive points of the Abrahamic typology discussed.

1. Some Cognate Views of Abraham in Judaism

Conceptions of Abraham in Judaism at the time of Paul have received significant attention from scholars. Reference may be made to the masterful treatment by Samuel Sandmel¹⁵—especially his discussion of Philo's Abraham—to which work I am indebted for insight, particularly for Philo's conceptions. Within the scope of the present study, only a few of the more prominent ideas, pertinent to Paul's case, can be studied, chief among which is the unmistakable assumption¹⁶ that Abraham is the patriarch *par excellence* and forefather of the Jewish people. A passage from Sirach will illustrate the exalted position in which Abraham was held in Jewish thinking:

Abraham, 'the father' of a multitude of nations, tarnished not his glory; who kept the commandment of the Most High, and entered into covenant with him; In his flesh he engraved him an ordinance, and in trial he was found faithful. Therefore, with an oath He promised him 'to bless the nations in his seed,' to multiply him 'as the dust of the earth,' and to exalt his seed 'as the stars'; to cause them to inherit 'from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth.'¹⁷

This attitude of veneration, based as it is on the biblical materials,

¹⁵ Samuel Sandmel, Philo's Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1971). Specific reference will be made to this work throughout the immediate discussion.

¹⁶ In W.L. Knox's brief article, the enumeration of references to the status of Abraham in Jewish sources is in itself a compelling demonstration to the effect of Abraham's primacy in Jewish thought. "Abraham and the Quest for God," Harvard Theological Review, 28 (1939), pp. 55-60.

¹⁷ Sirach 44:19-29 (Charles, ed.).

can be found throughout Judaism,¹⁸ expressed in various forms depending on the given self-understanding and intention. Of particular note in the above statement from Sirach is the way in which Abraham is portrayed as an adherent of the commandment of the Most High, and as a forefather who was found faithful in trial.¹⁹ On these bases Abraham received the promise of blessing to the nations through his seed.

Abraham appears in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical sources, often by way of allusion, as if he "has become intimately part of [the Jews]/ assumptions and predispositions."²⁰ Of the several laudatory ideas in the quotation from Sirach, some recur with remarkable consistency in Palestinian Jewish literature.²¹ In addition to the central traits of Abraham already mentioned—obedience to God's command and fidelity under trial—he is hailed as the initial recipient of *the covenant* which the Jewish people inherited. While the blessing was promised to the Gentiles, it comes through Abraham's seed; consistently the seed is the Jewish people, not Gentiles.²²

¹⁸See the survey of Jewish literature in Sandmel, "Some Conceptions of Abraham," Philo's Place, pp. 30-95.

¹⁹This concept is controverted by Paul both in Galatians and Romans; so correctly C.K. Barrett, From First Adam, pp. 33ff; idem., Essays on Paul (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1982), pp. 143f; and Moxnes, Theology in Conflict, pp. 207-216. Schoeps, Paul, pp. 141-149, attempts to find traces of the Aqedath Isaac in Paul, but with less than convincing results; the evidence rather points to a virtual abandoning, on the part of Paul, of the trial of Abraham's trust in the offering of Isaac.

²⁰Sandmel, Philo's Place, p. 38.

²¹Sandmel mentions twelve recurring conceptions: the recognition of the existence of God; God's elect; Abraham's virtues; the testing of Abraham; the rewards to Abraham; the rewards to Israel; the merit of Abraham; the prophet; the sage; Abraham's seed; Abraham's old age; and the death of Abraham. Philo's Place, pp. 77-95.

²²Statements to this effect occur repeatedly: IV Macc. 6:17, 22; 18:1, 21; Ps. of Sol. 9:17; 18:4; Test. of Levi 8:15; II Macc. 1:2; See Sandmel, Philo's Place, pp. 38ff.

Furthermore, Abraham's righteousness, which was reckoned to him by God, was reckoned on the basis of his faithfulness in keeping the Jewish law.²³ II Baruch claims for Abraham that he fulfilled the requirements of the law which was given to him in unwritten form.²⁴ Fidelity to the law of God and the trial of his faith often appear together in depicting the righteousness of Abraham. I Maccabees, alluding to Genesis 15:6, asks: "Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness?"²⁵ The sacrifice of Isaac was stressed as the most difficult trial of faithfulness.²⁶

The Book of Jubilees emphasizes the command to circumcise with reference to Abraham. The covenant of circumcision in Jubilees is eternal and binding on all those who lay claim to the Abrahamic covenant. Because of its importance in determining the Pauline nuance in Romans 4, the passage will be quoted at length:

²³Gerhard von Rad has argued that in the Elohist's statement "the process of 'reckoning' is now transferred to the sphere of a free and wholly personal relationship between God and Abraham. There is no cultic intermediary, no priest to speak as the mouthpiece of Yahweh." "Faith Reckoned as Righteousness," The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1966), p. 129. If von Rad is correct, then Paul has caught the attitude of the Elohist and argues against the prevailing Jewish opinion that Abraham's righteousness was based on his fidelity to the Law before it was given at Sinai; see J.A. Ziesler, The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul (Cambridge: University Press, 1972), pp. 182-3.

²⁴II Baruch 57:1-3; Sandmel, Philo's Place, p. 35.

²⁵I Maccabees 2:52.

²⁶See the survey of Jewish statements to this effect in Schoeps, Paul, pp. 143-147. Cf. Roy B. Ward, "The Works of Abraham," Harvard Theological Review, 61 (1968), pp. 283-90 in which he calls attention to the connection between faith and merit in James 2 and argues that the position taken in James is consonant with the Jewish understanding of faith: "Abraham was justified on the basis of acts of mercy when his faith was tested in offering his son Isaac" (p. 145). Joseph B. Tyson, "Works of Law in Galatians," Journal of Biblical Literature, 92 (1973), maintains that Paul was not arguing against *acts of obedience* to Torah in the case of Abraham, but against the nomistic service as such; what is contrasted, according to Tyson, is two modes of existence (pp. 427-431).

Abraham did according as God had said to him...and on the self same day was Abraham circumcised, and all the men of his house....This law is for all generations for ever... for it is an eternal ordinance ordained and written on the heavenly tablets. And everyone that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham.²⁷

The merit of Abraham as reflected in this statement is referred to frequently elsewhere and is usually associated with his faithfulness to God's law, especially in submitting to circumcision. A Zadokite Fragment, for example, says that "Abraham was circumcised on the day of his knowing the law."²⁸ In this respect in particular, it will be instructive later to catch the Pauline reduction in importance of Abraham's circumcision and of his knowing the law.²⁹

Still in Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical sources, Abraham (with the other patriarchs) is connected with messianic expectations.³⁰ For example, the messianic ingathering of the dispersed will be for the sake

²⁷ Jubilees 2:18-26.

²⁸ Zadokite Fragment 20:2-3; and 4:2-3; cf. I Maccabees 2:52.

²⁹ See especially Käsemann, Romans, p. 116. A reduction is in progress in Romans 4; the Jews in relation to Abraham are reduced but not excluded. Paul's single basis for salvation in Christ by which both Jew and Gentile are included in the Christian community involves a reduction in the "jewishness" of Abraham. Cf. J.W. Drane, "Tradition, Law and Ethics," Novum Testamentum, 16 (1974), pp. 167-78, where he speaks, rather inappropriately, of the "inferiority" of the Old Covenant in relation to the Gospel of Jesus Christ (p. 169). By "reduction" we mean that Paul accents the faith of Abraham in such a way that other aspects esteemed in Judaism are, by implication, diminished in importance, e.g., his circumcision and knowing the law.

³⁰ Testament of Asher 7:7: "The Lord will gather you together in faith through his tender mercy, and for the sake of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." The reference appears to be to a messianic ingathering. Elsewhere, the three patriarchs are said to come to life in the time of Messiah. Testament of Judah 25:1; Testament of Benjamin 10:6. Sandmel, Philo's Place, pp. 34-37.

of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob³¹ and in at least one source the ingathering is said to be to the land of Abraham.³²

Rabbinic literature is replete with references to Abraham, but many of them are late and of questionable value for a study of Paul's ideas. The complex task of critical analysis of rabbinic materials for the determination of the date of origin cannot be undertaken here.³³ Suffice it to say that the leading ideas of Abraham as the forefather of the Jewish people, who kept the law faithfully, who was circumcised and tested, who received the promise of blessing, continued to occupy the minds of the rabbis throughout the period of the development of rabbinic literature. So important was Abraham for rabbinic minds that, says Sandmel, "one could construct an almost complete picture of rabbinic theology and rabbinic attitudes from only the Abraham materials."³⁴

Perhaps even more significant than any of the sources cited already is Philo. Philo's profound interest in Abraham is self-evident from the fact that he entitled two treatises in Abraham's honour.³⁵ But Philo's

³¹Testament of Ahsver 7:7.

³²Tobit 14:7.

³³The varied nature of Rabbinic literature and the problems involved in using the material have received significant notice in E.P. Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 59-84; 557-561.

³⁴Sandmel, Philo's Place, p. 77. The point is well taken in so far as it highlights the extent and significance of Abraham in Rabbinic Judaism. However, the implication of the statement is that one can construct a systematic theology of Rabbinic Judaism from a body of literature consisting of disparate units from different times and places. See Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 69-70.

³⁵De Abrahame and De Migratione Abrahami. Philo deals with the narrative on Abraham also in the treatises Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres; De Mutatione Nominum.

Abraham is a complex figure who appears on two levels of understanding, the literal and the allegorical, and becomes thoroughly hellenized³⁶ to the extent that Philo's conceptions are quite distinct from those of the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and rabbinic literature. In keeping with our present purposes, we will refer only to Philo's view of Abraham's faith and righteousness, and to his character as exemplar.

For Philo, faith (πίστις) in God is a virtue of the first order and Abraham had it. His faith was *trust* in God, and his trust was found worthy through his *actions*, the greatest of which was his offering of Isaac.³⁷ God repaid Abraham's faith with divine faith in which he confirmed his promise of gifts. Abraham's righteousness consisted in piety (εὐσεβεία), with faith as the mark thereof.³⁸ Philo acknowledges that the crowning mark of Abraham's sagacity was that "this man did the divine law and divine commands"³⁹ (Abr. 275-6; Gen. 26:5), but he does not equate the law which Abraham observed with the Mosaic Code, nor does he suggest that Abraham had the oral law. For Philo, "the greatness of Abraham was his capacity for living by the

³⁶ See Moxnes, Theology in Conflict, pp. 130ff; E.P. Sanders, "The Covenant as a Soteriological Category and the Nature of Salvation in Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism," Jews, Greeks and Christians, R. Hamerton-Kelly and Robin Scroggs, eds. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), pp. 29ff. Sanders's aim, however, is to show that Philo's Abraham 'is the standard of nobility for all proselytes'; "that is outside the covenant ('commonwealth'), there is no salvation" (p. 29). Later Sanders acknowledges that in Philo "the principal conception of the religious goal, and thus the main soteriology, is the vision of the logos" (p. 37), a hellenistic orientation which Philo applies to Abraham; so, Sandmel, Philo's Place, pp. 116f.

³⁷ De Abrahame 262-273; cf. 167-207.

³⁸ De Mutatione 201-3, 216; De Abrahame 62-80.

³⁹ De Abrahame 275-6 (Gen. 26:5).

higher law."⁴⁰

The status of Abraham as exemplar comes through in other Jewish literature as well as in Philo. Abraham is to be emulated in terms of the interests and intentions of the given source. In I Maccabees, for example, his endurance of trial is to be followed.⁴¹ But in Philo Abraham is the model after whom a man can pattern his life, especially his religious life.⁴² Abraham was able to transcend the sphere of sense and body into union with God. Furthermore, as W.L. Knox⁴³ has indicated, Philo views Abraham as the example of the proselyte who freely exchanges astrology for the truth.⁴⁴ Moreover, he represents more the convert than the missionary in Philo.⁴⁵

With these several conceptions of Abraham from the Jewish environment in mind, we may proceed to examine the way in which Paul adopts, modifies, or abandons the Jewish views of Abraham in his Christian typological self-understanding.

⁴⁰Sandmel, Philo's Place, p. 201. Here Philo differs from the rabbinic views, as Sandmel points out: "The Abraham of the rabbis is basically an exemplar of the ancestor who lived in accordance with Jewish law, both the Law of Moses and the developed Oral Law, commended by the rabbis to his descendents. The Abraham of Philo lived by the natural law of which the Mosaic law was only a copy."

⁴¹I Maccabees 2:52.

⁴²So Sandmel, Philo's Place, p. 103: "Abraham is an exemplar of the religious mystic who rises above sense and body into communion with God. Abraham is one of Philo's proofs that the Philonic formula for the religious living, by metaphysical reality, is not only feasible, but that it was accomplished in history."

⁴³W.L. Knox, "Abraham and the Quest for God," Harvard Theological Review, 28 (1939), pp. 55-60.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 59f.

⁴⁵Sanders, "The Covenant as a Soteriological Category," pp. 29f.

2. Signals of Typological Thinking Concerning Abraham

Scholars are not agreed on the degree to which Paul interprets the figure of Abraham typologically. Rudolf Bultmann⁴⁶ has denied the existence of typology in Paul's use of Abrahamic materials, in that, according to him, there is no evidence of repetition or cyclical recurrence in Paul's use of Scripture in Romans 4 and Galatians 3. He is followed by Hans Conzelmann.⁴⁷ Others ignore, or fail to observe, the typological elements in the two accounts of Abraham; they refer to Abraham merely as example. For C.H. Dodd, "Abraham is an example of an outstanding religious personality" who lived by faith rather than law.⁴⁸ More recently, H.D. Betz proposes likewise that in Paul's argument from Scripture he "makes use of the *exemplum* of Abraham,"⁴⁹ and finds support in Luther.⁵⁰ The problem with this understanding of Paul's use of Abraham is that it does not account for Paul's theological horizon. If Abraham is an example in the sense of an "ideal model" then he becomes the paragon of God's gracious action to which all subsequent members of the

⁴⁶ Bultmann, Ursprung, p. 377; see p. 74 above.

⁴⁷ Hans Conzelmann, An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 170.

⁴⁸ Dodd, Romans, p. 64. It has been indicated already, to be discussed further below, that the function of the episode of Abraham's being reckoned righteous in Paul is to show how God works in salvation-history, not to show how Abraham lives. Example in this sense scarcely fits the exegetical facts of Romans 4 and Galatians 3; Abraham represents the justified Gentile, the ungodly (ἀσεβής) who believes God; so Hanson, Studies, p. 59. Cf. Sanday and Headlam, Romans, "τὸν ἀσεβή is not meant as a description of Abraham" (p. 101).

⁴⁹ Hans Dieter Betz, Galatians (Hermeneia) (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), p. 137.

⁵⁰ Ibid., note 5.

same genus should aspire. This concept is akin to that found widely in Judaism.⁵¹ But it actually militates against Paul's pattern of thought which finds in Christ and the Christian community the outcome of salvation-history soon to be consummated.

Peter Stuhlmacher⁵² sees Abraham in Paul as a paradigm in history whose faith-righteousness stands forth as a demonstration of God's intention to make persons righteous by faith. E.P. Sanders,⁵³ following Stuhlmacher, calls Abraham in Paul "a paradigmatic type." As "paradigm" is understood by these two scholars it represents no difficulty in that it is distinguished from the concept of a "hero-figure" whose character and experience are to be emulated, albeit imperfectly, by those who follow in salvation-history. If I understand Stuhlmacher and Sanders correctly, Abraham as paradigmatic type stands at *the beginning* of God's saving activity which culminates in the Christ-event. Salvation-history is continuous between Abraham and Christians, in so far as the plan of God is one throughout the ages, and

⁵¹See Hanson, Studies, pp. 60-63; Barrett, From First Adam, pp. 30f; Sandmel, Philo's Place, pp. 35, 94, 103. Cf. R.E. Clements, Abraham and David: Genesis XV and Its Meaning for Israelite Tradition (Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, 1967), p. 78. "The figure of Abraham became expressive of the doctrine of grace on which Israel's election rested....By giving this priority to the Abrahamic covenant, the fact of Israel's election could never become conditional upon obedience to the law." But we have shown that the concept of Abraham's obedience to the Law, in whatever form, was widely acknowledged in Judaism at the time of Paul, and he was held up as a model for Jews and proselytes.

⁵²Peter Stuhlmacher, "Interpretation von Römer 11:25-32," Probleme Biblischer Theologie: Festschrift für Gerhard von Rad zum 70. Geburts, ed. H.W. Wolff (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971), p. 563; similarly U. Wilckens, "Die Rechtfertigung Abrahams nach Römer 4," pp. 112-13. He calls Abraham the paradigm of the Christian believer, and notes that Paul views the events in Scripture as cohering in a kind of process which reaches an end in Christ; he thus denies the notion of episodic prefigurations and examples (p. 127).

⁵³Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, p. 33.

the way in which God reckons righteousness is the same throughout.⁵⁴

For Paul, Abraham is *type* in that the episode of salvation (righteousness, life) found in him stands in the old aeon and anticipates the eschaton in which both Jews and Gentiles are reckoned righteous by the supreme act of the grace of God in raising Jesus Christ from the dead (e.g. Rom. 4:20-25). Moreover, Abraham is not selected at random as an appropriate illustration.⁵⁵ He is, rather, recognized by Paul, as he was generally in Judaism, as the proto-patriarch (τὸν προπάτορα ἡμῶν, 4:1) who found favour with God. But in Paul Abraham is radicalized according to the scheme which guides his typological thinking.⁵⁶ He is made to conform to the motif of the salvation of God by grace through faith in Christ which Paul preaches among the Gentiles. The force of this way of thinking is that God is viewed as the ultimate author of salvation, and Christ the God-ordained agent, and that *the way* of salvation is one in both ages, the old and the new, the new making "the way" more manifest. The question before us is whether the text of Romans 4 and Galatians 3 points to this way of thinking. My contention

⁵⁴The standard which governs the Pauline interpretation of Abraham is the events of the end-time, especially the ingathering of the Gentiles. Käsemann's comment is perceptive: "In the patriarch as the prototype of faith, not as merely one example among others, nor as a model in salvation history, nor as the cipher of a contingent historical figure, God's plan of salvation is announced in accordance with the law of the end-time," Romans, p. 127.

⁵⁵Käsemann, note 54 above.

⁵⁶The particular focus of Paul on Abraham, as compared with that of Judaism, cannot be attributed simply to a polemic in which Paul is engaged; both in Galatians and in Romans Abraham occupies a central position in Paul's thinking as a Christian apostle to Gentiles. Beker caught this point to some extent: "Instead of integrating Abraham-Torah-circumcision and Christ, Paul drives a radical wedge between Abraham and the Torah on the one hand and between Torah and Christ on the other hand, by arguing that blessing (= promise) and faith belong together just as do the curse and the works of the law (Gal. 3:10-13)." Paul the Apostle, p. 48, see also pp. 100-102.

is that it does so point.

We may begin at the end of the argument of Romans 4. After having adduced that righteousness is reckoned by faith apart from the works of the law, Paul adds: "But the words 'it was reckoned to him,' were written not for his sake alone, but for ours also. It will be reckoned to us who believe (πιστεύω) in him that raised from the dead Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 4:23-24).

At first glance this appears to prove little more than the idea that Abraham is example.⁵⁷ But the statement belongs to the whole scheme of "then and how much more now." Abraham's experience of being reckoned righteous was proleptic in the fact that the event made it into the record of Scripture, which points to the time when God acted supremely in raising Jesus our Lord from the dead.⁵⁸ Paul does not project the resurrection of Christ back to Abraham, neither does he transfer the specifics of Christian faith to him.⁵⁹ Rather, the salvation which was reckoned to Abraham was the same *in kind* as that of Christians. But the point is that the recording of the words associated with Abraham's faith and righteousness was not a chance happening. They were written by divine intention.⁶⁰ The words "it was reckoned to him," were

⁵⁷ See note 48 above.

⁵⁸ That the recording of the events of salvation (or judgement) is tied in with the concept of divine intention, and thus also with Pauline typology, is reasonably certain; Goppelt, Typos, p. 146. Käsemann affirms also that Rom. 4:23 ("the words were written not for his sake alone, but for ours also") "establishes the correspondence between primal time and end time." Romans, p. 127.

⁵⁹ Käsemann, Perspectives, p. 88. "There is the Abraham who believed, and who was justified by faith, and there are his successors in the form of those Jewish Christians who have undergone the circumcision of the heart. Salvation does not belong merely to Gentiles who have believed." The question of Abraham's entrance into right relationship with God will come up presently.

⁶⁰ See note 58 above; cf. Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 73ff. God's plan has come up in an earlier discussion, but it is necessary to continue to indicate the thought at various points where it appears in the text because of its importance to an understanding of Pauline typology.

written on account of Abraham, of course, "but also for us." As Käsemann indicates, Romans 4:24 has "the correspondence on which the typology rests."⁶¹

Galatians 3:8 makes the case even more pointedly. The two operative words for typology are "foreseeing" (προϋδοῦσα)⁶² and "preached ahead of time" (προεσηγγελεύσατο).⁶³ The first word concerns the justification of the Gentiles by faith alone. Scripture anticipated the Gentile mission, and Abraham's faith, according to God's plan, pointed ahead to the conversion of Gentiles by faith in Christ, and this is proved by the words, "In you shall all the nations (ἔθνη) be blessed" (Gen. 18:18; cf. 12:3). Again, the concept of divine intention is evident, which concept is very much part of the typological fabric of Paul's hermeneutic.⁶⁴ The event, the words, or both together, are in Scripture because God intended them for the present experience of salvation through Christ. That this recording of the salvation-occurrence is by divine intention, and thereby typological, is supported even more forcefully from I Corinthians 10:11⁶⁵ where Paul engaged explicitly⁶⁶ in

⁶¹Käsemann, Romans, p. 128.

⁶²The προϋδεῖν of γραφή as in Gal. 3:8 is a kind of personification of Scripture similar to the attribution which some rabbinic statements give to the Torah; so Strack and Billerbeck: "Die gleiche Personifizierung der Schrift in der rabbinischen Formel," Kommentar, Vol. 3, p. 538; similarly *idem.*, Vol. 2, pp. 525f; the term itself occurs only three times in the New Testament, here and in Acts 2:25, 31. W. Michaelis, "προοράω," TDNT, Vol. 5, pp. 381f.

⁶³προεσηγγελεύομαι relates the promise to Abraham in Scripture to the εὐαγγέλιον which Paul preaches among the Gentiles in attainment of promise; Gerhard Friedrich, "προεσηγγελεύομαι," TDNT, Vol. 2, p. 737.

⁶⁴Ellis, Paul's Use, p. 127; Schoeys, Paul, p. 231; Goppelt, Typos, pp. 18, 137.

⁶⁵To be dealt with in more detail in chapter 5 to follow.

⁶⁶By which is meant, that Paul uses the term τύπος to indicate that he is carrying out an interpretive comparison which we are calling "typological"; so Goppelt, Typos, p. 146; cf. Barrett, From First Adam, p. 50; *idem.*, Romans, p. 112 where he adopts the term "analogy" against "typology."

typological interpretation. Of the experiences of the wilderness community of God he says, "these things happened to them as a warning (τυπικῶς), but they were written down for our instruction, upon whom the end of the ages has come."

If the typological pattern in the Abraham story is signalled by the recording "for our sake," it is indicated even further by the character of faith in Abraham and Christians. That the two have the same *kind* of faith is clear from Romans 4:17-19.⁶⁷ God "gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things which do not exist." Abraham believed in this life-giving God as Christians do. The character of salvation is the same in both ages because God's purposes are unchanging.⁶⁸ But while this consistency of divine purpose (to give life) is part of typology in Paul it is counter-balanced by yet another part, namely, by difference in the sense of end-time significance on the side of antitype.⁶⁹

Does this latter part of the pattern hold for Abraham? I believe the answer is affirmative. Abraham's faith in the life-giving God pertained to "his own body, which was as good as dead, because he was about a hundred years old" and to "the barrenness of Sarah's womb" (4:19). He did not waver

⁶⁷There is scholarly consensus here: Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 41f; Barrett, Romans, pp. 98f; Käsemann, Perspectives, pp. 86ff; Hanson, Studies, pp. 53ff. While we affirm the connection Paul makes between Abraham's faith and Christian faith, there is also some difference which later discussion should elucidate.

⁶⁸The change of aeons which Hickling has aptly located in the centre of Paul's thinking should not be confused with the unchanging plan of God for the salvation of mankind. "Centre and Periphery," pp. 199-214. Cf. Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, pp. 36-58; and Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 79ff.

⁶⁹So Käsemann, Romans, p. 126; and in another way, Goppelt, Typos, pp. 218-223.

in the midst of these circumstances in "unfaith" (ἀπιστία) concerning the promise, but grew strong in faith which was reckoned to him as righteousness (4:19, 22). While the essential character of Christian faith lines up with that of Abraham, what we may call the condition and content of *Christian* faith rests on an even greater act of God in raising Christ from the dead.⁷⁰ Abraham and Sarah trusted God to restore natural vitality to their barren bodies; Christians believe (πιστεύω) "in him that raised from the dead Jesus our Lord" (4:24). The resurrection of Christ is, for Paul, not another in a series of saving events, but is, rather, the unique saving act of God which inaugurated the end-time.⁷¹ The condition and content of Abraham's faith in God who gives life (ζωοποιεῖντος) to the dead, moreover, constitutes a *type* of the faith of Christians, the content of which is the resurrection of the crucified Christ. The paradigmatic emphasis⁷² which appears in both texts, Romans 4 and Galatians 3, is understandable when it is acknowledged that Paul's principal concern focuses on the requirement for entering the community

⁷⁰General agreement persists among scholars that Abraham in Paul is positively aligned with Christians; perhaps this reading of Paul (and it is granted here up to a point) needs qualification, or restatement at least, to account for the *difference* between the substantive character and condition of faith in Abraham and those of Christians. See, for example of the "alignment," A.T. Hanson, Studies, p. 64 ("Paul can pass straight from Abraham to Christians"); Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 32ff; Nygren, Romans, pp. 172ff; Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 98; Bornkamm, Paul, p. 144.

⁷¹And here Beker is quite correct in emphasizing the apocalyptic character of the death-resurrection of Christ in Paul, Paul the Apostle, pp. 362f; similarly, Käsemann, Perspectives, p. 98; and again it is important to observe the connection between apocalyptic and typology in Paul as Käsemann does (p. 98), and in another, yet related way, Goppelt, Typos, pp. 233-237.

⁷²"Paradigm" and "paradigmatic" in this context refer to priority in order on what may be conceived as a horizontal plane (salvation-history), not a perfect, regular, pragmatic example, the kind one finds for the inflexion of nouns in books of grammar. See pp. 148-49 and notes 52-54 above.

of Christ.⁷³ Paul's argument, it seems, hinges on his ability to show that the same kind of requirement, faith alone, was in place from the beginning of salvation-history in Abraham. Further discussion on this point is needed and will be carried out later. At present, attention must be paid to the fact that even while the accent is on the one kind of entrance requirement, the text of Romans 4 reveals a difference in the condition and content of faith between Abraham and Christians.⁷⁴

Brief notice may be made here to the fact that Paul gives no account of the testing of Abraham's faith,⁷⁵ neither does he show an overt interest in Abraham's offering of Isaac, notwithstanding Schoeps' attempt to prove otherwise.⁷⁶

⁷³That the force of Paul's argument from Abraham is primarily on the entrance requirement for Jews and Gentiles has been successfully demonstrated by E.P. Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 17-48: "The Jewish law as such is excluded as a means of entry....God intended that all be saved on the basis of faith" (p. 47).

⁷⁴One could observe here that in Paul's understanding of Adam, as we saw in the last chapter, the weight of the argument rested on the "difference" between Adam and Christ, so as to show the character of reversal from old creation to new; in the case of Abraham, the weight rests on the "sameness" of Abraham and Christians. But in neither case is all the weight on one side; in the next chapter on Moses it will be shown that when Paul seeks to make a non-typological and non-salvific connection between Jews present and Israelites past the non-salvific "sameness" prevails exclusively. Käsemann, more than most other scholars in my reading, has taken specific note of the element of "difference" in the Abrahamic material in Paul, and he has done so in the sphere of Pauline typology: "Typology has a cosmic dimension and to that degree belongs to the sphere of Pauline apocalyptic...The argument /of Rom. 4/ is fitted into the wider framework of the whole story of Abraham, which typologically anticipates the story of Christ....Typology made possible the Pauline statement about the identity between the faith of Abraham and that of Christianity, faith which interprets the justification of the ungodly as a *creatio ex nihilo* and an anticipation of the raising of the dead. For typology allows the primieval period and end-time to correspond and the promise hidden in the Scriptures to be revealed by the Gospel," Perspectives, pp. 98-9. Cf. Goppelt, Typos, pp. 211-218.

⁷⁵See pp. 141 and 142 and notes 19 and 26 above.

⁷⁶Schoeps, Paul, pp. 141-149.

Typology is also indicated in Paul's attention to Abraham as "forefather" (προπάτορα)⁷⁷ and to his "seed" (σπέρμα).⁷⁸ The argument from Abraham begins with the recognition that Abraham is "our forefather" (τὸν προπάτορα ἡμῶν), meaning, no doubt, the forefather of the Jewish people of whom Paul considers himself a part. Gentiles appear to be excluded in the phrase ὁ προπάτωρ ἡμῶν, and no doubt they are, at least for the moment, as the qualifying phrase, κατὰ σάρκα, confirms.⁷⁹ But as the argument progresses; the "forefather" becomes the prototype of all Christians⁸⁰ who

⁷⁷ προπάτωρ occurs only here in the New Testament; some later MSS replaced it with πατέρα, the "customary designation in the New Testament for Abraham." Bruce M. Metzger, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament (New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), p. 510. Whether there is more typological significance attached to προπάτωρ as compared to πατήρ is debatable; F. Godet holds that the term does bring out the proto-typical character of everything that transpired in Abraham's person, "Romans" (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1892), p. 284.

⁷⁸ By far the majority of references in Paul to σπέρμα ("seed") are to Abraham's σπέρμα; one reference is to David's "seed" (Rom. 1:3), and another to Isaac's (Rom. 9:7). Clearly, Abraham's "seed" carries the weight of the argument for Paul in relating faith and righteousness typologically to Christians. Siegfried Schultz, "σπέρμα," TDNT, Vol. VII, p. 545; Cranfield, Romans, Vol. I, p. 239.

⁷⁹ Barrett, Romans, pp. 86f; Nygren, Romans, p. 168; Emil Brunner, The Letter to the Romans (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p. 34. The term εὐρηκέναι in verse one has a number of textual variants some of which could affect our understanding of κατὰ σάρκα as modifying Abraham; it could go with εὐρηκέναι and refer to a discovery by human means. The RSV reading (following B) is adopted here as being consistent with the rest of Romans 4; κατὰ σάρκα therefore defines Abraham. So Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 98; John Knox, "Romans," Interpreter's Bible, Vol. 9, p. 438; Metzger, Textual Commentary, p. 509; against Godet, Romans, pp. 283f; "The meaning is therefore: 'what has Abraham found by his own labor?'"

⁸⁰ The question form of Rom. 4 could be attributed to an objector who uses Abraham to prove the contrary of Paul's gospel. Even so, κατὰ σάρκα seems strange in the mouth of a Jewish objector whose native understanding of Abraham would simply be "our father" (or forefather); I take it, rather, that Paul, in diatribe form, has included the designation κατὰ σάρκα so as to allow his argument to advance out of the Jewish context into the Christian one; Nygren, Romans, p. 168; Knox, "Romans," Interpreters, pp. 438f; Sanday and Headlam, Romans, pp. 98f: "For the sake of clearness we put these thoughts into the mouth of the objector" (p. 98); Cranfield, Romans, Vol. I, p. 226.

enter into a relationship with God in Christ by faith. Abraham "according to the flesh" (κατὰ σάρκα), moreover, constitutes a *type* of the Christian, regardless of his ethnic background, who enters the community of Christ on the same basis⁸¹ as that by which Abraham was reckoned righteous, that is, by faith.

To pursue the idea further, "according to the flesh" (κατὰ σάρκα), would be a rather redundant designation in the ears of a non-Christian Jew in his thinking about Abraham.⁸² By this qualification, "according to the flesh," Paul hints immediately that there is more to an understanding of Abraham than the belief that he is the natural progenitor of the Jews. κατὰ σάρκα can indicate simply natural descent,⁸³ as it does no doubt here, as also in Romans 9:3 and 1:3. But the term is used characteristically in Paul to denote the sphere of ordinary human existence⁸⁴ in which salvation is not to be found (cf. II Cor. 5:16; Gal. 4:29; Rom. 8:4). The inference, it seems, in Romans 4:1 is that Abraham κατὰ σάρκα, that is, as the human forefather of the Jewish people, is not salvific. Eventually, the argument progresses to the point where κατὰ σάρκα is dropped and Abraham becomes the

⁸¹Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, p. 47.

⁸²If Paul has a Jewish opponent in mind, the opponent is *supposed* (Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 98), and the question framed by Paul's Christian intention.

⁸³Eduard Schweizer, "σάρξ," TDNT, Vol. 7, pp. 126f. "σάρξ stands for the sphere of man. This is not viewed negatively, but it is also not the decisive sphere of salvation. The same applies to Rom. 4:1...and...I Cor. 10:18: ὁ Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα is the earthly nation to which each belongs by natural descent" (p. 127).

Further discussion of κατὰ σάρκα will follow in Part III where the term as applied to Christ will come under investigation.

⁸⁴Schweizer, "σάρξ," p. 126. According to Schweizer, "κατὰ σάρκα with a verb always denotes a wrong orientation of life" (p. 130, note 257).

father "of all who believe without being circumcised...and likewise the father of the circumcised" who believe as he did (4:11, 16, 18). The tone of the argument has the ring of the Gentile mission,⁸⁵ and by typological thinking Paul is able to transpose the forefather "according to the flesh" to the higher key in which he becomes the father of all who believe, both Jews and Gentiles.⁸⁶ This means, then, that the "seed" also is enlarged beyond the natural descendants to those who are righteous by faith apart from the law, and who are destined "to inherit the world" (4:13), that is Christians. The phrase, "inherit the world" is eschatological⁸⁷ for Paul, and the time of its fulfilment has already begun.

In Romans 4, the seed,⁸⁸ or descendants, quite clearly refers to Christians who are righteous by faith apart from the law. But in Galatians 3 the seed is explicitly Christ (3:16),⁸⁹ and men of faith who have been reckoned

⁸⁵ Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, p. 34: "The use made of the Abraham story in 4:9-25 shows that Paul is primarily interested in the status of the Gentiles." Cf. Knox, "Romans," p. 437: "The passage serves... as a further comment on the perplexing question...of the relation of the new covenant to the old, and of the position of the Jew in relation to Christ."

⁸⁶ Goppelt, Typos, p. 137, calls the move from Abraham to Christians (perhaps not too appropriately) "typological heightening." Better to conceive of the "difference" as change from old aeon to new in which the promise is confirmed and in process of being fulfilled. See N.A. Dahl, "Promise and Fulfilment," Studies, pp. 121-136.

⁸⁷ So Käsemann, Romans, pp. 117ff; Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 111; Nygren, Romans, p. 176; Black, Romans, p. 78; cf. Bornkamm, Paul, pp. 148f.

⁸⁸ See note 78 above, and Brendan Byrne, Sons of God - Seed of Abraham (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979), pp. 147ff; Dahl, "Promise and Fulfilment," pp. 130f and note 12.

⁸⁹ The conclusion is explicated somewhat arbitrarily (from a modern standpoint) by reference to the singular rather than the plural of σπέρμα. Dahl, "Promise and Fulfilment," p. 130; Ernest de Witt Burton, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), p. 131; Betz, Galatians, p. 157.

righteous are "sons of Abraham" (3:7) and the seed of Abraham (3:29) because of their relationship to Christ. In Galatians Paul appears to be concerned with the relationship of Christians to Christ and of both to Abraham (3:29). Goppelt correctly assesses that "the position as descendants of Abraham is mediated to Christians by Christ,"⁹⁰ in which case both Christ and those "in Christ" are descendants and heirs of the promise to Abraham (3:29b).

Moreover, Paul has reduced the significance⁹¹ of Abraham as "forefather" in Judaism while accenting the applicability of the term in relation to all (especially Gentiles) who have righteousness reckoned to them by faith. This approach can be recognized as part of the scheme within which typology falls. The new age of attainment of promise grants type to the old age of anticipation, while reserving the eschatological fulfilment for the new age of Christ.⁹²

From these few pointers we begin to gain a preliminary understanding of the use Paul makes of the figure of Abraham, a use which scarcely permits the notion of example in the ordinary sense of the term or in the sense of model-hero to whose life subsequent adherents aspire. We saw this latter notion in Judaism.⁹³ And it rules out also the allegorical approach of

⁹⁰Goppelt, Typos, p. 138; similarly Burton, Galatians, pp. 181f; and Betz, Galatians, p. 157.

⁹¹So Käsemann, Romans, p. 116, Abraham is "reduced" in terms of the position he occupied in Jewish interpretation, but he is not excluded!

⁹²"Type" then should not be understood as "parallel" or "analogy" merely, but as the episodic action of God in reckoning Abraham's righteousness in the sense of a paradigmatic prefiguration of the age of the resurrected Christ in which Christians are reckoned righteous by faith. Stuhlmacher, "Interpretation von Römer 11:25-32," Problems, pp. 561ff; Käsemann, Romans, p. 126; Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 100f; cf. Dahl, Promise and Fulfilment, p. 136.

⁹³See p. 146 and notes 41 and 42.

Philo.⁹⁴ Paul's use of Abraham may rightly be called typological,⁹⁵ an interpretive pattern which is completely in accord with the scheme of Christian salvation-history which goes beyond the bounds of Philo's Alexandrian, Jewish self-understanding.⁹⁶

Furthermore, the principal point which the argument from Abraham is intended to make strands within this typological pattern. Attention may now be turned to the main lines of the argument of Romans 4 to discover the connection between the point and the pattern.

3. Abraham's Faith: A Type of How One is Justified

The force of the argument from Abraham in Romans 4 seems to focus primarily on *how* one becomes righteous before God. That is, the stress is on the basis of entry into the eschatological community of Christ.⁹⁷ This

⁹⁴Paul is explicitly allegorical in Gal. 4:21-31, but the function of Abraham's wives and sons in that passage is not crucial to Paul's argument from Abraham in Gal. 3 and Rom. 4.

⁹⁵So Goppelt, Typos, pp. 136f; Käsemann, Romans, p. 127; Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, p. 33; Hanson, Studies, pp. 57, 151; Schoeps, Paul, p. 233.

⁹⁶Sandmel, Philo's Place, pp. 97ff. C.H. Dodd, "Hellenistic Judaism: Philo of Alexandria," in The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: University Press, 1953), pp. 54-73.

⁹⁷Sanders especially has argued that one of Paul's principal concerns is the entrance requirement, or the basis on which one is incorporated into the community of those who will be saved. Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 32-48. This understanding of the function of Abraham in Romans 4 corresponds significantly with the *Sitz im Leben* of Romans, written as it was after the conflicts of the Gentile mission in Asia Minor and Europe and prior to Paul's critical visit to Jerusalem *en route* to Rome. On the purpose of Romans being determined as much by Paul's experience in mission and by his preparation for Jerusalem, see John W. Drane, "Why did Paul Write Romans," Pauline Studies (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1980), pp. 208-226; G. Bornkamm, "The Letter to the Romans as Paul's Last Will and Testament," The Romans Debate, pp. 17-31; B.N. Kaye, "To the Romans and Others Revisited," Novum Testamentum, 18 (1976), pp. 40-46.

observation is not always acknowledged. A.T. Hanson speaks of "two contrasting ways of life,"⁹⁸ one by faith and the other by law, and Joseph Tyson finds "Christian existence"⁹⁹ exemplified in Abraham. Recently, Thomas Rhyne argued that Romans 4 is an explanation of Paul's declaration in 3:31b, "we uphold the law," by which he means that the "law of faith" (cf. 3:28) does not abolish the law of Moses, but rather establishes it.¹⁰⁰ Any one of these (or all of them together) fails to account completely for the *Sitz im Leben* of Romans.¹⁰¹ Paul's concern had been, and still was, the Gentile mission and the question of how Gentiles are incorporated into the community of Christ. More recently, E.P. Sanders¹⁰² has argued cogently that Paul has the Gentile question in mind in his discussion of righteousness by faith apart from works of law. The question of how one becomes righteous and thereby enters the Christian community is answered by Paul with a positive and negative proposition: he is justified (*δικαιόω*) by faith (positive) apart from the works of the law (negative). The negative member of the proposition is the principal concern¹⁰³ because, on the one

⁹⁸A.T. Hanson, Studies, p. 65.

⁹⁹Joseph Tyson, "Works of Law in Galatians," Journal of Biblical Literature, 92 (1973), p. 429.

¹⁰⁰C. Thomas Rhyne, Faith Establishes the Law (Chicago: Scholars Press, 1981), pp. 74ff.

¹⁰¹See note 97 above and Käsemann, "The Motivations for the Journey to Rome and the Detour to Jerusalem (15:22-29)," Romans, pp. 396-406; also M.J. Suggs, "'The Word is Near You': Rom. 10:6-10 Within the Purpose of the Letter," Christian History, pp. 289-312.

¹⁰²E.P. Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 32-43, 143-149.

¹⁰³Moxnes has demonstrated that the thesis of Romans 4 takes up the second part of Gen. 15:6 in which God is shown to be the one who reckons righteousness; the works of the law are negated by establishing this proposition. Theology in Conflict, pp. 108-116; Sanders' chapter on "The Law is Not an Entrance Requirement" deals at length with this negative assertion, and again his section on "Romans 2," Paul, the Law, pp. 17-64; 123-135 respectively.

hand, it departs substantially from the Jewish understanding of faith in God, and on the other, it permits Gentiles to be included in the community without circumcision.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, it is not completely correct to say, as Goppelt does, that the typological relationship in the argument is between Abraham and the church.¹⁰⁵ The accent falls not so much on the status of the believer in Christ as on the salvific *modus operandi* by which he is incorporated into Christ; the way in which God reckons righteousness inheres both in the episode in which Abraham's faith was reckoned to him as righteousness and in the eschatological mission in which Paul is engaged, a mission in which Gentiles are reckoned righteous by faith alone. Throughout the argument Abraham is interpreted as a type of those who enter the community of Christ on the basis of faith without circumcision.

The terms "faith" (πίστις; and cognates) and "righteousness" (δικαιοσύνη, and cognates) as they are used by Paul require some elucidation here. The meanings of these terms and their cognates are not cast in concrete in Paul. It must be admitted, though, that "faith" (πίστις) and the verb "believe" (πιστεύω)¹⁰⁶ are prominent when Paul addresses the question of how one is included in the end-time community. This much can be said of

¹⁰⁴ Sandmel, Philo's Place, pp. 81-87; 138-141; Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, p. 208; G.F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 263-280; 323-353; R. Bultmann, "πιστεύω," TDNT, Vol. 6, pp. 197-202.

¹⁰⁵ Goppelt, Typos, pp. 137-8.

¹⁰⁶ See R. Bultmann, "πιστεύω," TDNT, Vol. 6, pp. 217-222; idem., Theology, Vol. I, pp. 314-330. We take issue with Bultmann's view that "Paul understands faith primarily as obedience," (Theology, p. 314); only one verse, Rom. 1:5, explicitly speaks of faith in terms of obedience. Cf. Schoeps, Paul, pp. 200-212: "The centre of gravity can be attained apart from the law and as a pure gift of grace, just as was promised to Abraham. For faith was reckoned to him as righteousness when he was still in an uncircumcised state" (p. 201).

the function of "faith" and "believe" in Paul's soteriological arguments in Romans 4 and Galatians 3: they exclude the law as a means of salvation.¹⁰⁷ God, who raised Christ, is the principal "actor" in salvation, and the attainment of his salvation in Christ can be appropriated by faith alone; the work of God concomitantly excludes the works of the law.

"Righteousness" (δικαιοσύνη)¹⁰⁸ and its cognates usually have to do with the result of God's action on the basis of faith in Christ. The verb "to justify" (δικαίω) occurs most frequently in the passive and when it does it usually (cf. I Cor. 6:11) signals God's action in constituting one righteous in Christ by faith, to be saved in the Day of the Lord.¹⁰⁹ The forensic idea of "righteousness" as acquittal for transgressions is sometimes present,¹¹⁰ but becomes subservient to the more commanding soteriological concept of transfer from the realm of sin into the realm of Christ. Both verb and noun belong squarely in Paul's soteriology (e.g. Rom. 3:23; 28; 4:5; 5:1;

¹⁰⁷ Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 19-20, 33-36; cf. Beker, Paul, the Apostle, pp. 267-269, where he discusses the "response of faith" without once mentioning that faith is the basis of entry into Christ, similarly in his section on "The Works of the Law and the Work of Faith" (pp. 245-248).

¹⁰⁸ Gottlob Schrenk, "δικη," TDNT, Vol. 2, pp. 202-225.

¹⁰⁹ Zeisler, The Meaning of Righteousness, pp. 164-171. "To be in Christ is to be in the new Adam, in a solidarity of life, and of righteousness, as against being in 'natural' humanity" (p. 165). Here Zeisler indicates the "corporate" idea of being in Christ, in righteousness, etc., but the eschatological/apocalyptic aspect is all but absent. Beker, by contrast, correctly catches the apocalyptic note: "God's 'righteousness' in Christ not only acquits the sinner but also abolishes the power of sin by transferring us to the dominion of the lordship of Christ," Paul the Apostle, p. 262. The concept of "transfer" from the power of sin into the lordship of Christ, and that especially in terms of the passive of δικαίω, was argued already by E.P. Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 463-472, and no doubt was behind Beker's statements to this effect.

¹¹⁰ Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 495.

Gal. 2:16; 3:11; cf. Rom. 5:19). But Paul is not bound by these terms, as Sanders has demonstrated sufficiently.¹¹¹ For the present purpose, we may confine our remarks to the fact that the terms "righteousness" and "faith", as they are used in Romans 4 and Galatians 3, are pivotal¹¹² in setting forth the salvation which God had always intended, as typified in Abraham; and they exclude any other way, in particular the way of works of law (Rom. 3:20).

The typology which connects Abraham's faith and righteousness with Christian faith and righteousness works in concert with texts which are terminologically suited to the conclusion which Paul has in mind.¹¹³ Abraham becomes a type for Paul largely on the basis of the text (Gen. 15:6) by which his patriarchal character is defined. That Abraham in this "set-up" is a positive type¹¹⁴ there can be no doubt; yet the thesis of the argument falls

¹¹¹Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 4-10 and notes.

¹¹²The terms are pivotal, in my view, in Rom. 4 and Gal. 3 particularly in relation to Gen. 15:6; they are, of course, the terms which aptly convey a major part of Paul's soteriology, but the fact that they are in a text which treats Abraham makes their use by Paul in these passages pronounced.

The difficulty in the English rendering of the nouns and verbs (πίστις/πιστεύω, δικαιοσύνη/δικαίω) is widely recognized; E.P. Sanders has chosen to coin English verbs "to faith" and "to righteous" in an effort to eliminate the confusion which arises with the words "believe" and "justify" in soteriological arguments in Paul (Paul, the Law, pp. 13f, note 18). I have elected not to use these neologisms in this study since their wide acceptance has not yet been certified. At the same time, I acknowledge the appropriateness of maintaining the cognate thought from noun to verb in both cases, and where "believe" and "justify" appear in this chapter, Paul's thought for the corresponding Greek nouns is understood for the verbs.

¹¹³In their effort to define Paul's method of using texts of Scripture, some scholars (e.g. Richard Longnecker, Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975); Ellis, Paul's Use; Shires, Finding the Old Testament in the New; Hanson, Studies) have identified the "proof-text" approach, but have not urged sufficiently the significance of *terminology* in the selection and use of a text in Paul. Paul's use of Gen. 15:16 and Hab. 2:4 are outstanding examples of terminological suitability. But cf. Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, p. 21 and Betz, Galatians, pp. 137f.

¹¹⁴"Positive type" here indicates the fact that the weight of the typology lies in comparative correspondence over against comparative reversal or contrast as in Adam-Christ. "Positive" is to be preferred over "perfect," against Hanson, Studies, p. 157.

on the negative side, not by works of law,¹¹⁵ that side of the proclamation which Paul was obliged to defend in admitting Gentiles into the eschatological community without circumcision.

We shall highlight the contours of the Abrahamic typology within the argument along the lines of Paul's principal concerns.

First, righteousness is apart from the law. Abraham's faith is a type of this way of salvation. Abraham was not justified by works, for if he had been he would have been able to boast, but boasting would have disqualified him for righteousness which God alone credits (Rom. 4:2). Here the typological argument takes over and is quickly supported by the text of Genesis 15:6: "Abraham believed God and it was reckoned to him as righteousness" (Rom. 4:3; Gal. 3:6). For Paul this excludes the law from any saving function.¹¹⁶ The law does not give life, for if it was intended to do so, "then righteousness would indeed be by the law" (Gal. 3:21). Rather Abraham was reckoned righteous by faith so that his salvation was by the grace of God. He is, in this respect, a type of the Christian whose faith in Christ is credited for righteousness by the same grace of God which is extended to all men, Jews and Gentiles. And Paul can account for his thought on how God saves by the word "reckon" ($\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$).¹¹⁷ To one who works his wages are not reckoned as

¹¹⁵Note 102 above.

¹¹⁶The non-salvific character of the law in Paul is not understood in the same way by all scholars. Man's inability to keep the law is not the same as saying that the law, even if it is obeyed perfectly, will not save. On man's inability see Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 259, 263; Hermon Ridderbos, Paul: An Outline of His Theology (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 142f; Schoeps, Paul, pp. 176f; and on the non-salvific character of the law see, variously, Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 22ff; 43-45; F.F. Bruce, Paul, Apostle of the Free Spirit (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1977), pp. 188f; Stendahl, Paul Among Jews and Gentiles, p. 13. A complete discussion of Paul's view of the law cannot be attempted in this monograph.

¹¹⁷W.H. Heidland, " $\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$," TDNT, IV, pp. 289ff contributes little to an understanding of Paul when he finds the meaning of $\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ in the idea of

a gift; he has earned them (Rom. 4:4). But for Paul righteousness is a gift of God and is credited to the man of faith just as it was to Abraham. The function of the law, by contrast, is to condemn; it brings wrath (Rom. 4:15) and is connected with curse, at least in Galatians 3:13. Abraham, on the other hand, is the figure of promise and blessing (Rom. 4:16-17; Gal. 3:14). The "curse of the law" has been debated at length by scholars,¹¹⁸ and need not enter the present discussion, except to say that the emphasis is strongly negative, polemically so in Galatians where the blessing of Abraham to Gentiles is pitted against the works of the law, especially circumcision. The idea of the law as a curse does not appear in Romans (or elsewhere in Paul).

Since the accent in this part of the typology of Romans 4 falls on the negation of the law as a way to be justified, and on the inclusion of the Gentiles, the question of the basis on which the Jews are included comes to the surface. They are included on the same basis as the Gentiles, by faith apart from works (Rom. 4:12), so Paul affirms from the typology of Abraham.¹¹⁹

Second, the recipients of God's grace are "ungodly" (τὸν ἀσεβῆ, Rom. 4:5). There does not seem to be anything in Judaism to approximate this concept,¹²⁰ but Paul is prepared to prove his point, and that from Abraham.

"the imputing of faith" (p. 289) and the "non-imputing of sin" (p. 298). The concept of "credit" is doubtless closer to Paul's idea of receiving actual benefit without earning it as a worker would earn wages. It is "a metaphor from book-keeping," according to A.M. Hunter, The Epistle to the Romans (London: SCM Press, 1955), p. 51; Käsemann, Romans, p. 110; Barrett, Romans, p. 88.

¹¹⁸ See the summary in Betz, Galatians, pp. 145-146.

¹¹⁹ Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, p. 47: "God intended that all be saved on the basis of *faith*."

¹²⁰ Cf. Ex. 23:7; Isa. 5:23; Prov. 17:15; Sandmel, Philo's Place, pp. 77-95.

A.T. Hanson¹²¹ has argued convincingly that Paul intends "ungodly" to apply to Abraham,¹²² and the tenor of the text points in that direction. Even though the implication of such a view of Abraham would be at best intolerable to Jewish minds of the time, it is most likely the very idea which Paul hopes to convey. Abraham in Paul is not merely a good example of a proselyte; the designation, "ungodly" puts him in the category of a Gentile sinner (cf. Gal. 2:15) who experiences God's grace, even as the ungodly Gentiles of Paul's mission do when they are justified by faith in Christ.¹²³ Paul supports the point from the witness of David to whom he credits the words of Psalm 32:1-2: "Blessed are those whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered; blessed is the man against whom the Lord will not reckon his sin." David himself plays no part in the argument, except as textual witness.¹²⁴ Paul can

¹²¹ A.J. Hanson, "Abraham, the Justified Sinner," Studies, pp. 52-66.

¹²² Cf. Rom. 1:18 where ὁσέβεια identifies the Gentile condition apart from the Creator, God; Hanson's position is held by others with varying degrees of qualification; C.E.B. Cranfield, for example, shows that "to say that Abraham was one who had no claim on God on the ground of works is tantamount to saying that he was ungodly, a sinner," Romans, I (ICC), p. 232; Käsemann has picked up the concept of new creation here: "Ungodly means more than impious. It is a predicate of the person who has to do radically with his Creator and who learns that he must be created anew in grace" (Romans, p. 112); Dahl, Studies, p. 107; against Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 101; Nygren, Romans, p. 170.

¹²³ Halvor Moxnes has called attention to the antithesis in verses 4 and 5 and has argued, in this regard, that "the predication 'God who justifies the ungodly' is not an incidental addition that spoils the symmetry. Rather, it represents the pivotal point of Paul's argument....It is most likely that he coined this most controversial expression himself" (Theology in Conflict, p. 42).

¹²⁴ Against Nygren, Romans, p. 171: "Both Abraham, the eminently 'righteous,' and David, 'the man after God's own heart' (I Sam. 13:14), could be used as witnesses for the righteousness of faith." Cf. however, Rhyne, Faith Establishes the Law, pp. 80f; Käsemann, Romans, p. 113; Matthew Black, "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," New Testament Studies, 18 (1971), p. 2.

align Psalm 32:1-2 with Genesis 15:6 by the presence of the term "reckon" (λογίζομαι) in the two texts of Scripture. He follows an acknowledged rule of exposition, *gēzērāh shāwāh*, by which inference can be drawn from terminological analogy.¹²⁵ Paul can then take the negative side of the statement of the Psalm and convert it into positive support of his conclusion that the blessing of Abraham belongs to "the man to whom God reckons righteousness apart from works" (Rom. 4:6). The use of the texts in harmony with the figure of Abraham makes the saving episode, as Käsemann puts it, "pregnant with destiny."¹²⁶ Abraham is seen thus as a type of the "ungodly" person (and Paul has already charged that *all* men are under the power of sin, and are not righteous, Rom. 3:9-10) who believes in Christ whom God raised from the dead, and in so believing is reckoned righteous apart from works of law.

Third, and again the accent is strongly on the Gentile mission, circumcision is excluded. Abraham's faith which was reckoned for righteousness was prior to, and apart from, circumcision. The argument against circumcision is based on the order of events in the record of Genesis 15 to 17. How then was righteousness reckoned to Abraham? he asks (Rom. 4:10a). Was it before or after he was circumcised? (4:10b). It was before, therefore circumcision is not required for righteousness before God. But here Paul treads precariously.¹²⁷ In Galatians he did not mention Abraham's circumcision; in Romans 4

¹²⁵ J. Jeremias associates Paul's use with one of Hillel's seven rules of interpretation. "Zur Gedankenführung in den Paulinischen Briefen," in Studia Paulina (de Zwaan Festschrift, Haarlem, 1953), pp. 149-50.

¹²⁶ Käsemann, Perspectives, p. 101. Cf. also G. Klein, "Heil und Geschichte nach Röm. 4," New Testament Studies, 13 (1966-7), pp. 43-7.

¹²⁷ By "precariously" it is meant that the opponent (real or imagined) could still call for the sign and seal as a post-justified requirement, because even though Paul has reduced circumcision to this position he has not (and cannot) exclude it altogether; but he has excluded it from the mission altogether, and the force of the argument overall is that circumcision is not required at all.

he does. Abraham was circumcised, even if it was later. The Jewish opponent could easily ask why the Gentile converts of Paul's mission are not circumcised as Abraham was after he believed. What, then, does Paul make of Abraham's circumcision? He reduces it to a *secondary* and *unrequired* status. It was merely a "sign" or "seal" of the righteousness which he had already while he was still uncircumcised (4:11). By this method of displacing Abraham's circumcision from his righteousness, to a subsequent time, Paul excludes the possibility that circumcision is a requirement for righteousness.¹²⁸ By implication, again, the "sign" or "seal" is not a requirement either.¹²⁹ God's unchanging intention is implied, in that he did not require circumcision for the reckoning of righteousness to Abraham, just as he does not require it for the inclusion of Gentiles in the community of Christ.

¹²⁸ It must be insisted that Paul is not merely putting circumcision in a proper light in relation to righteousness by faith, he is excluding it as a requirement for righteousness; in other contexts (e.g. I Cor. 7:17-19) circumcision is optional. So Nygren, Romans, pp. 173f: "Circumcision, rightly understood, is not contrary to the righteousness of faith,... It is vital that it be rightly understood.... Paul does not wish to take circumcision away from the Jews." Other commentators tend to be quiescent on what appears to be the "real" reason for Paul's separating Abraham's circumcision from his righteousness by faith: that circumcision is excluded as an entrance requirement for Jews as well as Gentiles (Cranfield, Romans, p. 236; J.A.T. Robinson, Wrestling, p. 54; Dodd, Romans, p. 68; John Knox, Interpreters, pp. 443f). What we have in verses 9-12, in fact, is a radical departure from a central conviction in Judaism, as evidenced in the Book of Jubilees 15:25ff: "Everyone that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the children of destruction; nor is there, moreover, any sign on him that he is the Lord's..." (Charles). Cf. Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 102f; Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 101ff: "Circumcision /for Paul/ is explicitly excluded, as a matter of indifference, from 'the commandments of God' (I Cor. 7:18f).... All are saved on the same basis; Paul was called to be an apostle to the Gentiles. Putting these convictions into practice understandably resulted in deleting circumcision, Sabbath, and food laws from 'the whole law' or 'the commandments of God.'"

¹²⁹ Cf. Jubilees 15:26. Without circumcision, there is not "any sign on him that he is the Lord's."

This way of crediting righteousness was so that Abraham would become "the father of all who believe," both of the uncircumcised and of the circumcised (4:11b-12).¹³⁰

This movement in the argument places Jews and Gentiles on the same footing of faith apart from the works of the law with regard to righteousness and inclusion in the eschatological community of Christ; or as Galatians has it, "You are all one in Christ Jesus" (3:28).

Paul's thinking in striking an image of the fatherhood of Abraham above and beyond the progenital status reflects a typological pattern which operates in the consciousness of the change of aeons,¹³¹ the new aeon being signalled by the emergence of the eschatological community of Christ, the one whom God raised from the dead. Moreover, Paul's Christian vision of Abraham breaks the bounds of Jewish thought¹³² in the light of the eschatological context of the Gentile mission (cf. Rom. 4:13) in which Paul is engaged.

To sum up, Paul's case for the inclusion of the Gentiles in Christ by faith *apart from the works of the law*, is argued largely in terms of a typological pattern, by means of which he interprets the figure of Abraham. Paul moves away from the Abraham of Judaism, and his departure constitutes a Christian nuance in the character of typology. The new way of understanding Abraham "according to the flesh" (Rom. 4:1) is conditioned by the consciousness

¹³⁰Paul does not call for removal of the mark of circumcision (I Cor. 7:18); at the same time, he does not allow the *requirement* of circumcision.

¹³¹Recall the discussion of the last chapter, and Hickling's article, "Centre and Periphery in Paul's Thought," pp. 199-214.

¹³²See notes 128, 129 above, and Sanday and Headlam, "Jewish Teaching on Circumcision," Romans, pp. 108f.

of living at the dawn of the *Endzeit* which was inaugurated by Christ's resurrection. This Christian way of thinking, then, interprets the events, persons, etc. of Scripture as proleptic antecedents of the new age of Christ resurrected. The plan of God, moreover, is Christological and consistent from the old age to the new.

The choice of Abraham was deliberate on Paul's part.¹³³ With the help of Genesis 15:6 and Ps. 32:1-2 Paul found in him a type of all those who are justified by faith apart from works of the law, and who are, on that basis, included in the community of Christ on an equal basis (Gal. 3:28).

The examination of Abrahamic typology in Paul has illustrated again the fact that for Paul the setting of eschatological attainment is post-Easter Christianity, not that of the earthly life of Jesus. While the divine intention is the same throughout salvation-history, Paul's focus is on the inauguration and effects of the new aeon of God's intention. As set forth in the last chapter, so here, the new age of attainment began with God's act in raising the crucified Jesus Christ to lordship. In the case of the typology of Abraham, the confirmation of promise and blessing to the Gentiles began when God "raised from the dead, Jesus our Lord, who was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification" (δικαιώσις, 4:25). The faith which God reckoned to Abraham for righteousness is the same kind of faith by which Christians are reckoned righteous in Christ.

¹³³So Käsemann, Romans, p. 105, against Conzelmann, Outline, pp. 169f: "The way in which Paul selects one thing or another at random is clear from Rom. 4: here he uses Abraham in an argument without noting his position in the course of history." The discussion above has shown otherwise: Abraham's position at the *beginning* of salvation history is important both for Paul's opponent and for Paul.

In this typology the sense of positive correspondence takes precedence over contrast. Yet there is an element of difference, albeit less punctuated than that of Adam-Christ. The difference can be detected in the large measure of restraint with which Paul projects the resurrected Christ of Christian faith back to Abraham. Christ crucified and raised is reserved exclusively for the kerygma of the eschaton in which Paul is involved in mission.

CHAPTER V

Moses and Israel - Paul and the Church

Another lofty figure in Paul's letters, and the last to come under investigation here, is Moses. As in the case of Adam and Abraham, the figure of Moses is interlocked with a situation (or situations) which constitutes a kind of episodic event of salvation in the old aeon. Paul in turn is able to unite the Mosaic episode with his experience of life in Christ in the new aeon. In this instance, Moses is affiliated with the community of Israel, and the typological scheme moves from Moses and the Exodus community to Paul and the Christian community, particularly the Corinthian church.

This chapter aims to identify the specific form(s) which this typological pattern takes in two key passages from the Corinthian correspondence: I Corinthians 10:1-11 and II Corinthians 3:1-18.

A few points in general may be noted *en route* to the texts. First, the importance of the figure of Moses to Judaism scarcely needs elaboration. Barrett's assertion is doubtless not an overstatement: "Moses was the central figure in Jewish religion."¹ The question before us, however, concerns Paul's evaluation of this high and holy person from Jewish tradition. The

¹Barrett, From First Adam, p. 58. Similarly, J. Jeremias, "Μωυσῆς," TDNT, Vol. IV, pp. 848ff; G.F. Moore, Judaism, Vol. I, pp. 269, 438, 475. Martin Buber, Moses: The Revelation and the Covenant (New York: Harper and Row, 1946), pp. 33-68; 182-190; R.F. Johnson, "Moses," IDB, Vol. 3, pp. 448ff. The centrality and exaltation of Moses emerges more pronouncedly in post biblical Judaism with the focus on the centrality of the Torah. As Johnson states: "Moses is easily the most significant figure in the history of the Jews, and he is exalted in both Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism" (p. 448). This status of Moses makes Paul's use of the person of Moses in relation to Paul's ministry all the more striking. Cf. Munck, Paul, p. 61.

letters seem to convey the fact that Moses as *figure* is diminished by Paul,² and the observation is not altogether wrong, but it is not altogether correct either. Such terms as "diminished" are less than suited to the pattern of thought in the passages to be considered, in so far as Moses, like other figures from salvation-history in the old aeon, can only play a proleptic role in the divine plan which culminates in the Christ of Paul's experience. Moreover, whatever may be observed in the texts as devaluation of Moses should be more fittingly credited to Paul's prevailing view that God acted *supremely* in his Son, Jesus Christ, who came "when the time had fully come" (Gal. 4:4).³ The fact is, Moses comes through positively in both Corinthian passages, but he and the community of Israel of which he is figurehead, cannot occupy an equal place with the church of Christ "upon whom the end of the ages has come" (I Cor. 10:11). Ellis identifies what I have called Paul's "prevailing view" as a "principle" by which Paul interprets Scripture from the vantage point of the end-time.⁴

²In Munck's view Paul puts Moses "beneath" himself and casts Moses in a lesser light than Christian apostles. But Munck is inclined to reject the thesis that Paul is working within a scheme in which Moses as minister cannot be any more than "type" in relation to Paul. When typology is acknowledged for Paul, then terminology such as "beneath" or "diminished" are scarcely appropriate.

³It is peculiar to find that some scholars, e.g. Munck, Barrett, and Hanson, recognize that Paul views the events etc. of Scripture as having their fulfilment in Christ and the new community, but at the same time rejects the idea of a typological pattern in the interpretation of the same events. For example, Munck is quite prepared to admit that "Paul has in fact seen /the condition of the Israelites/ as the 'Old Covenant' in the light of Christ and his church, because now is the time of fulfilment," but on the same page warns that "we should not...speak of prototypes, but only of characteristics of Old Testament figures used to express the new and higher reality," Paul, p. 58. But surely this way of using the "Old Testament figures" is a typological mode of interpretation: old-new; lower-higher.

⁴Ellis, Paul's Use of Scripture, p. 135. This is only one of two principles, however, which Ellis identifies as "fundamental to Paul's understanding of the Old Testament....The Old Testament is *Heilsgeschichte*,

Another preliminary observation, not far removed from the first, is that Paul does not identify Moses directly with Christ,⁵ not even in the typological sense. Such personal (or human) identification Paul apparently reserved exclusively for the Adam-Christ typology. And while it may be, as Mary Rose D'Angelo holds, that "there is a correspondence between Moses and Christ in almost every book of the New Testament in which Moses is treated,"⁶ the fact is that in the two passages of the extant Pauline letters in which Moses is treated he does not correspond to Christ in an explicit way, as does Adam in other Pauline passages. Even D'Angelo's characterization that "Paul's Moses is *Saint Moses the Mystic*"⁷ does not rest on a cogent reading of Paul's pattern of thought in the texts in question.

A final introductory note concerns the nature of the letters in which Moses as positive figure in the divine plan appears. Both Corinthian letters

pregnant in anticipation of future fulfilment: The mystery of the Gospel, foretold in the Old Testament, is now made manifest in Christ." The second principle, according to Ellis, operates within the concept of "corporate personality," yet the evidence to this effect is scarcely convincing. The problem is particularly with the term "corporate personality." John A.T. Robinson tends toward the same position for Paul, The Body, especially pp. 11-33 where he is informed by the work of Wheeler Robinson on the Hebrew concept of "body" as personality, which concept he then infers for Paul. But this concept is not a requirement for Paul's method of interpretation of figures from the Old Testament, as Ellis appears to make out. Cf. Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 192-203, and Beker, Paul, pp. 306-318, where the terminology and conceptuality are more appropriate to Paul's own manner of expression.

⁵Against M.R. D'Angelo, Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), p. 1 and in another way in Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 105, 147-176; where he argues that Paul's letters imply that Christ is a new Torah.

⁶D'Angelo, Moses, p. 1.

⁷Ibid., p. 9. It must be granted that D'Angelo's purpose was to treat the figure of Moses in Hebrews, not Paul, yet her introductory chapter on Paul does purport to be a correct reading of Paul. Even in II Cor. 3, of course, the letter kills, but the argument there has a different thrust.

in which Moses is treated are virtually devoid of any sustained arguments against righteousness by law.⁸ Where Paul faces the problem of righteousness by the law, as he does in Galatians, Romans, and in a different way in Philippians 3, he does not find occasion to deal with the person of Moses as a positive figure in God's plan of salvation. In those letters, by implication, Moses comes through rather negatively in so far as the question of the law in relation to salvation is at issue; that is, the function of the law is largely negative. It condemns,⁹ or "it was added because of transgressions" (Gal. 3:19). This negative evaluation of the law, especially in Galatians 3, implicates Moses. That is, Moses too takes on a negative role as the "intermediary" through whom the law was given. In Galatians 3:19 "there can be no doubt that the mediator Paul has in mind is Moses."¹⁰ But the idea of Moses' mediation of the law had already been expressed in Judaism,¹¹ and in that context the idea has a very positive connotation. Perhaps, indeed, Galatians 3:19 in itself is not so devaluative; Moses may even be considered in line with the angels,¹² hardly negative company for Moses. The truly negative statements about the law begin at 3:20, and interestingly, the *person of*

⁸On the origin and nature of I Corinthians see the comprehensive study by J.C. Hurd, Jr., The Origin of I Corinthians (London: SPCK, 1965), and the "introduction" by Hans Conzelmann, Hermeneia: I Corinthians (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp. 1-16, and on character and content of I and II Corinthians see Calvin J. Roetzel, The Letters of Paul: Conversations in Context (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982), pp. 53-63, and Klummel, Introduction, pp. 270-293; on II Corinthians, C.K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1973), pp. 21-50.

⁹On Paul's view of the law, see especially the recent incisive work of E.P. Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 17-122; 143-167.

¹⁰Betz, Galatians, p. 170.

¹¹E.g. Lev. 26:46; Philo, De Specialibus Legibus, I, 116; E. Lohre, "χεύρ," TDNT, Vol. 9, pp. 430f; J. Jeremias, "Μωυσῆς," TDNT, Vol. 4, pp. 848-73.

¹²See Betz's discussion of this possibility, Galatians, pp. 170f.

Moses fades noticeably into the background. While admitting this much about Moses in Galatians 3:19, or in any other passage where Moses is implicated but not named, we must further acknowledge that Moses' person as leader of the community of Israel is not actually treated in those sections where righteousness by the law comes under discussion. One is inclined to conclude from this condition that Paul did, in fact, view the figure of Moses himself in a more positive light, but he is not prepared to admit this view into the polemic of Galatians or the argument of Romans. His purpose in those letters would not be served by the introduction of the idea that Moses was a positive figure in God's soteriological intention. There will be occasion to allude to this matter again in the introduction to II Corinthians 3.

The material of this chapter may now be focused more specifically. Of principal concern is the extent to which the data demonstrate a typological scheme in accordance with our definition of the pattern in Paul's letters. Some objection¹³ has been raised regarding the advisability of referring to Paul's treatment of Moses and Israel as typological, and we shall deal with the objections first.

1. Objection to Mosaic Typology

C.K. Barrett calls the comparison between the situations and events of the Exodus and those of the Corinthian church a "relation."¹⁴ He then adds: "it would be rash to describe this relation as 'typological' in any

¹³The objections discussed below are representative only, and do not include all the scholars who tend toward the same positions. Another kind of objection, represented mainly by Rudolf Bultmann, which speaks to the question of the validity of the typological method, is not dealt with at all here. See the discussion in chapter two above on this latter issue.

¹⁴Barrett, From First Adam, p. 50. That is, "Paul is drawing a general parallel between the situations and events of the Exodus and the situations and events with which he has to deal in Corinth."

precise sense of the word."¹⁵ What Barrett means by the "precise sense" of τύπος is defined by him elsewhere as "the mark left in history or nature by the antitype."¹⁶ Rather than this meaning, Paul is using analogy in Romans 5:14¹⁷ and warning example in I Corinthians 10:6.¹⁸ As noted earlier, Barrett appears to have an aversion to the use of the term "typology" with reference to Paul's mode of interpreting the episodes of sacred history.

Barrett's objection, however, is not as forcefully argued as that of A.T. Hanson. Hanson's problem with "typology" in the Corinthian passages on Moses is that it fails to do justice to Paul's view of the reality of Christ in the events of the Exodus.¹⁹ He cites Paul's declaration, "The rock was Christ," in I Corinthians 10:4 and the reference to the end (τέλος) of the passing glory of II Corinthians 3:13 as evidence that Paul is not thinking typologically or allegorically or symbolically, but realistically. He writes:

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Idem., Romans, p. 112.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Idem., A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1968), p. 223. The question is, does τύπος mean 'warning example' in "any precise sense of the word"? Perhaps it could be argued that τύπος is a flexible term in Paul, but even so, the pattern is typological in the sense of the salvation-historical context of the two aeons.

¹⁹ A.T. Hanson, Jesus Christ in the Old Testament (London: SPCK, 1965), pp. 12-33. This view of 1965 is clearly reflected again in Hanson's later work, Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology (1974), pp. 149-168. In this later work, however, Hanson comes much closer to the view of typology taken in the present study, namely, that the type has also a reality in itself in addition to pointing forward to the eschatological outcome. Hanson states the case thus: "The typological event is as real as the event it typifies. And this is equally true of the person who is a type. Those sacraments of Israel in the wilderness described in I Cor. 10 are as events as real as any celebration of the Christian Eucharist. Christ was really present there, though not κατὰ σάρκα" (p. 151).

What we have here is neither typology nor allegory; we have, according to Paul, the actual presence of ChristWhere Christ is present there is no room for the type of Christ, and Christ was certainly present here /I Cor. 10:4/ according to Paul....Here²⁰ is a relation of identity not of type and fulfilment.

In a later study, Hanson qualifies typology more precisely for Paul, but still insists that "there can be no question of Moses being a type of Christ, while Christ is present."²¹ Hanson states this in principle, and it is with this "principle" that we take issue, not with the specific idea that Moses is not a type of Christ in Paul. On the strength of his argument of Paul's view of the reality of Christ in the events and situations of Scripture, Hanson challenges what he calls "the entire traditional conception of Paul's typology."²² The objections of both scholars may be answered together here; the supporting evidence will be adduced in the detailed exegesis of the Corinthian passages.

First, the idea that Paul selected events from the Exodus narrative as warning examples (Barrett) cannot be denied altogether. The τύποι do serve as warnings relative to moral issues, particularly idolatry. But it is hardly "rash" to name the pattern typological in which Paul says that the events "were written down for our instruction"²³ (I Cor. 10:11).

²⁰Hanson, Jesus Christ, pp. 18-19.

²¹Idem., Studies, p. 152.

²²Idem., Jesus Christ, p. 13.

²³Hanson emphasizes the *recording* of the events in an attempt to eliminate the concept that the events (or persons) *took place* for our benefit, and so to remove typology from the letters as far as possible: Studies, p. 151. The difficulty of using the term 'typology' for I Corinthians 10 needs to be acknowledged. Can a 'warning' be a type at all since it may not be fulfilled? Jean Héring has pin-pointed the problem while he adheres to the view that we have typology in this passage. He writes: "What is curious in our case is that the signs selected from the Old Testament are only hypothetical types in some degree. It is not said that the Christians will perish like the Israelites in the desert," The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians,

Paul's statement here, as in the case of Abraham's faith, reflects the view that the recording of the events in Scripture was by divine intention. Consequently, they are more than mere illustrations from history from which one may learn a moral lesson. Paul here is thinking in terms of God's plan of salvation evident in the experience of Israel and consummated in the community of the end-time, Christians "upon whom the end of the ages has come" (I Cor. 10:11). This manner of speaking and thinking goes beyond the usual idea of imitation of the good and avoidance of the evil. The entire discussion of I Corinthians 10:1-13 is an instance of Paul's pattern of thought which moves in reverse, from present to past, from attainment to anticipation; the sacred history is first informed by the present experience of the resurrected Christ, and only then is the present informed by the situation of the sacred past.²⁴ This mode of thought, which may seem arbitrary to modern minds, must be acknowledged as native to Paul's Christian horizon. We maintain, therefore, that it is not at all "rash" to describe the mode of interpretation in I Corinthians 10 as typological. On the contrary, it is completely appropriate so to describe it.

The underlying typological way of thinking is seen in the references to the sacraments. Even though Paul does not identify Israel's experience of the Exodus with baptism, nor the manna and water with the Lord's supper (as he does the rock with Christ), he does compare their implications, or

ET A.W. Heathcote and P.J. Allcock (London: The Epworth Press, 1962), p. 88. But if *the situation* is, in fact, the type then the treatment by Paul need not be viewed as hypothetical, but as truly typological; i.e. God's saving activity is the same in kind in the community of Israel as it is in the Christian community, so, Davidson, Typology in Scripture, pp. 246 ff.

²⁴ See the discussion and notes on this 'reverse-pattern' in chapter 3 above.

effect, in a way which can best be called typological.²⁵

Regarding Hanson's insistence that where the reality of Christ is intended in the past, one cannot then designate the interpretation "typological." The weakness in this objection lies in the understanding of typology in Paul. It would be wrong to say that for Paul the type is not real. The type is the same *in kind* as its counterpart in the new aeon, but the type is not as "full" or as "manifest" as its counterpart (or antitype) in the new aeon.²⁶ We encountered a similar condition in the case of Abraham. Abraham's faith²⁷ was the same *kind* of saving faith as Christian faith; the barrenness of Sarah's womb and the advanced age of Abraham were "deadness," but not the death of Christ; and the life given to Abraham and Sarah was of the same kind as resurrection, but not to the same *degree* as the resurrection of Christ. Likewise here, when Paul says, "the Rock was Christ," he must mean something other than the Christ of the last age, crucified and resurrected to universal lordship. Rather, this Christ of the new aeon, whom Paul knows

²⁵ Hering, I Corinthians, pp. 84-92; Sanders, Paul, the Law, pp. 110-11; Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 165; Goppelt, Typos, pp. 140-146.

²⁶ This is essentially the position taken by Goppelt, Typos, p. 146: "τύπος /10:6, 11/ does not mean example in the ordinary sense of the word, as it does several other times in Paul. It refers to the fact that future events are represented in redemptive history. By his dealings with the first people of God, the forefathers (I Cor. 10:1), God reveals to the people of God who are living at 'the fulfilment of the ages' what they may expect from him." But there is not consensus on the view that the typology (if typology is admitted at all) is developed out of a salvation-history context. Conzelmann, for example, citing Herbert Ullrich, Die Funktion der Alttestamentliche Zitate und Anspielungen in den paulinischen Brief (dissertation, Münster, 1963), rejects the possibility that Paul is offering "an argument in terms of 'salvation-history' in favour of the validity of Christian baptism" (p. 165). While it is doubtless true that the validity of Christian baptism is not argued, it is nevertheless apparent that the basis on which the typology (of whatever sort it may be) operates is that of salvation-history as Paul perceives it in Christian perspective.

²⁷ Interestingly, Hanson has 'Abraham as believer' listed as a 'perfect type.' Paul's Technique, p. 151.

through revelation (cf. Gal. 1:16), had always existed in the plan of God and came to expression at critical moments in the salvation-history of Israel in the old aeon. But there the Christ was more perceived in the realm of miracle and mystery to be revealed supremely in the end-time by the resurrection from the dead. His activity in the life of Israel past is consonant with Paul's exclusivistic soteriology in which there is only one divine plan which culminates in Christ. Moreover, the reality of Christ in Israel's experience of drinking from the rock is not in question in designating the scheme "typological." In fact, the opposite is the case. Christ was present in a real, yet anticipatory, way; in a way which pointed forward to his fuller and final revelation in the resurrection. It is to the Christ of the resurrection that the community of the end-time owes its existence and allegiance. Paul's typological pattern follows the pull of this magnetic field of thought. Or as Schoeps puts it: "Paul directed his typology toward τὰ ἔσχατα—the end events."²⁸

Hanson's objection to typology in II Corinthians 3 carries some more weight. Paul's argument from Moses there is tortured, indeed, at points, *non sequitur*,²⁹ so that the lines of the particular typological scheme are not easily drawn. But Hanson's objection actually rests on the conclusion that "Moses' motive in putting the veil on his face was to prevent the Children of Israel from seeing Christ."³⁰ As in I Corinthians 10, Hanson argues that if Christ was really present, in Paul's view, then Paul could not have been

²⁸Schoeps, Paul, p. 230.

²⁹According to Morna Hooker, "Beyond the Things That are Written? St. Paul's Use of Scripture," New Testament Studies, 27 (1981), p. 304, "there are blatant contradictions and *non sequiturs* in Paul's argument."

³⁰Hanson, Jesus Christ, p. 28.

thinking typologically. Assuming that Hanson's argument is air-tight, it does not prove against typology. The same holds as before. The reality of Christ's presence in the experience of Israel does not negate typology; it establishes it. The plan of salvation is christological for Paul, and wherever God acts in salvation-history he does so in Christ, but not in the ultimate sense in which he acted in the death and resurrection of Jesus. One should not think, therefore, that Paul finds merely "parallels"³¹ in the history of Israel to his contemporary situation. The concept of parallel events of saving significance scarcely grasps the terms of reference within which Paul thinks and writes. Yet Hanson—and some other scholars with him—uses this kind of terminology at points where Paul's thought is evidently focused on the two aeons, the second surpassing the first, not running parallel to it. As Margaret Thrall suggests in her comment on I Corinthians 10:11: "The events narrated in the historical books of the Old Testament may have *parallels* in the life of the church."³² This statement, like Hanson's misses the mark in capturing Paul's typological thinking which is consonant with the understanding of the two aeons. If Christ was really present in the Exodus events apart from any typological scheme, then the Christ of the past is identical with, or parallel to, the Christ of Paul's experience. But this cannot be. The passages now to be considered simply do not allow this line of thought. Even amid the complexity of II Corinthians 3, one cannot

³¹For I Cor. 10, Goppelt speaks of 'typological parallels,' Typos, p. 146, yet in other places he stresses the necessity of seeing a 'heightening' from type to fulfilment. The problem with the term 'parallel' is that it obviates the difference between type and antitype, and the difference is as essential to typology as consonance, as we have seen especially in the case of Adam-Christ.

³²Margaret Thrall, The First and Second Letters of Paul to the Corinthians (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), p. 34, emphasis mine.

miss the fact that the new dispensation surpasses the old,³³ so much so that one is left with the impression of contrast, not parallel.

With the objections acknowledged, we may advance more positively to the two Corinthian passages. I Corinthians 10 presents a more straightforward argument than II Corinthians 3 and may be handled first. The subject is that of the sacraments (especially the Lord's supper) and the Corinthian problem of idolatry in relation to them.

2. The Sacraments and the Community (I Cor. 10:1-13)

For purposes of this study, I Corinthians 10:1-13 will be focussed.³⁴ However, this section belongs to the larger discussion of chapter 10 without which the point of the first part of the chapter is weakened, if not lost. The connection between the thought of verses 1-13 and that of the succeeding verses is achieved mainly by the catchword εἰδωλολατρεία in verse 14 which echoes verse 7.³⁵ Otherwise the connection of thought between the two sections

³³On the "surpassing" nature of the new dispensation see especially the chapter in E.P. Sanders' recent work on Paul, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 137-141; cf. J.A. Sanders, "Torah and Christ," Interpretation, 29 (1975), pp. 372-390: So all-embracing is the resurrection of Christ, J.A. Sanders rightly affirms, that the historical aspect of Jesus' career is veiled. He writes: "The watershed event of the New Testament is the resurrection of Christ. It is often said that everything reported of the Christ in the New Testament is reported in the light of that final and ultimate event, and this is the principal reason that it is so difficult to reach behind that event to get a really clear picture of Jesus the Jew" (p. 376). The old and new dispensations in Paul's thought fall within this Christian consciousness of the resurrection, and the surpassing greatness of the new, to the point of Christian exclusiveness, can be explained in part from this perspective, as also Paul's understanding of the historical figure of Jesus.

³⁴Actually verses 1-10 "constitute a self-contained scribal discourse on passages from the biblical exodus narrative," as Conzelmann observes, I Corinthians, p. 165, but the purpose which the discourse serves comes only in verses 11-13 in the warning against the Corinthians' over-confidence about their status in the church, the body of Christ. Cf. W.A. Meeks, "'And Rose Up to Play': Midrash and Paraenesis in I Corinthians 10:1-22," Journal for the Study of the New Testament 16 (1982), pp. 64-78.

³⁵That the real issue is idolatry, is not immediately apparent in

is not self-evident. What is important, however, is that Paul perceives that he has made the connection quite intentionally in verse 14 by the use of *διόπερ*, "therefore." And the parenetic conclusion is clear and is stated apodictically: "Shun the worship of idols." Then much of the rest of the parenthesis of chapter 10³⁶ is devoted to the exclusive character of the Christian's participation in Christ. This thought is particularly pronounced in the statement: "You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons. You cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons" (10:21). Moreover, the issue is more acute than the eating of idol-meat which is sold in the market (10:25). That is a matter of conscience (cf. 8:7-13). Paul's more pressing concern is that the Corinthians not become worshippers in an idol's temple and thereby constitute themselves "partners with demons"; this is a soteriological concern.

However, Paul is by no means consistent from the first part of chapter 10 to the second part, nor from chapter 8 to chapter 10. A full treatment of the problem cannot be entertained here, except to say that in 10:1-22 the argument is against active *participation* in idol worship. Paul will not tolerate dual allegiance in the Corinthian community, so he is led to use strong language to insist on the exclusiveness of Christian faith and worship (10:1-22). Moreover, the issue is not merely one of conscience (10:23-30;

the opening verses. But by verse 7 the idea is introduced and eventually, the whole typology of 1-13 is found to serve as correction of the Corinthians' arrogant behaviour in relation to pagan worship, as verse 13 clearly indicates. So Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 170; similarly Héring, I Corinthians, p. 88. Cf. Bornkamm, "Lord's Supper and Church in Paul," Early Christian Experience, pp. 124-5; Robertson and Plummer, I Corinthians (ICC), pp. 198, 211, 219.

³⁶ Especially 14-22; the ethos of 10:23-11:1 reverts back to that of chapter 8 where the issue was one of conscience and the principle that of freedom.

8:1-13) but of conviction: a Christian who believes in the efficacy of idol worship excludes himself from the "one bread" and the "one body."³⁷ At least the argument strongly implies this view. That is, participation (κοινωνία)³⁸

³⁷The question addressed in 10:1-22 concerns the status of those who are included in the community of Christ. In this respect, the main intent of 10:1-22 differs from chapter 8 and from 10:23-11:1; although 8:11 appears to have the same tenor as 10:7, 14, 20-22. E.P. Sanders explains the difference in terms of "believing in the existence of the pagan deity." A Christian could eat meat offered to idols as long as he does not regard himself to be a participant in the deity (or demon). Idolatry is committed only when one actually *worships* at the table of an idol, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 110-111. There still remains the problem involved in Paul's statements, on the one hand, "that an idol has no real existence" (8:4, 6-7), and on the other, that "what pagans sacrifice they offer to demons and not to God." Sanders admits that "Paul appears to waver with regard to food offered to idols" (p. 111). This state of affairs has led some scholars to the conclusion that 10:1-22 belongs to another letter, among them, J. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, pp. 326-329: "The section /10:1-22/ was written at a time when Paul was still firmly convinced that the reins of discipline must be drawn tighter in order to meet the criticism of the Jewish Christians...that participation in heathen religious feasts must be once for all forbidden" (p. 326). Recently Wayne Meeks argued that the Pauline communities reflect the urban environment and that Paul's arguments are his attempts (inconsistent at times), to create internal unity of faith and discipline without, at the same time, cutting the Christian groups off from the social context. This situation accounts for much of the tension reflected in the arguments. Meeks draws on I Cor. 8 and 10 but without elaboration. The First Urban Christians, The Social World of the Apostle Paul (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. viii-xii; 110-20; 198-201. Elsewhere Meeks holds that 10:1-13 has a kind of homiletical symmetry developed from Ex. 32:6, and the homily was composed prior to the writing of I Corinthians. This helps explain the problem in the argument in 8-10 ("'And Rose Up to Play'", op.cit., pp. 64-78). Robertson and Plummer argue that three classes of cases determine the point of view of Paul's answers: 1) Eating at sacrificial feasts; this is forbidden; 2) Eating food from the market which may have an idolatrous history; this is allowed; 3) Food at private homes which may have an idolatrous history; this is allowed if no attention is drawn to the nature of the food (ICC), p. 219. But this classification still does not explain Paul's ambivalent view (stated above) on the existence or non-existence of the deity (or demon). Neither does the reconstruction of the letter alleviate the inconsistency, any more than the idea that Paul is addressing different parties at Corinth. See Hurd, Origin, pp. 117-118; and Drane, "The Parties in Corinth," Paul, pp. 146-7. On the question of integrity see John Hurd, Origin, pp. 117-125; Bornkamm, "Lord's Supper," pp. 123-125; Klummel, Introduction, pp. 276-278.

³⁸For the soteriological connection in the root κοινωνία in Paul, see Friedrich Hauck, "κοινωνία," TDNT, Vol. III, pp. 804-808; see also E.P. Sanders on the concept of participation in the body of Christ, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 453-563, and Schweitzer, Mysticism, pp. 120-123.

in the Lord's supper (10:16-17) and participation at "the table of demons" (10:21) are mutually exclusive,³⁹ and the argument to this effect down to 10:22, is undergirded by the typological scheme.

Even where Paul calls attention to the priests of Israel who served at the altar, a typological pattern exists. He asks rhetorically: "Are not those who eat the sacrifices partners in the altar?" (10:18). The answer is affirmative, and the typological implication for the Corinthians is that participation as a worshipper in an idol-sacrifice is to share in the life of demons which the idol represents. Christians who participate in the Lord's supper share in the life of Christ exclusively. With this context in mind, we may proceed to an examination of the first part of I Corinthians 10 where the typological scheme is somewhat more pronounced.

Paul characterizes the Christian community as the successors of the Exodus community of Israelites. They were "our fathers" (οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, 10:1); the concept is similar to that of Romans 4:1 where Abraham was called "our forefather". Paul could be identifying himself with his fellow Jews exclusively, but the argument of the passage speaks against this view.⁴⁰ The designation has force only as it relates to the Corinthian audience of Christians, regardless of their natural descent. With this point acknowledged

³⁹ The implication is that if a Christian participates in idol worship he is excluded from the Lord's table; so Sanders, Paul, the Law, p. 111.

⁴⁰ There appears to be consensus here, so Goppelt, Typos, pp. 140-1; W.F. Orr and J.A. Walther, The Anchor Bible: I Corinthians (New York: Doubleday, 1976), p. 245; Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 165; less positively, Robertson and Plummer (ICC), I Corinthians, p. 199; C.K. Barrett, Black's New Testament Commentaries: I Corinthians (London: Adam-Charles Clark, 1968), p. 220.

the thought is immediately seen to be typological.⁴¹ Gentile Christians could not claim natural identity with the Israelites, but as the people of God⁴² through faith in Christ they are connected with the Israelites under the overarching plan of salvation.

Some scholars have concluded that Paul views the church as the new Israel, or the true Israel. W.D. Davies finds in I Corinthians a consciousness expressed "that Christians form a 'new' Israel—they are the real people of God and the whole Christian life, because of the crucified Christ can be thought of as a Passover festival of Joy.../I Cor. 5:6-8/. The Exodus of the 'old Israel' is re-enacted in the experience of the 'New.'"⁴³ Similarly, Goppelt writes: "The church is the true Israel; the Jews are only Israel according to the flesh."⁴⁴ In point of fact, this language is not standard in Paul. He seems reluctant—more than some scholars seem to think—to declare the church the 'new Israel,' as if the old were no longer a reality with which to be reckoned.⁴⁵ Only in Galatians does Paul allude to the church as "the

⁴¹It is typological in so far as the salvation occurrence of the old age of the fathers reaches its eschatological destiny in the new age of Christ and Christians. The thought is similar in Paul's use of *λαός* to designate the Christian community. He transfers the meaning from Israel to Christians, e.g. II Cor. 6:16; Rom. 9:25-26. See discussion in H. Strathmann, "*λαός*," TDNT, Vol. IV, pp. 54-57. The term actually appears in the present passage (I Cor. 10:7) but with only implicit reference to the transfer of meaning. Cf. Peter Richardson, "Paul's Use of *λαός*," Israel in the Apostolic Church (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), pp. 211-216.

⁴²See note 41 above.

⁴³Davies, Paul, p. 105.

⁴⁴Goppelt, Typos, p. 140.

⁴⁵Later discussion will illustrate, in part at least, the nature of Paul's dilemma in relation to natural Israel and the possible reason for his reluctance to name the church of the mission, "Israel." The subject has received substantial treatment in E.P. Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, especially pp. 171-199. See also Krister Stendahl, Paul Among Jews and Gentiles (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), pp. 1-23. W.D. Davies, "Paul and the People of Israel," New Testament Studies, 24 (1977), pp. 4-39;

Israel of God" (Gal. 6:16),⁴⁶ and even this allusion occurs obliquely in the farewell. Furthermore, Paul might be expected to use a more highly charged terminology in the sharp polemic of Galatians.⁴⁷ To say, as Davies does, that "the thought of Christianity as a new Exodus with its new Torah was constantly in Paul's mind"⁴⁸ is to use language which seems to outrun Paul's reservations. The plan of God, for Paul, does finally incorporate Israel after "the full number of the Gentiles come in" (Rom. 11:25). In the meantime, Gentile Christians dare not boast of their position over the Jews, since they are merely wild olive branches "grafted, contrary to nature,

Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 328-347; Peter Richardson, Israel in the Apostolic Church (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), pp. 79-84; and C.F.D. Moule, The Birth of the New Testament, 3rd Edition (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1981), pp. 46-51.

⁴⁶The term "Israel of God" appears only here in the New Testament, and does not come up in extant Jewish literature. The problem of Paul's use of the term in Galatians 6 is widely acknowledged. That he intended the Christian community of Jews and Gentiles is probably true, yet not all scholars are convinced. For example, Peter Richardson believes Paul applied the term only to the faithful people, Israel, Israel in the Apostolic Church (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), pp. 79-84; G. Schrenk, "Was bedeutet Israel Gottes?", Judaica, 5 (1949), pp. 81-94, to "all Israel" (cf. Rom. 11:26); Davies thinks the term "may refer to the Jewish people as a whole," "Paul and the People of Israel," op.cit., p. 10; cf. Betz, Galatians, pp. 321-323: "Paul extends the blessing beyond the Galatian Paulinists to these Jewish-Christians who approve of his κανών ('rule') in v. 15" (p. 323).

⁴⁷The appeal of Galatians could be summed up in Paul's benediction: "Peace and mercy be upon all those who walk by this rule" (3:16). There is only one "rule" (κανών) in Paul for all Christians, Jews and Gentiles and that is the new creation by faith in Christ. As Richardson points out: "In a context where polemic is very common /Israel of God/ comes immediately after a prayer for peace upon those who shall walk according to a 'rule,'" Israel, p. 76. The "rule" eliminates distinctions "in Christ." The κανών "denotes the ground by which Paul may know whether a man is a Christian, whether he belongs to the Israel of God in the new sense which is no longer tied to earthly distinctions," H.W. Beyer, "κανών," TDNT, Vol. III, p. 598.

⁴⁸Davies, Paul, pp. 250-1. But cf. his later article on "Paul and the People of Israel" in which he deals with the paradox that "in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek and yet a continued place for the Jewish people as such" (Rom. 9-11), p. 33.

into a cultivated olive tree" (Rom. 11:24). Moreover, when Paul calls the Exodus community "our fathers" he appears to be linking the Corinthian community with the Israelites and that typologically; the connection comes through as typological, rather than as parallel communities, one pseudo and the other true.⁴⁹ Neither does Paul propose that the Exodus community is an illustrative "model" for the church. The scheme is typological.

That the emphasis is on *community* is clear. "All" (πάντες) occurs no less than five times in four verses, an emphasis which is poignant in the context of the Corinthian church which apparently had misconceptions about Christian κοινωνία (see 3:3-8; 10:14-22; 11:17-22). All of the Israelites participated in their sacramental events, and the sacramental elements were "the same" (τὸ αὐτὸ, 10:3-4) for all. The principal question which the whole argument addresses concerns the attitude of the Corinthian community toward their sacraments,⁵⁰ baptism and the Lord's supper, these in relation to idolatry. And the answer is couched in a typological framework,⁵¹ in the midst of which stands the figure of Moses.

Various attempts have been made to identify the particular form

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the difficulty for Paul of holding an exclusivistic Christology which bears on eschatology and ecclesiology, and the existence of Judaism, see Käsemann, "The Theological Problem Presented by the Motif of the Body of Christ," Perspectives, pp. 102-121; and Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 171-199.

⁵⁰ So Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 169; C.T. Craig, "I Corinthians," Interpreters, p. 107; Héring, I Corinthians, p. 84; James Moffatt, The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), p. 129.

⁵¹ Again, the use of terminology here is deliberate: "typological framework" points away from a point for point correspondence (i.e. type-antitype) as if Paul were working with a systematic typology characteristic of a later time. It needs to be repeated that the typological pattern is consonant with his consciousness of the two ages of salvation-history.

which the typology takes. R.P.C. Hanson calls it "similar situation typology"⁵² and Jean Héring speaks of "hypothetical types."⁵³ It should be recalled from earlier discussion, however, that typology in Paul is not standardized into a catalogue of "types" and "antitypes," but arises spontaneously, so to speak, out of a pattern of Christian thought which views the saving history of Israel as having reached an apex in the act of God in the death and resurrection of Christ. So it is that when Paul reads and expounds the record of Israel's encounters with God, he does so with an eye to his present situation in relation to Christ and his church. "As compared with Jewish typology," says Conzelmann, "both method and content of the exposition are transformed in accordance with the church's historic self-understanding."⁵⁴

For Paul, Christian baptism had its situational antecedent in the events of the Exodus. The fathers were "baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea" (10:2). The only way by which baptism can be read in the narrative of Exodus 13 and 14, the texts from which Paul draws, is to intend backwards from the present.⁵⁵ If anything, the emphasis of the narrative of Exodus

⁵²Hanson, Allegory and Event, p. 79. Correctly, Hanson identifies the typology as situational, but it is doubtful if Paul is thinking in terms of similarity. He tends to be able to find "similarity" where one would not immediately expect to find it. The point is, that the Scriptures are the record of God's dealings with the people in the old dispensation and the record is for Christians, therefore there must be points of contact, and that typologically, since there is one divine plan.

⁵³Héring, I Corinthians, p. 88.

⁵⁴Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 165. If Philo is representative of Hellenistic Judaism, then it is doubtful if the method of interpretation could even be called typological. See Edmund Stein, Die allegorische Exegese des Philo aus Alexandrien (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1929); on both Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism see Goppelt, Typos, pp. 23-58.

⁵⁵While there appears to be some indication that the Rabbis used Scripture to support proselyte baptism, Paul almost certainly would not be relying on the Jewish exegetical model. On proselyte baptism see J. Jeremias,

is that the Israelites crossed over on dry ground (14:22). However, the same text has water "on the right hand and on the left," so that the crossing over was "in the midst of the sea" (Ex. 14:22-23).⁵⁶ From this description of deliverance from bondage to freedom, Paul can readily find a type of Christian baptism. Mention of the cloud seems redundant if Paul is following the account of Exodus in which it is said that the cloud customarily preceded the people—sometimes followed them (14:19). On the other hand, Paul could very well be drawing on the tradition represented in Psalm 104:39 (LXX), or in Wisdom 10:17 in which the cloud is said to have been for a covering. His interest in the situation of the Exodus event is to identify a baptism as a kind of immersion, "under the cloud" and "through the sea" (I Cor. 10:1). But Paul is not trying to make the account conform exactly to Christian baptism; this would actually run counter to his pattern of thought. The "baptism" is so-called by reason of the typological pattern, not because it is conceived to be identical with, or exactly parallel to, Christian baptism. On the contrary, it is a prefiguration, precursory to the baptism of the community of the end-time.

On the strength of this understanding of Paul's thought here, we are better prepared to catch the significance of the phrase "baptised into Moses"

Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus (London: SCM, 1969), pp. 320ff, and his "Der Ursprung der Johanna-Taufe," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, 28 (1929), pp. 312-14; and A. Oepke, "βάπτω," TDNT, Vol. 1, pp. 535-6. According to Jeremias, "the idea of a baptism of this generation /of the Exodus/ was common in later Judaism from the first century A.D. on. His use of Jewish sources is questionable, "Μωϋσῆς," TDNT, Vol. IV, p. 870.

⁵⁶ Héring rightly criticizes Weiss for attempting to find baptism in Ex. 14 in so far as the Israelites "were surrounded by water on all sides," but Héring then prefers that Paul is drawing on some apocryphal account, perhaps Wisdom 10:18, I Corinthians, pp. 85-6. The typological construction could just as well be of Paul's making.

(εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν, 10:2). Paul coined the formula from the existing Christian one, "baptized into Christ" (cf. I Cor. 12:13; Rom. 6:3). The "baptism" of the Israelites falls short of Christian baptism, enough to make it typological; the Christian formula is reserved for those "upon whom the end of the ages has come" (10:11), but the formula has been reworked to suit the typological scheme. Baptism, in Christian self-understanding, requires a person to whom the initiates can relate, and for the Israelites of the Exodus Moses is the most eligible person.⁵⁷

It would be less than responsible to build, from this phrase in Paul, an argument in support of the soteriological identity between Moses and Christ with which Paul was working. The two formulae correspond typologically, not the two persons.⁵⁸ Moses enters the argument, and quite positively too, not because a Moses-Christ identity is assumed, but because the typological argument calls for the person of Moses to make it work. We encountered a similar situation in Romans 5:18 where the argument⁵⁹ called for a point which could hardly be part of Paul's basic soteriological assumptions: "One man's (Christ's) act of righteousness leads to acquittal and life for all men."

⁵⁷ It is at this precise point where one is tempted to see in the figure of Moses a type of Christ. Moses is a redeemer-figure and Paul appears to understand the situation of the Israelites in relation to Moses as soteriological, in which case Moses would correspond aptly to Christ. But the rest of the passage militates against such an attempt to line the two figures up typologically, in spite of the formulation. But cf. Robertson and Plummer, I Corinthians, ICC, p. 200: "It is implied that the union with Moses which was the saving of the Israelites was in some way analogous to the union with Christ which was the salvation of the Corinthians."

⁵⁸ Following Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 166.

⁵⁹ E.P. Sanders repeatedly alludes to the difficulty of distinguishing between Paul's argument and the reason why he argues as he does. "Reason and argument are not always easy to distinguish," Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, p. 4.

As we pointed out for this statement, so also for the phrase "baptized into Moses." Too many other assertions in Paul militate against making this one statement in an argument absolute for Paul. The intention of the argument as a whole is not to set up Moses as a type of Christ.⁶⁰ Rather, Paul clearly affirms in 10:4 that "the Rock was Christ." Of course, Paul, in his more allegorical mood (e.g. Gal. 4:21-31), can "blend" several incongruent ideas together in one argument. Nevertheless, in I Corinthians 10:1-13 the sustained thrust is on the "sacraments" of the two communities, not on two persons. Paul can say that the rock was Christ because he is thinking backward from the Christian sacramental act of drinking.⁶¹

Moses, more probably, is to be regarded as God's minister and mediator of the salvation occurrence of the Exodus and the Wilderness (cf. Gal. 3:19-20), as he is in II Corinthians 3. Furthermore, Exodus 13 and 14 repeatedly refer to Moses as the *servant* of the Lord, an honorific title to be sure, but one that tends to disqualify Moses as a type of Christ in Paul's thought; Paul acknowledged only one Lord, as did the early church and that was Jesus Christ (e.g. Phil. 2:11; Rom. 10:9; I Cor. 12:3).⁶² Consequently,

⁶⁰ Later discussions of II Cor. 3 will demonstrate this further.

⁶¹ Here A.T. Hanson's observation is to be taken seriously: "Paul does not mean that Moses was a type of Christ," since he proceeds to introduce Christ in the next verses, Christ in the Old Testament, p. 12. But cf. Jeremias, "Μωϋσῆς," TDNT, Vol. IV, p. 870, where he argues that Paul is working with a Moses/Messiah typology based on an existing Jewish typology of a similar sort, as well as a pre-Pauline Christian usage.

⁶² The early confession, Ἰησοῦς κύριος, seems to have taken firm hold of Paul's thinking, to the point, apparently, that he is inclined to read ὁ κύριος of the LXX as the Lord of his Christian self-understanding (cf. II Cor. 3:17-18); so, R.P.C. Hanson, The Second Epistle to the Corinthians (London: SCM Press, 1967), p. 40. On the confessional formulae see Meyer, Aims, pp. 63-65.

for Moses to be a servant of the Lord was to be under his rule,⁶³ not to foreshadow him. Moses as minister will be discussed further in a later section. Meanwhile, the central thrust of I Corinthians 10:1-13 needs to be sustained, that the problem of idolatry involving participation with demons cannot be entertained by the community. In this respect, the issue in these verses differs from that of chapter 8 and of 10:23-30 where the issue is one, not of *idolatry* but of a private *eating* of food offered to idols apart from the actual worship in a pagan temple.⁶⁴

The sacrament of the Lord's supper speaks particularly to the question of idolatry in chapter 10 and the argument again takes a typological turn.

Both elements of the Christian communion meal and the acts of eating and drinking associated with them, have their typological antecedents in the community of the wilderness. The Israelites ate "spiritual food" (πνευματικὸν βρῶμα, 10:3) and drank "spiritual drink" (πνευματικὸν πόμα 10:4). The RSV translates πνευματικόν, "supernatural,"⁶⁵ which rendering

⁶³But it should be noted that the suffering servant motif is present in Paul, even in the confessional hymn of Phil. 2:6-11, yet the servant aspect does not seem to have a typological antecedent as such. If anything, the servanthood of the historical Jesus is itself typical, as we shall attempt to demonstrate later. Paul's Christian experience appears to be that of the resurrected/exalted Christ once crucified, and it is to that Christ and to the church under his rule that Pauline typology is oriented. Moses as mediator/minister (cf. Gal. 3:19; II Cor. 3:7-14) would not be an appropriate antecedent for the Christ, the last Adam.

⁶⁴Conzelmann contends that the difference between the two passages is between *eating* (conscience/freedom) and *food* (worship of idols). Sanders sees the difference mainly in the attitude of the participant: if he believes/knows that the idol exists then his eating of idol-food is idolatry, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 110-111. See note 31 above.

⁶⁵Likewise, Moffatt, I Corinthians, p. 129. Cf. Robertson and Plummer, I Corinthians, pp. 200-1; and Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 166: Spiritual food and spiritual drink "express a realistic concept of the sacrament."

could be correct if Paul intends to indicate the miraculous character of the manna and the water issuing from rock. However, "spiritual" may be more in keeping with the Corinthians' self-understanding which, according to a persistent polemic in this letter, needs correction (cf. I Cor. 2:10-16; 12-14; 15:46). The point is that the people of Israel had their gifts of grace which provided them with life in the desert. Christians have theirs in a different way, of course, but the same divine intention superintends the life-sustaining process in both instances. But in both cases the life of the community is threatened by idolatry (10:6-7).

The term πνευματικὸν, associated as it is with the eating and drinking the miraculous manna and water,⁶⁶ forms a terminological and conceptual link between the two situations and makes possible the typological correspondence. "Paul does not seek a point-for-point correspondence,"⁶⁷ as Conzelmann observes, but only sufficient evidence for the saving action of God in the given situation which can be identified with the corresponding situation in the eschatological community. Paul apparently found it fitting to add to the biblical narrative the notion that the rock accompanied the Israelites in their wanderings. He probably drew on an existing legend for this detail. The Targum of Onkelos⁶⁸ on Numbers 20:19, for example, carries a tradition which could have been in circulation and available to Paul. The point is, he adds the idea, perhaps to conform to the ever-present manna, as Goppelt

⁶⁶Note 59 above, Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 166.

⁶⁷Conzelmann, op.cit., p. 166.

⁶⁸J.W. Etheridge, ed., The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel of the Pentateuch with Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum from the Chaldee (London: Longmans, 1862), p. 300.

indicates,⁶⁹ but more probably because he is interested in identifying the life-giving quality of the water from the rock with Christ whom he later calls "a life-giving Spirit" (15:45). Christ is present with the Christian community as the rock was with the Israelites.

"The Rock was Christ," has generated considerable discussion.⁷⁰

As indicated already, Paul believed in one divine plan of salvation through the ages and he is able to subsume that plan under Christ (cf. I Cor. 3:11).⁷¹ Where there is a saving activity or element in the history of the people of God the agent is Christ. How is such a pattern of thought to be named? Or does it require a designation? If one is to be given it should not detract from the reality⁷² of Christ in the wilderness event, because Paul evidently believed in the ongoing saving activity of God in Christ in the old aeon.⁷³ And we propose the term "typological" which, according to our definition, allows the reality of the type while it safeguards the supremacy of the end-time experience. Yet after saying this, one has to admit that the statement, "the rock was Christ," lies appreciably close to Philo's allegorical treatment: "the flinty rock

⁶⁹Goppelt, Typos, p. 145. It may be possible also to argue that Paul is aware of a teaching in Judaism that the events of the Exodus are to reappear in the last days, and that Paul is interpreting the sacraments eschatologically (pp. 34-5; 145).

⁷⁰As evidenced in A.T. Hanson, Christ in the Old Testament, pp. 12ff.

⁷¹Or as Sanders puts it, "God's will to save by Christ is changeless," Paul, the Law, p. 85.

⁷²To be distinguished from the *person* of Christ raised to lordship, having been crucified.

⁷³Sanders discusses at length God's intention throughout the old dispensation into the new with the focus on Paul's view of God's changeless plan of salvation through Christ, Paul, the Law, pp. 77-86.

is the wisdom of God."⁷⁴ There is a difference, of course: Paul has Christ (χρῖστος) and Philo wisdom (σοφία);⁷⁵ in addition, Paul uses the imperfect of εἶμι, whereas Philo has the present. Paul apparently conceived of the "historical" reality of Christ⁷⁶ in the rock which provided life-giving water to the Israelites and in this way the statement takes a typological turn. Then Paul issues the warning to which the sacramental typology has been leading: "nevertheless, with most of them God was not pleased; for they were overthrown in the wilderness. Now these things are warnings (τύπου) for us" (10:5-6).

Whether τύπου should be translated "warnings" is questionable (cf. v. 11).⁷⁷ The decision rests largely on whether ταῦτα (these things) refers

⁷⁴ Philo, Legum Allegoriae, 2:86. Goppelt denounces Philo's approach because "the historicity of the rock is destroyed by the allegorical interpretation in which he relates the rock to Wisdom and Logos," Typos, p. 145; similarly, Hanson, Christ in the Old Testament, pp. 15-18; cf. Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 36, 312, and Davies on "Christ the Wisdom of God," Paul, pp. 147-176.

⁷⁵ But see note 74 above, Davies, Paul, pp. 147-176.

⁷⁶ Goppelt's caution that "Paul's statement is so brief that it cannot be understood precisely" is apropos, Typos, p. 146, but his sharp distinction between Paul's statement and Philo's is unwarranted. The imperfect of εἶμι is less than conclusive that the historicity of the event is preserved, Typos, p. 145. The point that should be made from the imperfect is that the typological statement as a whole points, not only to pre-existence (Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 167), but to the saving activity of Christ in the sacred history of Israel; thus, Hanson, Christ in Old Testament, pp. 12-13; Barrett, I Corinthians, p. 222; Robertson and Plummer (ICC), p. 201; and Schlatter, Erläuterungen, p. 85: "Der Fels, der ihnen das Wasser spendete, war durch Gottes Geist zu dem beschigt, was er ihnen leistete, und war ihr Begleiter," cf. J. Behm, "κλάω," TDNT, III, pp. 738-9, who holds that "the rock that followed is Christ now present" (emphasis mine). This ignores the significance of the imperfect of εἶμι, and tends to deny the pre-existent activity of Christ in Israel.

⁷⁷ Against Barrett, I Corinthians, p. 131, idem., From First Adam, p. 50; cf. Héring, I Corinthians, p. 88, and Goppelt, Typos, p. 146. "Here τύπος does not mean example in the ordinary sense of the word...It refers to the fact that future events are represented in redemptive history." Likewise, Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 312, and Ellis, Paul's Use, p. 133.

only to the disasters of the wilderness experience. In fact, the antecedent of ταῦτα is more inclusive and covers the "things" just discussed typologically, the sacraments, obedience/disobedience and the disasters.⁷⁸

Even if the overthrow in the wilderness is intended in ταῦτα, and no doubt it is, it should not exclude the sacraments, in that the paraenesis is aimed at those who exhibit an arrogant attitude⁷⁹ in the confidence that their participation in the sacramental community guarantees them security (cf. 10:12-13). Moreover, τύπος should not be understood simply in "a moral sense,"⁸⁰ although that is by no means excluded, but in the broader sense of the nature of the salvation of God in Christ in both ages.⁸¹ The nature and effect of salvation in the community of the old aeon is the same in kind as that of the new aeon in which the eschatological community lives. The idolatrous/sexual sins (vv. 7-8) of the Israelites brought destruction upon them even though they had participated in a baptism and were partaking of pneumatic food and drink. Salvation is such that disobedience is judged now as then.⁸²

⁷⁸The tendency among commentators to limit the hermeneutical use of ταῦτα here seems to arise from the notion that the Israelites were types and the Corinthians antitypes, in which case "the Corinthians were predestined to fall as the Israelites did," Robertson and Plummer (ICC), p. 203; similarly, Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 167. This restricted function of typology is not fitting for Paul in this passage. The whole wilderness episode is typological in that it represents *the way* in which salvation is made effective (or ineffective) in the old aeon, and *more so* in the new. To speak of a "technical" or "non-technical" use is redundant (Moffatt, Conzelmann, Robertson and Plummer); rather the Pauline use in each instance is to be observed. Here we could call the whole argument what Orr and Walther refer to as "typological paraenesis," Anchor, p. 246.

⁷⁹Or "cocksureness," Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 165.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 167.

⁸¹See note 72 above.

⁸²With this understanding of the typological pattern, it is not necessary to call the typology "hypothetical" (Héring); this is the *actual* way in which God's soteriological activity is conducted in both ages.

It would be instructive to discuss at length the list of transgressions in 6-10, but the limitation of the present scope demands that we forego that treatment, except to emphasize again that the critical problem is that of idolatry.⁸³ The point which does warrant attention is the way in which the paraenesis of 6-10 is supported by the eschatological/typological statement of verse 11: "They were written down for our instruction, upon whom the end of the ages has come." The first part of the affirmation has been treated above;⁸⁴ the second requires further comment.

The problem lies with the two terms τὰ τέλη and τῶν αἰώνων, both of which are plural, literally "the ends of the ages." Héring,⁸⁵ following Weiss, reads the plural as two; that is, two ends of two ages. The end (τέλος) of the old age meets the beginning of the new.⁸⁶ Attractive as this appears, it has very little substantive evidence in support of the idea that τέλος can mean the beginning of an age. The plural τέλη and αἰῶνες can be understood in the collective sense of the consummation of the events of history,⁸⁷ which for Paul is imminent (cf. I Thess. 4:13-18;

⁸³ Idolatry heads the list and sexual immorality is next in line: Idolatry (v. 7), immorality (v. 8), testing the Lord (v. 9), grumbling (v. 10). On the comparison between the Jewish view of idolatry and Paul's view, see J. Gray, "Idolatry," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. II (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), pp. 677-8; F. Büchsel, "εἰδωλόω," TDNT, Vol. II, pp. 375-380: "Jews were forbidden to eat flesh sacrificed to idols. They were also forbidden to trade in it" (p. 378).

⁸⁴ See pp. 4f and notes.

⁸⁵ Héring, I Corinthians, p. 89.

⁸⁶ Ibid. "The two ages meet one another at their extremities at the point where we Christians stand. We are at the point of intersection of the two worlds," cf. L. Martyn, "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages," pp. 280-7.

⁸⁷ As in the Testament of Levi 14:1: ἐπὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων which R.H. Charles translates "at the end of the ages" (cf. Heb. 9:26).

I Cor. 7:29). As to the significance of the statement in this passage, it establishes poignantly that the paraenetic argument of the passage is conceived along typological lines. For Paul, "The Old Testament narrative has an eye to the last age."⁸⁸

Moses as figure in salvation-history comes into sharper focus in the second passage to be examined, II Corinthians 3. The internal complexity of elements of the argument may be unravelled more meaningfully after a brief identification of the place of the passage within the circumstances pervading the extant letter.

3. The Function of a 'Midrash' on Moses in II Corinthians

Of the passages in Paul's letters to which the term '*midrash pesher*' has been applied by scholars, this one in II Corinthians 3 is more deserving of the term than any other.⁸⁹ Yet even here the so-called 'midrash' on Exodus 34 is worked through with a very specific point in view, namely, Paul's apostolic status in and relationship to the Corinthian community, and the missionary enterprise at large.

The contention of the ensuing discussion is that Paul's interpretation of the narrative of Exodus 34 on Moses has a typological thread woven through the complex fabric of the argument of chapter 3, which, in turn, is part of the larger agenda reflected in II Corinthians.

⁸⁸Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 168.

⁸⁹So Hooker, "Beyond the Things that are Written?", p. 297. One of the elements of a *pesher* quotation, according to Ellis, citing Stendahl and Roberts, is that of "an apocalyptic feature in which the prophetic passage is viewed as 'fulfilled' in the present time and is applied to contemporary events," Paul's Use, p. 141.

a) Motivation Behind the Midrash

This is not the place to enter into a full-scale introduction to the letter.⁹⁰ However, some points in particular have a bearing on the exegesis. First, the apologetic tone with which the passage is introduced in 3:1-2 is consonant with the defensive, and sometimes sarcastic, tone of chapters 10-13, even though the difference in mood between the first nine chapters and the last four is generally acknowledged. Even if 10-13 is part of another letter, even the "tearful" letter (cf. 2:4),⁹¹ the problem reflected in chapter 3 is virtually the same as that in 10-13,⁹² namely, the legitimacy of Paul's apostolic status in the Corinthian community. By making this connection between chapter 3 and the last part of the letter, chapter 11 specifically, we are better able to gather the force of the argument of chapter 3. That the validity of Paul's office as an apostle is in question is indicated in the opening questions and answer: "Are we beginning to commend ourselves again? Or do we need, as some do, letters of recommendation to you, or from you? You yourselves are our letter of recommendation, written on your hearts..." (3:1ff). And that the concern represented in this sentiment corresponds to the latter chapters, especially chapter 11, is reasonably evident.

⁹⁰ For a survey of the questions associated with II Corinthians see Kümmel, Introduction, pp. 281-293, and R.P.C. Hanson, The Second Epistle to the Corinthians (London: SCM Press, 1967), pp. 5-21, F. Harrison, Introduction to the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), pp. 294-5, and more especially, C.K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1973), pp. 1-50.

⁹¹ So G. Bornkamm, "The History of the Origin of the So-Called Second Letter to the Corinthians," New Testament Studies, 8 (1962), pp. 258-264.

⁹² Chapters 10-13 exhibit an intensive mood (probably brought on by the visit of opponents in the intervening period) in which Paul senses a weakening of his tie with the church at Corinth, Bornkamm, "Origin," pp. 258-59.

A brief survey of chapter 11 will help focus the problem and provide a context for the examination of chapter 3.

Chapter 11 indicates that the problem came from without. Opponents of Paul entered the church and apparently sought to undermine his authority with the community. Their identity has been the subject of much debate among scholars.⁹³ Our principal concern lies with the impression they left on the community at Corinth regarding Paul's apostolic mission. There is very little in chapter 11 to indicate that Corinthian Christians were called upon by outsiders to judaize, as in Galatians.⁹⁴ That part of the credentials of these opponents was their Jewish heritage is clear from 11:22, and that they laid claim to apostleship, at least in the missionary sense, is also clear from 11:12-13, 23. The provenance of these "apostles" is not clear. Barrett connects them with the Jerusalem pillars, calls them "judaizing Jews,"⁹⁵ and maintains that the Corinthians compared and judged them on hellenistic grounds, Barrett's thesis thereby modifying Deiter Georgi's, that the opponents were viewed by the Corinthians as θεῶν ἄνδρες.⁹⁶ Munck argues against the

⁹³ A recent study by C.K. Barrett represents a thorough investigation of the question and his conclusions are convincing, "Paul's opponents in II Corinthians," Essays on Paul (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1982), pp. 61-82. Cf. A. Schlatter, "The Movement in Corinth," The Church in the New Testament Period (London: SPCK, 1961), pp. 180-190.

⁹⁴ So Munck, Paul, p. 168. "Although 'apostles' of Jewish origins had arrived, they did not try to Judaize." Against Barrett, Essays, p. 80. "In a sentence: the intruders were Jews, Jerusalem Jews, Judaizing Jews and as such constituted a rival apostolate to Paul's, backed by all the prestige of the mother church."

⁹⁵ See note 94 above.

⁹⁶ Barrett, Essays, pp. 61-2. Cf. W. Schmithals, Gnosticism at Corinth (New York: Abingdon Press, 1971), p. 127 who posits the notion that the opponents were Jewish Gnostics (I Cor. 12:3; II Cor. 11:22) who pronounce ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς in ecstasy, and therefore preach a different Jesus (II Cor. 11:4).

Jerusalem connection in favour of travelling Jewish missionaries whose authoritative status had been inflated—as much by the Corinthians as by the opponents themselves—at the expense of Paul's.⁹⁷ Munck adds: "Paul's opponents...are only shadows into whom life and substance were infused by the Corinthians' idea of them and enthusiasm for them."⁹⁸ In the final analysis, the problem is one of Paul's Christian ministry and his personal, apostolic relation to the Corinthians. The polemic of chapter 11 lashes out at the intruders and their gospel in an attempt to regain the Corinthians' confidence in Paul's person and mission. Yet the effect is that the Corinthians themselves are chastized.

This understanding of the situation helps in discerning the significance of the pericope on Moses in chapter 3. It provides a clue to the reason why Moses as figure appears in II Corinthians where the problem of "the works of the law" is virtually non-existent. On the other hand, the person of Moses in salvation-history enters the polemic of Galatians only by way of allusion (3:19), as indicated already. The issue is not so much apostolic authority—although that issue is present, e.g. 1:1, 12—as the content of the Gospel which the opponents of Galatians preached.⁹⁹ Moses as authoritative figure would not serve the purpose of the polemic there to the same extent as Abraham. But in II Corinthians, where "superlative apostles" (11:5), more than a "different gospel" (11:4; cf. Gal. 1:7-9) is

⁹⁷ Munck, Paul, pp. 185-6.

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 178-9.

⁹⁹ Against R.H. Strachen, The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), p. 81: "The opponents were the same type as the Judaizers in Galatia." Cf. Barrett, Essays, p. 70. "The intruders proclaim another Jesus, not so much by heretical doctrine as by the kind of behaviour described in II Cor. 11:20" (emphasis mine).

the critical issue, Moses enters explicitly. He is not used, however, as an ideal figure¹⁰⁰ whose ministry Paul emulates, but is, rather, interpreted in the sphere of type,¹⁰¹ surpassed, indeed, by the abiding ministry of Paul and his Christian comrades in the service of Christ.

If the motivation for the *midrash* on Moses can be ascertained, it can aid in defining the terms of the typological structure of the argument. But the treatment does not promise to solve all the puzzles and ambiguities to which this passage is heir.¹⁰² The very fact of an implied comparison between Moses and Paul by itself is astounding. And taken by itself, we would concur with Munck: "Of Paul's many new and startling utterances, this is perhaps the most surprising. The greatest man in the history of Israel is put beneath the travelling tent-maker..."¹⁰³ But this fact by itself will

¹⁰⁰ In this respect, Paul's Moses comes out looking quite different from the Moses of Philo or of Rabbinic Judaism. See D'Angelo's "Introduction," *Moses*, pp. 1-10; and Barrett, *From First Adam*, pp. 45-47; R.F. Johnson, "Moses," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, pp. 448-49; Jeremias, "Μωϋσῆς," *TDNT*, Vol. IV, pp. 849-64. In Philo Moses is a divine man, while in Palestinian Judaism he is Israel's teacher in the superlative. If this can be admitted, and the sources point to this position, then Paul's understanding of Moses as a minister to whom Paul can compare himself can not be explained by Paul's background in Judaism. The nature of the comparison (which I will designate "typology") arises out of his *Christian* horizon in which the large scheme of the two ages (or two dispensations), with the attending convictions, controls the movement of thought on Moses and does not permit Moses as "ideal type."

¹⁰¹ "Type" as defined earlier for Paul, in contrast to "ideal figure" who cannot be surpassed!

¹⁰² As W.C. Van Unnik says in his article, "With Unveiled Face," *Novum Testamentum*, 6 (1963), pp. 153ff: "There is hardly a single point on which expositors agree" (p. 154). Van Unnik identifies four main difficulties: 1) the relation to the preceding and succeeding passages, 2) to demonstrate the superiority of Paul's ministry of that of Moses (and thus to condemn the Jews), 3) the precise interpretation of "the Lord is the Spirit" (v. 17) and 4) the meaning of the term κατοπτριζόμενος (v. 18). There are other problems which may be described collectively as exegetical.

¹⁰³ Munck, *Paul*, p. 61. The assessment springs from a detached view of Paul in history, but is scarcely representative of Paul's own Christian self-

not stand outside Paul's own Christian conviction which the argument reflects. That the argument takes several twists and turns in reaching the conclusion is perhaps not so surprising.

Quite apart from the fact that Paul's method of argumentation tends to run to and fro in any case,¹⁰⁴ some of the truncation of II Corinthians 3 could be motivated in part by the innovative¹⁰⁵ Christian spirit which governs Paul's hermeneutical thought generally, and, in particular, the interpretation of the ministry of Moses in relation to his own. Nothing in Jewish literature, as far as we know, even approximates it. The question is, what guides the argument in its various turns? This is a question of the conviction in Paul's mind as he approached the so-called *midrash* on Exodus 34:29-35.

With this central concern determined, it is possible to avoid the pitfall that conceives of Paul's argument moving consistently along the way to a logical conclusion.¹⁰⁶ Morna Hooker has correctly cautioned against expecting

definition. The fact is that Paul is not comparing himself as tentmaker but as minister of Christ; his office as apostle of Christ determines his interpretation of Moses in the old dispensation.

¹⁰⁴Morna Hooker, "Beyond the Things That are Written?" highlights the complexity of the argument and explains it in terms of Paul's *Sitz im Leben*: "There are blatant contradictions and *non sequiturs* in Paul's argument...his exposition is inconsistent...he juxtaposes conflicting images and interpretations of the biblical text....The fact is that in a single passage he can develop a clear line of argument and at the same time apparently tie himself in knots..../This/ is a salutary reminder that one should not try to force Paul into the straitjacket of a systematic theologian....Paul's exposition of Ex. 34 illustrates clearly the difference between his approach and ours. For him it is axiomatic that the true meaning of Scripture be hidden and is only now made plain in Christ...." (pp. 304-5).

¹⁰⁵That is, the different view of Moses from that with which he may have been familiar in Judaism. See note 100 above.

¹⁰⁶E.P. Sanders' insight (communicated to me in conversation and reflected in his writings) on the matter of Paul's conviction in relation to his arguments has been immensely helpful in the interpretation of Paul's letters. See e.g. Paul, the Law, pp. 4-10.

from Paul the kind of consistency we are conditioned to expect from ourselves and our contemporaries.¹⁰⁷ What then is the principal point which the argument is intended to convey? In light of the apology of II Corinthians, mentioned above, and from persistent clues throughout, Paul is making a case for his confidence in the ministry of Christ in the new dispensation of the Spirit which has superseded that of the old dispensation of the letter, of which Moses was the chief minister. Or, more broadly, it is a case of Christianity so redefining Judaism as to replace it, though Paul himself will not admit the latter.¹⁰⁸ What he does admit is that a new dispensation has dawned in the plan of God, and is now supremely focused in Christ crucified and resurrected, of whom Paul is minister. If the new has already broken in, it follows that the old is passing away. That this is a correct reading of Paul in II Corinthians 3 is confirmed by the context, but specifically by the opening verses of chapter 4 which begin with a phrase characteristic of the statement of result of an argument, $\delta\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ τοῦτο, "therefore."

Yet the position of 3:4-18 in the movement of thought from 2:14 to 4:1ff appears to be somewhat tangential.¹⁰⁹ At 2:14 Paul begins to set forth

¹⁰⁷ Hooker, "Beyond the Things That are Written?", pp. 304-5.

¹⁰⁸ Sanders puts it succinctly: "This is what Paul finds wrong with Judaism: it is not Christianity," Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 552. In his later work, Sanders qualifies this statement so as to reflect more cogently Paul's position in relation to Judaism: "Paul as Apostle of Christ and member of Israel," Paul, the Law, pp. 171-206.

¹⁰⁹ Floyd Filson has identified the whole section from 2:14 to 6:10 as "The Great Parenthesis: The Apostolic Ministry." He maintains that "the thought of how the turn of events at Corinth has vindicated him leads him to interrupt the narrative and discuss at length his ministry as Christ's apostle," Interpreters, Vol. 10, p. 299. Perhaps 3:4-18 is less a digression than a change of form within the larger "parenthesis"; 3:4-18 is "exposition." On the possibility that this section is part of another letter, see Barrett, The Second Epistle, pp. 11, 14.

his understanding of his ministry as one of triumph (2:14)¹¹⁰ through Christ, as "the aroma of Christ to God" (2:15), as mediator of life to those who are being saved, and of death to those who are perishing (2:16). Unlike some, Paul is no "peddler" of God's Word, but acts as one commissioned by God (2:17), one whose credentials are the Corinthian Christians themselves (3:1-3). This line of thought triggers a homiletical¹¹¹ digression (3:4-18) on the old and the new dispensations, and on the relationship between them, including the ministries and ministers of both.

Moreover, the $\delta\lambda\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ of 4:1 acts as a connective with the thought of 2:14-3:3, thereby resuming the issue of the status of Paul as apostle of Christ in relation to the Corinthians. This digression, at the same time, relates to the issue of ministry and is intended to bolster Paul's position. That is, in view of the fact that Paul is minister in the new dispensation, the glory of which surpasses the old (3:4-18), he does not lose heart (4:1)¹¹² in the face of opposition (4:3-4a) because his gospel is that of Jesus Christ the Lord who is the image of God (4:4). The digression of 3:4-18 is thus intended to accent the legitimacy of Paul's ministry as a ministry "of Christ"

¹¹⁰The lexical and contextual difficulties of Paul's use of $\theta\rho\iota\alpha\mu\beta\epsilon\upsilon\omega$, "to triumph," cannot be discussed here, but see J.I.H. McDonald, "Paul and the Preaching Ministry: A Reconsideration of II Cor. 2:14-17 in its Context," Journal for New Testament Studies, 17 (1983), pp. 35-50, and L. Williamson, "Led in Triumph: Paul's Use of Thriambeuo," Interpretation, 22 (1968), pp. 317-332.

¹¹¹McDonald's thesis is "that II Cor. 2:14-17 is a theme statement for a discourse or sermon, the gist of which is given in 3:1-7:1"; the commentary on the text of Scripture here "is plainly homiletic...Christian *pesher* is the handmaid of the preaching ministry," "A Reconsideration," pp. 35, 43.

¹¹²Van Unnik takes the idea of "confidence" (not losing heart) to be the central thrust of 3:12-18. The passage "is a coherent unit to defend Paul's 'barefacedness' as a minister of the New Covenant in relation to his fellow members of that New Covenant," "With Unveiled Face," p. 168.

(2:14-15). It is important to point out again that Paul starts from his understanding of Christ, and selects and interprets the texts and figures of Scripture in this light.¹¹³

An investigation of the passage in more detail will lead to a further understanding of Paul's typological mode of thought and interpretation in respect to Moses' ministry in Israel.

b) the two δόξαυ

With the mention of "letters of recommendation" (3:1) and with the ironical reply that the Corinthians themselves are his letter "on tablets of human hearts" (3:3), Paul has a signal for his comparative argument, and at this signal he moves along his circuitous way to his destination. The imagery of writing on the heart is reminiscent of Jeremiah's prophecy on the New Covenant on the one hand (Jer. 31:33), and of Ezekiel's words about hearts of flesh instead of stone on the other (Ezek. 11:19). And on this note Paul's thought engages on the comparative nature of his ministry with that of covenantal Judaism (4-6). His is that of a new covenant in the Spirit which gives life; the other, that of written code (γράμμα) which kills. Important as the *content* of each stage of the argument may be, it is even more important to catch the *force of the argument* for Paul.

It would be inappropriate, for example, to concentrate on the concept "new covenant" in this segment of the argument, as if Paul were developing a Christian covenantal theology. Some scholars¹¹⁴ tend to emphasize the theme

¹¹³Hooker, "Beyond the Things That are Written?", p. 305 stresses this point correctly: "Paul starts from Christian experience and expounds Scripture in the light of that experience, quarrying the Old Testament where he will....For him it is axiomatic that the true meaning of Scripture has been hidden, and is only now made plain in Christ."

¹¹⁴R.H. Strachen, II Corinthians, pp. 82-85; W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 225, 250f, 259f; J.A.T. Robinson, The Body, p. 72;

of New Covenant unduly in this passage. And some make out that covenantal categories pervade Paul's thinking in the letters. R.H. Strachen is a case in point. He admits that "Paul rarely uses the word 'covenant' elsewhere in his letters," but goes on to say that 'new covenant'

introduces us here to the dominant and inspiring idea in his whole conception of Christianity as centred in the death and resurrection of Christ. A 'new covenant' is a new religion. It stands for the breaking in upon the world of a new spiritual order.¹¹⁵

With even more persuasion, W.D. Davies has argued that "Paul's interpretation of the death of Jesus...has further revealed again how much Paul carried over into his interpretation of the Christian Dispensation the covenantal conceptions of Judaism."¹¹⁶ However much may be said for the view that Christianity took over certain elements of covenantal nomism, and it must be acknowledged that it did, Paul's letters do not reveal a preoccupation with adapting the covenantal categories of Judaism to his Christian understanding.¹¹⁷ More to

Van Unnik, "With Unveiled Face," p. 156; Isaac I. Friesen, The Glory of the Ministry of Christ, Illustrated by a Study of II Cor. 2:14-3:18 (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Kommissionsverlag, 1971), pp. 39-53; F.F. Bruce, I and II Corinthians (London: Oliphants, 1971), pp. 190-1.

¹¹⁵ Strachen, II Corinthians, p. 85.

¹¹⁶ Davies, Paul, pp. 159f. More recently Davies has pointed out that "in II Corinthians 3 Paul is concerned essentially with the contrast between the two ministries, not with that between two covenants," Jewish and Pauline Studies (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), p. 129.

¹¹⁷ E.P. Sanders recognizes that Paul espoused certain conceptions of covenantal nomism, but he goes on to point out "the inadequacy of the covenantal categories for understanding Paul....Although Paul uses the term 'new covenant' to describe the community established by Christ's death (I Cor. 11:25; II Cor. 3:6) he can also speak of 'new creation' (II Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15). What Christ has done is not contrasted with what Moses did, but with what Adam did" (Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 513f). It should be observed further, though, that Sanders' primary reason for declaring the covenantal categories inadequate for depicting Paul's religion is that this conception "does not take account of his transfer terms, which are the most significant terms for understanding his soteriology" (p. 514). Cf. Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 199-214.

the point of this passage, Paul thinks back here to the dispensation behind the Christ-event and considers the events of salvation-history there, and the record containing them (3:14), to be old. His stance is that of new creation in Christ,¹¹⁸ and his use of the term 'new covenant' may be understood more appropriately in this connection. He employs 'new covenant' (καλυή διαθήκη)¹¹⁹ one might say, for the sake of argument in this particular segment because here he intends to draw a contrast between his ministry in the Spirit and that of covenantal Judaism which is in written code, the law. That is, the logic of his position in the comparison of ministries and ministers tends to push him to say that the old covenant has been rendered inoperative (ή καταργουμένη, 3:7). But he prefers not to say that exactly, and he is elsewhere obliged to deal with the question of the existence of Israel alongside the church (cf. Romans 9-11). Instead, he compares "glories" and drops the idea of covenant.

If one were to select between 'covenant' (διαθήκη) and 'dispensation' (διακονία) as a caption for the whole passage, 'dispensation,' it seems, would be a better choice. The two ministries and the two ministers (διάκονοι) are being compared. But even this term is dropped in the second part of the argument (12-18) while 'glory' (δόξα) remains. "The key-word in this passage is *glory*."¹²⁰

The emphasis in verses 4-6 is more probably on the eschatological

¹¹⁸Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 200, 208, 214.

¹¹⁹For Paul's use here see J. Behm, "διαθήκη," TDNT, Vol. II, pp. 129-131.

¹²⁰Strachen, II Corinthians, p. 85; so also Plummer, "The Superiority of the New Ministration to the Old," Second Epistle, ICC, p. 83; similarly Sanders, "The Old Dispensation and the New," Paul, the Law, p. 137; A.T. Hanson, "The Midrash in II Corinthians 3: A Reconsideration," Journal for the Study of the New Testament, 9 (1980), pp. 2-28.

"newness" (καλυνή)¹²¹ of the ministry of the spirit in which Paul is engaged, as compared with that of Judaism which is involved in the ministry of "the covenant"; in Paul's Christian horizon it is "the old covenant"¹²² (3:14). In any event, Paul's thesis is supported: the Spirit gives life and is therefore better than the "letter" which kills; the life-giving Spirit is to the letter as new is to old; Paul and his fellow ministers are "ministers of a new covenant"; therefore, he has confidence and competence before God (3:4-5).

Then his train of thought shifts again and the comparison intensifies. At verse 7 he makes direct contact with Exodus 34, especially verses 29-35, part of the very code which he just cast in a negative light. But this latter point should be viewed in perspective.¹²³ Paul can use the law to prove that the divine plan of salvation for the end-time is centred solely in the resurrected Christ, because the saving events recorded in Scripture anticipate the Christ-event and were written for the instruction of the Christian community of the end-time.¹²⁴ We saw this pattern in I Corinthians 10 and Romans 4:24.

¹²¹Plummer observes: "καλύνος always implies superiority to that which is not καλύνος," p. 85. This is consistent with the typological force of the argument.

¹²²As R. Bultmann points out, it is the *character* of the two ministers and of their two ministries which is being compared; in the light of the "new," the other is "old," Der Zweite Brief an die Korinther (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1976), p. 82.

¹²³The complex question of Paul's citation of Scripture (or the law) against itself cannot be treated fully here. Reference may be made to some scholars who have some explanation: Sanders, Paul, the Law, pp. 160-162 and notes; Hanson, "Paul's Interpretation of Scripture," Studies, pp. 136-145. Käsemann's observation is helpful, that Paul's use of "letter" for the Mosaic Torah is related to the concept of the two aeons and "the word is always assigned by the apostle to the old aeon," Perspectives, p. 143. See also Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 251-254.

¹²⁴Cf. Käsemann, Perspectives, pp. 143f.

From verse 7 through 18 the narrative on Moses from Exodus 34 is held in Paul's field of Christian vision, but his argumentation shifts. Failure to recognize the shift makes the complexity of the text even more difficult to unravel.¹²⁵ For example, attempts to reconcile the reason for Moses' veil in verse 13 with the "splendour" in verse 7 are strained, mainly because Paul was not yet thinking of (or at least not dealing with) the veil in verse 7. Recognition of the shift in Paul's thought from one idea to another at verse 12, even while he has one text of Scripture in view, can lead to more meaningful results. Therefore, we propose to deal with verses 7-11 as a separate phase of the argument on the surpassing splendour (δόξα) of the new dispensation (δουλοῦντά) of which Paul is a minister, over that of the old, of which Moses was a minister. Verse 12 would then be understood as a transition to the new, but more-or-less related, phase concerning the veil on the face of Moses, as compared with the unveiled face of Paul and all Christians.

The question before us again is whether each of the units involving Moses reflects a typological pattern, and if so, what are its lines. Verses 7-11 come under consideration first.

That the subject is the splendour (δόξα) which accompanies the two dispensations is quite evident, and that the narrative on the lustre of Moses' face is interpreted from Paul's Christian vantage point is also beyond doubt.¹²⁶ If a typological pattern concerning the two dispensations is present in Paul's treatment of the episode on Moses, we can expect to find the new Christian dispensation, of which Paul is a minister, reflect the old, yet surpass it. And this is indeed the case.

¹²⁵ Hooker, "Beyond the Things That are Written?", p. 298. "We shall misunderstand him completely if we try to combine the two arguments."

¹²⁶ Bultmann, Der Zweite Brief, pp. 78-82; Plummer, The Second Epistle, pp. 94-5.

Several characteristic phrases speak to this point. The splendour of the new dispensation of the Spirit is "greater" (μᾶλλον, v. 8), "far exceeds" (πολλῷ μᾶλλον περισσεύει, v. 9), "surpasses" (ὑπερβαλλούσης) and is "much more" (πολλῷ μᾶλλον, v. 11) than that of the old. Some of this terminology is precisely that which we encountered in the Adam-Christ typology of Romans 5:12-21, where the argument was, as here, a *fortiori* and was explicitly typological (Rom. 5:14). Moreover, it cannot be said, with Allen Menzies, that "Paul is showing that the task of setting forth the new covenant equals in splendour that of setting forth the old"¹²⁷ (emphasis mine). On the other hand, it should not be assumed that Paul is simply showing the superiority of his ministry over that of Moses, and by extension, of Judaism. Munck's use of the term "superiority"¹²⁸ does not capture adequately Paul's thought on the two dispensations. The new, rather, *surpasses* the old, takes over from it, and thus renders the old inoperative.

The idea that Moses' dispensation is being rendered inoperative (τὴν καταργουμένην, v. 7b) is very much part of Paul's eschatological perspective.¹²⁹ For him, God acted supremely in Christ and inaugurated the new age by the resurrection, of which the Spirit is witness in the present, and as such, guarantees future salvation¹³⁰ (cf. II Cor. 1:22).

¹²⁷ Allen Menzies, The Second Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians (London: Macmillan, 1912), p. 22.

¹²⁸ Munck, Paul, p. 58.

¹²⁹ Käsemann, Perspectives, p. 143; Goppelt, Typos, pp. 211-223. Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 351-367. Cf. Cullman, Christ and Time, pp. 139f; idem., Salvation in History, pp. 248-268. Cullman tends to displace eschatology with a christological salvation-history.

¹³⁰ Beker's work has highlighted the apocalyptic significance of the resurrection for Paul, perhaps at the expense of other convictions (Christological/eschatological) which appear to be very much a part of Paul's Christian thought; typology is pictured as subservient to apocalyptic.

The term καταργέω¹³¹ is not in the text of Exodus 34 (LXX), neither is the idea of Moses' passing glory present in the text of the LXX or the Masoretic recension. Paul, however, reads the text through Christian eyes and concludes that the dispensation of Moses, with the attending glory, was in process of being rendered inoperative. That is, it was not intended to be permanent. His conclusion, no doubt, arises out of the fact that he views contemporary Judaism in that light, hence the present participle as applied to Moses' splendour. As E.P. Sanders has pointed out, "Paul's thought is dominated by the surpassing value of life in Christ. What is surpassingly valuable becomes, in Paul's mind, what is exclusively valuable."¹³²

And on the strength of this understanding of Paul's thought, the term καταργέω denotes the idea that the old dispensation has run its course to the finish, where the new takes over. Moreover, the RSV rendering of Paul's meaning of this term as "fading" is not altogether appropriate,¹³³ even

It seems more appropriate to allow for several characteristics of Paul's thought, each of them complementing the other. This is the intent of the present sentence. Cf. Goppelt, Typos, pp. 209-237; Sanders, Paul, the Law, pp. 4-10.

¹³¹On the lexical function see G. Delling, "καταργέω," TDNT, Vol. I, pp. 452-4.

¹³²Sanders, Paul, the Law, pp. 140-1.

¹³³Here Hanson has properly criticized the RSV rendering. Paul's participial use of καταργέω (here the present, passive, Plummer, Second Epistle, p. 90), "never carries any suggestion of fading away," but always in the sense of being "rendered ineffective," Jesus Christ, p. 27. Cf. Bruce, I and II Corinthians, p. 191: "The law which Moses brought was the dispensation of death, and it was a fading glory which radiated from his face." Mention of "the law" goes beyond exegesis; the text is concerned with two dispensations (δικάκονα), the law being present in the text only by inference. And the inference, according to Barrett (I think correctly), is that "behind Paul's use of the narrative lies his conviction that the law is 'holy, righteous and good' (Rom. 7:12)—precisely because it is the law of God. He cannot however leave this statement unqualified; the glory was in process of abolition (literally, 'was being done away,' καταργουμένην)," Second Epistle, pp. 115-116.

though the subject of Moses' luminous face would seem to call for this rendering. But Paul has in mind the *dispensation* of Moses, not merely his shining face, and it is the dispensation with its attending glory which is καταργουμένη in the presence of Christ and his church in the endtime.

The reason for the change of gender in the two occurrences of the participle of καταργουμένη in this passage is difficult to discern.¹³⁴ In verse 7 the feminine clearly agrees with δόξα (splendour), but by verse 11 the gender is neuter. It could be a generic neuter by which everything characteristic of the old aeon (not simply the glory of Moses' face) is viewed as being rendered inoperative.¹³⁵ Correspondingly, the neuter τὸ μένον, of the new dispensation, is also neuter. Furthermore, the intervening verse 10 has τὸ δεδοξασμένον, neuter, which is Paul's participial way of referring to that which is associated with glory in the old dispensation. Moreover, the neuter καταργούμενον of verse 11 connects with δεδοξασμένον of verse 10 and points to *everything* associated with the old dispensation, including what was given, the law.¹³⁶ And the implied antecedent of τὸ μένον is like-

¹³⁴Hooker, "Beyond the Things That are Written?", p. 299.

¹³⁵Friesen proposes that "the use of the neuter in 3:10, 11 (*dedoxasmenon*, v. 10 and *katargoumenon*, v. 11) makes it possible to refer not only to the person of Moses, but also the ministry of the Old Covenant," Glory of the Ministry, pp. 50-1. But the *person* of Moses is not the subject of discussion up to verse 11; other ideas have entered (dispensation/ministry, glory, covenant) but all of these, except "letter" (γράμμα), are feminine. Perhaps the neuter γράμμα is the intended antecedent, although this seems too restrictive, it is also associated with the negative side of the law, and the structure of the argument rests on a comparison of "glories" attending the two dispensations.

¹³⁶The term, καταργέω, no doubt, has more than one function in the passage; in 7 and 11, it could properly be rendered "annulled," "abolished," "rendered inoperative," whereas in 14, where the veil is the subject, it could be rendered "taken away" (RSV). Hanson disagrees: "In verse 14, as throughout the chapter, it means abolished, annulled, superseded...Paul is already thinking of the veil in a metaphorical sense," Studies, p. 30.

Sanders links both participles, καταργούμενον, v. 11 and δεδοξασμένον, v. 10 with the law, and in a somewhat ambiguous way: "The neuter participle

wise τὸ δεδθξασμένον; the difference is that τὸ μένον "must have much more splendour" (3:11).

An important point in favour of a typological pattern in this argument is the fact that Paul does admit a splendour (δόξα) associated with Moses; the splendour was such "that the Israelites could not look on Moses' face because of its brightness" (v. 7). This is more than a mere tribute to Moses.¹³⁷ It belongs in the Pauline concept of one divine intention overarching the two ages.¹³⁸ The episode of Moses' luminous face in the presence of the Israelites was in the divine plan of salvation. But it was, one might say, episodic, temporary, not permanent (τὸ μένον, v. 11). The function of καταργούμενον captures the idea of transience, and τὸ μένον of permanence. The time element appears to be very much part of the comparison between the splendour attending the two dispensations. The comparison accordingly follows a Pauline use of typology as defined in this study. The splendour of the ministry of Moses, bright as it was, is surpassed, superseded indeed, by the splendour which attends the ministry of which Paul is part, the ministry of Christ.

What makes the splendour of the new dispensation so much greater is

to *katargoumenon* (what is passing away) refers not to the glory with which the law was given, as does the feminine participle in 3:9, but to *what* was given (v. 10, to *dedoxasenon*), that is, the law," Paul, the Law, p. 139. If by "law," Sanders means νόμος (Paul's term, which actually does not occur in the passage), one wonders why the participle would be neuter and not masculine. Later Sanders adds that the two participles refer to "the Mosaic dispensation as such" (p. 139). In the final analysis, Paul probably has in mind Judaism as he has come to understand it in the light of Christ. The *character* of the dispensation of Moses is what "came with glory" (v. 10), and was, oddly enough, one of condemnation and death.

¹³⁷Friesen, Glory of the Ministry, pp. 47-48.

¹³⁸On God's intention to save all by Christ, see especially Sanders, Paul, the Law, pp. 34, 66ff, 73-86.

its new, positive and permanent character. The dispensation of which Moses was minister, while it had a temporary splendour, was a dispensation of death (v. 7), of condemnation (v. 9), whereas the dispensation of which Paul is minister is one of the Spirit (v. 8), of righteousness¹³⁹ (v. 9), and in the presence of the splendour of the new, the old "has come to have no splendour at all, because of the splendour that surpasses it" (v. 10).

Paul's emphasis on the negative role of the law, evident in Galatians and Romans, can be detected here as well in Paul's description of the dispensation of Moses as one of death and condemnation.¹⁴⁰ But it should be observed that the role of the law is not, in fact, the subject of the argument. In this regard, one can rightly say that Paul is expounding a salvific act of God with reference to the person of Moses who had an encounter with the Lord, as recorded in Exodus 34, the result of which was a splendour which the Israelites witnessed. Paul admits this much, and in so doing is following a somewhat similar typological pattern to that in I Corinthians 10 where the Israelites are said to have participated in sacraments associated with Moses. Granted, Paul does not say of the baptism into Moses that it is rendered inoperative, but it would be hard to imagine, conversely, that he would allow a continuing baptism into Moses alongside Christian baptism. Pauline typology works in terms of his view of the exclusive, or absolute,

¹³⁹ On righteousness in Paul see Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 502-508; Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 270-285; Herman Ridderbos, Paul: An Outline of His Theology, ET, J.R. DeWitt (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 166-181.

¹⁴⁰ In Sanders' words, "The law was glorious, its only 'fault' is that it has been surpassed in glory, and it can still be correctly read by Christians....On the other hand, since the law does not save, Paul says that it only condemns and kills and that it itself is passing away in favour of the new dispensation, which remains," Paul, the Law, p. 139; cf. Barrett, The Second Epistle, p. 122; Goppelt, Typos, pp. 143ff; Schlatter, Die Briefe, pp. 180f; R.P.C. Hanson, The Second Epistle, p. 38.

salvation of God in Christ crucified and resurrected. All preceding episodes of salvation in the sacred past, up to the present, must yield to the ultimate salvation which God has provided in the resurrected Christ.

Thus far, the argument springing from Exodus 34 has proven, for Paul, that the splendour of the dispensation of the Spirit has taken over from, and is greater than, the dispensation in which Moses was minister. By implication, Paul's ministry in the new dispensation would have greater splendour as well. But this latter point was argued in verses 12-18 where the accent falls on the veil of Moses' face, rather than on the splendour.

c) The two "unveilings"

Paul, here, by rather loose verbal linkage and by rapid turns of thought, hopes to convince his readers that the ministry of apostles (his own especially) and the experience of Christians generally is one of openness before God and men with regard to Christ and the Gospel. The veil on Moses' face prompts Paul to answer the question of the motive for Moses' concealment of the radiance which accompanied the revelation of God. What was he concealing? Why was it necessary to cover the splendour?¹⁴¹

The questions arise out of the contemporary situation in relation to the Corinthians and to Judaism.¹⁴² And these lead forward to yet another

¹⁴¹On the difficulty involved in answering these questions from the present passage, see R.P.C. Hanson, The Second Epistle, p. 40; Hooker, "Beyond the Things That are Written?", pp. 300f; A.T. Hanson, Christ in the Old Testament, pp. 28f; Plummer (ICC), pp. 96ff; Van Unnik, "With Unveiled Face," pp. 164f. Cf. Davies, "Paul and the People of Israel," pp. 11-12: the "passing away" in verse 11 refers to the ministry of Moses, and the same participle in 13 refers to the glory on Moses' face. He leaves unexplained the basis for the use of the neuter. Barrett prefers the religious system based on law, From First Adam, p. 52; and Hooker the ministry of Moses, "Beyond the Things That are Written?", pp. 299, 303. See also Bultmann, Der Zweite Brief, pp. 83, 86.

¹⁴²Barrett, Essays on Paul, pp. 70f; idem., From First Adam, pp. 53f.

which is pertinent to Paul: How is the veil removed and the revelation received?

The connecting term between the two units of argument is not "splendour" (δόξα), but "that which is being rendered inoperative" (τὸ καταργούμενον). The question is whether Paul intends the same subject in each instance.¹⁴³ For example, in verse 13b, where the motive for the veiling of Moses' face is stated, the subject of τὸ καταργούμενον seems to be consonant with the earlier usage with reference to that which pertains to the old dispensation (v. 11). This is especially so if καταργούμενον is neuter, not masculine. Moreover, it could be rendered as before, "that which is being rendered inoperative." But later on when the verb form is used for the unveiling (v. 14), one wonders if the meaning has shifted, as indicated by the RSV rendering, "removed." The point is that this term is key to both parts of this argument from the ministry of Moses: the attending glory is rendered inoperative (vv. 7, 11, 13), and the attending concealment in the veil is lifted (v. 14, cf. 16) in the presence of the new dispensation of the Spirit. A discovery of the extent to which this passage, 12-18, exhibits (or does not exhibit) a typological pattern must now be undertaken.

The task begins with Paul's reason in verse 13 for the veiling of Moses' glorified face. It was that the Israelites might not see the end (τέλος) of that which was being rendered inoperative (v. 13). Before dealing with the problem of τέλος¹⁴⁴ in this text it would be well to try to identify what was being rendered inoperative (τοῦ καταργουμένου). The

¹⁴³The problem lies mainly with the phrase, τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου (v. 13); says Plummer, "The whole phrase and the context make the meaning of τέλος certain: the end of that which was being done away means the cessation of the glory" (ICC), p. 97.

¹⁴⁴See discussion below and notes 153-4.

RSV supplies "splendour" following the participle, τοῦ καταργουμένου, but the difficulty with adding "splendour" is that the gender of the participle does not agree with the feminine, δόξα (splendour). Paul, as we observed, already moved from the feminine participle to the more encompassing neuter (v. 11),¹⁴⁵ and he has maintained that usage here in verse 13 (unless the gender is now masculine!¹⁴⁶).

The grammatical puzzle of the gender acknowledged, and the neuter of καταργουμένου preferred,¹⁴⁷ it is still difficult to know what Moses would be concealing, as far as Paul is concerned, if not the termination (τέλος) of that which is characteristic of the old dispensation, including its splendour.¹⁴⁸ Even though the text of Exodus 34 does not yield this interpretation, it is quite probable that the idea of termination is present in Paul's meaning. His interpretation is conditioned by his contemporary situation as an apostle of Christ, and any serious attempt to reconcile Paul's meaning with the

¹⁴⁵As Hooker says, Paul repeats one of the phrases of verse 11 (τὸ καταργούμενον) "to sum up everything which belongs to the old covenant" ("Beyond the Things That are Written?", p. 299); and Barrett: "The religious framework of law under which Israel was constituted as a people" (II Corinthians, p. 119).

¹⁴⁶Masculine could refer to law (νόμος) or Moses; Luther adopted the latter, but, says Plummer, "Luther is certainly wrong" since Moses "is quite alien from the context," II Corinthians (ICC), pp. 97f; likewise Barrett, II Corinthians, p. 119.

¹⁴⁷So Barrett, II Corinthians, p. 119; Plummer, II Corinthians (ICC), pp. 97f. (Yet Plummer takes the phrase to mean "the cessation of the glory" (p. 97), glory (δόξα) being feminine); Hooker, "Beyond the Things That are Written?", p. 299.

¹⁴⁸Floyd Filson believes that Paul "wishes to make the point that Moses did not let Israel see that *the order* he was establishing was inadequate and transient," Interpreters, Vol. 10, p. 309.

inherent meaning of Exodus 34 is likely to conceal Paul's own conviction.¹⁴⁹

We ask then: What condition would lead Paul to speak of the old dispensation as coming to an end?

The persistence of Judaism alongside Christianity places a burden on Paul to explain his Christian apostleship. Even though Paul's status and mission changed from Jewish to Christian, Judaism continues in the face of emerging Christianity.¹⁵⁰ The time-phrases in this passage in themselves are enough to indicate that this problem is up for explanation—perhaps a preliminary explanation, as compared to Romans 9-11. The veil remains unlifted "to this day" (vv. 14, 15). The Jews continue to live in the old dispensation which was intended to terminate with the coming of Christ. The reason for the veil on Moses' face is Paul's reason, not that of Exodus, and certainly not that of Judaism. He interprets the veil from the perspective of the new dispensation of Christ, and since Jews still carry on in the old way, Paul concludes that the Israelites were not permitted to see the end of that which was being rendered inoperative. If all the emphasis in Paul's use of τέλος is on termination, or cessation,¹⁵¹ then it may be possible to conclude, as W.C. Van Unnik does at one point, that Moses veiled his face out of shame in view of the passing glory.¹⁵² Van Unnik

¹⁴⁹As Hooker affirms, "the text from Exodus is given a new meaning, as it is applied to the time of fulfilment" ("Beyond the Things That are Written?", p. 301).

¹⁵⁰In light of the fact of Judaism coexisting with Christianity, one wonders why Plummer would insist that "in the mind of St. Paul...Christianity is so superior to Judaism that it has extinguished it" (II Corinthians, p. 92). The tenor of Romans 11 hardly allow this position, unless Paul changed his mind between II Corinthians 3 and Romans 11. See Davies, Jewish and Pauline Studies, pp. 123-152.

¹⁵¹This view is represented variously by Plummer, II Corinthians (ICC), p. 97; Sanday and Headlam, Romans (ICC), p. 284; Käsemann, Romans, p. 283; R. Bultmann, Faith and Understanding, pp. 43ff; W. Gutbrod, "νόμος," TDNT, Vol. IV, p. 1075; W.C. Van Unnik, "With Unveiled Face," pp. 162ff; E.P. Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, p. 39.

¹⁵²Van Unnik, "With Unveiled Face," pp. 163ff.

makes the point from the Aramaic background of *παρρησία* (confidence, boldness) and from the tradition of covering the head to avoid shame.¹⁵³ His contention is that the force of Paul's argument has to do with his "barefacedness" as compared to that of Moses, who covered his face. He writes:

This unveiling of the head or the face comprises openness, confidence and boldness. How different was the behaviour of Moses! What he did was in the symbolic language of Paul's time first a sign of shame and bondage.¹⁵⁴

No doubt the comparison is between the ministry of the two men; Moses' ministry was veiled while Paul's is unveiled. Moreover, this way of reading *τέλος* as termination implies that Paul's motive for Moses' veil is that Moses knew that the glory on his face was fading and it would be embarrassing, or shameful, to have the Israelites witness the cessation of the radiance of his face.¹⁵⁵ It must be admitted, though, that verse 13 does not actually speak of shame as the motive for the veil, but simply of the end (*τέλος*) of whatever was being rendered inoperative. If *τέλος* has a purely temporal sense, here and in the related idea of Romans 10:4, as a number of scholars hold,¹⁵⁶ the resulting meaning of verse 13 in the context of 12-15, would be that the Israelites and their descendants "to this day" were not permitted to see the

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 168.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 161.

¹⁵⁵ Similarly F.F. Bruce, The New Century Bible. I and II Corinthians (London: Oliphants, 1971), p. 192; Strachen, The Second Epistle, p. 87.

¹⁵⁶ See note 147 above. Not all of these scholars hold this view uniformly (e.g. Gutbrod: "Only for him who in faith appropriates the righteousness of God in Christ is the law abolished," p. 1075; Käsemann: "The Mosaic Torah comes to an end with Christ because man now renounces his own right in order to grant God his right," p. 283; Sanders: "*telos* in 10:4 means primarily end," p. 39).

temporal end of that which pertains to the dispensation of Moses, that which was being rendered inoperative. For Paul that must mean the law and the works thereof. But if this is so, how can Paul intend τέλος to be taken solely as cessation of the law when in reality the law is still being observed in Judaism? It hasn't ended temporally, as a matter of fact, so that even Paul himself has not been permitted to see the temporal end, or cessation, of that which pertains to Moses, namely the law in Judaism. But Paul believes he has seen "the end" of the dispensation of Moses. He is able to speak of that which has surpassed the old dispensation in splendour. Consequently, τέλος probably has a meaning beyond the purely temporal one. This is confirmed when verse 13 is treated in the light of the statements which follow, especially those in 14b, 15 and 16. Granted there is an aberrant mixing of imagery, but through the maze Paul manages to have some of his principal concerns come through: only through Christ is the concealment lifted (v. 14b); the real meaning of the law (Moses) is concealed from contemporary Jewish minds (v. 15); when a person turns to the Lord (Christ, 14b; Spirit, 17) the meaning of the law is no longer concealed. These convictions come through in the interface between Paul and the text of Exodus 34 where it is said that Moses would wear a veil when he spoke with the people, *until he went in to speak with the Lord* (Ex. 34:35). Paul has concluded that the glory on Moses' face was diminishing to the point of termination, but the temporal termination of the veiling corresponded to Moses' turning to the Lord. It appears from the passage as a whole (II Cor. 3:12-18) that Paul has in mind a goal, or outcome, to which the temporal end corresponds.

It would be helpful at this point to enquire concerning the connection

of τέλος in II Corinthians 3:13 with τέλος in Romans 10:4: "Christ is the end (τέλος) of the law." The debate over the meaning of τέλος in Romans 10:4 applies also to τέλος in II Corinthians 3:13. Does τέλος have a temporal meaning only? If so, does Paul hold that the law is abrogated with the coming of Christ? Or does τέλος in these texts have the leading idea of "goal," "purpose," "fulfilment"?¹⁵⁷ If so, does Paul intend to show that righteousness is now in Christ, since Christ is the goal of the law? Both positions represented in these questions have supporters, and the arguments on each side could be debated at length. But there is a third alternative which appears to fit the facts of Paul's Christian experience and the argument of II Corinthians 3:12-18.

Paul's use of τέλος is probably not as fixed as either meaning indicated above.¹⁵⁸ It is quite probable that the temporal aspect is not excluded from Romans 10:4 or II Corinthians 3:13. Paul could certainly have in mind a termination of righteousness which is by law.¹⁵⁹ He experienced the termination in his own life when he turned to Christ, according to Philippians 3:6-9; and no doubt he expects the same of his "converts," whether they be Jews or Gentiles. Yet he knows that the Jews continue to observe the law as he once did; he also knows that Christ has appeared, and the righteousness by law has

¹⁵⁷ Supporting this view in varying degrees are H.W. Bartsch, "The Concept of Faith in Paul's Letter to the Romans," Biblical Research, 13 (1968), pp. 51f; W.S. Campbell, "Christ the End of the Law: Rom. 10:4," in Studia Biblica 1978 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), pp. 73-81; Paul Meyer, "Romans 10:4 and the End of the Law," The Divine Helmsman: Studies in God's Control of Human Events, eds. J.L. Crenshaw and S. Sandmel (New York: KTAV, 1980), pp. 67f; C.E.B. Cranfield, The Epistle to the Romans, Vol. 2 (ICC) (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979), pp. 518ff; idem., "St. Paul and the Law," Scottish Journal of Theology, 17 (1964), pp. 48-54.

¹⁵⁸ Gerhard Delling has found that "not all the statements /in which τέλος occurs/ can be arranged with lexical certainty. Sometimes where one meaning is more or less sure another may be involved too" ("τέλος," TDNT, Vol. 8, pp. 54f).

¹⁵⁹ We cannot here enter the debate on Romans 10:4 in the context of that letter, but refer, rather, to representative discussions: Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 36-43; Campbell, "Christ the End of the Law," pp. 73-81; Scroggs, "The Word is Near You," pp. 289-312; Cranfield, "St. Paul and the Law," pp. 43-68.

not yet terminated or cessated. Furthermore, there is good ground for saying that Paul did not consider the law to have *cessated*, but rather to have been superseded, surpassed by the coming of Christ. He can say in one place "we uphold the law" (Rom. 3:31), and in another, "the whole law is fulfilled in one word, 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself,'" and in yet another, "fulfil the law of Christ." Each of these statements require greater unpacking than this chapter allows.¹⁶⁰ But it must be stated that these, and other statements like them, make it difficult to assume that by *τέλος* in Romans 10:4 and II Corinthians 3:13 Paul means only temporal cessation. While the temporal aspect is doubtless present—Paul does believe in the change of aeons—the final sense of fulfilment, goal, or completion is almost certainly in Paul's field of vision as well. This view seems to be a more responsible way of reading these two texts in which *τέλος* occurs.¹⁶¹ It does not overload *τέλος* with christology, as A.T. Hanson tends to do,¹⁶² but holds the christological sense in balance with the temporal. Both seem to be in Paul's mind especially in II Corinthians 3. Paul views himself as living in the final time¹⁶³ which was inaugurated by Christ's resurrection. If one side of the meaning of *τέλος* should be emphasized at all in II Corinthians 3, it could be "fulfilment" or "goal," even though "that which is being rendered

¹⁶⁰For a discussion of these and other similar statements in Paul, see Cranfield, "St. Paul and the Law," pp. 48-68.

¹⁶¹Supported by C.F.D. Moule, "Fulfilment Words in the New Testament," *New Testament Studies*, XIV (1968), pp. 301f; Héring, *Second Epistle*, p. 25; Hanson, *Christ in the Old Testament*, p. 28; Raynar Bring, "Paul and the Old Testament: A Study of the Ideas of Election, Faith and Law in Paul with Special Reference to Rom. 9:30-10:21," *Studia Theologica* 25 (1971), p. 35; Barrett believes that purpose or goal is primary in Romans.

¹⁶²Hanson, *Christ in the Old Testament*, pp. 27ff.

¹⁶³Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," p. 200.

inoperative" seems to call for temporal termination.¹⁶⁴ Preference is given to the view that τέλος in II Corinthians 3:13 means both end and goal, with more weight on goal. This decision seems to go further in answering the questions which this passage raises.

Two questions in particular create difficulty. Why would Moses conceal the end-and-goal (τέλος) of that which is being rendered inoperative, a τέλος which, for Paul, appears to be the very Gospel of the new dispensation which Paul preaches? Why is it that the unveiled ministry of Christian apostles has not led the Jews *in toto* to convert to Christ? These two questions, which seem to hover in the background of the text, do not appear to lead in the same direction to one answer. Yet Paul combines issues here, and the result is a tortured argument and the impression of *non sequitur*. Nevertheless, we must attempt to locate Paul's answer(s) to both questions, and in the process, discover the extent to which a typological pattern is at work. (It too may be veiled!)

First, the text assumes that Moses received the glory (δόξα) of the Lord who is the Spirit. Verse 16, which states that "when a man turns to the Lord the veil is removed," is a strong echo of Exodus 34:34: "Whenever Moses went in before the Lord to speak with him, he took the veil off." Here we affirm Hanson's conclusion that Paul considered the Lord to whom Moses turned to be the same Lord, Christ, of Paul's preaching.¹⁶⁵ Consequently, we take it that Paul considered Moses to have experienced the grace of God on the same basis as Christians. His experience of the Lord in the tabernacle

¹⁶⁴The whole sense of "passing away" leads Barrett to the view that τέλος in II Cor. 3:13 does not have the idea of "goal" as it does in Rom. 10:4 (II Corinthians, p. 120).

¹⁶⁵Hanson, Christ in the Old Testament, p. 30; similarly D'Angelo, Moses, p. 9, but see note 7 above; also R.P.C. Hanson, Second Epistle, p. 40. Cf. Schoeps, Paul, p. 208.

was that of the Spirit, for "the Lord is the Spirit," and his experience, like that of all Christians who turn to the Lord, was one of "unveiled face" and freedom. The language is characteristic of Paul's view of the Christian state in Christ (cf. Gal. 5:1, 13, 18; Rom. 8:2).

The identity of the Lord with the Spirit in verse 17 need not have created as much discussion as it has.¹⁶⁶ Paul is not thinking as a systematic theologian. The statement is intended to explain "the Lord" of Moses' experience in contemporary Christian self-understanding. To turn to the Lord, in Paul's thinking, is to encounter the Spirit, and Paul intends this experience for Moses who turned to the Lord.

Within this comparative treatment of the two situations of Moses and Paul, in terms of the glory of the Lord, lies the typological linkage.¹⁶⁷ The situation in both instances is, on the one hand, soteriological, an experience of the glory of the Lord, and on the other, ministerial, a mediation of the glory to the community. But there is a difference, one which might be expected if the pattern is properly typological. The difference resides chiefly in the image "veiled" (Moses) and "unveiled" (Paul). Moses veiled his face after the experience of glory; Paul (and Christians) do not. Moses was a minister in the old dispensation of condemnation and death which

¹⁶⁶ A list of works dealing with ὁ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν, v. 17, appears in Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 196, note 1.

¹⁶⁷ Schoeps, Paul, pp. 232f, supports the view that Paul's interpretation of the situation in connection with Moses in II Cor. 3 is typological. He argues that "Paul sees all earthly happenings as cohering with the continuity of a concrete divine plan of action. From Adam (the author of world history) and from Abraham (the author of Jewish sacred history) all the lines of development point towards the Messiah, and since the hour of Damascus towards Jesus Christ. The very presence of Christ has been revealed to him in his historical vision as spelling the end of the reign of the law, as also the end of the law's requirements" (p. 231).

was being rendered inoperative, and within that sphere of salvation-history his was a veiled ministry. Moses therefore is type only. The unveiled ministry of Paul and all Christian ministers in the new dispensation of the Spirit of Christ represents the final end-and-goal (τέλος) of the salvation-occurrence in Moses of the old dispensation.¹⁶⁸

Now to return to the two questions, why did Moses veil the τέλος? And why are Paul's contemporary Jews not converting to Christ? The answer to these is not on the level of typology, understandably so. The community at the time of Moses did not (or could not) receive the glory which Moses received from the Lord. The community in this instance, therefore, is not portrayed in salvific relationship to the Lord, and this compares with the contemporary Jewish community. But the comparison is *not* typological. The Jewish community of Paul's time stands in line with the Israelites whose hearts were hardened¹⁶⁹ so that they could not see the glory of the Lord on Moses' face. The non-salvific situation is the same "to this day" (3:14, 15). This time phrase (ἄχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας) signals a non-typological mode in which "sameness" prevails without change.¹⁷⁰ Typology in Paul involves change (at least to some degree) from type to antitype. We submit, therefore, that this pattern of comparison could rightly be called "parallel," but not typological.

¹⁶⁸ It bears repeating that typology in Paul is governed largely by his experience of the end time in Christ. Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 199-214; Daniélou, From Shadows, pp. 157ff; 167ff. Cf. Munck, Paul, p. 58, where his statements describe typology as it is understood in this study, but he promptly denies a typology of any sort in Paul: "We should not speak of prototypes, but only of *characteristics* of Old Testament figures used to express *the new and higher reality*" (emphasis mine).

¹⁶⁹ Plummer prefers "dulled" to either "blinded" or "hardened" (II Corinthians, ICC, p. 98).

¹⁷⁰ See Van Unnik, "With Unveiled Face," p. 163.

The non-salvific (and non-typological) continuity between the two communities is explained further in verse 14 with reference to the "hardened" (πωρόω) condition of the community of which Moses was minister. The Israelites were not permitted to see the end (τέλος) of the episode of glory which was being rendered inoperative in that "their minds were hardened" (ἐπωρώθη).¹⁷¹ Again, Exodus 34 provides no clue to this explanation. It resides strictly in Paul's thought, and arises out of his situation with reference to unbelieving Israel. A similar train of thought can be found in his later epistle to the Romans. There he says, in the category of theodicy, "a hardening" (πώρωσις) has come upon part of Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles come in, and so all Israel will be saved" (Rom. 11:25-6).¹⁷² How much of this text can be read back into II Corinthians 3 is debatable. That Paul has the unbelief of the Jews in mind in both texts is unmistakable. And the unbelief is connected with a hardening of the mind (τὰ νοήματα, v. 14), which image is then mixed¹⁷³ with a veil which "lies over their minds" (ἡ καρδία, v. 15) when they read "the old covenant" (v. 14), otherwise called "Moses" (v. 15).

¹⁷¹K.L. and M.A. Schmidt, "πωρόω," TDNT, Vol. V, p. 1027: "Connected with the fact that hardening by God is also the self-hardening of unbelievers is the exposition of II Cor. 3:14....Paul in Rom. 9-11 neither softened nor explained this prophetic message of hardening....Israel was hardened by God (11:7-10) but also that on its own responsibility it chose the wrong path (9:30-10:3)." Cf. Plummer, II Corinthians, ICC, p. 98.

¹⁷²On the questions pertaining to Romans 9-11 (especially 11:25-26) see E.P. Sanders, "Paul's Attitude Toward the Jewish People," Union Seminary Quarterly Review, 33 (1978), pp. 178-185; Benjamin J. Hubbard, "The Purpose of Romans 9-11," an unpublished paper delivered to the Colloquium of the combined departments of Religious Studies of the University of Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier University, 1981, in which is held the view that "Judaism and Christianity are interlocking realities, a fact which both people must take with theological seriousness in every generation....There is much /in Rom. 9-11/ that is critical of Judaism, but Paul's overall viewpoint is positive....He leaves the matter in God's hands," pp. 3-4. Cf. Stendahl, Paul Among Jews and Gentiles, pp. 4-5; and Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 335-337.

¹⁷³Hooker, "Beyond the Things That are Written?," pp. 300f; McDonald, "Paul and the Preaching Ministry," pp. 43-45.

Their reading must be veiled, Paul has concluded, because "in Christ" the veil is taken away, as it was in the case of Moses, and more so in the case of Christians. The Jews are not in Christ, therefore, their minds are veiled.

Here again Paul's exclusivistic thought comes through, but we must not attribute "typology" to his exposition of the situation of unbelieving Jews under the symbolism of the veil with which Moses covered his face, a veil which eventually ended up on the minds of Paul's Jewish contemporaries.

We may now identify the way in which Paul answers both questions. Moses veiled the end-and-goal of the salvation-occurrence of the Lord from the Israelites because their hearts were hardened. This seems straightforward enough. But this conclusion hardly solves the riddle of unbelieving Jews in the presence of Christian ministers whose faces are unveiled in the new dispensation of the Spirit.¹⁷⁴ Yet the one answer has to solve both questions: their hearts are hardened.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, the veil shifts from the face of the minister (Moses) to the minds of the Jews (Paul's contemporaries). That is, the Jews cannot see Christ, as Paul does, in their reading of the law. The principal point of verse 14, it would seem, is that in spite of the openness of Christian ministers, the Jews still do not understand the Christian Gospel. Whether their minds were hardened (or dulled) by God, the Evil one, or them-

¹⁷⁴Hooker, *op. cit.*, p. 297, points up an element of inconsistency in Paul's argument: "If Moses was forced to cover his face with a veil, will not the Christian minister also need to cover *his* face—since now the irradiation hazard must be infinitely greater?...In fact Paul makes precisely the opposite point." The "irradiation hazard," which could be construed from verse 7, has dropped out of the focus of the second part of the argument on the veil, although it may still be on the periphery. Cf. Samuel Sandmel, "Paul," *Judaism and Christian Beginnings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 326.

¹⁷⁵See note 171 above. Plummer (ICC), pp. 98f, insists that "Hardened" is an inappropriate rendering of ἐπωρώθη in this context. Minds are blinded, blunted or dulled, but not hardened.

selves, is not at issue here; perhaps all these are somehow involved in Paul's understanding of the condition. In any case, the statement indicts Judaism while it affirms Christianity.

On this particular level of understanding the mode of interpretation is not typological.¹⁷⁶ The typological pattern functions when Paul deals with the saving aspect (turning to the Lord, glory, etc.) between Moses and Christian ministers, Paul especially. Moses turned to the Lord and received the attending glory; so do Christians.¹⁷⁷ Moses had to veil his face when he approached his congregation; Paul and his fellow ministers go about in mission with unveiled face, reflecting the glory of the Lord, as they are in process of being transformed into his image (εἰκων) from glory to glory (3:18).¹⁷⁸

It remains now to sort out the typological from the non-typological, and to understand what constitutes the one and the other.

d) The Typological Strands Identified

The discussion of the typology in II Corinthians 3 may now be summarized, and that in the form of a diagram. The two parts of the argument (4-11 and 12-18) may be described in terms of two phases with one over-arching

¹⁷⁶ A weakness in Goppelt's treatment of typology in Paul's letters lies in the lacunal state of his discussion of the non-typological element. Judaism is not a typological fulfilment of the plan of God in Israel as recorded in the Scripture, Typos, pp. 127-152. This position is not nearly as clear in Romans 11:25-32, where the Jews who are elect and beloved seem to serve a salvific purpose in the plan of God whose gifts and call are irrevokable. See note 174 above, and Sandmel, Judaism, pp. 332-3.

¹⁷⁷ D'Angelo, Moses, p. 508.

¹⁷⁸ The phrase ἀπο δόξης εἰς δόξαν (3:18) can, of course, be understood in the context of Christian experience, and be translated as the RSV does, "from one degree of glory to another." However, the subject of δόξα is very much alive in the argument in the context of the two dispensations; the concept of the two dispensations may not be lost altogether in 3:18. Cf. Plummer (LCC), p. 107: "It is a continual and gradual process, whereas from the glory of Moses to that of the Spirit (Ambrose) are curiosities of exegesis"; also Bultmann, Der Zweite Brief, p. 98.

concern, both phases drawing on the text of Exodus 34. Phase I (4-11) compares "glories" associated with the two dispensations. Phase II (12-18) compares the "unveilings." The single concern is Christian ministry (Paul's in particular) in the name of Christ.

PHASE I "GLORY"

Typological Correspondence¹⁷⁹

Moses' ministry

old covenant
glorious
passing away
written code
kills
condemnation

Paul's ministry

new covenant
more glorious
permanent
spirit
gives life
righteousness

The figures of Moses and Paul (or apostles) and the glory attending their ministries head up the comparison. And the entire scheme is typological even though the points do not harmonize exactly. The connection is sufficient for Paul to work out the typological relation. In fact, if the correspondence were shown to be exactly parallel, then the scheme would not be typological. Both typological and non-typological comparison can be seen in Phase II.

PHASE II "UNVEILINGS"

Typological Correspondence

Moses

glory veiled and unveiled
not bold

Christians

glory unveiled
bold

Non-Typological Correspondence

Israelite Community in Moses' Time

glory veiled (Moses' face)
minds hardened
veil not removed (by Christ)
not able to see the τέλος

Jewish Community in Paul's Time

glory veiled (Jewish minds)
minds hardened
veil not removed (by Christ)
not able to see Christ

¹⁷⁹"Correspondence" does not mean parallel characteristics; rather, the *typological* connection has both continuity and contrast, the fulfilment

The difference between the typological and non-typological correspondence needs to be underscored. The typological belongs to the relation between God's salvific intention and action in the old and the new dispensation whereas the non-typological analogy is related to a non-salvific condition characteristic of the old dispensation but which is destined to be rendered inoperative. To this effect, reference may be made again to C.J.A. Hickling's point that certain of Paul's statements are understandable in the context of his living at the dawn of the end-time,¹⁸⁰ or in J.L. Martyn's terms, at the turn of the ages.¹⁸¹ The movement of thought in Phase II could very well be credited to this apocalyptic/eschatological perspective.

The principal points of discussion of Paul's typological thought in relation to Adam, Abraham and Moses may now be drawn together by way of conclusion to Part II of the study.

CONCLUSION:

Types Fulfilled in Post-Easter Christianity

In the foregoing discussions, we confined the examination of Pauline typology to those passages in which Paul interpreted situations involving three important figures (Adam, Abraham, Moses) in the sacred record. Other less pronounced instances¹⁸² of typological interpretation could have been explored, and profitably, no doubt. We could have inquired concerning Eve in relation to the Corinthian church (II Cor. 11:2-3); the temple imagery

side showing the higher and greater soteriological element. Otherwise, the correspondence would not be typological. Goppelt, Typos, pp. 16f; Daniélou, From Shadows, pp. 157f; Lampe, "The Reasonableness of Typology," pp. 18ff. Cf. Hanson, Studies, pp. 151-158.

¹⁸⁰Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 206ff.

¹⁸¹Martyn, "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages," p. 286.

¹⁸²Cf. Goppelt, Typos, pp. 14857.

also has certain typological strains (I Cor. 3:10-17; II Cor. 6:16-19); and quite possibly sacrificial typology exists in such passages as Romans 3:25-26¹⁸³ and I Corinthians 5:6-8; a possible allusion to a Moses-Paul relation, one which may be considered typological, occurs in Romans 9:3 (cf. Ex. 32:32).¹⁸⁴ While all of these texts contain marks of typological thinking similar to those of the larger passages discussed above, their proper investigation would have demanded considerably more space than this study allows, and the result would have contributed only slightly to the evidence adduced from the more striking instances of typology.

Examination of the figures of Adam, Abraham and Moses served at least two principal purposes. First, we found that the arguments in which each of the figures appears were fairly extensive, and sometimes complex. The extended form of the argument in each case provided a substantial context for the examination of various sides of Paul's typological thinking. Second, the fact that the typology involved personalities of salvific significance was apropos in determining Paul's terms of reference in relation to the historical person of Jesus. Essentially, the single most compelling question relative to Paul's treatment of these three figures of Scripture in his letters was this: What is the ground on which the typological interpretation of the sacred record of the episodes is formulated? And if a single-sentence

¹⁸³ B.F. Meyer has analysed the pre-Pauline and Pauline characteristics of Rom. 3:25-26a, and has concluded that the *Sitz im Leben* of the pre-Pauline fragment was the baptismal liturgy of the Hellenistic Christians. According to Meyer, the pre-Pauline text constitutes an interpretation of Christ's crucifixion as an eschatological antitype in the plan of God. Judging from this analysis, Paul's typology could very well have its roots in the Christian interpretation of the Hellenistic church, "The Pre-Pauline Formula in Rom. 3: 25-26a," New Testament Studies, 29 (1983), pp. 198-208.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Schoeps, Paul, pp. 129, 237f.

answer could be given in this conclusion it would be this: Paul interpreted the figures, with their corresponding episodes, from within his Christian horizon which was, for him, that of the fulfilment of God's plan through the resurrection of the crucified Christ to lordship.¹⁸⁵

Undergirding this thought, we noted a number of relevant convictions of Paul throughout the discussion. These may now be summarized.

One of the noteworthy concepts inherent in Pauline typology is that of the old and the new aeons. In the case of Adam-Christ typology it was the old and new creation. Adam represented the old order of creation in which sin and death reigned; Christ, the second Adam, constituted the "first fruits" (I Cor. 15:20, 23; Rom. 8:23) of the new creation. The typology was more one of reversal (or contrast)¹⁸⁶ than continuance. However, even here the coordinate correspondence was evident in the sphere of humanity, first and second Adam, and in the concept of the single actor-creator, *God*. The Adam-Christ typology involved, not merely a break with the old creation, but a reconstituting of creation,¹⁸⁷ and in that sense, a new creation. But we noted that Paul views the old creation from the perspective of the new in Christ.¹⁸⁸

The two aeons were not quite so pronounced in the Abraham typology,

¹⁸⁵ Schoeps refers to Paul, not inappropriately, as "interpreter of the post-messianic situation," by which is meant that the governing consciousness from which the letters sprang, was "the unshakeable conviction that his generation represents the last generation of mankind....The resurrection of Jesus guarantees for him the resurrection of *all* men," Paul, p. 102.

¹⁸⁶ Although Goppelt qualified the idea further: "The new creation is not a repetition of the first, nor is it simply a reversal of the Fall; it is perfect, i.e., a typological renewing of creation, Typos, pp. 134f.

¹⁸⁷ Note 186 above.

¹⁸⁸ Knox, Chapters, pp. 130f; Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 442-447.

but the old-new concept could still be discerned. Abraham, in Paul, is a positive figure in salvation-history, a type of the person in Christ who is reckoned righteous by faith alone, whether he be Jew or Gentile. Moreover, the typological "difference" from type to antitype is less that of contrast than of degree or extent. That is, Abraham's faith and righteousness were the same in principle as that of Christian faith and righteousness, but not to the same degree. Christian faith, in Paul, is directed to the Christ who became the object of God's supreme, eschatological act of resurrection, the act which inaugurated the new aeon. The typology of Abraham implies the new aeon.

With Moses and the Israelite community again we discovered that the two aeons become more explicit. In I Corinthians 10, the "sacraments" of the Israelites, more than the person of Moses, are in focus. Two situations are compared typologically to highlight the danger of idolatry in relation to salvation. Christians "upon whom the end of the ages has come" (10:11) are held that much more accountable to the God of their salvation in Christ. In Paul's comparison of his ministry with that of Moses, we found that he highlights the old and the new dispensations and the glory attending each. The new surpasses the old so as to render the old inoperative.¹⁸⁹

We conclude, moreover, that typological interpretation in Paul is anchored in a conviction that the new aeon has dawned and the old is passing away. But the old contains elements of salvation, as recorded in Scripture, which prefigure, and reach attainment in, the new age of the resurrected Christ. The point to be emphasized here is that the new aeon began with God's supreme act in which he raised Jesus Christ from the

¹⁸⁹ Sanders, Paul, the Law, pp. 139f.

dead to become the Lord of both Jew and Gentile.

In conjunction with the concept of the two aeons, we observed also that Paul espouses only one divine intention, or plan of salvation. This plan always existed, is unchanging, and consists essentially in Christ. Christ was the Adam from heaven, intended by God all along (I Cor. 15:47); the principle of faith alone which results in righteousness was operative in the forefather, Abraham, as it is in Christians (e.g. Rom. 4:3-5); the judgement of the disobedient Israelites was the same as that which disobedient Christians could expect (I Cor. 10:6-11); the glory which came upon Moses when he turned to the Lord, also comes upon Christians when they turn to the Lord (Christ, II Cor. 3:15-18). There is only one intention of God which remains constant throughout the ages. And the singularity of divine intention is equally important to Paul's typological thinking as the concept of the two aeons. On the basis of the oneness of God's plan, Paul can read the Scripture with the understanding that the recording of events in sacred history was oriented toward the new, eschatological age of the Spirit of the resurrected Christ: "They were written down for our instruction upon whom the end of the ages has come" (I Cor. 10:11; cf. II Cor. 1:22).

Another related point, by way of conclusion, is that Paul's reading of the sacred record was conditioned eschatologically. Given the other factors which doubtless were at work in Paul's mind, this one can be affirmed with reasonable certainty from the discussion: that he viewed his work among the Gentiles as having eschatological significance. His ministry was that of the end-time, and the formative Christian communities were end-

time communities¹⁹⁰ (I Cor. 10:11; Rom. 4:23f). The meaning of Scripture, for Paul, takes shape from this eschatological perspective. To put it otherwise, Paul's interpretive stance runs from present to past, to present and future, and episodes in Scripture are read accordingly. The accounts of Adam, Abraham and Moses, as they appear in the letters, are charged with terminology and meaning which they would scarcely have apart from Paul's Christian awareness of living at the edge of the eschaton in the experience of the resurrected Christ.

A further observation which we have accented variously in the discussion is that Pauline typology consists of two basic elements: continuity and change. For Paul, the change¹⁹¹ occurs in the context of the fulfilment of God's plan, or of the attainment of promise. We found this pattern in the *a fortiori* arguments of Romans 5 and II Corinthians 3. Elsewhere, as well, we found a persistent notion that the change is brought about by the redemptive action of God in raising the crucified Christ. All persons, acts, events, etc. of sacred history which lie behind that superlative act of God, Paul considered as anticipatory, and subject to be interpreted as type in relation to antitype.

That the centre of gravity in Paul's typological thinking is the eschatological, post-Easter life of Christianity, has been demonstrated

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 171-190; Schoeps, Paul, pp. 97-118; cf. Beker, Paul, pp. 351-367.

¹⁹¹ The "change" is consonant with the concept of the two ages and God's intention, and in this respect "change" transcends personal transformation in the ongoing experience of Christ (II Cor. 3:17-18). C.J.A. Hickling calls it the "final transformation of time," a concept fundamental to Paul, and also to a proper understanding of other aspects of Paul's thought, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 206ff.

at several points. What requires further investigation is the way in which the implications of this conclusion enables us to grasp the contours of Paul's thought with reference to the figure of Jesus. By implication, the life of Jesus (his situation, acts, words) stands on the threshold of the new age which *God inaugurated by the resurrection*. Consequently, Jesus lived on the "other side" of the new age of resurrection, and in Paul's thought, as we have come to perceive it in this study, he takes his place typologically with the figures in the record of salvation-history. He was "born of a woman, born under the law" (Gal. 4:4), so as to bring God's intention to fruition: "to redeem those who were under the law...."

Two related issues need to be investigated in light of the foregoing discussion of Paul's typological thinking on Adam, Abraham and Moses. The first involves Paul's thought on the relation between Jesus of Nazareth and the resurrected Christ; and the second, his thinking concerning his relation (and that of all Christians) to Jesus Christ. We propose to undertake the discussion of these two subjects in the next part.

PART III.

TYPOLGICAL THOUGHT ON CHRIST AND CHRISTIANS

CHAPTER VI

Christ κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα

In previous discussions an attempt was made to show that when Paul interprets key figures in the sacred record he does so typologically. At several points in those discussions we alluded to some implications from the findings concerning Paul's understanding and interpretation of the figure of Jesus. It now becomes necessary to explicate more fully Paul's mode of thought in texts particularly related to the human figure of Jesus. At no point does Paul's thought on Jesus become more focused than in passages where he highlights the difference between the resurrected Christ and the pre-Easter Christ. And the "difference" is found most sharply in statements where Christ is described by the term κατὰ σάρκα, over against κατὰ πνεῦμα.¹ The juxtaposition of the two terms, κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα, whether explicit as in Romans 1:3f, or implicit as in Romans 9:5 and II Corinthians 5:16, bespeaks a typological thinking consonant with that which we discovered for Adam, Abraham and Moses. When these three texts on Christ κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα are examined in conjunction with other related ones, they reveal a typological pattern which seems to account for the data better than any other.² That is, when Paul considers Christ κατὰ σάρκα he is

¹By "difference" is meant change within correlation, not contrast alone. Later discussion will show that the κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα category is not one of polarity with reference to Christ. Cf. James D.G. Dunn, "Jesus—Flesh and Spirit: An Exposition of Romans 1:3-4," Journal of Theological Studies, 24 (1973), pp. 40-68; J.A.T. Robinson, "The Body of the Flesh," The Body, p. 23; Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 238f.

²Attention may be drawn to the fact that the term "incarnation" has

thinking in typological form concerning a salvific episode in history occurring by divine intention and prefiguring the higher reality of Christ resurrected to lordship. Christ κατὰ πνεῦμα, on the other hand, is the Christ of fulfilment, into whose life the people of the end-time are incorporated by faith.

Before launching into a discussion of the pertinent texts in the letters, it would be well to locate Paul's use of the σάρξ/πνεῦμα antithesis in a context of thought, so as to accent nuance in the letters. Rather than exploring the wide range of possible backgrounds in Hellenism and Judaism,³ I have chosen instead to restrict the field to the Qumran Scrolls in the conviction that the thought of these texts falls within the ranges of Paul's idea on σάρξ/πνεῦμα to a greater degree than any others.⁴ But even here we should not expect to find precisely the same function of the terms since

not been used for Paul's thought on Christ throughout the study, and will not be used in this chapter. "Incarnation," with its attending connotations, is probably not native to Paul's thought, although "incarnation" is used frequently by some scholars in designating Paul's concept of the historical Christ. I am proposing that "typological" is more suitable for Paul and ties in better with his central convictions of the divine plan, change of aeons, etc. than "incarnation". Among those who use "incarnation" for Paul's thought on Christ in the flesh are A.T. Hanson, Jesus Christ, pp. 18ff, idem., Studies, pp. 151ff; C.H. Dodd, Romans, p. 5. See discussion of "The Origin of the Doctrine of the Incarnation as an Issue," in James D.G. Dunn, Christology in the Making (London: SCM Press, 1980), pp. 1-11.

³W.D. Davies' warning about the traditional dichotomy between Hellenism and Judaism is to be taken seriously: "It has become clear that the traditional convenient dichotomy between Judaism and Hellenism was largely false. In the fusions of the first century the boundaries between these are now seen to have been very fluid," in "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 157. See also the more recent work of Martin Hengel, "The Encounter and Conflict between Palestinian Judaism and the Spirit of the Hellenistic Age," in Judaism and Hellenism, Vol. I, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1974), pp. 107-254. The difference between the views held on flesh/spirit in Qumran from those of their Jewish counterparts in Palestine or the Diaspora likewise are not so sharp as to be completely distinctive.

⁴At least as far as I can determine at this point, the position

Paul's usage is that of a post-Easter Christian consciousness unlike that of the Qumran covenanters. The comparison is, in any case, enlightening and helps to fix the Christian context of Paul's thought.

1. Background of Paul's σάρξ/πνεῦμα Concept in Qumran

Flesh (σάρξ) in its most fundamental meaning signifies the physical aspect of animated life on earth.⁵ This is the case generally in the first century CE, and it is certainly true of the Scrolls and Paul's letters.⁶ Humanity belongs to this sphere of sense perception, and in referring to this realm of life, "flesh" is a more-or-less innoxious term of reference. In IQS 9:4,⁷ for example, the muscular parts of the sacrificial animal are called "flesh", whereas in IQS 11:9 "the assembly of flesh" refers to humanity.⁸ In these and similar statements we find virtually no ethical connotation. And the same could be said for similar kinds of statements in Paul. They signal man's place in the world of sense, kinship, etc. (e.g.

in the Scrolls is closer to Paul's; later research may lead to a different conclusion.

⁵Rudolf Meyer, "Flesh in Judaism," TDNT, Vol. 7, p. 111.

⁶Karl Georg Kuhn, "New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament," in The Scrolls and the New Testament, p. 101; Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls," p. 163; Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 232f; cf. Dunn, "Jesus—Flesh and Spirit," p. 43.

⁷The translation in English is that of G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), The Standard Abbreviations are used throughout: IQS, The Manual of Discipline; IQM, The War Scroll; IQH, The Hymn Scroll; CD, Covenant of Damascus; IQpHab., Habakkuk Commentary.

⁸Similarly, IQpHab. 4:29.

Rom. 9:3;⁹ I Cor. 6:16; II Cor. 4:11).

Other texts, both in the Scrolls and in Paul's letters belong to a shaded area where a negative connotation could very well be deduced. A much-quoted text from 1QS 3:1-9 will exemplify:

No man...who refuses to enter /the covenant of/ God shall be counted among the upright....He shall not be reckoned among the perfect....For it is through the spirit of true counsel concerning the ways of man that all his being shall be expiated....He shall be cleansed from all his sins by the spirit of holiness uniting him to His truth...And when his flesh is sprinkled with purifying water and sanctified by cleansing water, it shall be made clean by the humble submission of his soul to all the precepts of God.¹⁰

In the context of this somewhat lengthy quotation, "flesh" takes on a more religious/ethical meaning, although there is not agreement on this point. Karl Kuhn sees only a reference to the physical here,¹¹ whereas W.D. Davies inclines toward an ethical connotation.¹² This difference of opinion confirms what seems to be the situation both in the Scrolls and in Paul: the meanings of "flesh" are not completely distinct one from the other.¹³ Where

⁹Not all scholars agree that where *κατὰ σάρκα* is used to denote genealogical descent it is devoid of negative connotations. Dunn is an example; "Jesus—Flesh and Spirit," p. 46: "Paul's use of *κατὰ σάρκα* in particular demonstrates the same breadth of meaning, but is mainly negative in significance." Dunn allows only one passage (I Cor. 10:18) where *κατὰ σάρκα* is free from negative significance. How the significance is any different from I Cor. 10:18 to Rom. 9:3 is not made clear; if anything, I would consider I Cor. 10:18 more negative than Rom. 9:3.

¹⁰Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 75.

¹¹Kuhn, "Temptation, Sin and Flesh," pp. 106f.

¹²Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls," p. 101.

¹³Dunn contends that "*σάρξ* in Paul has a 'spectrum' of meaning, and individual uses are often less like a point in the spectrum and more like a range of meaning within the spectrum," in "Jesus—Flesh and Spirit," p. 44. The problem with Dunn's analysis, it seems, is that "the spectrum" is negative from one side to the other. Of a different mind is Davies who

a merely physical, and therefore neutral, meaning appears to be in evidence it soon gives way to a more religious/ethical one. Paul, in Romans 9:3, can speak of his fellow Jews as kinsmen "according to the flesh" (κατὰ σάρκα), and the meaning appears to be quite neutral, referring only to physical kinship. Consequently, Davies groups this instance with "places where 'flesh' has a physical connotation."¹⁴ But the situation is not as clear-cut as Davies is led to believe. Some of the incidences of so-called neutrality of function in Paul's use of "flesh" are likely to have a negative side to them to a greater extent than Davies allows. James Dunn, on the other hand, argues that "in normal Pauline usage κατὰ σάρκα has a distinctively pejorative ring," and that "Paul does not and would not understand κατὰ σάρκα in a neutral sense."¹⁵ The intent in citing these opinions at this point is not to argue for one side or the other; that will come up later. It is, rather, to point up the fact that for Paul, as for the Scrolls, the decision regarding the meanings and connotations of "flesh" is not simply an open-and-shut case. What appears at one point to be a neutral reference to the sphere of sense in which man lives, at another point is a signal of the realm of weakness and morality which in turn is the battle ground of sin.¹⁶

places all of Paul's incidences of σάρξ in two categories: "(1) places where 'flesh' has a physical connotation, (2) places where 'flesh' has a moral connotation," in "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls," p. 163.

¹⁴ Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls," p. 163.

¹⁵ Dunn, "Jesus—Flesh and Spirit," p. 43.

¹⁶ The breadth of meaning which Paul attaches to σάρξ is treated in Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 232-246; so also, E. Schweizer, "σάρξ," TDNT, Vol. VII, pp. 118ff, and Jewett, Anthropological Terms, pp. 260ff. Jewett cautions against an undue stress on any term in the search for Paul's thought. "Although they reflect a fairly consistent conception of man, there is no single term which in itself communicates that conception....The anthropological terms may be defined from context to context..." (p. 10). For the use of σάρξ in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Meyer, "Flesh in Judaism," TDNT, Vol. 7, pp. 112ff; and Kuhn, "Sin and Flesh," pp. 101ff.

Attention must now be given to the last of these, for it is with this thought of the flesh as somehow tied to sin that we shall have reason to be concerned in Paul. Of particular interest is the way in which the Scrolls set out the antithesis of flesh and spirit. A number of texts in the Scrolls seem to confirm the idea that a polarity exists between the flesh of evil and the spirit of truth. But the Scrolls, again, in using the term flesh in this dualistic construct, do not draw the lines clearly between the flesh as physical existence and the evil with which the flesh is associated. A few examples will illustrate.

In IQS 4:3 the inscription on a standard for one of the divisions of the army of the sons of light reads: "From God comes the Might of War against all sinful flesh."¹⁷ Or again in IQS 11:9 where the same expression is used: "I belong to wicked mankind, to the company of sinful flesh."¹⁸ The statement indicates that to belong to the sphere of the flesh, presumably humanity, is to be involved somehow in sinning. One could not conclude more than this from the texts. Davies has noted correctly, I think, that "it is not a Hellenistic view of the 'flesh' that we encounter here,"¹⁹ a view which seeks the escape of the soul from the prison of the flesh.²⁰ In the Scrolls, rather,

¹⁷Vermes, Scrolls, p. 128.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 93.

¹⁹Davies, "Flesh and Spirit," p. 162.

²⁰"In Hellenistic thought it is not the purification of the flesh that is desired but escape from it, because the 'flesh' is conceived there not only as the sphere where evil dwells but as itself constitutes evil." This statement is perhaps too categorical as representing all of Hellenism, as is the statement from the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II, p. 66 from which Davies draws his conclusion.

the flesh comes through as the human, earthly sphere wherein the battle between good and evil is fought.²¹ Yet this is not all there is to it. Evil somehow has fortified itself in the realm of the flesh and awaits a final purging.²² For example, in IQS 4:20f:

God will then purify every deed of man with his truth; he will refine for Himself the human frame by rooting out all spirit of falsehood from the bounds of his flesh. He will cleanse²³ him of all wicked deeds with the spirit of holiness.

Here, as elsewhere in the Scrolls, the spirit of evil seems to be lodged in the flesh, but can be eradicated by God's truth. Of some other texts it may be said that "the flesh" becomes so closely identified with evil as to denote a base nature in humanity.²⁴ One passage reads: "As for me, if I stumble,

²¹The battle between good and evil is one of "powers" or "spirits," not spirit (good) and flesh (evil). Martin Hengel has pinpointed this dualistic "nature of things" within the eschatological thinking of the Scrolls. "The battle of the two spirits extends to the heart of man, so that man appears as a being divided into parts of light and darkness....It is unmistakable that the struggle of the two 'powers' finds its climax in its decision over and in man." Hengel grounds his result on IQS 3:15ff, in Judaism and Hellenism, I, p. 220. On the "sinfulness" of men with reference to members of the covenant community, see Sanders, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 273ff. Sanders cites two points on which the "avoidable disobedience of commandments" may be challenged: "...that the 'two spirits' passages indicate a situation in which a man is under a hostile power and commits individual transgressions only as a result of that..., that sin is characteristic of man as human (flesh)" (p. 273). My purpose is not to debate this issue in the Scrolls, but rather to indicate a conceptual environment of flesh/spirit within which Paul's thought came to expression.

²²The eschatological cleansing of the members of the community appears frequently, but especially in IQS 4. To cite Sanders again, "it is not correct to say...that for both Paul and Qumran 'lostness' lies in the flesh; for in Qumran man's 'fleshly' nature *does not damn*," Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 281; cf. Kuhn's treatment of IQS 11:7-10 in which he sees the "I" of this passage and of Rom. 7 as signifying, "the existence of mankind, which is flesh," in "Temptation, Sin and Flesh," p. 102.

²³Vermes, Scrolls, p. 77.

²⁴See note 22 above.

the mercies of God shall be my eternal salvation. If I stagger because of the sin of flesh, my justification shall be by the righteousness of God which endures for ever" (1QS 11:12).²⁵ Kuhn observes that the "I" of this statement is probably gnomic and stands for the state of humanity apart from the righteousness of God in the elect community.²⁶ The righteous elect are exalted above the flesh (1QH 15:12-17):

I know through the understanding which comes from Thee that righteousness is not in a hand of flesh....I know that the inclination of every spirit is in Thy hand.... Thou didst create the just and establish him from the womb....Thou wilt raise up his glory from among flesh. But the wicked Thou didst create for the time of Thy wrath.²⁷

Even this close association between flesh and evil does not admit a conclusion that the flesh is evil in itself. Instead, the flesh houses the spirit of evil, and while contrast between "flesh" and "spirit" is evident at points, the battle finally is between the spirit of truth and the spirit of error. Rudolf Meyer is doubtless correct that "nowhere is it even probable that the flesh is in conflict with the spirit."²⁸

Here we may enquire briefly into the extent to which the Qumran view

²⁵Vermes, Scrolls, p. 93.

²⁶Kuhn, "Temptation, Sin and Flesh," p. 102. The certainty of Kuhn's understanding of the "I" statements of 1QS is not assured by reading Romans 7 as somehow cognate. Unlike Romans 7, which has Paul's answer in Romans 8, 1QS 11 is not followed by a contrasting statement by which 1QS 11 is illuminated. Rather, the statements about 'sinning' because of the flesh are balanced there and then by a statement about justification by the righteousness of God. Both kinds of statements seem to apply to the members of the community. The same structure is not evident in Rom. 7.

²⁷Vermes, Scrolls, pp. 194f.

²⁸Meyer, "Flesh in Judaism," p. 114.

corresponds to Paul's view. Certainly Paul can speak of the weakness of the flesh and of sinful flesh in one breath (e.g. Rom. 8:3). And he does contrast flesh and spirit, especially in Romans 8. But there does not seem to be any subtle distinction between the spirit in the flesh and the flesh itself, although something of this thought could be construed from Romans 7. In this passage Paul refers to "the law of sin which dwells in my members" (Rom. 7:23). And Kuhn has some justification²⁹ in pointing to the conceptual connection between IQS 11 and Romans 7. From the "I"-style to the inherent human struggle, the two passages share some points in common. But Paul had Romans 8 in mind when he wrote 7, and on this point in particular I would see Paul departing from the mind-set of the Scrolls. The flesh, for Paul, is the sphere of plight, of the first Adam, and therefore stands in contrast to the sphere of the Spirit of the resurrected Christ already in effect. The Spirit of Christ in Romans 8 becomes the Spirit of the end-time available to members of the eschatological community.³⁰ The antithesis in Paul is expressed in terms of flesh and spirit, whereas in the Scrolls the conflict is expressed in terms of ethical dualism wherein two spirits³¹ war against each other, and *in this life* one never escapes the flesh. In Paul, on the other hand, eschatology is partly realized and is expressed in terms of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) who indwells the church. Only once is the term πνεῦμα used of an

²⁹But cf. note 26 above.

³⁰I think Davies' assessment of the difference between the view of Qumran and that of Paul on the eschatological significance of the Spirit is largely correct: the Scrolls do not stress the Spirit in the context of eschaton, whereas Paul does; "Flesh and Spirit," p. 180.

³¹To live in the "flesh," in the Scrolls, is to be "human, weak, inclined to sin and 'nothing' in comparison with God;" so Sanders, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," p. 279, and note 113. But it is precisely this view of the flesh as "inclined to sin," that gives the impression that the "spirit of evil" and the "flesh" are somehow interconnected.

evil power in the world (I Cor. 2:12), and in this text the note is not one of dualistic conflict.³² Paul's thought, rather, is dominated by the Spirit of the resurrected Christ through whom God triumphed over flesh, sin and death. Moreover, the Spirit signals the dawning of the end-time, and it probably could be construed, with Davies, that "for Paul the Spirit is the sign of the end *par excellence*."³³ While the Scrolls contain abundant reference to the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Truth, and Holy Spirit, the statements fall short of Paul's Christian perspective, understandably so. For Paul, the ages have turned in the death and resurrection of Christ³⁴ and his understanding of the Spirit is that of fulfilment of promise,³⁵ or at least the first stage of fulfilment. In this respect, Paul stands more in the prophetic tradition of Scripture, a tradition which he reads with Christian eyes, than in the thought-world of the Scrolls.

³²The phrase "the spirit of the world" in I Cor. 2:12 may appear to be parallel to "the spirit of perversity" in the Scrolls, but this "appearance" may be several steps removed from "reality". Similarity of expression does not imply parallel conceptuality. πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου in I Cor. 2:12 may mean nothing more than an attitude of those outside the community of Christ, in which case "spirit" in this text would not be close to the "spirit of error" in the Scrolls. Davies finds a closer parallel between the statement in Ephesians 2:2 and the Scrolls, "Flesh and Spirit," pp. 178ff.

³³Ibid., p. 180. It may be repeated that for Paul the act of God in raising the crucified Christ was, conceivably, "sign" *par excellence*, the act which resulted in life in the Spirit, being led of the Spirit, etc. Actually, the two, act and Spirit, can hardly be separated in Paul. Cf. Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 330ff; Käsemann, "The Spirit and the Letter," in Perspectives, pp. 138ff; and James D.G. Dunn, "Spirit or Angel," in Christology in the Making (London: SCM Press, 1980), pp. 129-162; Wilhelm Bousset, Kyrios Christos, ET John E. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), pp. 160ff.

³⁴Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 208f; and Martyn, "Epistemology," pp. 273f: "This great turn of the ages in Christ's death/resurrection is the fact...."

³⁵N.A. Dahl, "Promise and Fulfilment," Studies in Paul, pp. 121ff. Fulfilment is not complete, of course, but it is confirmed that it will be fully attained. Dahl makes this point correctly: "According to Paul...God has not yet fulfilled his promises, but he has confirmed that he will fulfill

The purpose of this brief treatment of the flesh/spirit contrast in the Scrolls was to highlight the distinctive Christian view of Paul. If we are correct in judging that the thought of the Qumran covenanters is about as close as we can come to the thought of Paul, then we can conclude that Paul's understanding and use of the terms "flesh" and "spirit", while they compare favourably at points, differ in significant ways from those of the Scrolls. Principally, Paul thinks and interprets in the Christian consciousness of the change of aeons.³⁶ From this vantage point, and in this experience, his use of the terms "flesh" and "spirit" are freighted with eschatological meaning, not merely ethical.³⁷ When they are used with reference to Christ, their function can be comprehended along typological lines, similar in form to those which we encountered with reference to Adam, Abraham and Moses. Just as we observed variations of the pattern from one to the other of these three figures from Scripture, so we can expect to find some variation again in Paul's thought on Christ *κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα*. But our concern is to locate the central characteristics of the

them. The believers have received a guarantee that they are God's children and coheirs with Christ, but they have not yet taken possession of their inheritance" (p. 136). This position is acknowledged with variation by Davies, "Flesh and Spirit," p. 182; Sanders, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," pp. 281f and notes 128; but less so Kuhn, "Temptation, Sin and Flesh," pp. 107f.

³⁶Note 34 above.

³⁷There has been a tendency to treat Paul's use of "flesh" as either "neutral" or ethical, so Davies, "Flesh and Spirit," pp. 162f; and Bultmann, Theology, I, pp. 233ff; or as having a whole "spectrum" of meanings, mostly negative, so Dunn, "Flesh and Spirit," p. 44. But the eschatological sense underlying Paul's use is the very factor which sets his use apart from that of his environment, not that the "ethical" has disappeared completely, but that it is embedded in the eschatological to a very significant degree.

thought of Paul on these two aspects of Christ, and in so doing, to be able to discern the kind of relation which Paul conceived between the two. Of principal importance in reaching our goal is the two-fold statement of Romans 1:3f concerning Christ. If Paul's thinking on the relation between Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* and Christ *κατὰ πνεῦμα* can be detected here, where the two terms are juxtaposed, it will shed light on the instances where Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* is used in the absence of its counterpart, *κατὰ πνεῦμα*.

2. The Christological Formulation of Rom. 1:3f

Recently the text of Romans 1:3f has received an extraordinary degree of attention.³⁸ The reasons for this interest are not difficult to ascertain; it is recognized widely that the text contains a pre-Pauline formula,³⁹ and thus assists in determining the self-understanding of the pre-Pauline

³⁸In recent years, "more has been written about this than about any other New Testament text," Martin Hengel, Son of God, p. 59, and note 110 for a list of important contributors.

³⁹E.g. Käsemann, Romans, pp. 10ff; Hengel, Son of God, p. 59; Cranfield, Romans I, p. 57; Dodd, Romans, pp. 4f; Conzelmann, Theology, pp. 77, 166; Michel, Römer, pp. 37ff; Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 49; Dunn, Christology, p. 33; Barrett, Romans, p. 19. Some are silent about the probability of the pre-Pauline provenance of the formula in Rom. 1:3f, among them, Schiller, Römerbrief, pp. 3f; Sanday and Headlam, Romans, pp. 6ff; Knox, "Romans," pp. 382. Of these little can be concluded, except to say that they appear to interpret the text as genuinely Pauline, in the face of un-Pauline expressions. Eduard Schweizer identifies the non-Pauline expressions, as ὀρῖζειν and πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης, and the non-Pauline conceptions, the birth from David's seed, and the beginning of divine sonship at Easter. He also notes that the usual contrast *κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα* is not present here; *κατὰ σάρκα* does not have the same bad connotation. "The Concept of the Davidic 'Son of God' in Acts and Its Old Testament Background," in Studies in Luke-Acts, ed. L.E. Kech and J.L. Martyn (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 192, note 4. Vern S. Poythress argued for the possibility that the formula was a free composition of Paul in "Is Romans 1:3-4 a Pauline Confession after All?" Expository Times, 87 (6 '76), pp. 180-83.

Christian community;⁴⁰ and again the formula is incorporated by Paul at the introduction of his greatest epistle, and is thereby instructive in determining his thought on Christ. It is on the latter of these two possible reasons for the attention paid to Romans 1:3f that the weight of the present discussion falls.

Paul's motive for incorporating the two-line formula in the introduction of his letter to Roman Christians has been identified with his concern for connecting his gospel and mission with the Christological faith of the primitive community.⁴¹ He would no doubt wish to have his Roman readers consider him to be part of the original Christian movement. While this reading of his reason for using the formula is almost certainly correct as far as it goes, it does not take full account of the fact that Paul believed the statement to be true according to his way of interpreting it. Moreover, we still have to ask concerning Paul's understanding of the Christological formulation:

περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ
κατὰ σάρκα
τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει
κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης
ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν

Appearing conspicuously in the introductory affirmation, immediately following statements of his own self-designation as one "set apart for the Gospel of God" (1:1), and of the gospel's predetermined status as "promised beforehand

⁴⁰As an "Early Faith-Formulation," Romans 1:3ff is strangely absent from B.F. Meyer's "swift and selective survey" of "numerous expressions of primitive christological faith," in Paul. See Aims of Jesus, pp. 60ff.

⁴¹So, Barrett, Romans, p. 19; Dodd, Romans, p. 5; Cranfield, Romans, I, p. 57; Dunn, "Flesh and Spirit," p. 40.

through his prophets in the holy scriptures" (1:2), it is reasonably certain that Paul intends the two-line formulation to account for the Christological elements of the gospel which he preaches. The question, however, centres on how the two-part formula functions in Paul's thought. The intention here is to show that the two Christological statements of Romans 1:3f, far from being antithetical one to the other, are typologically related as far as Paul is concerned. In order to make this case, it will be necessary to link the meaning of Romans 1:3f with other Christological statements in a similar vein which are more peculiarly Pauline.

Represented in the two lines of Romans 1:3f is *both* correspondence and contrast.⁴² The two lines are set in antithetic parallelism, but the central constitutive element which connects both is "concerning his Son". Several pairs of members may be isolated in an attempt to identify the kind of inter-relationship between them.

τοῦ γενομένου	τοῦ ὀρισθέντος
ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ	ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν ⁴³
κατὰ σάρκα	κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγλωσύνης

⁴² Cf. Barrett, Romans, p. 18 and Dunn, "Flesh and Spirit," p. 41; terms such as "antithesis" and "contrast" by themselves can be misleading. The case is stated well by Otto Betz, What do We Know About Jesus? (London: SCM Press, 1965), pp. 95f. According to Betz, "The two original, parallel credal sentences are consciously formed on the pattern of the Nathan saying which, as in Qumran, is given a messianic interpretation" (p. 96).

⁴³ Otto Michel (Römer, p. 38) lines up the members with an extra one on the side of the Spirit as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. τοῦ γενομένου | 1. τοῦ ὀρισθέντος |
| 2. ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ | 2. υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει |
| 3. κατὰ σάρκα | 3. κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγλωσύνης |
| | 4. ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν |

Aloys Grillmeier's outline of the structure of this "inexhaustible passage" is also striking, in Christ in Christian Tradition: From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451) (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965), p. 16.

The positive affiliation in thought among the members on each side is quite evident. The phrase τοῦ γενομένου by itself can be taken to indicate birth into the human family,⁴⁴ but here it is qualified by ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ. Even so, both phrases still represent the earthly existence of the Christ of the gospel. Yet these two are further modified by κατὰ σάρκα, and with this phrase any doubt about the reality of the earthly, physical existence of Christ is removed. It could be, as some scholars suggest, that Paul added κατὰ σάρκα (and κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγλωσύνης).⁴⁵ This view can hardly be proved, and indeed is contravened by the fact that ἀγλωσύνης of the coordinate phrase is a *hapax legomenon*.⁴⁶ Although one could perhaps assume that in its original form the second participial clause contained κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγλωσύνης, and that Paul added only the κατὰ σάρκα to the first clause, such a possibility is

a. v. 3 περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| I | II |
| b. τοῦ γενομένου | v. 4 τοῦ ὀρισθέντος |
| c. ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ | υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει |
| d. κατὰ σάρκα | κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγλωσύνης ἐξ |
| | ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν |

a. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν

While these phrases can be isolated, the actual lines of the formula are not altogether clear. See Paul Beasley-Murray, "Romans 1:3f: An Early Confession of Faith in the Lordship of Christ," Tyndale Bulletin, 31 (1980), pp. 147-50; and R.H. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology (London: Collins, 1965), pp. 165f. Fuller separates out the original elements which come from the Aramaic-speaking church (Davidic descent) from the Hellenistic and Pauline additions.

⁴⁴"It is rightly paraphrased 'who was born'," Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 6.

⁴⁵Bultmann believes κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα...to be Paul's addition, Theology, I, p. 49. Cf. R.H. Fuller, Foundations, p. 166; and S. Lewis Johnson, "The Jesus that Paul Preached," Bibliotheca Sacra, 128 (510, 1971), pp. 130ff.

⁴⁶Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 9.

highly dubious. If one phrase stood in the original, probably both did; if Paul added one he probably added the other. In view of the un-Pauline character of the phrase *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγλωσύνης*, and given the strong probability that *κατὰ σάρκα* and *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγλωσύνης* stand in balance in any case, it seems best to take both phrases as part of the original formulation which Paul took over.⁴⁷ Moreover, all three pairs are juxtaposed in the two-line confession.

In order to understand as precisely as possible what the two sides of this christological confession could have meant for Paul, it would be well to consider briefly what the members on each side represent. Evidently *τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα* represents the earthly existence of the Christ. He came into being (*τοῦ γενομένου*), and that in messianic order, of the seed of David. This Davidic Messiahship, which apparently was part of the consciousness of primitive Christianity⁴⁸ and is reflected especially in the Gospel of Matthew, plays virtually no part in Paul's thought on Christ in the rest of the letters. Davidic descent is not rejected, obviously, since this part of the formula is not omitted. But its place in Paul's thought is peripheral, at best, if we dare to judge from the very minimal occurrence of David in Paul's arguments (cf. Rom. 4:6). What is important, necessary even, is the earthly existence of Christ, that is, Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*. Momentarily we shall seek to elaborate on the nature

⁴⁷ So E. Schweizer, "Röm. 1:3f und der Gegensatz von Fleisch und Geist vor und bei Paulus," *Evangelische Theologie*, 15 (1955), pp. 563ff; Barrett, *Romans*, p. 18; Fuller, *Foundations*, pp. 165f; Käsemann, *Romans*, pp. 10f. Of these, it should be noted that Schweizer and Fuller take both *κατὰ*-phrases to be of Hellenistic provenance, not Palestinian, but still pre-Pauline.

⁴⁸ Bultmann, *Theology*, I, p. 49; Hengel, *Son of God*, pp. 61f; Fuller, *Foundations*, pp. 165ff.

of this necessity. For now, the observation is that Paul adopts the formula not merely because he has what he wants in the one statement about the resurrection of Christ,⁴⁹ the Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness. The fact is, he cannot have the resurrected Christ without the earthly Jesus Christ. In other words, Paul thinks that there must first be the physical *then the spiritual* (cf. I Cor. 15:46). A certain movement from one to the other, from the sphere of flesh to that of Spirit, is indicated here in Romans 1:3f. What appears is a kind of developmental sequence from flesh to Spirit. Benno Prezybylski's recent article describes this sequence of thought in Romans 1:3f as "logical development". "That Paul sees a direct, logical development from flesh to Spirit with respect to Jesus is clearly evident from Rom. 1:3-4."⁵⁰ Prezybylski has caught a very important aspect of Paul's thought on Jesus, but whether the structure should be called "logical development" is debatable. The "logic" of the thought is characteristic of Paul's typology, and the "development" conforms to Paul's view of the old aeon and the new. That there is a kind of logical development in Paul's typological thinking is undeniable, but it is a particular kind which operates in the context of eschatology in which the soteriological events of the new age surpass those of the old age. The "logic" and the "development" in this way of thinking can well be defined together as

⁴⁹The emphasis, of course, falls on the second line about the resurrection. "This second dignity is by far the more important" (Otto Betz, What do We Know About Jesus? p. 96); the resurrected Christ is the "decisive content" of the gospel (Käsemann, Romans, p. 10).

⁵⁰Benno Prezybylski, "The Spirit: Paul's Journey to Jesus and Beyond," From Jesus to Paul, p. 159. He also sees 2 Cor. 5:16-17 "as pointing to this logical development". Cf. Bultmann's more psychological way of understanding Paul's view of Jesus of Nazareth. "It is the historical person of Jesus that makes Paul's proclamation the Gospel" (Faith and Understanding, p. 235).

typological. The first phase sets the stage for, or prefigures, the second and higher phase of fulfilment.

Concerning the second line of the formula, some phrases present certain difficulties and should be explained before proceeding further. Does τοῦ ὁρισθέντος mean "constituted", "appointed", "installed", "designated"?⁵¹ The difficulty arises, as far as I can tell, largely from the fact that this is a pre-Pauline fragment. What the term meant in the first instance may not be the meaning for Paul. If the English "constituted"⁵² is adopted then we have the view that Jesus became Son of God by the resurrection. And this could have been the original meaning, but it is probably not altogether Paul's meaning.⁵³ The RSV rendering, "designated", seems to express Paul's meaning better in that it can simply indicate an advanced stage in the eschatological movement forward in the plan of God; that is, the Son of God linked to the flesh has given way to "Son of God in power."⁵⁴ The other phrase,

⁵¹See discussion in Cranfield, Romans, p. 61.

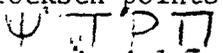
⁵²So Cranfield, Romans, p. 61, but adds the words "appoint" and "install" as possible cognate ideas.

⁵³It has been argued, and with good reason, that the original christology of the formula was grounded in the oracle of Nathan to David (II Sam. 7:12-14): "I will raise up your seed after you...and will establish his kingdom..." See Otto Betz, What do We Know About Jesus?, pp. 96ff; Eduard Schweizer, "Davidic 'Son of God'," pp. 186-93; Martin Hengel, Son of God, pp. 64f; another possibility is that Ps. 2:7 undergirds the creedal statement. "The divine decree in Ps. 2:7 had a great influence upon the thinking of the early church," says Leslie Allen, "The Old Testament Background of (προ) ὁρίζεσθαι in the New Testament," New Testament Studies, 17 (1970), p. 108; similarly, Beasley-Murray, "An Early Confession," pp. 151f. Important as these issues are, they are not central to our purpose in locating Paul's thought in Rom. 1:7f.

⁵⁴Paul quite possibly added ἐν δυνάμει, perhaps to balance the first υἱός of verse 3; Dunn, "Flesh and Spirit," p. 60.

πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης, has been taken to mean the Holy Spirit, second person of the trinity, or Spirit of Jesus which was of a holy character, or, in more Pauline terms, Christ resurrected, the "life-giving Spirit" (I Cor. 15:45), "the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 8:2), or simply "the Lord who is the Spirit" (II Cor. 3:18).⁵⁵ The problem again rests with the possible tension between the meaning originally and the meaning for Paul. Paul can employ the terms Christ, Spirit, Spirit of Christ, and Spirit of God interchangeably, with little or no indication of distinction between the terms (e.g. Rom. 8:9-10). And we should therefore refrain from imposing a categorically trinitarian doctrine of the Holy Spirit on the text of Paul's letters. If anything, Paul is more closely aligned with the much earlier idea of the Spirit of God in Scripture,⁵⁶ an idea which doubtless informed the creedal formulation in the first place. At the same time, the earlier ideas are interpreted by Paul to mean the sphere of resurrection-power of Christ (cf. Phil. 3:10). Again, we emphasize that Paul's interpretation is very much part of his eschatological awareness of the change of aeons. He is not developing a tightly knit doctrine of the Holy Spirit in a situation of theological reflection.⁵⁷ His statements (see above) about "the

⁵⁵ See the discussion in Cranfield, Romans, pp. 62ff. Cranfield himself "understands the phrase to refer to the Holy Spirit...given by the exalted Christ" (p. 64).

⁵⁶ Otto Betz, What do We Know About Jesus?, p. 97. "The christological creed remains within the framework of the Old Testament tradition." Otto Procksch points out that πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης is "an exact rendering of the Hebrew  (Is. 63:10f; Ps. 51:11), which signifies the creative principle of life within the people of God in virtue of which this people does not belong to the natural order but to the καὶνὴ κτίσις," TDNT, Vol. I, pp. 114f.

⁵⁷ And it is highly unlikely that Paul is using the term πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης to establish the "deity" of the earthly Jesus in any formal way; against Dunn, "Jesus—Flesh and Spirit," p. 58.

Spirit" are spontaneous, springing up in the midst of the mission. Moreover, πνεῦμα ἀγλωσύνης is doubtless meaningful to Paul because it is in line with resurrection, power, life, new age, etc.

The last phrase, ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν also creates a problem; it appears to define a general resurrection, whereas Christ's resurrection was held to be unique, the "first fruits" (I Cor. 15:23) of the resurrection of Christians at the parousia. Perhaps this compact statement intends the two ideas, Christ's resurrection as the lead, followed by the resurrection of Christians.⁵⁸ If a second ἐκ were to precede νεκρῶν the matter would be solved. Perhaps the second ἐκ is omitted for stylistic reasons.⁵⁹ In any case, the force of the phrase remains: it is by resurrection that Christ is designated Son of God in power. And this, as Käsemann adduces correctly, is decisive for Paul.⁶⁰

Taking the formula as a whole into account, we may ask two questions: 1) What does the confessional statement reveal about the christology of the primitive church? 2) How does Paul understand the balance of members in this structured christological statement? In answer to the first question we are obliged to limit discussion to allow for elaboration of the second. Standing outside its context in Romans (and devoid of any other) the two-part confession could indicate a primitive form of adoptionist theology. This position is held by a number of scholars.⁶¹ The confession, in this case,

⁵⁸This appears to be the position taken by Geerhardus Vos, The Pauline Eschatology (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), pp. 155f, note 10.

⁵⁹Cranfield, Romans, p. 62.

⁶⁰Käsemann, Romans, p. 10.

⁶¹Barrett, Romans, p. 20; Knox, "Romans," p. 382; Conzelmann, Outline, p. 77; Bornkamm, Paul, p. 248; Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 50.

would mean that Jesus, descended from David, was enthroned as Lord, King, and Son of God at the Resurrection. In the event of resurrection the Spirit of holiness *constituted* him Son of God.⁶² If we allow ἐν δυνάμει to stand in the original formula, and if the Spirit is thus operative in the resurrection, ἐν δυνάμει could belong with ὁρισθέντος rather than with υἱοῦ θεοῦ.⁶³ The result would be an adoptionist, two-stage Christology but this may not be the most appropriate way to understand Paul. In view of statements of Paul (cited above) about Christ resurrected in relation to the Spirit, it seems best to take all of the forms and ideas following τοῦ ὁρισθέντος as virtually concomitant: "Son of God", "in power", "according to the Spirit of Holiness", "by the resurrection of the dead". All of these signal the dawn of new age and are indissoluble one from the other.

The context of Romans 1:1-4 speaks in favour of typological thinking in conformity with Paul's thought elsewhere. The Gospel of God (1:1) concerning his Son (1:3) takes both parts of the formula into account. And the fact that the earthly aspect is prefaced by περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ is telling.⁶⁴ Paul appears to preface the whole formula with this περὶ phrase,

⁶²Based on Ps. 2:7, the King was installed as Son of God. See Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 50.

⁶³Käsemann explains that "for the Apostle the Spirit proceeds from Christ or represents him, but the Spirit does not act upon him," and ὁρισθέντος therefore is understood by Paul to qualify υἱοῦ θεοῦ. Similarly, Cranfield, Romans, p. 62; Barrett, Romans, p. 20. Against, Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 9. The second line of the confession has ambiguity as might be expected if Paul is incorporating forms and ideas which are not inherently his own.

⁶⁴Usually commentators see the περὶ phrase as indicating the pre-existence of the Son of God. Käsemann, Romans, p. 10; Schweizer, "David, 'Son of God'," p. 186; Knox, "Romans," p. 382; Godet, Romans, pp. 124f; Murray, Romans, p. 5; Cranfield, Romans, p. 58; against Dunn, Christology, pp. 119, 125; *idem.*, "Flesh and Spirit," pp. 55f. "Pre-existence" is not a well-chosen term, I believe. Later discussion will reveal that the idea consists in *the divine plan which is Christ of the eschaton.*

rather than to start with Christ κατὰ σάρκα, doubtless because he conceives of Christ the Son of God as operative in the plan of God prior to the eschatological Christ-event.⁶⁵ It is preferable, I believe, to speak of Christ in the plan of God over against the pre-existent Christ, although this latter is certainly one way of describing the situation in Paul.

J.D.G. Dunn,⁶⁶ in a lengthy article on the formula of Rom. 1:3f, inclines away from a pre-existent Christ here (as elsewhere) for Paul.⁶⁷ Dunn argues that in this text κατὰ σάρκα in antithesis to κατὰ πνεῦμα has its usual pejorative note. Consequently, Dunn maintains that Paul intends by this formula to prove that Christ κατὰ σάρκα is inferior, if not defective, whereas Christ κατὰ πνεῦμα is redemptive, powerful, life-giving. Moreover, Dunn denies a three-stage Christology,⁶⁸ and modifies the more standard notion of a two-stage Christology, and ends up with an adoptionist view for Paul, of the same mold as the Gospels.⁶⁹ That is, the Spirit is the link between the earthly Christ and the resurrected Christ. Christ κατὰ σάρκα in Paul's understanding was Son of God to be sure, but only by reason of his having the Spirit of holiness.

⁶⁵ Examples were given especially with reference to Abraham and Moses, chapters 4 and 5 above. Dunn reads the first οὗτος as qualifying the whole formula, i.e. "pre- as well as post-resurrection" ("Flesh and Spirit," p. 55).

⁶⁶ J.D.G. Dunn, "Jesus—Flesh and Spirit," pp. 40-68.

⁶⁷ See note 64 above.

⁶⁸ That is, he denies it in the usual sense of pre-existence, pre-resurrection existence, and post-resurrection lordship ("Flesh and Spirit," pp. 53f).

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 57.

In the state of Christ's resurrection the Spirit which constituted Jesus' pre-Easter life took over completely so that the *κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα* existence gave way to the *κατὰ πνεῦμα* exclusively, and that "in power".⁷⁰ In view of the fact that I intend to criticize Dunn's exegesis here, his position should be cited at some length. Of the correspondence between *κατὰ σάρκα* and *κατὰ πνεῦμα* he writes:

It is entirely probable that the *κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα* antithesis of Rom. 1:3f not only describes two distinct and successive phases in the life of Jesus separated by the resurrection, but refers also to the pre-resurrection life of Jesus as a life lived both according to the flesh and according to the Spirit. In so far as Jesus lived on the level of the flesh, was bound and determined by the weakness and inadequacy of the human condition, allowed worldly considerations to determine his conduct, he was merely Son of David and no more—Messiah indeed, but a disappointing, ineffective, irrelevant Messiah....But in so far as Jesus lived on the level of the Spirit, refused to allow merely human considerations, fleshly suffering, or Jewish expectations to determine his course or deter him from his chosen ministry, he manifested that he was indeed Son of God, and thereby proved his right to be installed as Son of God in power as from the resurrection of the dead.⁷¹

And of his modified two-stage Christology he writes:

It is clear that Paul understands the formula of Rom. 1:3f in terms of a two-stage Christology: but at *both* stages Jesus is Son of God and at *both* stages his sonship is determined by the Spirit and by Jesus' response to the Spirit.⁷²

Much of Dunn's argument deserves attention, especially where he urges

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 58.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 57.

⁷² Ibid. Dunn finds support from A.M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors (London: SCM Press, 1961), pp. 25ff, and W.C. Van Unnik, "Jesus the Christ," New Testament Studies, 8 (1961-2), pp. 101-16.

a positive relation between the pre-resurrection Christ and Christ resurrected, and between Christ and the Christians.⁷³ Yet his understanding of Paul's use of the formula of Romans 1:3f is weak at four points. 1. The form of the confession itself does not support the thesis that the connection between Christ κατὰ σάρκα and Christ κατὰ πνεῦμα is the Spirit. κατὰ πνεῦμα lines up with resurrection and power and there is no indication that the Spirit designates, or constitutes, Jesus κατὰ σάρκα as the genuine, worthy Messiah, as compared to a Davidic Messiah of Jewish expectation.⁷⁴ 2. Although he claims to seek Paul's understanding of the two participial clauses, Dunn gives only a passing glance at relevant statements in the letters which would help explain Paul's use.⁷⁵ 3. That Paul's use of κατὰ σάρκα in every context is derogatory or pejorative, has not been demonstrated convincingly, and that the term can be taken pejoratively in Romans 1:3 is highly unlikely.⁷⁶ 4. The use of the Gospels and Acts⁷⁷ to indicate the pre-Pauline community's understanding of the Spirit in Jesus prior to the resurrection proves little for Paul. Even if it could be demonstrated that the primitive community held to this view of the Spirit, Paul's letters do not

⁷³Dunn, "Flesh and Spirit," pp. 58f, 67f.

⁷⁴See Ibid., pp. 58ff.

⁷⁵E.g. Ibid., pp. 44, 55, 64.

⁷⁶See Ibid., pp. 44, 47. Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p. 173, likewise polarizes flesh and spirit absolutely: "Spirit and flesh are the two great antagonistic powers striving against each other....flesh and sin are thus bound indissolubly together." But, in answer, there is Christ κατὰ σάρκα in Paul, and the evidence from Rom. 1:3; 8:3f does not support this absolutizing of the polarity.

⁷⁷See Ibid., p. 66.

follow this path. This fourth weakness needs no further comment. But we should speak to the first three of these in a more positive way and thereby advance the argument that the scope of Paul's understanding of the formula is eschatological, and that his particular thought on Christ *κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα*, is in accord with his typological interpretation of salvation-history.

On the first point, then, the formula itself, as it stands in the introduction to Romans, contains the basic form of Paul's typological thought. Even if we were to regard Bultmann's reconstruction as true to the original form, the typological possibility remains for Paul's development. Bultmann's reconstruction runs as follows:

(Jesus Christ) the Son of God, come from the seed of David, designated Son of God in power, by his resurrection from the dead.

Both *κατὰ*-phrases would therefore be Pauline additions together with the introductory *περὶ*. The additions would then simply sharpen the distinction between the two phases of Christ's state and would tend to render descent from David less important. But the second *κατὰ*-phrase appears in the formula in an un-Pauline style, as indicated above, and should probably be taken together with the first *κατὰ*-phrase as pre-Pauline.⁷⁹ Either way, the two participial lines are set over against each other, not as an antithetical pair, but as a climactic, coordinating pair. As climactic and coordinate they are not taken to be the same in substance, but to be *connected by divine intention*. This way of reading Paul's use is supported by two

⁷⁸Bultmann, *Theology*, I, p. 49; also Otto Michel, *Römer*, p. 38; and Otto Betz, *What do We Know About Jesus?*, p. 96, note 17.

⁷⁹This position is supported by Bornkamm, *Paul*, p. 248; Schweizer, "σάρξ," p. 126; Barrett, *Romans*, pp. 18f; Dunn, "Flesh and Spirit," p. 41; Fuller, *Foundations*, pp. 165f.

pieces of immediate evidence: 1) by the introductory *περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ* of verse 3, and 2) by the protological promise of the "prophets in the holy scriptures" of verse 2 which qualifies "the gospel of God" (*εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ*) of verse 1. The focus of both of these is on God as primal subject. And the control of the continuity from the *κατὰ σάρκα* phase to the *κατὰ πνεῦμα* phase rests with God (*θεός*), not with the Spirit (*πνεῦμα*). Here, as elsewhere in Paul's letters, the Spirit is consistently associated with the resurrected Christ, and here, as elsewhere, Paul sees in the plan of God the requirement for the movement forward from preliminary phases of salvation-history to the final phase at the turn of the aeons where he stands.

The so-called "pre-existence" of Christ is better understood in Paul in terms of the one divine plan of God for the salvation of mankind.⁸⁰ But to suggest that Paul did not have the idea of Christ existing in the divine intention all along, as Dunn seems to say,⁸¹ is to bypass a significant part of Paul's thought. Admittedly the formula itself only implies this concept by the fact that it is bracketed by the *περὶ* phrase at the head of the formula

⁸⁰ See note 64 above. In Grillmeier's words, "the coming of Christ in the flesh is brought about by God, because it is in fact the Son of God who comes in the flesh," *Christ*, p. 17.

⁸¹ Dunn, "Flesh and Spirit," p. 59: "The pre-existence of Jesus is an inaccurate description of the Pauline theology. In Paul the only really explicit references to pre-existence come where Paul identifies Jesus with pre-existent Wisdom (I Cor. 8:6; Col. 1:15ff; cf. I Cor. 1:24, 30). Strictly speaking it is Wisdom alone which is pre-existent...But the relation of the man Jesus to the Spirit of God was not that of pre-existent Wisdom." The fact is that the text of I Cor. 8:6 does not have "really explicit reference" to σοφία but to Jesus Christ, and I am contending that the eschatological Christ of Paul's thought is that which existed with the "one God, the Father, from whom are all things" (Col. 1:15f is inadmissible for the interpretation of I Cor. 8:6; see Eduard Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon: Hermeneia* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), pp. 41-6).

and by "Jesus Christ our Lord" at the end but this view is confirmed repeatedly (and explicitly) throughout the letters.⁸² We have seen already that the salvation-occurrence in the supernatural rock which followed the Israelites is identified with Christ: "the rock was Christ" (I Cor. 10:4).⁸³ To be sure, this was not the Christ of end-time salvation, but since the episode was salvific under God, and was recorded for the end-time community (I Cor. 10:11), Christ was involved because he is God's singular agent in the plan of salvation. The same was true for Moses when he turned to the Lord. For Paul "the Lord," even in Moses' case in the old dispensation, was Christ in saving activity (II Cor. 3:16-18), the end (τέλος) of which came at the death-and-resurrection.⁸⁴

We have already begun to deal with relevant statements from the letters, and have thus begun already to take up the second point of weakness in Dunn's argument.

In the same letter, Romans, Paul states, in his own words, the thought of the formula. The most striking example of Paul's view of Christ κατὰ σάρκα occurs in Romans 8 where the Spirit figures prominently. Even in that context, a connection is made with Christ κατὰ σάρκα:

⁸²E.g. Rom. 8:3; Gal. 4:4; I Cor. 8:6; 1:8.

⁸³While Dunn insists that the Spirit is not associated with a pre-existent Christ, the "rock which followed the Israelites is called πνευματικὴ. Godet's comment is germane: "Paul thus regards Christ as the Divine Being who accompanied the Israelites in the desert, and who, from the midst of the cloud, wrought all their deliverances," Romans, p. 126.

⁸⁴See discussion of τέλος at pp. 221ff. above. Bousset correctly sees an interchange in Paul's use of "Lord", "Christ", "Spirit", Kyrios Christos, pp. 160f.

For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do: sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, he condemned sin in the flesh in order that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us... (Rom. 8:3-4).

The intent in citing this text is to signal Paul's way of understanding the interconnection between Christ κατὰ σάρκα and Christ κατὰ πνεῦμα. Although the two κατὰ-phrases are not juxtaposed in Romans 8, the whole disposition of the first part of the chapter is that of life "according to the Spirit". We noted already that the Spirit and Christ are used interchangeably here (9-11). Into the midst of this emphasis on "the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" (8:2), Paul incorporates his understanding of the Son of God in the form of sinful flesh, as if to insist that the Spirit of life in Christ resurrected is a reality only after the action of God in his Son in the form of flesh.⁸⁵ To put it otherwise, the fact that there is no condemnation now (νῦν κατάκριμα, v. 1) to those in Christ, is the direct result of Christ's action in the flesh to condemn κατάκρινεν, v. 3)⁸⁶ sin in the flesh. An inherent necessity can be detected in Paul's view of Christ κατὰ σάρκα, and

⁸⁵ Nygren argues that Paul is "firmly convinced that, in some way, Christ stood under the power of sin...", but Paul wants also to say that Christ was not subject to sin (II Cor. 5:21) (Romans, p. 315). As Nygren points out, "a special difficulty arises," but he does not make clear how Paul avoids the difficulty. The incidence of ἐν ὁμοιώματι in verse 3 is only part of the answer; the fuller answer lies in Paul's concept of divine intention which operates effectually in the sphere of flesh, in this case, the flesh of Christ.

⁸⁶ κατάκριμα was introduced at Romans 5:16, 18 already where condemnation became the lot of all men in Adam. (See chapter three on the reversal of the state of man in Adam.) Many other verbal parallels exist between chapters 5 and 8; N.A. Dahl claims that the parallelism pertains to themes and argumentation rather than vocabulary. See his "Synopsis" of the two passages in Studies, pp. 88-90.

it arises out of the divine intention. This divine plan, consisting in the Son of God prior to, transcending, yet active in, the κατὰ σάρκα phase, is no longer implied; it is stated unmistakably: ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεὸν πέμψας.⁸⁷ God initiates and fulfils the plan of salvation, but he does so by "sending" his Son in human form; that is, he sent the Son into the realm of sin (ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας, 8:3). The movement from one phase to the next is understood by Paul to come under the control of the active will of God for the salvation of mankind. We took issue earlier with Prezybylski's idea of logical development as applied to Romans 1:3f, and on this very ground: that Paul thinks of the dynamic connection between the stages of Christ's saving activity in terms of the realization of the plan of God.

The phrase, ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας, has generated an inordinate amount of discussion.⁸⁸ For Paul "the flesh of sin" is dangerously close to implicating the Son of God in the *plight* of Adam. The term ὁμοίωμα serves to absent God's Son from the severely negative connotations with which "flesh" became associated in the preceding arguments in Romans (e.g. 3:20; 7:5, 14, 18, 25). The notion of a docetic doctrine is probably foreign to Paul, for

⁸⁷On the interconnectedness of "pre-existence" and "sending" in Paul's Christology, see M. Hengel, Son of God, pp. 66-76. Cf. Eberhard Jüngel, Paulus und Jesus, pp. 283f, where he prefers to see a certain consistency, rather than any theology, in Paul's concepts of the pre-existence of Christ. See discussion of Jüngel's view on "Paul-Jesus" at pp. 34f, chapter 1.

⁸⁸See Johannes Schneider, "ὁμοίωμα," TDNT, Vol. 5, pp. 191-8, and Cranfield, Romans, pp. 379-382 on five possible solutions to the question why Paul has ἐν ὁμοιώματι...rather than ἐν σαρκί....For comparison of the use of ὁμοίωμα in Rom. 8:3 and Phil. 2:7 see Ralph P. Martin, Carmen Christi: Philippians 2:5-11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship (Cambridge: University Press, 1967), pp. 197-206.

he is not thinking of "appearance" merely, nor "similarity" without character. I prefer to think that "form" is an acceptable translation, and I believe ὁμοῶμα functions here as it does in Philipians 2:7.⁸⁹ Its use by Paul in Romans 8:3 is probably to take the negative sting out of the term "flesh". Paul can, as indicated above, use "flesh" to denote the physical existence of mankind. For him to use the term "flesh" without dissociating it from its connection with sin, would impede the force of his argument. Moreover, ὁμοῶμα does not indicate "unreality"; on the contrary, Paul intends to posit the reality of Christ's participation in Adamic humanity apart from the power of sin (cf. 3:9). The weakness (over against sinfulness) of the flesh is offset by the fact that God is responsible for the plan and for its completion. Christ was sent to free man from his enslavement to sin (Rom. 5:12-21), but he himself, as Second Adam (II Cor. 15:42-49), was not enslaved. ὁμοῶμα serves to make this distinction. In any case, the point of the text is that sin is "condemned" by Christ's coming from God in the *form* of the flesh of sin. Christ κατὰ σάρκα was a phase, or rather *the* phase immediately prior to the final phase, of God's salvific action: the inauguration of the end of the ages by the resurrection. Christ κατὰ σάρκα is therefore not the supreme phase of God's action in the world, but is, rather, the necessary precursor to the phase of Christ resurrected in power.

⁸⁹ Again Martin's discussion to this effect is illuminating, Carmen Christi, pp. 199ff. See also Otto Michel, Römer, pp. 189ff. Scholars generally seem to focus the problem on whether or not Paul believed the Son to have taken on the fallen nature of man. It is doubtful that Paul would have conceptualized the question in the sense of "fallen nature". He seems to think, rather, in terms of lordships. His question would then be framed: Did the Son come under the rule and dominion of sin? And his answer would be negative: the Son was sent by God to condemn sin, not to come under sin's dominion!

The alignment of sin, death and flesh in Paul, in terms of the plight of man in Adam, would seem to militate against the possibility of Christ's participation in that sphere of existence. But this is not so in Paul. Christ can, and indeed must, take on human form and be subject to death, or obedient to death,⁹⁰ in order to create anew the humanity of God's intention. But he becomes last Adam, life-giving Spirit, in the eschatological sense by the resurrection, not by the flesh (I Cor. 15:45). Yet Christ "according to the Spirit" is dynamically related to Christ "according to the flesh" in that God's plan is worked out on the sphere of flesh to cancel the tyranny of sin,⁹¹ but not to destroy humanity.

Another text which supports these ideas even more forcefully, I think, is Galatians 4:4-6:

When the time had fully come, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as sons. And because you are sons, God has sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts....

That this statement reflects eschatological thinking is evident in the time-reference at the beginning: "when the time had fully come."⁹² The Christo-

⁹⁰To be obedient to death (Phil. 2:8) is also to be subject to death in Paul's terms of reference in Romans 8 and Phil. 2:7-8. Death for the Son in the form of sinful flesh is obedience (cf. Rom. 5:19); "for ordinary men it is a necessity" (Martin, Carmen Christi, p. 217). Cf. Karl Barth, The Epistle to the Philippians (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1962), p. 65 and F.W. Beare, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1959), p. 84.

⁹¹As far as I can determine, the intent of saying that God sent his Son to condemn (κατάκριμα) sin in the flesh is tantamount to saying that this action of God in Christ is to cancel the power, or tyranny, of sin. Or more broadly, to render the old aeon inoperative (cf. II Cor. 3). Nygren, more than most commentators on Rom. 8:3f, stresses the break with the old aeon and dawn of the new. See Romans, pp. 315f.

⁹²The phrase, "the fulness of time," is found only in this passage in Paul, but it "belongs to the Jewish and Christian eschatological language which Paul shared" (Betz, Galatians, p. 206). The temporal reference is a

logical statement of verse 4 is again formulaic,⁹³ whether of Paul's composition or otherwise, and signals a two-part act of God in sending his Son⁹⁴ and sending the Spirit of his Son. But between the two "sendings" is the human phase, "born of a woman, born under the law." This is in keeping with the *κατὰ σάρκα* line of Romans 1:3 and the *ὁμοίωμα* phrase of Romans 8:3. The Son enters the human scene, in Romans 1:3 as descended from David, and here as born under the law, presumably meaning that he was born as a Jew. Christ's entry into humanity (*κατὰ σάρκα*) has significance for Paul, as all of God's saving acts do. Bultmann's assessment of the significance is that it "can be expressed in one sentence. *It is the historical person of Jesus that makes Paul's proclamation the Gospel.*"⁹⁵ In substance this statement reflects an acute perception of Paul's conception of the relation of the pre-resurrection Jesus to the Christ of Paul's preaching. However, it is incomplete in that it does not account sufficiently for the connectedness of Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* with the overall plan of God which reaches its climax

further indication of the prominence of the idea of God's intention; the term seems to indicate a time appointed by God for the eschatological activity of the Son. Cf. some of the allusions in 1QS 4:18f; 1QM 14:14; 1QpHab. 7:13.

⁹³Betz, Galatians, pp. 205f.

⁹⁴Eduard Schweizer maintains that "heavenly pre-existence is not intrinsically included any more than in OT or NT references to the sending of the prophets or God's sending of Jesus..." (TDNT, Vol. 8, p. 375); he also adduces a parallel in schema and vocabulary between Gal. 4:4f and Rom. 8:3f and concludes that both have formulaic patterns (p. 383f). See also Betz, Galatians, p. 206.

⁹⁵Bultmann, "Significance," p. 235. J. Louis Martyn attributes to this article by Bultmann a well-deserved recognition that it "is probably still the most important statement of the Jesus-Paul problem," in "Epistemology," p. 269, note 2.

in the resurrection. Says Bultmann, "The *that*, the *here and now*, the factuality of his person, constituted the revelation....It is not the historical Jesus, but Jesus Christ, the Christ preached, who is the Lord."⁹⁶ There is no denying the supreme importance of the resurrected Lord in Paul's thought. But the present reality of Christ for Paul is not nearly as divorced from salvation-history as Bultmann implies. Neither is the "historical fact" of Christ to be judged on the kind of psychological/existential grounds that Bultmann's statements seem to indicate. If all that can be said on the significance of Jesus for Paul is that without the person of Jesus Paul's preaching would not be the gospel, then we are obliged to say that without Abraham in Scripture Paul would not have an argument for faith apart from the works of the law. But to judge Paul's use of Abraham in this way would be to underestimate Paul's consciousness of God's intention in Christ in salvation-history. The same is true for Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*. According to Romans 1:3f and the related texts examined above, Paul conceives of a divinely determined course of events all of which point forward to the supreme act of God in raising the crucified Christ at the turn of the ages. Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* in this context is therefore viewed by Paul as *the last but one* in a series of saving episodes of God. *The last one*, the resurrection, is connected to *all* previous acts of God, but particularly to Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*.

Now to the third point at which we said Dunn's argument was weak, *κατὰ σάρκα* in some contexts in Paul is not nearly as negative and pejorative as

⁹⁶Bultmann, "Significance," p. 241.

Dunn proposes.⁹⁷ The principal concern with this position is that it virtually eliminates the necessity for κατὰ σάρκα, or at least does not take this form of existence seriously enough for Paul. "Pejorative" and "negative" certainly do apply to κατὰ σάρκα in some contexts, especially where it is opposed to κατὰ πνεῦμα as in Galatians 4:23, 29. But the terms in Galatians 4 respond to a problematic situation and thought⁹⁸ quite different from that expressed in Romans 1:3f.

The plain fact is that Paul refers to Christ κατὰ σάρκα in Romans 9:5 in a way which can hardly be called negative and pejorative.⁹⁹ At that point in Chapter 9, Paul is evaluating the role of the Israelites in accomplishing God's plan of salvation.¹⁰⁰ To them belong "the sonship,

⁹⁷Dunn, "Flesh and Spirit," pp. 49ff. He contends that κατὰ σάρκα almost always carries "a distinctly pejorative, somewhat derogatory note as well, sometimes with the added implication of blameworthiness," but in the κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα antithesis "the pejorative note sounds most clearly" (p. 49).

⁹⁸On the situation and occasion surrounding Galatians see Betz, "introduction," in Galatians, pp. 28ff; a helpful comparison of the contingencies involved in both Galatians and Romans appears in Beker, Paul, the Apostle, pp. 94-108.

⁹⁹Dunn disagrees, in the sense that even here where a "neutral" sense seems to come through, Paul is concerned to show that this kind of a Christ is not decisively significant. He proves the point by highlighting the negative note which follows Romans 9:5. No one would deny that Paul has more in mind than Christ κατὰ σάρκα, but more does not mean a negation of κατὰ σάρκα. In this position, Dunn stands opposed to Barrett, Romans, p. 178; Sanday and Headlam, Romans, pp. 231f; Dodd, Romans, p. 152; Knox, "Romans," p. 539; Davies, "Paul and the Law: Reflections on Pitfalls in Interpretation," in Jewish and Pauline Studies, pp. 100f.

¹⁰⁰This is not the same as saying that the Jews have an advantage over Gentiles. Sanders has made the point repeatedly that Paul did not hold that the Jews had a privilege over Gentiles in the plan of salvation, and the point is well taken (Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 33-35, 160, 208); but Rom. 9:4-5 indicates that the Israelites constituted the people (elect people indeed) *through whom* salvation would come to the world, even though they themselves would be saved on the same basis as Gentiles.

the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises." In this vein, Paul acknowledges, and not grudgingly, that of the Israelites also is the Christ (Messiah)¹⁰¹ κατὰ σάρκα. By so acknowledging Christ according to the flesh (Rom. 9:5), born of a woman, born under the law (Gal. 4:4), Paul is not allowing an either-or Christ: either the Christ of the Jews—Christ κατὰ σάρκα—or Christ of the new eschatological community—Christ κατὰ πνεῦμα. The two, in fact, have necessary inter-connectedness in the plan of God for the end-time. Moreover, Christ κατὰ σάρκα should be viewed in Paul, not as negative merely, but as *necessary for God's final act of condemning sin and raising Christ*. The phrase, κατὰ σάρκα, designates an aspect of Christ's existence in history for the salvation of mankind just as it designates the Jewish character of Abraham (Rom. 4:1), the forefather of Israel, who was to become "the father of us all," who are righteous by faith (Rom. 4:16).¹⁰² That is to say, both Abraham and Christ are located in the salvation-history of Israel by the use of κατὰ σάρκα; both are necessarily historical and necessarily Israelite.

What, then, can be said of the Christological formulation of Romans 1:3f?

¹⁰¹ A.M. Hunter has observed, correctly, that "Χριστός has ceased, save in a few places (e.g. Rom. 9:5; I Cor. 10:4), to be a title of office, and has become almost a proper name" (Predecessors, p. 85); cf. Davies, Pauline Studies, p. 100: "Paul did not therefore empty the term 'Christ' of its messianic connotation, as especially in Rom. 9:5." Davies tends to make much of the Jewish messianic ideas in Paul.

¹⁰² Again, Dunn seeks to prove that the forefather κατὰ σάρκα of Rom. 4:1 is cast in a negative light, over against the Abraham of faith-righteousness, or Abraham κατὰ πνεῦμα (implied), "Flesh and Spirit," pp. 45f. As I indicated in Chapter 4, it is Abraham κατὰ σάρκα who holds in his person the "type" of end-time salvation. Paul does not deny Abraham κατὰ σάρκα, nor does he cancel his place in salvation-history. On the contrary, he acknowledges his place in a customary protological way, and it is this way of thinking that *appears* to negate or deny Abraham κατὰ σάρκα.

As a complete unit its import for Paul is eschatological; its two-stage structure to Paul's mind is typological: it speaks of the way in which God's plan for the new aeon came to fruition. Paul interprets the whole formula from the consciousness of living *κατὰ πνεῦμα*¹⁰³ at the change of aeons.¹⁰⁴ Christ "according to the flesh" existed, for Paul, on the other side of the intersection of the ages but on the same soteriological highway. The figure of Christ according to the flesh foreshadowed the figure of Christ resurrected in power. Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* constitutes *the penultimate act of God through his Son*, and is himself the ultimate type-figure. This is the Christ who suffers and dies, who condemns sin in the flesh, and is destined to be raised to lordship in the sphere of the Spirit. Moreover, the Davidic messiahship in the formula is understood by Paul in terms of Adamic theology. The last Adam is Christ resurrected, the lifegiving Spirit, Christ *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγλωσύνης* Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* lives and acts in the world of the first Adam, in the likeness of sinful flesh, subject to death. But in that state he was sent by God for the purpose¹⁰⁵ of condemning sin in the flesh. The thought is at once typological in a way not far removed from that which we discovered for Adam himself.¹⁰⁶ The pattern of reversal is

¹⁰³That is, he interprets backwards; John Knox, Chapters, pp. 128ff; Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 442-447.

¹⁰⁴Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 199, 200, 208, 214.

¹⁰⁵Schweizer, "υἱός," TDNT, Vol. 8, p. 374: "The saving mission of the Son is always expressed in a ὅτι clause."

¹⁰⁶Dunn's book on Christology in the Making has caught a very significant element of Paul's Christian thinking by pin-pointing Adam as "a key figure in Paul's attempt to express his understanding both of Christ and man" (p. 101). Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p. 178 contrasts Christ and Adam too categorically: "Any idea of intending to express...any actual community of nature between Adam and Christ is utterly alien to the apostle."

present, of movement out of one state into the other, out of the old creation into the new.

We shall have reason to return to this discussion at the end of the chapter. What we have learned so far is that Paul construed the two-line Christological formulation of Romans 1:3f in terms of a typological relation between Christ of history and Christ the Lord of the church. In light of other texts in the same vein it became evident that Paul saw the connection between the two stages controlled by the active will of God. Furthermore, Paul thought of his life in the Spirit as part of the eschatological newness which began with the resurrection of Christ. For Paul to think in these terms tends to place the earlier pre-resurrection stage in the shadow of the greater light of the resurrected Lord. This thought comes through in Paul's much-debated statement on Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* in II Corinthians 5:16f to which we must turn.

3. Knowing Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*/*κατὰ πνεῦμα* (II Cor. 5:16)

II Corinthians 5:16 has been used repeatedly to prove, one way or another, Paul's relation to the historical Jesus.¹⁰⁷ The subject of the text, rather, seems to centre in a way of knowing—a way of knowing men generally and a way of knowing Christ.¹⁰⁸

From now on, therefore, we know no one according to the

¹⁰⁷ E.g. J. Weiss, Paul and Jesus, pp. 50ff; Schoeps, Paul, p. 108; Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 239; Fraser, "Paul's Knowledge of Jesus," pp. 301-313.

¹⁰⁸ Hence Martyn's emphasis on "Epistemology" at the juncture of the ages. (See especially pp. 279-84.)

flesh; even though we have known Christ according to the flesh we now know him no longer in this way.¹⁰⁹

Johannes Weiss took this text to indicate that Paul knew the historical Jesus, in the ordinary sense, that Jesus' personality impressed itself upon him, and that at his conversion Paul's eschatological horizon widened and his previous knowledge of Jesus at that point had been surpassed. Weiss argued that Paul's conversion and subsequent Christian activity cannot be understood apart from Paul's personal encounter with Jesus.¹¹⁰ Weiss, by implication therefore, takes κατὰ σάρκα both adverbially and adjectively. That is, the phrase qualifies both γινώσκω and Χριστός. Paul is describing not merely *the way* in which he once knew Christ, but also the physical existence of Christ. The conclusion for Weiss is that Paul affirms the historical Jesus, but goes beyond that affirmation to the new one which grew from his conversion and his enlarged vision of the eschatological Christ.

Some of these points may be granted, but the main point may not: that from this text we can conclude that Paul knew the historical Jesus.

Rudolf Bultmann likewise adopted the adverbial and adjectival meaning of κατὰ σάρκα—leaning more towards adjectival—in an article written in 1929.

*Any 'evaluation' of the 'personality' of Jesus is wrong and must be wrong, for it would be only a 'knowing after the flesh' in the double sense: (1) that such 'knowing' would see the Christ only as a Christ 'after the flesh', that is, as a world phenomenon; and (2) that it would be a 'knowing after the flesh', a fleshly understanding, a mere reckoning with the objects of the world.*¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹This rather literal translation is an attempt to free the text as much as possible from interpretive bias. The RSV renders γινώσκω "regard", and κατὰ σάρκα, "from a human point of view."

¹¹⁰Weiss, Paul and Jesus, pp. 14, 16-17, 40, 55, 130; idem., Earliest Christianity, Vol. 2, pp. 433ff.

¹¹¹Bultmann, "Significance," p. 239, idem., "Church and Teaching in

His understanding of Paul in this text is that κατὰ σάρκα is negatively charged. Paul's conception of a Messiah κατὰ σάρκα, a Jewish Messiah (cf. Rom. 9:5) was transformed by his new self-understanding. To know Christ κατὰ σάρκα would deny the knowledge of Christ "according to the Spirit".¹¹² This latter 'knowing' is all-important for Paul. In 1948, in his Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Bultmann admitted that κατὰ σάρκα in II Corinthians 5:16 should be interpreted adverbially, as modifying γίνωσκουσιν. "But this decision means nothing for the sense of the total context, for a 'Christ regarded in the manner of the flesh' is just what a 'Christ after the flesh' is."¹¹³ The negative disposition remains. Certainly the text contains an element of negation, but it is doubtful whether it should be understood in such sharp antagonistic categories. Jean Héring¹¹⁴ and Alfred Plummer¹¹⁵ have suggested that Paul here is alluding to a charge against his apostleship, similar to that of Galatians 1 and 2. That a form of this opposition reached Corinth is clear from II Corinthians 11.¹¹⁶ The "super-apostles" doubtless laid

the New Testament," in Faith and Understanding, p. 217; here Bultmann picks up the negative tenor of II Cor. 5:16 and connects it to Rom. 9:5 and Rom. 4:1 to suggest that "the two meanings (adverbial/adjectival) are certainly inter-related, since to perceive something in its character as flesh is itself a 'fleshly' procedure."

¹¹²Bultmann, "Significance," p. 243.

¹¹³Idem., Theology, I, p. 239.

¹¹⁴Héring, II Corinthians, pp. 42f.

¹¹⁵Plummer, II Corinthians, pp. 178f.

¹¹⁶The form of the opposition is treated well by C.K. Barrett in "Paul's Opponents in II Corinthians," pp. 61-82. See also the discussion in Chapter 5 above, "Motivation Behind the Midrash." J.L. Martyn takes the super-apostles of II Cor. 11 very much into account in his argument for Paul's Christian "Epistemology" (pp. 279-284).

claim to a superior knowledge of God through Christ, and simultaneously charged Paul's knowledge to be defective in some way. However, we should exercise caution in attributing the highly polemical context of II Corinthians 10-13 to this statement in 5:16.¹¹⁷ A more assured footing is to be found in the fact that the Corinthians stressed knowledge (γνώσις) of the divine mind,¹¹⁸ and some of them may have professed to having a superior knowledge of God. If this be granted, then Paul's statement about knowing Christ, no longer κατὰ σάρκα, may be read as a counter-balance to the Corinthians' enthusiasm. The accent in Paul's statement falls on new creation (5:17); his way of knowing Christ now, corresponds to the dawn of the new aeon, while the old passes away.

C.K. Barrett¹¹⁹ seems to represent the majority opinion which interprets κατὰ σάρκα adverbially. In this way, Paul is referring to his conversion at which point his way of regarding the Christ changed. He regards him in that manner no longer. To regard Christ thus is to "know" on a human level merely. The reference could be to a Jewish Messiah conceived in human terms merely, in terms of "man's habit of making a Messiah in his own image."¹²⁰ The reve-

¹¹⁷The problem of the integrity of II Corinthians was discussed in Chapter 5 above and need not detain us here. The second part of the letter could have been occasioned by a much more volatile situation than that which occasioned 5:16.

¹¹⁸Cf. I Cor. 8:1-2; Paul, here, could be alluding to a statement made by the Corinthians. See J. Jeremias, Abba (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966), pp. 273f. Schmithals goes too far in saying that γνώσις is "the essence of the Corinthian proclamation" (Gnosticism in Corinth, pp. 143f).

¹¹⁹Barrett, II Corinthians, pp. 171f.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 171.

lation of the Son cancels the old, ordinary manner of knowing Christ; that way of knowing Christ belongs to the old age which is "now" in the throes of being superseded by the new age.

Moreover, Paul may not have his conversion primarily in focus here at all, if for no other reason than the fact that the plural subject of γινώσκειν is broader than the personal experience of Paul himself.

Of the many other opinions,¹²¹ most of them very similar to one or the other of those given above, one more calls for comment. J.L. Martyn¹²² identified the change in the way of knowing in this text, not so much in Paul's conversion, as in his thought on the change of aeons. The title of his article pin-points his thesis well: "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages." He argues convincingly that the context of the text in II Corinthians indicates that κατὰ σάρκα here has another member, of a two-member balance, understood. The second member, according to Martyn, is not κατὰ πνεῦμα¹²³ as one would expect, but κατὰ σταυρόν. Further, this way of knowing is characteristic of the turn of the ages; the crucifixion transformed the state of affairs for mankind and resulted in the resurrection of Christ. Paul lives and knows at "the juncture of the ages"¹²⁴ brought about by the

¹²¹For example, J.W. Fraser holds that Paul must have had the historical Jesus in mind when he wrote the verse. And Fraser insists that we have here Paul's acknowledgement of the "whole Christ". He writes: "We must insist on the whole Christ, the Jesus Christ, who taught, healed, and gave himself, who died and was raised, who reigns and will judge. The links between 'then' and 'now' are the glorified humanity of Jesus and the Spirit given by Him" ("Paul's Knowledge of Jesus," p. 312).

¹²²J. Louis Martyn, "Epistemology," pp. 269-287.

¹²³Martyn admits the implied κατὰ πνεῦμα (p. 284) but aims at proving an implied κατὰ σταυρόν which is characteristic of "the juncture" of the ages (p. 285).

¹²⁴Ibid., pp. 124f.

death on the cross. Moreover, while Martyn acknowledges the *κατὰ πνεῦμα* way of knowing, he advances the idea that Paul probably has in mind in the text of II Corinthians 5:16 a "*κατὰ σταυρόν*" way of knowing. This way of knowing is characteristic of the juncture between the old and the new age. I think Martyn's arguments may be accepted without much question, although the point on knowing *κατὰ σταυρόν* would have little support were it not for the references to the cross in I Corinthians (as compared to II Corinthians).¹²⁵ Be that as it may, the general thrust of Martyn's interpretation is, I believe, correct. Paul "does not intend the term *σάρξ* to refer *exclusively* to the flesh of the knower. He intends it to point also to the realm of the old age."¹²⁶ If this is, in fact, Paul's intention in his use of *κατὰ σάρκα*, it raises the question of the place of Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* in Paul's two-aeon thought, not only in this text but also in others such as Romans 1:3 and 9:5. It seems quite certain that when Paul refers to the pre-resurrection Christ as Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* he pictures him as a type-figure in anticipation of the resurrected Christ, Christ *κατὰ πνεῦμα*. In any case, the focus of II Corinthians 5:16 is on how Christians know people generally and Christ particularly.

If we grant that Paul interprets (or knows) from the perspective of the dawn of the new creation, the statement of II Corinthians 5:16 may be understood, not merely as a reference to conversion or to a charge against him,

¹²⁵Martyn argues (in a footnote) that *σταυρός* "so important in I Corinthians, is absent from II Corinthians, but it is certainly absent only in a literal sense" ("Epistemology," p. 285, note 1).

¹²⁶Ibid.

but also in the broader sense indicated by the plural οὐδαμὲν and γινώσκωμεν. The points of reference which control the statement of 5:16 (sometimes called a parenthesis¹²⁷) come before and after the verse. The act of death and resurrection (v. 15) leads into the thought of verse 16 and the fact of new creation (v. 17) leads out of it. A form of typological thinking appears to be operative in this text as well. As indicated repeatedly, Paul's typological thinking is determined largely by his living at the change of aeons. The first taste of the new age of resurrection life is already on his lips and in his heart. He views the past from the experience of the present experience of Christ the Lord, and interprets backward. We may recall again the insight of John Knox to this effect:

Paul's thought about Christ the person moves from the "Christ who lives" to the "Jesus who died," always from the one known to one remembered....When Paul wrote the phrase "Christ and him crucified", he was thinking first of all of the risen exalted Christ, and his thought moved backward to the cross.¹²⁸

Paul's view of the acts of God in history past is conditioned κατὰ πνεῦμα. This is not the same as saying that the idea contained in κατὰ σάρκα is invariably defective, inferior or negative.¹²⁹ In certain contexts, as indicated already,¹³⁰ the phrase can indicate a sphere of human experience which is other

¹²⁷ Barrett, II Corinthians, p. 171; Plummer, II Corinthians, p. 175; Strachen, II Corinthians, p. 110. Floyd Filson takes the ὡστε quite literally, to introduce "a statement that gives the result of what has just been said," "II Corinthians," p. 336.

¹²⁸ Knox, Chapters, pp. 130f.

¹²⁹ Against Dunn, "Flesh and Spirit," pp. 46ff.

¹³⁰ The example of I Cor. 10:18 was cited earlier in this chapter to this effect, that κατὰ σάρκα is merely a designation of natural (or perhaps national) Israel. On second thought, though, even here the phrase could signal dispensation. κατὰ σάρκα, in this case, as in Rom. 4:1; 9:3, 5, could be understood in the typological sense, not simply as "neutral" (Davies, "Flesh and Spirit," pp. 162f; Robinson, Body, p. 25) or "negative" (Dunn, "Flesh and Spirit," pp. 46f). See discussion of I Cor. 10 in Chapter V above, "The Sacraments and the Community."

than end-time salvation, resurrection, lordship of Christ, Spirit, etc. Christ's existence κατὰ σάρκα of itself is not salvific in the eschatological sense, except as determined by God for the purpose of¹³¹ bringing in the salvation of the end-time. To "know" according to the flesh is likewise non-salvific in itself. Salvation in Paul's eschatological horizon begins at the resurrection, and to "know" Christ eschatologically is to know κατὰ πνεῦμα, not κατὰ σάρκα merely. We could add with reasonable certainty, that to be content with knowing Christ in his human existence only would lead to a truncated view of the plan of God in Paul's estimation. Christ was born, lived and died, but these in themselves leave the human situation virtually unchanged. The malaise of the plight would persist unchecked. But for Paul to understand the historical figure of Christ as having significance only in relation to resurrection and new creation is to think typologically. Paul's typological thought conceives of past episodes of salvation-history as proleptically oriented toward fulfillment in the new aeon of which the resurrection of Christ is the first installment. And this way of thinking is somewhat cryptically couched in Paul's statement about knowing Christ no longer κατὰ σάρκα.¹³²

¹³¹In the two explicit references to God's sending his Son in human form (Gal. 4:4; Rom. 8:3f), Paul follows up the statement with a ὅτι clause, to indicate, no doubt, God's eschatological plan of salvation. Of these two statements in Paul, Eduard Schweizer states that "Paul adopts a traditional thought pattern, but completely reconstructs it. When timelessly valid wisdom statements...were applied to Jesus, they were made into statements about a unique and definitive act," TDNT, Vol. 8, p. 383.

¹³²The eschatological part of this view of Paul's meaning in II Cor. 5:16 is held by J.L. Martyn. He stresses the epistemology which characterizes Paul's eschatological thinking ("Epistemology," pp. 278f, 284f). Other scholars likewise find the eschatological aspect determinative for understanding the text (e.g. Barrett, II Corinthians, p. 173; Fraser, "Paul's Knowledge," pp. 308ff; Bultmann, "Significance," p. 243f).

A question still remains concerning the identity of Χριστός in II Corinthians 5:16. Does Paul have in mind "Messiah"? I believe that when Paul uses the title Χριστός usually he does not take it to mean Messiah in Jewish categories.¹³³ But in this text there could be an oblique reference to a way of understanding Messiah which, in itself, is incomplete.¹³⁴ We have found already that Paul does acknowledge the divine purpose in Messiah (Rom. 9:5; cf. 1:3), but the Messiah (Χριστός) has become, for Paul, not merely one who lives and dies, but one whose human form involves a radical encounter with sin and death (cf. Rom. 8:3f), which, in turn, leads to a new creation in Christ resurrected. It is this second state of Christ arising out of the first which Paul has come to know, and that in a new way, κατὰ πνεῦμα.

A final point from II Corinthians 5:16 concerns the surpassing character of the new way of knowing Christ. A similar thought appeared in the earlier discussion of II Corinthians 3. There the glory reflected in Christians surpassed the glory on Moses' face to the extent that the former glory of Moses was rendered inoperative by the coming of the latter. Here in II Corinthians 5:16 a new way of knowing Christ has surpassed the old κατὰ σάρκα way of knowing, and the effect again is to render the κατὰ σάρκα way of knowing inoperative: ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκομεν. Paul's Christian

¹³³ Even W.D. Davies, who affirms that "the messiahship of Jesus was crucial for Paul," agrees that Paul "usually used the term 'Christ'...in a personal and not in a titular sense" ("Paul and the Law," p. 100).

¹³⁴ Essentially this is Bultmann's understanding: Paul "developed the Jewish concept of the Messiah and transformed it....It could be said rather that he has simply taken the Jewish concept of Messiah radically....This means that he submitted himself to the judgement of the cross and so learned to understand himself as a 'new creation'" ("Significance," pp. 242f).

epistemology, it seems, reflects an aspect of realized eschatology. Eschatology for Paul is only partly realized, the consummation of the plan to be accomplished in the future. The realized part probably leads him to the opinion that his Christian way of knowing Christ has surpassed the κατὰ σάρκα way. This way of understanding II Corinthians 5:16 is confirmed by another statement about knowing Christ in Philippians 3:8ff: "I count everything as loss because of the surpassing worth of knowing (τῆς γνώσεως) Christ Jesus my Lord." There can hardly be any doubt that Paul means a kind of spiritual, relational knowledge of Christ here.¹³⁵ And this way of knowing Christ has *surpassed* every other way of knowing. But this "knowing" of Christ is qualified further in 3:10: "That I might know him and the power of his resurrection, and may share his suffering, becoming like him in his death, that if possible I might attain the resurrection from the dead." What is noteworthy here is 1) the inherent connection between Christ resurrected in power, and Christ suffering in death; 2) Paul's desire to know Christ in both aspects, and 3) the "backward" direction of his thought from Christ in resurrection-power to Christ suffering unto death. Paul sees himself standing at a new frontier of knowledge in the light of the resurrected Christ. His aspiration to know Christ in this relational manner is indicative of his hope of attaining final resurrection. Meanwhile, he thinks and

¹³⁵ Relational "knowing" is most probable where an instance of the ἐν Χριστῷ formula occurs in the same context, as here in Phil. 3:9ff. Albert Schweitzer supplies the variety of meaning associated with the formula in Paul, Mysticism, pp. 122-4. See also J.A. Allen, "The 'in Christ' Formula in Ephesians," New Testament Studies, 5 (1958-9), pp. 54-62; and Bultmann, "Paul," Existence and Faith, p. 142: "Being 'in Christ' is in principle not mysticism, but rather precisely life in the new historical possibility that is determined by Christ." Cf. F.W. Beare, Philippians, p. 122.

"knows" in the Spirit of the One already resurrected. What has been realized surpasses all previous understanding of Christ. But in this text Paul also acknowledges that he is not complete yet; he has not attained his own resurrection (3:12). A question arises immediately: Does Paul consider his present relation to Christ a "type" of the future and final resurrection?¹³⁶ To begin to answer this question now would lead us too far afield. It must wait until the next chapter. What is required to say now is that although Paul anticipates a greater experience of Christ in the future, he does not discount or call defective the present phase of newness of life (cf. Rom. 6:4; II Cor. 1:22; Rom. 8:23); it is a necessary precursor to his final state of resurrection power with Christ. Since it is clear that Paul conceives of his own pre-resurrection stage of Christian life in the Spirit in a positive way, there is no substantial reason for assuming that he would think of the pre-resurrection life of Christ in other than a positive way, even though that phase of the plan of God has been surpassed by the resurrection. Paul sees himself in relation to the resurrected Christ, once crucified. As we saw earlier, Paul can say, on the one hand, that God sent his Son, and on the other, that God sent the Spirit of his Son into the hearts of Christians (Gal. 4:4-6). How Paul conceives of himself "in Christ" is similar in kind (not in degree) to the manner in which he thinks of the figure of Christ. That is, the Christ whom God sent,

¹³⁶ To these verses in Phil. 3 has been assigned the "already-not yet" tension in Paul's thought. Beker speaks of the dialectic operating "within the sphere of the apocalyptic hope in the coming glory of God" (Paul, the Apostle, p. 232); Beare perceives "the strongly eschatological orientation of the Apostle's thought" (Philippians, p. 123).

who was descended from David *κατὰ σάρκα*, had not yet in that stage attained the power of the resurrection. Resurrection-power was inherent in the life of Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*, but only as "type" in history to be fully realized in the resurrected Lord who transcends history, the flesh, etc. He was Son of God sent forth, but not designated Son of God *in power* until the resurrection (Rom. 1:3f).

The objective throughout the discussion of Paul's statements concerning Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* and Christ *κατὰ πνεῦμα* has been to point up the high probability that Paul's thought runs along typological lines. In some contexts, given the nature of the subject, one aspect of typology will be accented over the others. And this seems to be so in Paul's thought on the two phases of Christ's existence: the accent falls on the surpassing character of Christ *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, or Christ resurrected. The effect of this emphasis casts the *κατὰ σάρκα* phase in a negative light, but only in so far as that stage has given way to the higher one. This kind of typological thinking tends to set the past redemptive episodes in a lesser light, but the light itself is the same in kind. And this appears to be so with Christ. Christ of the past does not stand in the same degree of brilliant illumination as Christ resurrected of Paul's present Christian experience.

With reference to the broader scope of typology in Paul we need to ask concerning the common ground between this thinking of Paul on Christ and that which we discussed earlier on Adam, Abraham and Moses.

4. Typological Elements in Common

Texts pertaining to Adam, Abraham and Moses were examined in an attempt

to discover an interpretive scheme¹³⁷ which could also point to Paul's way of understanding Christ. A pattern of interpretive thought appeared to operate for all three figures from Scripture, and we called the pattern typological. What remains for the present discussion is to determine the extent to which typological constituents are common to all *four* figures, Adam, Abraham, Moses and Christ.

Plan of God. The plan of God¹³⁸ is singular; its goal is resurrection-life in a new age, and the agent throughout is Christ. This divine intention spans the ages and manifests itself from time to time until the eschatological goal is reached. This element is particularly noticable where Paul speaks of the purposeful recording¹³⁹ of events, persons, statements, etc. for the community of the end-time. The judgements which came upon the community of Moses "were written down for our instruction upon whom the end of the ages has come" (I Cor. 10:11); "the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the Gospel beforehand to Abraham" (Gal. 3:8); the text which speaks of the reckoning of righteousness to Abraham was "written,

¹³⁷By seeking an "interpretive scheme" we are going beyond the notion propounded by F.F. Bruce, that "Paul saw more clearly than most into the inwardness of Jesus' teaching," in Paul and Jesus, p. 17.

W.D. Davies thinks that "Paul interweaves words of Jesus almost 'unconsciously,' into his exhortations, which suggests that these words were 'bone of his bone'," Jewish and Pauline Studies, p. 113. We are not concerned at this point with the extent to which Paul interpreted the *teaching* of Jesus, but with the categories of thought which governed his *interpretation of Christ κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα*.

¹³⁸The plan of God involves the eschatological salvation of mankind; it has a "cosmic dimension," as George A. Maloney concludes (although he does so by drawing on Col. and Eph.) in The Cosmic Christ (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1968), pp. 17-43; see also Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, pp. 55-68; 247-281.

¹³⁹We may refer again to Goppelt's discussion of this point, Typos, pp. 127ff.

not for his sake alone, but for ours also" (Rom. 4:23f). Even where this kind of signal of the plan of God is not present, the same thought is present. Complex as the Adam-theology is, the plan and purpose of God is strongly implied. Second Adam is possible only after the first. "The first man Adam became a living being: the last Adam became a life-giving Spirit. But it is not the spiritual which is first but the physical and then the spiritual" (I Cor. 15:45f).¹⁴⁰ Likewise in the case of Abraham, he is first "our forefather according to the flesh," then "the father of us all" (Rom. 4:1, 16).

This element, which we are calling "the plan of God," is basic to Paul's typological way of thinking. And the same elements persist in his thinking on Christ *κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα*. The formula of Romans 1:3f, in which the two phrases are juxtaposed, is introduced by the same kind of statement of divine intention: "the Gospel of God which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the Holy Scriptures."¹⁴¹ But apart from the intentional recording in Scripture, the purpose of God is clearly indicated in the "sending" statements. God sent his Son; God sent the Spirit of his Son... (Gal. 4:4f). And that *both* Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* and Christ *κατὰ πνεῦμα* are by God's design is unmistakable in Romans 8:3.¹⁴² "God has done what the law...could not do: sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh

¹⁴⁰ See Robinson, The Body, pp. 49-83; Dunn, Christology in the Making, pp. 98-128; Fuller, Foundations, pp. 142ff; Horsley, "Spiritual Elitism," pp. 216ff.

¹⁴¹ To put it in the words of Sanday and Headlam, the gospel of the new age is "indissolubly linked to the older dispensation which it fulfils and supersedes," Romans, p. 2.

¹⁴² We have indicated already, but it bears repeating here, that the "sending" of the Son is always followed by a purpose (*ὅνα*) clause, and the purpose is redemptive.

and for sin...."

Old to New Aeon. God's purpose, according to Paul, is to bring about a new creation at the end-time, and that, out of the old.¹⁴³ Variations of this concept were identified for all three figures of Scripture. Moses' glory belonged to the old dispensation of condemnation and death, whereas the glory of the apostles of Christ, the Lord, who is the Spirit, belongs to the new (II Cor. 3).¹⁴⁴ Abraham, paradigmatic type¹⁴⁵ that he is in Paul, still takes his place in the old creation; his experience of life from the dead was only a token¹⁴⁶ of the resurrection-life of Christ at the dawn of the new age. Of the three figures only Adam is stated explicitly to be the type of Christ (Rom. 5:14). Adam represents the old creation in need of renewal; Christ, the last Adam, represents the renewed creation.¹⁴⁷ Both figures head up the two orders but even in the Adam-Christ typology the two

¹⁴³On numerous occasions we found evidence to the effect that Paul is very conscious of the change from old to new aeon, and that his interpretive thought is guided very much by this consciousness. Hickling's article was particularly instructive on this point, "Centre and Periphery in the Thought of Paul," pp. 199-214.

¹⁴⁴Whether the subject is "glory" as in II Cor. 3 or "judgement" as in I Cor. 10, the schema is consistent: the new is linked to the old in God's intention. See Hooker, "Beyond the Things that are Written?" pp. 294-309; van Unnik, "With Unveiled Face," pp. 153ff; Barrett, From First Adam to Last, pp. 48ff.

¹⁴⁵Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 33, 41, 60, 149.

¹⁴⁶As we indicated in the discussion of Abraham, he was "about a hundred years old" and "as good as dead," but not crucified, dead and buried (cf. I Cor. 15:3f; Rom. 4:24f). Moreover, "token" is one terminological way of referring to Paul's deliberate restraint in putting too much eschatological reality back to the old dispensation.

¹⁴⁷James Dunn's assessment of Adam Christology for Paul, is, I believe, correct. "Adam plays a larger role in Paul's theology than is usually realized... Adam is a key figure in Paul's attempt to express his understanding both of Christ and of man," Christology in the Making, p. 101.

creations are not diametrically opposed, even though Paul's emphasis on the new makes it appear that way. The new creation emerges out of the old by God's act of resurrecting the man, Christ Jesus, last Adam, to lordship in the universe. The Adam-theology doubtless permeates Paul's thought more extensively than our earlier discussion indicated. There is good reason to believe that it informs the Christological hymn of Philippians 2:6-11.¹⁴⁸ The hymn can be interpreted as a contrast to the Adam of Genesis 1-3. Be that as it may, Adam-theology is pertinent for Paul in that it speaks to his thought on the relation of the new creation to the old creation. And what we wish to point out in this connection is that Christ *κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα* falls squarely within this typological scheme. We saw that the Davidic messiahship of Romans 1:3 came to be understood by Paul in Romans 8:3 (and indeed in 5:12-21) in terms of Adam. That is, God sent his Son in the form of man (Adam) in the likeness of sinful flesh, so as to reverse the state of mankind and inaugurate a new creation. The new and the old are related to each other; the old contains a type of the new. The relation between the old and the new lies at the heart of the gospel: Christ took his place in the old creation of Adam so as to reverse the state of sin and death by dying himself.

Herein lies the complexity of the Adam-Christ typology in Paul. Is Adam a type of Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*? This would mean that Paul has a parallel typology in mind. Both figures stand in the same sphere of sin and death, except that Christ accomplishes God's purpose whereas Adam does not. Or is Adam a type of Christ *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, the life giving Spirit of I Corinthians 15:45?

¹⁴⁸ See e.g. W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 41ff; 274f. Cf. L.W. Hurtado, "Jesus as Lordly Example in Phil. 2:5-11," From Jesus to Paul, pp. 116-119.

Certainly the text of I Corinthians 15 seems to confirm this view.¹⁴⁹ If Paul has the new, resurrected Man in mind as the antitype of the first Adam, Christ κατὰ σάρκα is unaccounted for! Or does Paul have a three-stage typology in view throughout, even though it comes through as two-stage in each context? This is certainly a possibility, one which will be explored further in the next chapter. I think Paul construes Adam-Christ in a two-stage way with the emphasis on the newness of the last Adam as life-giving Spirit in whom Christians find life. The second Adam in I Corinthians 15 is also called the Man from heaven. Moreover, Paul has an antitype of Adam in mind which far exceeds Christ according to the flesh. But the question is, Does this Adam-Christ scheme exclude Christ κατὰ σάρκα? I believe the answer is no. Christ in the flesh is also a necessary part of the plan of God in bringing about the new creation, but in that stage Christ is not yet the new creation. What actually happens, I contend, is that within the larger Adam-Christ typology is a more specific Christ κατὰ σάρκα/Christ κατὰ πνεῦμα typology. Both kinds of typological statement involve the same kind of radical reversal from flesh to Spirit, and both involve change from old creation to new creation.

Turn of the Ages. The sharpness of this conceptuality in Paul can be accounted for largely by the fact that he conceives of himself as living at the turn of the ages.¹⁵⁰ There is a kind of overlap which results in a tension

¹⁴⁹ And here we concur wholeheartedly with James Dunn, Christology in the Making, p. 107: "When Paul uses Adam language explicitly of Christ he is referring primarily to Christ risen and exalted."

¹⁵⁰ Martyn, "Epistemology," pp. 279ff; Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 200ff; Nygren, Romans, p. 316.

between what has already occurred in Christ and what is imminent for the church and the world. We saw signs of this new frontier of understanding in the Spirit in the discussion on Moses (II Cor. 3). Paul had to deal with the problem of the Jewish community still existing apart from the church (cf. Rom. 9-11). He was involved in the eschatological ingathering of the Gentiles (cf. Rom. 15:16),¹⁵¹ which placed a burden upon him to answer questions concerning the law. Especially pressing was the matter of incorporating Gentiles into the people of God without being circumcised.¹⁵² Paul, we discovered, found in the Jewish forefather, Abraham, a soteriological figure to speak to the issue of righteousness by faith *apart from the works of the law*. But Paul used Adam of Genesis 1-3 most prominently to establish the universality of the plight of all men, both Jews and Gentiles.¹⁵³ In every instance, we were able to speak of Paul's interpretation of the past saving events as typological,¹⁵⁴ as one living in the initial stage of fulfilment. The human

¹⁵¹ Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 171ff.

¹⁵² Although circumcision was almost certainly the crucial issue, Paul appears to have ruled that dietary laws and laws concerning special days or seasons were not required of Gentiles (Gal. 2:11-14; 4:10; 6:15). See discussion in Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 100ff.

¹⁵³ "In Rom. 4 and 5:12-21 Paul demonstrates the continuity and the discontinuity with the old age. God confirms Abraham's faith as the prototype of our faith in Christ (Rom. 4), but the possibility of such a faith is ultimately dependent on the ontological renewal of our being in Christ, who abolishes our old being in Adam (Rom. 5:12-21);" Beker, Paul the Apostle, p. 102.

¹⁵⁴ Beker's point is pertinent, that the history of Israel is not simply the old age of darkness; the old/new contrast could be misunderstood as wrong/right, evil/good, etc. In Beker's words, Paul "softens the dualism between the ages by interpreting Israel's history in a typological light. Thus, the past is not just the age of sin and death but also the era of God's salvation-historical imprint," Paul the Apostle, p. 150.

predicament was not completely abolished, the Jews were not altogether incorporated into the new community (Rom. 9:2f; 11:25), neither were the Gentiles completely transferred into Christ (Rom. 12:25f). Moreover, the character of Paul's typological thought, as we learned, was very much that of one living at the critical intersection of the two ages where elements of the old overlap with the new.¹⁵⁵

We saw the same modality in Paul's statements about knowing Christ κατὰ σάρκα no longer. Paul will not speak in the indicative of Christian existence as a κατὰ σάρκα existence. On the contrary, he prefers to say of Christians that they are "not in the flesh" but "are in the Spirit" (Rom. 8:9). Yet in more parenetic assertions he will counsel Christians not to gratify the desires of the flesh (Gal. 5:16). One of his criticisms of the Corinthians is that they cannot hear his instructions because they are still in the flesh (I Cor. 3:3). Moreover, even though Paul thinks of present Christian experience as life in the Spirit, not in the flesh, he is obliged to acknowledge the reality of the present fleshly existence of Christians in the world. Even in Paul's more personal statement in Philippians 3 we found him thinking in terms of a tension between his present Christian state of knowing Christ and the future resurrected state. We may surmise strongly that the so-called tension cited here is consonant with Paul's consciousness of the change of aeons in which he is himself involved. Paul's typology should be perceived in this light as well.

Surpassing Worth of the New. But Paul has already tasted the new in

¹⁵⁵ Martyn, "Epistemology," pp. 284ff. Ridderbos, Paul, pp. 44ff; 57.

some measure. He has the Spirit as down payment (ἀρραβῶν, II Cor. 1:22) and first fruits (ἀπαρχή, Rom. 8:23) already, and has concluded from this foretaste that the new age has already surpassed the old. It is this "surpassing" worth of the new age that is so characteristic of Paul's typological thinking. We found it clearly evident in II Corinthians 3 where the glory of Moses' face is surpassed by the glory reflected in the unveiled faces of those who are in Christ.¹⁵⁶ Elsewhere, as well, we found the same pattern, especially in the use of the terms "much more" (πολλῷ μᾶλλον, Rom. 5:15, 17; cf. II Cor. 3:9).

To an appreciable degree the same thought pattern exists in Paul's understanding of Christ κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα. The formula of Romans 1:3f itself bespeaks the surpassing value of Christ "designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead." It is not that Christ κατὰ σάρκα is negated;¹⁵⁷ he has been surpassed. Likewise, when Paul speaks of his desire to know Christ, he means Christ resurrected, and knowledge of this Christ has "surpassing worth" (τὸ ὑπερέχον, Phil. 3:8). This way of thinking is also part of Paul's typological way of thinking.

In short, an attempt has been made in this chapter to account for Paul's thought on Christ according to the flesh and Christ according to the Spirit. He thinks of the two in a kind of relationship in which the second stage

¹⁵⁶Beker, p. 150; Hanson, Christ in the Old Testament, pp. 12ff; Goppelt, Typos, p. 143.

¹⁵⁷Abraham, likewise, was not by any means "negated" in Rom. 4, even though he was introduced as forefather κατὰ σάρκα.

exceeds the first to the effect that the first is rendered inoperative by virtue of the second. We have contended that this way of thinking can rightly be called typological. Figures and events with redemptive significance in the pre-Easter aeon can be types of salvation in the post-Easter experience of the church, but they do not of themselves constitute eschatological salvation. It appears to be this way of thinking which governs Paul's understanding of the two stages of the figure of Christ.

We have yet to consider how Paul conceives of the Christian in relation to Christ. Whether there is another aspect of the typological scheme at work remains to be seen in the upcoming chapter.

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CHAPTER VII

Christian Relationship to Christ

A principal concern in the Jesus-Paul debate has been the extent to which Paul may have been dependent on the tradition of Jesus.¹ And as we have demonstrated in the first chapter of this study, the answers have run the gamut from virtual independence to essential dependence on the tradition of Jesus in the church.²

The diverse opinions on the matter may be accounted for in part by the fact that Paul's references to Jesus of Nazareth in his letters are sparse at best, and elusive at worst.³ Yet whatever variety the results show, one fact remains indisputable: Paul's letters do exhibit a definite acknowledgement of the historical person of Jesus. And we have witnessed already in the last chapter that Paul's acknowledgement of Jesus resides in the context of a dynamic typological structure⁴ of thought which correlates Christ according

¹The issue became a "debate" by the fact that the different results ended up polarizing Jesus and Paul. More recently the either/or stance is yielding to a more sympathetic reading of each. See, for example, D.L. Dungan, The Sayings of Jesus in the Churches of Paul, pp. xvii-xxviii; Günther Bornkamm, Paul, pp. 228-239; Ridderbos, Paul and Jesus, pp. 3-20, and chapter one of this study.

²Two of the most prominent exponents of both sides, it seems are Rudolf Bultmann, Theology I, pp. 188f; idem., "Significance," pp. 220-3, on Paul's virtual independence and W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 136ff, on dependence.

³Even of the crucifixion of Jesus, itself so prominent in the letters, "we know nothing of the events which precipitated it" (Bruce, Paul and Jesus, p. 17).

⁴This "typological structure" has already been examined in part in the last chapter. More needs to be said, and will be in the discussion to

to the flesh with Christ according to the Spirit.

What we discovered in the earlier discussion and what needs to be emphasized again, is that Paul lives and evangelizes under the lordship of Christ resurrected whose exalted rule over the church in the world signifies the end-time. The dynamic relationship between the dual existence of Christ—κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα—is expressed in the same genus of typology which we discovered with reference to Adam, Abraham and Moses.

Typological relationship is not merely illustrative between persons in history; typological thinking requires the two aeons, the old and the new, and relates persons in the two aeons respectively. Since Paul's thinking functions in this bipartite manner, and since his typology functions in this context of thought, he is led to think of Christ in this bipartite, typological way.

We need not repeat at length what was discussed in the last chapter regarding Christ κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα. But we do need to stress that Jesus of Nazareth—or Christ κατὰ σάρκα—is a type of Christ the Lord of the church. Christ the Lord transcends history, the flesh, and type. Type is characteristically historical and earthly, whereas the antitype, or fulfilment of type, need not be, and often is not, earthly or historical. To put it another way, the fulfilment of any type would not be described by

follow. Cf. Dunn, "Jesus—Flesh and Spirit," pp. 40-68; Bultmann, "Significance," pp. 235ff. While much work has been done on Paul's christology, very little, to my knowledge, has been done to name a pattern which Paul might have in mind when he thinks of Jesus as Christ and the Lord of the church and the world as Christ. They are identified in one frame of reference, true, but they are not "identical", as Bultmann would lead us to believe in one place ("Significance," p. 235).

Paul with the term *κατὰ σάρκα*. Yet he does refer to Christ with this very term, and one is given to understand that the Christ of that description has been surpassed by Christ *κατὰ πνεῦμα* of present end-time salvation. And this way of thinking is characteristic of Pauline typology in which types of salvation in the old aeon are superseded by their fulfilment in the new aeon.

And now a further question calls for investigation: What is the Christian's relation to Christ? To ask this question is tantamount to asking: What is Paul's relation to Christ? Or what is the church's relation to Christ? What might be expected is that Jesus of Nazareth, Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*, is a type of the Christian. But we shall discover presently that this is not how Paul understands the situation. If our definition of Paul's typology holds—that the type is proleptic in the old aeon to be superseded by its fulfilment in the new aeon—then by definition Paul does not see a typological relation between Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* and the Christian. The Christian in his non-resurrected state does not *fulfil* the saving action of Christ according to the flesh, but is, rather, dynamically united with Christ *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, and lives in anticipation of his own fulfilment in resurrection life at the parousia. It is in this latter case that Paul's bipartite or bipolar thinking on the old and new aeons creates problems for the interpreter, and no doubt even for Paul himself.

Christian experience of salvation in the present is, on the one hand, fulfilment (e.g. II Cor. 3) and on the other prefigurement of greater fulfilment (e.g. II Cor. 4:7-5:5; I Cor. 15). The interconnection and subtlety of this thinking of Paul will be seen as the ensuing discussion develops. Of all parts of the discussion, the single compass will be that Paul's

thinking on Christian relation to Christ is conceived along typological lines. Within that compass two main points will be made: 1) that the traditional material associated with Jesus of Nazareth has been transposed into the sphere of fulfilment in the exalted Christ who rules the church in its present anticipation of consummation; and 2) that the present Christian relation to the exalted Christ in the sphere of the Spirit prefigures the greater resurrection—life at the consummation, based on the reality of the resurrection of Christ.

1. The Tradition of Jesus in Paul's Thought

The first line of evidence to be examined is that which scholars usually adduce in seeking to determine what J.W. Fraser calls "a horizontal line"⁵ running from Jesus to Paul. The present aim, it should be stressed, is focused on *how Paul thought of himself and the church in relation to Jesus*,⁶ rather than on establishing an historical link between Jesus and Paul. The kinds of questions which underlie the discussion of the tradition about Jesus in Paul's letters are these: Do Christians regulate their lives by knowing and obeying the words of Jesus of Nazareth? Are Christians to follow the example of Jesus' earthly life, including his suffering and death? If a Christian is "in Christ", how does this experience correlate with doing

⁵Fraser, Jesus and Paul, p. 206. This "line" ran through the primitive community, both in Jerusalem and Antioch, Fraser affirms. The interest in this historical connection is usually to discover how much Paul and his preaching were influenced by Jesus and his preaching. This enterprise is not the main focus of the present study, except by possible implication which may or may not be noted along the way.

⁶The need for this kind of investigation is overdue, as D.L. Dungan indicated: "What is required is a new way to investigate how Paul uses this

what Jesus said, and living as he used to live? By answering these questions from the perspective of Paul's typological, Christian thinking at the turn of the ages,⁷ further light is shed on the rather bewildering problem of the paucity and peculiarity of reference to Jesus of Nazareth in Paul's correspondence with his churches.

a) Scripture and Tradition

That Paul adopted the tradition of Jesus for use in his churches has been well established.⁸ What is required here is a further determination of the extent to which Paul adapted the tradition to fit the context of fulfilment in the resurrected Lord of the new aeon. Should this condition exist in the letters then we are in a position to say that for Paul the

type of tradition." Sayings, p. xxx; cf. Beker, "Contingency and Coherence in the Letters of Paul," p. 148.

It should be understood that I do not intend to construct a bridge of continuity between Jesus and Paul in terms of critical history, admirable as this endeavour would be. (See the excellent study by Martin Hengel, Between Jesus and Paul, pp. 65-77; and for a more general study of the period, Gregory Dix, Jew and Greek: A Study in the Primitive Church (New York: Harper and Brothers, n.d.), pp. 19-74.)

⁷We have referred extensively to Hickling's, "Centre and Periphery in the Thought of Paul," pp. 199-214, and affirmatively also to Martyn's "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages," pp. 269-287, both of which articles emphasize the importance of the change of aeons to Paul's thought and preaching. Herman Ridderbos needs to be added to these names in that he likewise sees the importance of the "time-change" and its effect on Paul's thinking about Jesus of Nazareth, Paul and Jesus, ET D.H. Freeman (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1958), pp. 64ff; idem, Paul, pp. 44-49. In this latter volume Ridderbos discusses the concept of the change of aeons, old creation—new creation under the heading "Fundamental Structures".

⁸Wide agreement also exists that Paul exhibits an uneasy silence in the letter in making an overt connection between his preaching and that of Jesus. Bultmann, "Significance," pp. 220ff; Ridderbos, Paul and Jesus, pp. 41ff, 46ff; Bruce, Paul and Jesus, pp. 16ff; Kummel, Theology, p. 245; Dungan, Sayings, pp. xxix; Weiss, Early Christianity, II, pp. 554.

tradition of Jesus does not belong with the type-figure of Christ κατὰ σάρκα but with the fulfilment figure of Christ κατὰ πνεῦμα.

As a preliminary step in dealing with Paul's use of the tradition of Jesus in relation to the exalted Christ it will accommodate our purpose to accent once more the way in which Paul interprets Scripture in relation to Christ, and to set that alongside his use of the tradition of Jesus.

The Scriptures constituted a formidable source of authority for Paul's preaching of Christ. Paul quite consciously related his revelation of Christ the Lord to the sacred record of the salvation of the people of Israel.

Herman Ridderbos, in his Paul and Jesus, has correctly drawn attention to this fact:

The essential character of Paul's preaching of Christ can be seen clearly from the manner in which he brings the revelation of God in Christ and the Old Testament constantly in relation to each other....On the basis of the unbreakable unity of the divine work, Paul related Christ's coming and work to the great moments in the Old Testament redemptive history (Adam, Abraham, Moses, the Prophets) and sought its meaning against this background.

Ridderbos properly states the case in broad categories—"Christ's coming¹⁰ and work"—for Paul does not relate aspects of the earthly ministry of Jesus to "great moments in Old Testament redemptive history." The Christ who relates to the acts of salvation past is the present Christ, Lord of the church, life-giving Spirit, and inaugurator of the new creation. This

⁹Ridderbos, Paul and Jesus, pp. 59ff.

¹⁰God's "sending" of the Son is actually more to the point for Paul. It is instructive to run down the references to God's action and Christ's, especially in texts where both are brought together, e.g. Rom. 5:8; 8:3; Gal. 4:4-6; I Cor. 1:18-25; 2:7-8; 15:24-28; II Cor. 5:18.

Christ relates to the past salvation occurrences, as he does to the future, because he is God's Son, the operative agent in the divine plan up to and including the ultimate act of God in raising the crucified Jesus. The point need not be laboured here since it was emphasized sufficiently in part II above. What does require notice here is the absence of proof from Scripture in support of the messianic significance of the person and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth.¹¹ Stated otherwise, Jesus of Nazareth prior to the crucifixion-resurrection can not of himself be the universal Christ of the new creation. Neither can the individual deeds and words of Jesus be stressed as, in themselves, salvific. The Christ who removes the veil from the sacred record of salvation past (II Cor. 3:14) is "the Lord who is the Spirit" (II Cor. 3:18).¹² This is not to say that Christ, for Paul, is spiritual or mystical only;¹³ it does say that the scheme of Paul's thought, a prominent part of which is typological, does not permit

¹¹If space and time permitted, the point could be made more cogently by comparing Paul's use of Scripture in relation to Christ with that of Matthew. For Matthew, all of the individual moments of Jesus' life, from conception to death, are fulfilments of one or the other Scripture. (Sometimes it is difficult to trace the "fulfilments" back to the Old Testament antecedent, e.g. 2:23.) For Paul, according to the evidence (or lack of it?) in the letters no such interest exists. The closest, perhaps, would be Gal. 4:4; I Cor. 2:8-9. (Note the work of C.H. Dodd, "Matthew and Paul," New Testament Studies (1953), pp. 53-66.) Where we might expect to find this characteristic discussed clearly it is not; e.g. Goppelt, Typos, pp. 127ff; Ellis, Paul's Use, pp. 127ff; Ridderbos, Paul and Jesus, pp. 59ff.

¹²Bousset (Kyrios Christos) may have over-stated the case that for Paul Christ is Lord, and Lord is Spirit, but an appropriate recognition of the place of this concept in Paul's thinking is needed.

¹³On the view that Paul operates largely with a "Christ-Mysticism", the classic work is still that of Albert Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle. For an evaluation of this view see, Ridderbos, Paul, pp. 29ff; it should be recalled from chapter one that Schweitzer found a unity between Paul and Jesus on the ground of eschatology, and interpreted Paul's "Christ-mysticism" in light of his eschatology (Mysticism, pp. 86-90; 117ff; 225ff).

the stress to fall on Jesus of Nazareth to the point of identifying his biographical/historical figure, prior to Easter, as the fulfilment-figure of the promised salvation, the cosmocrator of the new creation.¹⁴ Jesus' thirty-year, historical existence in Palestine constitutes the last of all salvific type-figures, the one through whom God ordained to bring about his new creation by crucifixion-resurrection (II Cor. 5:17-18; I Cor. 2:7-8).

This way of understanding Paul's thought may appear to be noticeably close to Bultmann's idea of the fact (*dass*) of Jesus, especially his crucifixion in Paul's preaching.¹⁵ And Bultmann's emphasis on the *dass* of Jesus is unquestionably pertinent. At the same time, to say that Paul is interested only in the fact of Jesus tends to minimize the significance of the historical person of Jesus in Paul in terms of two related points: 1) the importance of typological thinking in Paul with respect to Jesus, and consequently, 2) the way in which Paul construed the material associated with Jesus, in relation to the present rule of the exalted Lord. Whereas Bultmann makes the negative point that Paul had no interest in the teaching of the historical Jesus,¹⁶ I am attempting to account for the data—limited as it is—which we do have on Jesus in the letters of Paul.

¹⁴The triumphalist thought of Paul, reaching at times apocalyptic heights (Rom. 8:18-39; I Cor. 15:24-28), has been thoroughly investigated and accentuated by J.C. Beker, Paul the Apostle, e.g. pp. 135-181, 315-367, and the cosmic triumph of God in Christ "is defined by the death and resurrection of Christ and constitutes the basic coherence of the Pauline Gospel in the midst of the contingent particularity of the needs of his churches" (p. 367).

¹⁵Bultmann, "Significance," p. 238.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 223.

Now to return to the point of this section, Paul's reading of the Scriptures is thoroughly conditioned by the revelation of Christ resurrected whom God sent to inaugurate the new creation which has already begun to appear. Tradition of Jesus *per se* is not interpreted as fulfilment of Scripture, but is itself revelation of the Lord, authoritative, and present to Paul and the church. As we shall see presently, the tradition which could very likely be traced back to Jesus is not, however, a *κατὰ σάρκα* entity in the church, but is rather an integral part of the Christian experience of the resurrected Lord.

Stated negatively, we could say that material associated with the historical Jesus is not typological in Paul's letters. At least, it does not bear the marks of that dimension of salvation-history in the old aeon recorded in Scripture. In working with Paul's typological statements related to the old aeon we have used such terms as prefiguration, promise, type, proleptic event; and for aspects of the new aeon, fulfilment, attainment, outcome, etc. The traditional material belongs to the latter; it is from the Lord who is the life-giving Spirit (II Cor. 3:18; I Cor. 15:45), and is for the new community in its present experience of Christ resurrected at the turn of the ages.¹⁷

¹⁷Repeated emphasis on the sphere of fulfilment has been necessary in view of the fact that much of the work on "fulfilment in Christ" for Paul has not made a distinction between Christ as he is presented in the Gospels and Christ of Paul's letters. In my opinion, it is not sufficient to say that Paul believed Christ to have fulfilled the promises and prophecies of the Scripture without making significant mention of the locus of the accent in Paul's writings: it does not fall on Jesus, the man of Galilee, but on Christ, the Son of God, sent to redeem man through dying (by crucifixion) and rising. Cf. Bruce, Paul and Jesus, pp. 11-13; 37-50; Fraser, Jesus

The positive side is that Paul has transposed the tradition from the historical setting of Jesus of Nazareth to the post-Easter Christian life¹⁸ at the dawn of the new aeon. Moreover, the tradition of the earthly Jesus, whether sayings, attitudes, suffering and death, has become a *present reality* for the people of God in Christ,¹⁹ and is therefore understood by Paul to be part of the fulfilment in harmony with the new experience of the resurrected Christ. These aspects of the tradition of Jesus exist in the church as part of the very ingredients of Christian living,²⁰ since they are the word of the Christ in whom the church has its being. And it is this "being in Christ" which overrides the idea of following the example of Jesus,²¹ or of knowing his words and deeds as a code of law to

and Paul, pp. 90-102; 206ff; Birger Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity (Uppsala: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1961), pp. 262-323. James Dunn, "Christ as Wisdom in Paul," Christology in the Making, pp. 176ff; Goppelt, Typos, pp. 129ff. N.A. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," Jesus in the Memory of the Early Church (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1976), pp. 120ff.

¹⁸For a thorough discussion of Christian life in Paul's thought, Lucien Cerfaux, "The Present Status of the Christian," The Christian in the Theology of Paul, ET Lilian Soiron (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1967), pp. 239-468.

¹⁹D.L. Dungan concedes this point, but does not develop the thought and its implications; Sayings, p. 3.

²⁰The Pauline phrase, "the law of Christ" is consciously avoided, because this expression probably is much more involved than the ethical (or otherwise) instructions of Jesus. Indeed Paul may not have Jesus of Nazareth in mind at all when he uses the phrase. But cf. C.H. Dodd, Gospel and Law, pp. 71ff, and Davis, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 141ff, where he says, note 4, "unless we recognize the place that the impact of the teaching of Jesus had on the mind of Paul, his conversion descends to something very much like magic, at least so it seems to us." Or again (p. 143), "the words of Jesus are at the heart of the Gospel, an integral part of it."

²¹Bultmann, "Significance," pp. 239ff; Bousset, Kyrios Christos, pp. 160ff, and to a less extent, Cerfaux, The Christian, pp. 312ff.

be observed.

We have said that in this part of the chapter we are seeking to prove that Paul construed the traditional material of Jesus—sayings, attitudes, example,—as integral to the sphere of fulfilment in the new aeon, coefficient with the revelation of Christ to Paul, and present in the church. Evidence to this effect must now be sought in texts which carry this material. We begin with well-attested sayings of Jesus in Paul's letters, which may also be called explicit citations in so far as Paul indicated that he received the statement from the Lord.

b) Explicit Citations of Sayings of Jesus

Only two sayings (not including the eucharistic words, I Cor. 11:24f) bear the marks of actual citation of tradition from Jesus.²² Both sayings occur in I Cor. (7:10-11; 19:14); both are operative in the regulation of church life and both are characterized as words of the Lord. The work of D.L. Dungan²³ on these two sayings is, to my mind, the most responsible effort in print in handling Paul's use of tradition. Dungan has demonstrated that a sayings-tradition was in circulation in the primitive community and underlies the statements as they occur in I Corinthians and in the Synoptic Gospels, and that the redactional intention of the Evangelists is manifestly similar to that of Paul's use of the sayings

²²Reference to "the Word of the Lord" in I Thess. 4:15 has no parallel in the Gospels (apart from the general apocalyptic of Mk. 13 and Matt. 24), and is even at odds with Matt. 16:27ff. "By the word of the Lord" may be simply an appeal to revelation from the resurrected Lord without any awareness of a tradition behind it. Thus, Bultmann, Theology I, pp. 188f.

²³D.L. Dungan, The Sayings of Jesus in the Churches of Paul, pp. 3-150.

in the regulation of the life of the Corinthian community.²⁴ That Paul was aware of transmitted material about Jesus there can be no doubt, given these two clear examples of sayings of Jesus which Paul cites as a charge from the Lord (I Cor. 7:10) and a command of the Lord (I Cor. 9:14). It must be admitted, though, that he does not use *termini technici* for these statements, as he does for the "receiving" and "delivering" of the eucharistic words in I Corinthians 11:23-25,²⁵ and the kerygmatic statements of I Corinthians 15:3-5. Nevertheless, it is quite evident that Paul is drawing on transmitted material. But here we would do well to refer to a statement of Birger Gerhardsson, whose work on transmission of traditional material in Judaism and early Christianity is well known. Of Paul's understanding of transmitted material he says:

We must see the fact that Paul treats all he says, writes or does for a congregation as a kind of transmission: the passing on of revelation of the message of joy, of teachings, recommendations and authoritative directions— all from God.²⁶

Gerhardsson, in this statement, has an astute observation, more than the subsequent discussion in his book develops. The point for us at the moment is that even these two explicit references to sayings of Jesus are treated as unmediated instructions from the Lord, as if they had come ready-made with the revelation of the gospel of Christ (cf. Gal. 1:12ff). Upon closer

²⁵Technical terminology in connection with the use of traditional material is discussed at length in Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, pp. 288-323; Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, pp. 101ff; cf. Ridderbos, Paul and Jesus, p. 50 and notes 32 and 33.

²⁶Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, pp. 292f.

scrutiny the texts in question exhibit this characteristic.

The introduction to the saying prohibiting divorce in I Corinthians 7:10-11 is telling. "To the married I give charge" (παραγγέλλω), and then as if on second thought which every reader at Corinth should assume in any case, he adds, "not I but the Lord" (οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ ὁ κύριος).²⁷ There can hardly be any doubt that the saying of Jesus has been welded to the revelation of Christ which Paul owns and from which he preaches and teaches.²⁸ This way of introducing the saying is remarkably comparable to Paul's way of affirming his relation to Christ in Galatians 2:20: "It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me" (ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ χριστός).²⁹ Moreover, when Paul speaks a word of direction to a congregation he does so with this consciousness, whether or not he has a transmitted word of the Lord. Consequently, when he addresses the issues of mixed marriage and the unmarried in the same passage, I Corinthians 7, he acknowledges that he

²⁷The parenthetical way in which the phrase "not I but the Lord" is placed is recognized in Dungan's rendering of the text (Sayings, p. 81) but is not discussed. Contrary to this way of understanding the phrase, Jean Héring thinks the phrase distinguishes the words of the Lord from the apostle's own recommendations; "thus, he refutes in advance the attempts of those literal interpretations of Scripture which regard all the words of the apostles as on the same level as those of the Master," First Epistle, p. 51. Cf. Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 120: "The regulation is absolute; for it comes from the Lord himself."

²⁸"The regulation given by the historical Jesus is also that of the exalted Lord; it is a supratemporal command" (Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 120).

²⁹Dieter Betz correctly aligns this statement (2:20) with Gal. 1:16 ("God revealed his son in me") and 4:6 ("God has sent the Spirit of his son into our hearts"), and goes on to say that "the underlying assumption is that the resurrected Christ (1:1) is identical with the 'Spirit' (II Cor. 3:17a) which is given to the Christians, and which dwells in them and provides 'life for God' for them" (Galatians, p. 124).

speaks without a word from the Lord = a transmitted statement: "To the rest I say, not the Lord" (v. 12); "Now concerning the unmarried I have no command of the Lord" (v. 25). Does this mean that we "hear a tone of regret as he confirms his lack?"³⁰ Martin Dibelius surmised as much. But this way of understanding these negative qualifiers runs counter to Paul's understanding of his call to apostleship through the revelation of Jesus Christ (Gal. 1:12, 15-17). It could be that certain opponents at Corinth were holding it against Paul that he lacked the authority of the apostles of Jesus,³¹ although this view has not been demonstrated conclusively. Even if it were, the fact remains that Paul cites two sayings, blends them with his own in the understanding that his relation to Christ resurrected qualifies him "as one who by the Lord's mercy is trustworthy" (I Cor. 7:25). He can instruct with or without a transmitted word from the Lord. In fact, so self-assured is he of his revelation from and his relation to the Lord that he can cite a word of the Lord and modify it according to the situation at hand, as in 7:11.³² This characteristic is even more acute in I Corinthians 9:14f where Paul cites a command of the Lord concerning the financial support

³⁰Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, ET B.L. Woolf (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 242. He holds that collections of sayings of Jesus "were given to the missionaries orally or fixed in writing".

³¹See Barrett, "Paul's Opponents in II Corinthians," pp. 69-83; and Dungan, Sayings, pp. 4ff: "As we can see from 9:5, Paul and his associates are being compared with Peter, the brothers of the Lord and other apostles," (p. 6). Cf. Hurd, Origin, pp. 108-113; Dieter Georgi, Die Gegner des Paulus, pp. 31-49; 192-200.

³²Dungan finds the situation more "startling": "Paul—in the midst of quoting a command of the Lord—applies it in such a way as flatly to contradict it" (Sayings, p. 82); cf. Bruce, Paul and Jesus, pp. 71f.

for apostles (I Cor. 9:14), and then sets it aside in deference to the Corinthians' Christian well-being.³³ To this command (διατάσσειν, v. 14) of the Lord ("Those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel," Matt. 10:10 par) Paul gives due credence, but nevertheless overrides the command by virtue of his own Christian/apostolic insight into the Corinthian situation.

In both of these instances of explicit citation of the tradition of Jesus, Paul treats the sayings as part of the authoritative revelation of the will of God for the church of Christ. But they are blended into a total spectrum of insight which operates in Paul's experience as an apostle of Jesus Christ. He has the mind of Christ (I Cor. 2:16; Phil. 2:5), he lives Christ (Phil. 1:21), he has the life-giving Spirit of Christ (Rom. 8:2, 9ff); he has been crucified with Christ, yet he lives by faith in him (Gal. 2:20). Thus endowed Paul has incorporated the tradition of Jesus into his experience of the resurrected Christ, the Lord of the church. The sayings, in Paul's thought, are those of the Lord whom he knows relationally, whose mission he carries out, whose community he guides.³⁴

³³ Again Dungan highlights the fact that Paul, far from relying on a command of the Lord, "asserts in the unequivocal language that he does not and will not obey it (Sayings, p. 3). Ernst Käsemann explains the text (9:14-18) in terms of the dialectic which dominates the section. Paul, in love, is servant of all, but in faith is "a free lord of all things" ("A Pauline Version of the 'Amor Fati'," Questions, pp. 223-235). Cf. Bornkamm, Paul, p. 183; and Bultmann, Theology I, p. 62. ("The right of apostle-missionaries to support by the congregations (I Cor. 9:1ff), which is expressly referred to in a saying of the Lord (I Cor. 9:14, Mt. 10:10 par) cannot be regarded as a regulation of church law; it corresponds to Jewish custom and is not limited to Apostles, as Gal. 6:6 shows.") See also Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, p. 107 ("Paul/ regards Deut. 25:24 as the Lord's command.")

³⁴ On these points, in the context of I Cor. 9:14-18, I refer again to the helpful insight of Ernst Käsemann, Questions, pp. 217-235. On "Paul's missionary practice" see Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 179-190.

Above all, the sayings cannot be assessed in Paul's usage as belonging to the historical type-figure, Jesus, whose place in the history of salvation anticipated the post-Easter Christian experience in the body of Christ in the world. This is to state the case negatively; the sayings-material is not part of salvation-events in the old aeon, the kind we identified in the typology of Adam, Abraham and Moses. If we were to insist 1) that the sayings are the words of Jesus of Nazareth preserved in the Christian tradition, 2) that the setting is pre-Easter, and 3) that Paul thought of them in this way, then we would have to say that Paul relegated them to the old aeon since the change of aeons could not yet have gone into effect because the death and resurrection of Christ had not yet occurred. The first and second of these positions are quite acceptable, as they are to so many scholars, but the third is not: Paul did not employ the sayings as belonging to the typological past, but to the present stage of fulfilment in the experience of the exalted Lord, and of his inauguration of the new creation, witnessed to by the new community of Christians. When the prominence of Paul's two-part thinking is given its full due with reference to the sayings of Jesus which were part of the life of the church, we find Paul left with only one alternative: the sayings which regulate the present life of the church are the word of the Lord of the church. They are on the side of fulfilment, new creation, etc. The other alternative would be less than satisfactory to Paul, namely, that the sayings are simply those of Jesus of Nazareth, Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*. They would, in this case, reside in the realm of proleptic history, in a similar position with words of Scripture and would be interpreted for the church *in the light of the*

fulfilment in Christ, the exalted Lord. The sayings, rather, are *part of* the fulfilment, and belong to the church in its relation to the Lord through the Spirit.

Christians are associated with Christ by *relational identity* (cf. Rom. 6:3-11; 8:1-11), which consequently rules out a typological relation with Christ according to the flesh. This latter kind of relation would mean that the Christian somehow fulfils the work of Jesus of Nazareth but Paul reserved the outcome of Jesus' earthly life exclusively for the exalted Christ. Christians relate more immediately to Christ the Lord through the Spirit. But this kind of relationship does not mean that Paul had no interest in Jesus' deeds and words, or that these were irrelevant to him, as Bultmann and others have suggested.³⁵ However much of the tradition of Jesus that Paul knew, and he may have known more than the letters reveal,³⁶ that knowledge appears to have been absorbed into the revelation of the resurrected Christ to such an extent that any recognizable outline of the historical Jesus (cf. Gal. 4:4f) is difficult to trace in the letters.³⁷ This much we can affirm from the two explicit citations which are traceable.

³⁵Bultmann, "Significance," p. 223; Schopps, Paul, pp. 55-58; Boussett, Kyrios Christos, pp. 154f.

³⁶This possibility exists in the fact, not of the many citations, but of the few: If Paul cited "the words of the Lord" on rare occasion and when he felt the need, then he knew the material, but does not cite it frequently. But this argument remains only a possibility. Cf. Bultmann, "Significance," p. 222. ("When Paul does not cite such a word of the Lord/ where it would be expected he knows of none.")

³⁷Cf. Bruce, Paul and Jesus, p. 16. "The outline of the gospel story insofar as we can trace it in the writings of Paul agrees with the outline which we find elsewhere in the New Testament, and in the four Gospels in particular."

A claim has often been made that in addition to the explicit reference to words of the Lord Paul consciously alludes to the teaching and attitudes of Jesus. Of the many examples³⁸ of this kind of material in the letters only a few of the more probable cases will be used to demonstrate further that Paul viewed this material as part of the body of revelation which he received from the exalted Lord, and therefore as part of end-time fulfilment.

c) Allusions to the Teaching and Life of Jesus

Perhaps the most extreme instance of finding "echoes" of Jesus' character and message was that of Alfred Resch in his Den Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu (1904).³⁹ He claimed to have discovered over 1,000 parallels between ten of the Pauline epistles (excluding the Pastorals) and the Synoptics. More recent work of the same basic persuasion as that of Resch, tends to rate Resch's case as "overstated".⁴⁰ Yet many⁴¹ still hold to the assumption that Paul quite consciously alludes to aspects of Jesus' life, especially so in the parenetic sections of his letters. By "allusions" here is meant words, phrases, or ideas in the letters which have conceptual association in the

³⁸Of the more than 30 instances cited by Davies (Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 138ff), V.P. Furnish thinks there could be eight which existed in the church, and upon which Paul consciously drew. (Rom. 12:14/Matt. 5:44; Rom. 12:17/Matt. 5:39f; Rom. 13:7/Matt. 22:15-22; Rom. 14:13/Matt. 18:7, Mk. 9:42, Lk. 17:1-2; Rom. 14:14/Matt. 15:11, Mk. 7:15; I Thess. 5:2/Matt. 24:43; I Thess. 5:13/Mk. 9:50; I Thess. 5:15/Matt. 5:38-48). See "Jesus-Paul Debate," pp. 379ff.

³⁹Cited in Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 137f.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 137.

⁴¹Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 136ff; Bruce, Paul and Jesus, pp. 37-50; Fraser, Jesus and Paul, pp. 90ff; Biörn Fjörstedt, Synoptic Tradition in I Corinthians (Uppsala: Theologiska Institution, 1974), pp. 169ff; Gerhardsson, Memory, pp. 290ff.

Gospels, but which are not introduced explicitly as part of Jesus' life and teaching.⁴² Actual citations of Jesus' words or deeds in Paul's letters are notoriously scant as we shall see later. Nevertheless, W.D. Davies, following Resch's basic assumption, has maintained that "Paul is steeped in the mind and words of his Lord."⁴³ And although numerous scholars have persistently sought parallels between the letters and the Synoptics,⁴⁴ Davies is convinced that "a fact which has been insufficiently recognized is the large extent to which the Pauline Epistles are reminiscent of the Synoptic Gospels."⁴⁵ Taking this approach even further, J.W. Fraser believes that "Paul must have known a good deal more than he found occasion to use in his writings."⁴⁶ The way to Paul's mission to the Gentiles, says Fraser, "was pointed by the words and actions of Jesus."⁴⁷ Many other

⁴²On the characteristics of allusions as a literary device in Paul's letters see Fjårstedt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 41ff. He draws out the "conscious and unconscious" (p. 41) use of such literary phenomena, but is not convincing in making a case for Paul's *conscious* allusion to material from Jesus.

⁴³Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 140. Cf. Schweitzer, Mysticism, p. 173: "If we had to rely on Paul we should not know that Jesus taught in parables, had delivered the sermon on the mount, and had taught his disciples the 'our Father.' Even where they are specially relevant Paul passes over words of the Lord;" and Bultmann, Theology I, p. 188: "Paul's letters barely show traces of the influence of Palestinian tradition concerning the history and preaching of Jesus. All that is important for him in the story of Jesus is the fact that Jesus was born a Jew and lived under the law (Gal. 4:4) and that he had been crucified (Gal. 3:1; I Cor. 2:2; Phil. 2:5ff, etc.)."

⁴⁴More recently (1982) Dale Allison, "The Pattern of the Parallels," pp. 1-32, but see also the list in chapter one.

⁴⁵Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 136.

⁴⁶Fraser, Jesus and Paul, p. 99.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 129.

scholars take serious objection to this line of work, mainly on the ground that it lacks methodological credibility.⁴⁸ Davies' statement above in particular betrays a flaw. He declares that the Pauline epistles, written prior to the Synoptic Gospels, are *reminiscent* of the Synoptics. That there are parallel ideas and words no one would deny. But to say that the parallels in the two sources—letters and Synoptics—have a common tradition about Jesus *behind the letters* requires much more rigorous work than that which has been expended so far. Granted, some effort has been made to identify a "pattern of the parallels"⁴⁹ which in turn has led to the positing of a common source for the letters and Synoptics. This approach, while it is somewhat more commendable, still requires further refinement. It is not the intention of the present study to advance this line of research. What is granted here is that the central conviction of all the efforts to find words and characteristics of Jesus in the letters is essentially correct. No doubt, Paul inherited tradition about Jesus' life and teaching and incorporated the same into his Christian thinking. What we intend to do here is simply to examine a few frequently cited examples to see how Paul construed this material. Did he place it in the setting of Jesus' life in Palestine and interpret it with reference to the present experience

⁴⁸As Dungan put it, "there is no scientifically controlled norm of selection guiding this gratuitous designation of word-correspondence between the text of Paul and the text of the Synoptics as Pauline allusions to the teachings of Jesus, especially when Paul himself does not say so," Sayings, pp. xxixf.

⁴⁹I have referred already to the work of Dale Allison (see note 31 above and the discussion in chapter one), but the same kind of investigation had been going on prior to Allison's article, especially at Uppsala: Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, pp. 288ff; Fjärstedt, Synoptic Tradition in I Corinthians, pp. 65-168.

of Christ? Or did he think of this material in the context of fulfilment in the resurrected Lord?

Romans 12:14 is said to carry a form of a saying of Jesus.⁵⁰ "Bless those who persecute you; bless and do not curse" (cf. Matt. 5:44, 49). As they appear in Romans these words are part of a series of parenthetic instructions⁵¹ to the Christian community. Davies has proposed that they are "interwoven with traditional material,"⁵² but there is very little in the section, 9-21, to indicate any "interweaving" of Jesus-tradition with other tradition. The injunction of verse 14 is one of a series of similar imperatives for Christian life (cf. v. 17, 21). Assuming that Paul is drawing upon an existing tradition of Jesus, either in written or in oral form, we must ask concerning the function it performs in this letter.

In the first place, as a parenthetic injunction it signals an aspect of Christian thought and life. Nothing in the passage indicates that Paul intends to prove his connection with the teaching of Jesus. This injunction, and the others in the section with it, flow out of Paul's previous, more

⁵⁰ Käsemann acknowledges that both verses 14 and 21 "carry reminiscences of sayings of Jesus", but recognizes also the peculiarity of the silence of Paul on this fact. He sees Paul in this passage performing the role of a catechist, Romans, p. 347. Cf. Barrett, Romans, p. 241 where he thinks that Paul did not quote the saying of Jesus because he probably "did not regard the sayings of Jesus as constituting a new legalism."

⁵¹ In verses 9-13 the instructions are carried in the form of a series of "imperative participles"; at 14 participles disappear in favour of imperatives. The change could indicate a new source (so Barrett, Romans, p. 241 and Käsemann, Romans, p. 347), but this conclusion may not be warranted.

For a significant comment on the form and function of the parenthesis of Romans 12, see Ernst Käsemann, New Testament Questions of Today, ET W.J. Montague (London: SCM, 1969), pp. 188-195.

⁵² Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 138.

sweeping imperative at the beginning of the chapter:⁵³ "Be transformed (μεταμορφωσθε) by the renewing of your mind (νοός), that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect" (12:2). The next verses develop the idea of how members in the body of Christ are to think. And the point of the matter is that verse 14, if it is an allusion to a saying of Jesus, has become the imperative side of the reality of being in the body of Christ.⁵⁴ To bless those who persecute, to repay good for evil, this is the mind of Christ which Paul has. Whether he has the saying in one form or another does not play a role in the overall intention of the parenthesis. What is important is that members of the community of Christ have the thinking of Christ. To possess the mind of Christ should not be confused with reading or memorizing words of an ideal hero-figure.⁵⁵ The mind of Christ is something the members of the body of Christ simply have: "We have the mind of Christ" (I Cor. 2:16). The injunction of Romans 12:14, extricated from its context, in an effort to establish an

⁵³ K semann, Questions, p. 189 has also emphasized this understanding of the way in which the injunctions function in the letter. "The individual injunctions (at least from v. 9 on) are connected not logically, but at best within a framework of juxtaposed fragments of tradition....Everything in the passage is oriented round a theme on which emphasis is placed as early as vv. 1f. It embraces the total action both of the individual Christian and of the Christian community and sets the parenthesis within a firm theological framework." Cf. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 138 on the interweaving of Christian tradition with other traditional material.

⁵⁴ See the excellent summary of the indicative/imperative paradox in Paul, in K mmel, Theology of the New Testament, pp. 224-228.

⁵⁵ Bultmann, "Significance," p. 239. "Any idea of the life and death of Jesus as a heroic achievement is not only alien to Paul but is absolutely excluded by the fact that it is the crucified Lord who is preached." See also K semann, "The Saving Significance of Jesus' death," Perspectives, pp. 32-59.

objective historical link between Paul and Jesus does not lead to a meaningful understanding of the idiosyncratic way in which the person and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth appears in Paul's letters.⁵⁶ But as it stands in Romans 12 we can see that the thought has become part of Paul's Christian mind, or better, it is an aspect of the mind of Christ resident in the person of Paul.

Paul here does not appeal to Jesus as an authority figure behind the injunction, as a Jewish rabbi might appeal to rabbinic authority of the past.⁵⁷ In this section of Romans 12 Paul does, however, appeal to Scripture, and that explicitly⁵⁸ (vv. 19-20). This condition exists elsewhere as well, where possible allusions are made to Jesus' words. But the situation should not at the same time lead us to think that if Paul actually did have a word of Jesus he would certainly have made his appeal with clarity, not as allusion. In fact, Paul expresses the advice to the community of Christ as if to say, "this is Christian experience—Christian thought and life." The Christian tradition about Jesus, including the explicit sayings discussed

⁵⁶ On the particular Pauline "framing" of the material in Romans 12 see Käsemann, Romans, pp. 323f; 326f; 343f; idem, Questions, pp. 188-195; Cranfield, Romans, pp. 4ff; cf. Barrett, Romans, p. 235; and Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 456-463, who has emphasized the connection of parenthesis with participation—terminology and concept, especially in the use of the term "body of Christ" (pp. 457, 460).

⁵⁷ A glance through Talmudic literature reveals this practice in Rabbinic Judaism.

⁵⁸ Parenthesis in Paul is generally grounded in the Spirit (e.g. Rom. 8:9ff; I Cor. 6:19; Gal. 5:16-25; cf. I Cor. 5:3-5), but here the Scripture is summoned as witness that members of the body of Christ should live in such a manner as befits their status. On "the Spirit" in parenthesis see Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 457ff and notes, and on the use of Scripture, Dodd, According to Scripture, pp. 126ff and Barrett, The Church's Use of the Bible, pp. 13ff.

above, is simply present to Paul and the church, and in this respect is constitutively in the context of the experience of the new creation in Christ.

We could go through other so-called allusions to sayings of Jesus⁵⁹ in the parenetic sections of the letters and we would find the same use of the material as that which we found in this example: the instructions constitute the way of life for the new community at the turn of the ages.

Scholars have also cited instances where Paul alludes to qualities in the life of Jesus.⁶⁰ A text usually cited in this connection is Romans 15:1-3a:⁶¹ "We who are strong ought to bear with the failings of the weak, and not to please ourselves; let each of us please his neighbour for his good, to edify him. For Christ did not please himself." Again, when this text is allowed to stand in its own context in Romans 15 we discover that Paul cannot be appealing exclusively to the earthly existence of Jesus.⁶²

⁵⁹See note 37 above.

⁶⁰Fraser, Jesus and Paul, p. 91; Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 147; Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, p. 11; cf. Kümmel, Theology, p. 246: "The man Jesus is of crucial importance for Paul's preaching..."; idem, "Jesus und Paulus," New Testament Studies, pp. 165ff, and C.H. Dodd, History and the Gospel (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1938; revised, 1964), pp. 65f. Dodd claims that Paul's moral standard for the Christian community was embodied in the character of Jesus of Nazareth. "These traits are expressly held up for the imitation of Christians" (p. 65).

⁶¹Küsemann titles verses 1-6 "The Model of Christ," and relates the phrase, "did not please himself," to the passion of Jesus. "To this extent," he says, "Jesus is the model and prototype of our behaviour, in which the strong must associate with the weak and those in need of help, bearing their shame and exposing themselves to the reproaches of the world thereby" (Romans, p. 382). Later discussion will show the inadequacy of "model" and "prototype" for Jesus in Paul's thinking.

⁶²F.F. Bruce ("Paul and the Historical Jesus," Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library, 56 (1974), pp. 317-335) that the peculiarity of

While we may conclude, with no difficulty whatsoever, that this characteristic of Christ is very similar to the quality of compassion of Jesus portrayed in the Synoptic Gospels, the fact remains that Paul is not pointing backwards in an historical way to the man, Jesus, as if to say that his life in Galilee, even his passion and death, should be a lesson on living and dying for followers forever after. The Christ of this text transcends, yet does not deny, the historical moment of Jesus of Nazareth. It is in the nature of Christ in the plan of God, past, present and future, not to please himself. Moreover, the quality of life here expressed is again part of the eschatological reality of Christ whose character the members of the body of Christ possess. Interesting, too, in this example, is the fact that Scripture is cited as authority. Psalm 69 could well have been part of a body of texts used by the primitive community to prove the suffering character of the messiahship of Jesus.⁶³ Although that aspect is not absent in this passage in Romans, the stress, rather, falls on the Christian in the community of Christ. "Whatever was written in former days was written for our instruction, that by steadfastness and by encouragement of the Scriptures we might have hope" (v. 4).⁶⁴ Clearly, the thrust of the passage encourages

Paul's reference to Jesus is due to the fact that Paul's risen Lord is identical with the historical Jesus and that Jesus tradition in Paul functions in the same way as Synoptic tradition: it is an example to converts.

⁶³An echo of Ps. 69 may be adduced from Mark 15:32, 36/Ps. 69:21; Fraser, Jesus and Paul, p. 92; cf. Barrett, Romans, p. 269 and Käsemann, Romans, p. 382.

⁶⁴Barrett calls verse 4 "a parenthesis on the use of Scripture" (Romans, p. 69), but we have seen on a number of occasions how this so-called parenthesis crops up in the midst of core issues (Rom. 4:23; Gal. 3:8; I Cor. 10:11).

the congregation to live the Christ-life, "to live in such harmony with one another, in accord with Christ Jesus (κατὰ χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν), that together you may with one voice glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (vv. 5-6). This text can not be read with precisely the same understanding of Paul's typological pattern of thought with which we read texts on Adam, Abraham and Moses. Whereas those persons were typological figures to whom (or through whom) God granted a salvation occurrence, in whom also Christians can see a proleptic reflection of themselves, Christ of Romans 15 is the *present reality of the eschatological community*.⁶⁵ Aspects of the life of Jesus of Nazareth are not signalled in the same salvation-historical fashion as those of figures from Scripture, for to do so would make Jesus of Nazareth in his pre-Easter life another type of the Christian. And as I understand Paul's thought on this matter, he is not prepared to make that a possibility. For Paul the Christ who was, is the Christ who is and is to come. Christians, united as they are presently to Christ through faith, by that very fact do not (indeed cannot) require a series of historical acts, words, or qualities of Jesus of Nazareth to stimulate their Christian well-being. Such a structure of thought would contradict the very heart of Paul's thinking concerning the relation of the Christian community to the resurrected Lord.

Enough has been written on Paul's soteriology, Christology and ecclesiology

⁶⁵ A peculiarity (if not a contradiction) exists in Käsemann's comment on this passage. Although he holds the text to refer to Jesus as a model and prototype of Christian behaviour, he ends up saying that the life and word of Jesus demand "not imitation but conformity with the Christ who is characterized thus." I find it difficult to grasp the meaning of "model" without also associating its meaning with imitation of some kind. Cf. Bultmann, "Significance," p. 239: "Christ is not an exemplar....It is not the exemplary character of Jesus that makes him Lord." Similarly, Conzelmann, Outline, pp. 200ff; 208-212.

to make further comment unnecessary.⁶⁶ But despite all the work which describes Paul's teaching on the Christian's relation with Christ as participation "in Christ," union with Christ, being in "the body of Christ," etc., many scholars⁶⁷ persist in saying that Paul, *along with this conceptuality*, thinks bilaterally of himself in relation to the historical life of Jesus of Nazareth.

Other examples of allusions to qualities of Jesus' life, often used to prove a bilateral relationship between Paul and Jesus, or continuity between them, lead to the same result: Paul thinks of his relation to Christ in vertical, present categories even where he may be alluding to Jesus-tradition. At one point in Romans 15 Paul states that "Christ became a servant to the circumcised" (15:8) and one could conclude that Paul is giving a straightforward account of the character of Jesus' ministry in Palestinian Judaism.⁶⁸ But Paul has more than that in mind, it would seem. Christ became⁶⁹ a servant to the Jews, and that can hardly mean that he was a proselyte. Rather, Christ, the Son of God, became one with the Jewish people "to show God's truthfulness..., to confirm the promises given to the patriarchs..., that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy" (vv. 8-9). The servant-nature of Christ here, as in Philippians 2:7, is much more encompassing than a quality of life in

⁶⁶E.g. James Dunn, Christology in the Making, pp. 176-196; Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 447-474; Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 303-327; Schweitzer, Mysticism, pp. 120-130.

⁶⁷See references throughout this chapter and in chapter 2 above.

⁶⁸Käsemann, Romans, p. 385; "More natural is the idea that *δούκωνος* refers to the earthly work of Jesus, corresponding to the context and tradition of John 13." The priority of the Jews is doubtless part of the thought of the statement, although John Knox questions this idea, Romans, *in loc.*

⁶⁹The perfect (*γεγενησθαι*) here could mean that the work is completed and the result stands, although the possibility of continuation

Jesus of Nazareth,⁷⁰ although that is not denied. Christ's servanthood is likewise part of the experience of being Christian, of being in the body of Christ. It is the present reality of Christ.

Inasmuch as we have emphasized that Paul thinks of the tradition of Jesus in terms of a realized eschatology, or a present reality for the end-time community of Christ, it hardly seems necessary to deal with the notion, frequently put forward, that Paul presents Jesus as an historical example to be emulated. Yet the point has been argued,⁷¹ and therefore calls for comment, if only in brief.

d) Imitation of Jesus' Life

One of the advocates of the view that Paul believed Christians should follow the example of the life of Jesus is J.W. Fraser. Some reference to his work, Jesus and Paul, will illustrate this opinion.

Jesus' life of humility, service, steadfastness, obedience and love,⁷² says Fraser, are all temporal characteristics of Jesus, not merely the nature

of servanthood may not be ruled out altogether. Thus, Barrett, Romans, p. 271; Ridderbos, Paul, p. 50; against Käsemann, Romans, p. 385. I am inclined to think that 8b and 9 point to the accomplished fact, the effect of which is being realized in the mission. Cf. the remainder of chapter 15 and also chapters 9-11.

⁷⁰ On the servant-quality of Christ in Phil. 2:7 see Bornkamm, Early Christian Experience, pp. 113-116; Eduard Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship (Naperville: Allen R. Allenson, 1960), pp. 49ff, 64ff; Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, pp. 76f, 174ff, 217ff and Martin, Carmen Christi, pp. 211ff; J.T. Sanders, The New Testament Christological Hymns (Cambridge: University Press, 1971), pp. 58-64.

⁷¹ Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 147f; Dodd, History and Gospel, pp. 66f; Fraser, Jesus and Paul, pp. 90ff; A.M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, p. 11. Klümmel, "Jesus und Paulus," pp. 175f.

⁷² Davies and Dodd (see note 74) emphasize the centrality of love

of the "pre-existent Christ".⁷³ While this latter is true "it is not enough".⁷⁴ He contends that "Paul often urges others to take Christ as an example as he himself does."⁷⁵ Interestingly, though, Fraser is hard pressed to produce more than three or four possible references to this repeated "urging" of Paul. He concludes that Romans 15:3, II Corinthians 8:9 and Philippians 2:5ff all refer to qualities of Jesus' life on earth which "call for imitation in Christians and in the way they treat others."⁷⁶ The suffering of Jesus is likewise to be imitated (I Thess. 1:6), not "in the sense of medieval piety, but imitating Jesus does involve suffering as he did."⁷⁷ On this last point more needs to be said in a subsequent section. Suffice it to say here that Fraser's discussion vehemently opposes the view, articulated forcefully by Bultmann, that when Paul "refers to Christ as an example, he is thinking not of the historical but of the pre-existent Jesus."⁷⁸ Says Fraser, in response:

Paul is not content with the mere fact of Christ and his cross. Knowing 'Christ and him crucified', distinct and

(ἀγάπη) as a characteristic of the earthly Jesus which Paul picked up; "The exhortation to, and description of ἀγάπη in I Corinthians is based upon the life of Jesus, is in short a kind of character sketch of the Lord" (Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 147). Cf. David Stanley, S.J., "Imitation in Paul's Letters: Its Significance for His Relationship to Jesus and to His Own Christian Foundations," in From Jesus to Paul, Peter Richardson and John Hurd, eds. (Waterloo: WLU Press, 1984, pp. 127-141).

⁷³This is Bultmann's phrase for the Christ whom Paul seeks to imitate (Theology I, p. 188), but the phrase is troublesome, as ensuing discussion illustrates.

⁷⁴Fraser, Jesus and Paul, p. 91.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 92.

⁷⁸Bultmann, Theology I, p. 188.

complementary designations, point back not only to the cross but to the Jesus who lived before it, of whose words and activities Paul had some knowledge, and whose ways he sought to emulate.⁷⁹

The chief problem with Fraser's statements on Paul's imitation of Jesus' ways is that his statements are much more straightforward on the subject than are Paul's. If Paul had said plainly, "By 'Christ and him crucified' I mean not only the fact of the cross but Jesus who lived before it, whose ways I seek to emulate," then Fraser's statements would stand. As they stand in the letters, Paul's statements lead to the view that the Christ whom Paul imitates, to whom also he points his readers, is the Christ of God's plan, revealed to Paul as the exalted Lord and present to the church through the Spirit. Moreover, we are compelled to acknowledge a degree of cogency to Bultmann's assessment that Paul is thinking of the pre-existent Jesus when he calls for imitation of Christ's example. Yet this understanding of Paul's thought is probably too categorical as well. Paul has the Christ of God in mind, and that Christ was once *κατὰ σάρκα*. His character in that state, as in the exalted state, did not stand in contradiction to the pre-existent state or to the exalted state.

That Paul once calls upon the Corinthian Christians (I Cor. 11:1) to become imitators of him as he is of Christ is quite clear (*μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς καὶ γὰρ χριστοῦ*). What is not so clear is the reason why Paul would not simply instruct the Corinthians to be imitators of Christ without Paul's mediation. On this verse Davies takes issue with those⁸⁰

⁷⁹Fraser, Jesus and Paul, p. 181.

⁸⁰Particularly C.A.A. Scott, The Fellowship of the Spirit, pp. 93f; and J. Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity, Vol. II, p. 555, as cited in Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 147f.

who claim that Paul has the large scope of Jesus' life in mind, not external details. He says this view "is surely invalidated by the fact that Christ is an object of imitation in the same sense as Paul himself is."⁸¹ Davies must be challenged on this point. If Christ were an object of imitation *in the same sense* that Paul was it leaves Paul's instruction unexplained. The fact is that Christ is not an "object" of imitation to the Corinthians. He is no longer historical, or κατὰ σάρκα (cf. II Cor. 5:16), but he has revealed himself to Paul who, in turn, communicates the revelation through life and proclamation to the Corinthians. He made that point earlier in the letter (I Cor. 2:1f, 6-10). The wisdom of God in the act of the crucified Christ, the Lord of glory, was revealed to Paul (and to the other apostles, 1:10) which he then imparted to initiates at Corinth (τελείου, v. 6). It seems, therefore, that Bultmann's explanation of I Corinthians 11:1 has caught the main thrust⁸² of Paul's conception and instruction.

Concerning the sufferings of Christ, Bultmann acknowledges that Paul shares them abundantly (II Cor. 1:5), but explains further:

The 'sufferings of Christ' are neither sufferings *such* as Christ endured, nor are they simply sufferings endured for Christ's sake. Still less are they sufferings in imitation of Christ. Nor do the sufferings as sufferings of a special kind, establish the relation

⁸¹ Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 148, note 7.

⁸² But see note 76 above. Conzelmann's comment on 11:1 is worth repeating: "Paul does not make his own person the content of his preaching And v. 2 then emphasizes that what is essential and exemplary is the *teaching* which he has transmitted to the Corinthians. The imitation of *Christ* takes its bearings not on the person of the historical Jesus, not on his way of life, but—in the sense of Phil. 2:6ff—on his saving work" (I Corinthians, pp. 179f). Cf. W. Michaelis, "μυμητής," TDNT, Vol. 4, pp. 668f, whose claim that μυμητής in 1:11 has the sense of following a command is not exegetically founded.

with Christ that the sufferings become the sufferings of Christ....The suffering and death of Jesus is not, therefore, a mere fact of the past; it is contemporary.... Paradoxically, the 'life of Jesus' becomes manifest in that Paul is 'carrying in /his/ body the death of Jesus'. Such 'carrying' certainly does not consist in any 'imitation' but in Paul's willing acceptance of⁸³ the sufferings which befall him in the service of Jesus.

The truth probably lies somewhere in between Bultmann's representation of Paul's thought on the imitation of Christ and that of Fraser and Davies. The exegesis of certain texts to prove that Paul imitated the life of Jesus of Nazareth, and taught the churches the same, does not stand scrutiny any more than the same texts would prove that Paul taught the imitation of the pre-existent Christ.

Philippians 2:5, for example, is said to teach the imitation of Jesus' humbleminded thinking. The 1611 English Version reads: "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus." But this rendering, which would tend to support the idea of the imitation of the humility of Jesus of Nazareth, is less than true to the text. Compare the RSV: "Have this mind among yourselves, which is yours in Christ Jesus" (τοῦτο φρονεῖτε ἐν ὑμῶν ὃ καὶ ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ). The text supports the idea of the present Christ who dwells in the community (ἐν ὑμῶν...ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ).⁸⁴ The life of Jesus, his humility, suffering and death, is contemporary to Paul. And the hymn⁸⁵ of the next verses, 6-11, should be taken together as a complete unit of

⁸³Bultmann, "Church and Teaching in the New Testament," in Faith and Understanding, pp. 201f.

⁸⁴Similarly, Karl Barth, Philippians, pp. 59; and F.W. Beare, Philippians, p. 75.

⁸⁵On the pre-Pauline character and hymnic qualities of Phil. 2:6-11 see Martin, Carmen Christi, pp. 24-41; Bornkamm, "On Understanding the Christ-Hymn," pp. 112f; and J.T. Sanders, Christological Hymns, pp. 9-12.

thought,⁸⁶ the thought that ought to occupy the minds of the Christians at Philippi. The thought is that Christ in the form (μορφή) of God humbled himself, was obedient to death on the cross, and was exalted by God. F.F. Bruce picked up the thread of Paul's thought in his observation that for Paul "the *imitatio Christi* is mainly a matter of 'imitating the Incarnation,'"⁸⁷ although in this assertion we sense a hint of theology that post-dates Paul. Incarnation capitalized in Chalcedonian form was hardly within Paul's Christian horizon.⁸⁸ By the same token, something is missing from Bultmann's claim in his Theology of the New Testament that when Paul sets forth Christ as an example he is thinking of the pre-existent Jesus.⁸⁹ Essentially a gap appears in the use of the term "pre-existent" (*präexistenten*). It does not encompass all that Paul seems to have within his field of vision. The historical existence of Christ—in Paul's terms, Christ κατὰ σάρκα—is not excluded from Paul's vision of Christ. When Paul's typological thinking is acknowledged, something Bultmann is reluctant to discuss sympathetically,⁹⁰ we are led to believe that Paul's view of Christ along the lines of the two-

⁸⁶Note the singular of τὸ αὐτὸ, τὸ ἓν and τοῦτο of the preceding verses, and Barth's comment on the importance of the "one thing" which the Philippians are to think (Philippians, pp. 49f; 58ff).

⁸⁷Bruce, Paul and Jesus, p. 51, where he cites, in support, B.B. Warfield, The Person and Work of Christ (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 513ff.

⁸⁸Morna Hooker points up the problem of giving words the value which they have for us. "One result of this is that Christians tend to read the New Testament through Chalcedonian spectacles" ("Through a Glass Darkly," Pauline Pieces, p. 15).

⁸⁹Bultmann, Theology I, p. 188.

⁹⁰Bultmann, "Ursprung," pp. 47-55. See discussion of Bultmann's analysis of typology in chapter 2 above.

aeon typology places the exemplary life of Jesus, together with the sayings, on the side of fulfilment in the new aeon. For Paul to construe that these aspects were part of the old aeon, or in other words, aspects of Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*, would militate against their direct application to the new community of the resurrected Lord of the new aeon. They become solidly associated with the Lord of the church whose revelation of God's will has been made known to Paul.

Nevertheless, rather than an unbridgeable gulf between the two phases of Christ's existence, there is a form of typological relationship, orchestrated under the divine plan which coordinates the two in eschatological unity. But Paul knows, is related to, Christ *κατὰ πνεῦμα* and he thinks, and teaches his churches to think, in this way consistently, as here in Philippians 2:5-11. In this understanding, then, he will not set off Jesus of Nazareth from his contemporary Christ as a kind of model, or type, for Christians to follow. His view of being "in Christ" (note the phrase in Phil. 2:5) does not accommodate such a structure of thought.⁹¹

The same result accrues from a careful reading of the other texts on Christ as example. II Corinthians 8:9 is said to call for an imitation of Jesus during his lifetime in Galilee: "For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich." The text has far wider scope than this explanation allows, unless "became poor" (*ἐπτώχευσεν*, ingressive aorist,⁹²

⁹¹Cf. Hurtado, "Jesus as Lordly Example," p. 126.

⁹²Commentators generally adopt this meaning, yet some there are who believe Paul has the example of Jesus of Nazareth in mind even while he utilized the larger Christological scheme. See Barrett, Second Epistle, pp. 227f; Dodd, History and the Gospel, p. 46; James Denny, The Second Epistle to the Corinthians (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, n.d.), pp. 268f.

Cf. Bultmann, Der Zweite Brief an die Korinther, p. 256.

indicative) indicates that Jesus of Nazareth was once wealthy and gave his wealth away so as to enrich the poor in Corinth. This reading, of course, would not do justice to Paul's thought in this text. What we are given is an impression similar to that of Philippians 2:6-11, that the Christ of God is such that he gives of himself "for your sake" (ὁὐ ὑμᾶς).⁹³ It is the inherent grace of "our Lord Jesus Christ" which impels him to act graciously in becoming poor. But his "poverty" in Palestine is not here set up as an example of the way Christians ought to live. Rather, his very nature in relation to God (cf. Phil. 2:6) is that of grace, and that nature has enriched the Corinthian community's existence in the body of Christ. Christians ought to know that, if they know Christ, so Paul would seem to say.

Romans 15:1-3 requires only brief comment since it was considered in a previous discussion. The idea of the imitation of the example of Jesus' life is, again, in the same form. "Christ did not please himself," refers not simply to Jesus of Nazareth, but to the Christ of God's plan of salvation, now revealed in its final stage.⁹⁴ This Christ who does not please himself is the same Christ who has welcomed the Christians in Rome (15:7). Clearly, the Roman Christians were not given hospitality by Jesus of Nazareth, but were,

⁹³Bultmann finds an echo in II Cor. 8:9 of the Gnostic myth of the descent of the redeemer (Theology I, p. 175); however much of this history-of-religions motif lies behind these statements in Paul's letters it does not fully explain his thought which is thoroughly imbued with Christian eschatology.

⁹⁴The finality of the resurrection of Jesus Christ is unmistakable in Paul, but the final wind-up of eschatological events is still pending. On the resurrection of Christ as an apocalyptic triumph of God see Beker, "Paul's Apocalyptic Theology: Apocalyptic and the Resurrection of Christ," in Paul the Apostle, pp. 135-181; cf. also H.A.A. Kennedy, St. Paul's Conception of Last Things, pp. 222-281.

rather, incorporated into his body (Rom. 12:3-8) and were thus "welcomed".⁹⁵ The Christ who was and is and is to come is the One to whom the Christians relate in the community of faith.

On the same point of imitating Jesus, discipleship in its common sense is noticeably absent from Paul's letters.⁹⁶ Discipleship involved thinking and acting in keeping with the master-teacher's thought and action.⁹⁷ Yet the specific activities of Jesus, his baptism, his temptation, his miracles, his parables, do not appear anywhere in the letters. One would expect, for example, that Jesus' baptism would become a "model" for his "followers". But this is not at all the case. In a key passage on Christian baptism, Romans 6:3-5, Paul's understanding is that Christians are *united* with Christ in his death and resurrection, not as disciples following their teacher, but as participants in the actual death-and-resurrection of Christ.⁹⁸ Participation,⁹⁹ in Paul's frame of reference, leaves no room for following a historical model.

⁹⁵"Welcome" (προσλαμβάνω) is a key word as Käsemann notes and "marks the climax of the argument." He admits that the καθώς clause of verse 7 "speaks less of the model than of the bringer of salvation" (Romans, p. 385). Cf. Sanday and Headlam, Romans, pp. 384f, 397.

⁹⁶E. Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship, pp. 11-21; 61ff; "The death of Jesus at first made an end of the disciples following him. Discipleship can no longer have the form of a real walking with him" (p. 77); Kimmel, "Jesus und Paulus," p. 213.

⁹⁷Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship, pp. 11-21.

⁹⁸The same is true for the Lord's Supper; the people of God in the new eschatological community participate jointly in the body of the crucified-resurrected Christ. See further on this in a subsequent section.

⁹⁹"Participation" (κοινωνία) needs to be distinguished from "imitation". Sanders' discussion on participation in Christ (Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 463-568; 502-508) is illuminating; cf. on imitation, L.W. Hurtado, "Jesus as Lordship Example in Philippians 2:5-11," pp. 113-126; and David Stanley, "Imitation in Paul's Letters," pp. 127-141.

But the "frame of reference" of which we speak, requires elaboration, to be given later. Meanwhile, we may bring the discussion of the tradition of Jesus in Paul's thought to a close by affirming that where there is any sign of reference to Jesus' attitude, acts, or words, we are apt to find it mingled indissolubly with Paul's thought on the eschatological life of the new community of Christ at the dawn of the new aeon. Treated thus, this material is conceived to be part of the in-breaking fulfilment of end-time salvation.

Having made the point that Paul transposed the tradition of Jesus out of a strictly historical setting into the higher realm of the resurrected Lord, we need to explore further the contours of Paul's thought on the present reality of Christ. This discussion will then lead directly into the last main area of investigation: Christian typological existence at the beginning of end-time salvation.

e) The Tradition of Jesus and the Present Reality of Christ

Paul interprets the past saving episodes from the vantage point of his present experience of Christ, so we discovered in earlier chapters dealing with Adam, Abraham and Moses. Similarly, Paul looks back to Jesus of Nazareth, destined to be crucified (cf. I Cor. 2:7f) and resurrected, from his stance at the turn of the ages, and views Jesus as a unique type-figure, in the history of salvation, Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*, whom God in his wisdom and power (I Cor. 1:24) decreed to bring about the new creation. But Paul stands in a subsequent time-frame, after the historical moment of Jesus in Palestine, yet in the result of Christ crucified and raised. Types occur in historical contexts, in *kairoi*, so to speak, and contain elements of the ultimate reality

of end-time salvation and new creation;¹⁰⁰ the "elements" or types anticipate the new order of reality which Paul conceives in terms of Christ resurrected. Paul is, as Ridderbos has rightly judged, "the *proclaimer of a new time*, the great turning point in the history of redemption, the intrusion of a new world aeon."¹⁰¹ In this respect also, Paul does not appeal to words or acts of Jesus of Nazareth, as he does to acts, words, and persons of Scripture. Christ resurrected of Paul's present experience is one with Christ the supernatural rock (I Cor. 10:4), Christ the seed of Abraham (Gal. 3:16), Christ the Lord to whom Moses turned (II Cor. 3:7, 16), and Christ Jesus of Nazareth, Christ κατὰ σάρκα. Words of Jesus in the tradition of the church are taken over by Paul, so we have discovered, as the word of the Lord who revealed himself to Paul. Jesus Christ of history, who is subject to death, stands in the line of Adam; he is not, as such, a type of Christians, but of Christ κατὰ πνεῦμα. It is this Christ triumphant who occupies the sustained focus of Paul's attention. This Christ *makes* the Christian what he is by faith and the gift of the Spirit (Rom. 8:3; 9ff; 6:5-11; I Cor. 12:13; II Cor. 3:17f). Within such an understanding of Christian relation to Christ, Paul apparently will not at the same time set forth Jesus of Nazareth as a model of Christian behaviour, neither should we expect him to cite words of Jesus as if they were "*memorabilia* out of a dead past."¹⁰² That some words

¹⁰⁰We sought to demonstrate this aspect of Paul's typology in part II, and it was this pattern which we investigated also with reference to Jesus of Nazareth whom Paul considered Christ κατὰ σάρκα, anticipating Christ κατὰ πνεῦμα. The point will be elaborated further in the final section of this chapter.

¹⁰¹Ridderbos, Paul and Jesus, p. 64.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 69. Cf. A.T. Hanson, Paul's Understanding of Jesus: Invention or Interpretation? (Hull: University of Hull, 1963), pp. 21f.

of Jesus were known to Paul is quite certain; how many is not so certain. As many as we know within the realm of certainty or high probability we can say assuredly that they are charged with the reality of the present Christ, Lord of the church. And there is no incompatibility in this. Whatever tradition Paul received "from the Lord", as if directly and in the present Christian experience, he understands it to be the abiding word of Christ in whose body the people of faith meet.¹⁰³

If we were to compare Paul's use of tradition of Jesus with that of the Synoptic Evangelists (and we cannot do more than hint at it here) we would probably find the order of intention reversed. Francis W. Beare¹⁰⁴ has drawn attention to numerous examples in which the Synoptic writers have projected sayings of the resurrected Lord back into the earthly ministry of Jesus.¹⁰⁵ This can not in the least be true of Paul. The opposite seems to be the case. Traditional material is so fused with the word of revelation from the resurrected Lord that a distinction between tradition and revelation scarcely exists.¹⁰⁶ This means, for our part, that the

¹⁰³For recent discussion of Paul's view of the nature of the church as the eschatological people of God see especially Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 171-179; Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 303-327; M.E. Glasswell, "Some Issues of Church and Society in Light of Paul's Eschatology," in Paul and Paulinism; Essays in Honour of C.K. Barrett (London: SPCK, 1982), pp. 310-317.

¹⁰⁴Francis W. Beare, "Sayings of the Risen Jesus in the Gospel Tradition: An Inquiry into Their Origin and Significance," in Christian History and Interpretation, pp. 161-181.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 163ff; 170ff.

¹⁰⁶The liturgical words of institution in I Cor. 11 are clearly marked off with παραλαμβάνω and παραδίδωμι, but not the words of regulation (I Cor. 7:10f; 9:14).

traditional material about Jesus cannot be understood within the frame of the type of end-time salvation, for it is itself part of the present reality of Christ in the church. Its authority rests in the fact that it comes from the resurrected Lord, inaugurator of the new creation and agent of end-time salvation.

The various dynamics of the typological thought of Paul on Christian relation to Christ do not fit neatly into Paul's bipartite thinking on the two aeons. The question now before us is this: Is the historical Christian in his present relation to Christ fulfilment or type? Or is he in some respects both at the same time? Two facts we have learned already:

1) Christian relation of Christ resurrected is fulfilment of types of salvation recorded in the Scriptures; 2) the Christian in his present relation to Christ is not a fulfilment of the life and teaching of Jesus. Christ κατὰ σάρκα is a historical type of Christ κατὰ πνεῦμα. In other words, Christ κατὰ πνεῦμα is ultimate life, new creation, last Adam, etc. But this is not true of the Christian in his present experience of Christ. Ultimate salvation still lies in the future, in which case the present participation in Christ is still a type of the future life with Christ yet to be realized. It is particularly in this area of Paul's thought that clear lines are hard to follow, especially so if we expect Paul's two-aeon theology to be sustained in the letters with systematic consistency. One fact stands undisputed: the full realization of eschatological salvation lies in the future. Even so, the foretaste of that salvation is partly realized already in the new people of God in Christ. And again we find a certain typological pattern emerging. An element of end-time salvation has

become a reality in the historical community of faith in Christ Jesus. We must now attempt to determine Paul's thought on the relation between the preliminary element of end-time salvation and the ultimate salvation itself. In so doing we should be in yet a better position to understand and define Paul's thought on his relation (and by extension Christian relation) to Jesus Christ, and to account for some of the underlying factors in that way of thinking.

2. Prefiguring of End-time Salvation

Morna Hooker's counsel concerning attempts to find continuity between Jesus and Paul deserves mention. "We must look for continuity," she says, "not in any historical interest in Jesus on the part of Paul, nor in any identity in the content of their preaching, but in more subtle ways."¹⁰⁷ Professor Hooker does not elaborate on what she means by "more subtle ways," but I suspect she might consider the present treatment to qualify for one of those ways.¹⁰⁸

Paul does respond positively to Jesus of history and tradition;¹⁰⁹ Christ κατὰ σάρκα is a necessary phase in the plan of God for the cosmos.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Hooker, Pauline Pieces, p. 20.

¹⁰⁸ The article by Bemmo Przybylski ("The Spirit: Paul's Journey to Jesus and Beyond," From Jesus to Paul, pp. 157-167) is similarly a somewhat subtle way of treating the relation between Paul and Jesus. The strength of Przybylski's article is its focus on the relation *in Paul's terms of reference*. Although the article does not have terminology characteristic of typology, the observations and insights into Paul's thought respond well to Pauline typological thought.

¹⁰⁹ Przybylski, "The Spirit," p. 159.

¹¹⁰ Cf. ibid., where Przybylski refers to "a direct, logical development from flesh to Spirit with respect to Jesus." Rather than "logical development," I prefer to think that Paul's thought is more that of typological relation between the two.

But Paul's response to Christ of the divine plan is characteristic of a typological way of thinking which focuses on the final outcome of all preliminary and proleptic stages. The final triumph—resurrection, lordship, defeat of evil powers, new creation, etc.—overshadow¹¹¹ the previous stages of the plan in that they are either fulfilled, or are being fulfilled.¹¹² Paul, as we have seen, is occupied (or pre-occupied!) with the *denouement*, the centre-piece of which is the resurrection of Christ.¹¹³ Of course, there cannot be resurrection without death, and that by crucifixion¹¹⁴ (cf. I Cor. 1:18ff; Phil. 2:8), and there cannot

¹¹¹By "overshadows" is meant that Paul's vision of victory in the end interprets all previous victories so as to render them less triumphal than the final one.

¹¹²Events of salvation in Scripture (the history of Israel) could find their fulfilment in the present. We found this situation repeatedly in Part II of the study. But by the "present" I mean the new creation in Christ resurrected, or in the church as the body of Christ *in possession of the Spirit* of the new creation. Adam-Christ typology is fulfilled both in the present and in the future in that it is particularly related to the resurrection of the new mankind, Christ being first fruits, followed by Christians in the future. Cf. M.E. Dahl, The Resurrection of the Body, pp. 59ff, 76, 83f; French L. Arrington, Paul's Aeon Theology in I Corinthians (Washington: University Press of America, 1978), pp. 175ff; Barrett, From First Adam to Last, pp. 12ff; Goppelt, Typos, pp. 129ff.

¹¹³That the resurrection of Christ is viewed by Paul as an apocalyptic event which inaugurates the new creation, has been sufficiently demonstrated by Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 152-159: The resurrection "is a proleptic event that foreshadows the apocalyptic general resurrection of the dead and thus the transformation of our created world and the gift of new corporeal life to dead bodies" (p. 153). Cf. Käsemann, New Testament Questions of Today (London: SCM Press, 1969), p. 133. "The content of the Resurrection is primarily not anthropological at all, but Christological....It is apocalyptically anchored and delimited."

¹¹⁴The importance given by Paul to the form of Jesus' death is probably to oppose its weakness to God's power; the cross is a scandal to Jews and folly to Greeks, but to Christians, it "is the power of God" (I Cor. 1:23f). Cf. Beker's understanding of the cross-theology in Paul as connected apocalyptically to the resurrection; Paul the Apostle, pp. 198-208.

be death without the historical person¹¹⁵ divinely designated for such a destiny within the will of God. The death and resurrection of Christ as a single coordinated drama, the first act leading to the second by divine decree,¹¹⁶ is a sustained and compelling aspect of Paul's thought. Paul views the resurrection of Christ as the decisive act of God in bringing about the change of aeons, the old to the new.¹¹⁷ What appears to be the case, then, is this: the idea of the new world coming into being via the resurrection has overpowered Paul's mind to the extent that aspects of Jesus' life are transposed into the sphere of the present lordship of Christ, with the result that Jesus of history is neither a type to be fulfilled in the Christian, nor an ethical model to be emulated by Christians.¹¹⁸ Christ the Lord, rather, has taken over from Jesus, and the Christian is said to exist ἐν χριστῷ at the inception of the new creation (II Cor. 5:17). But this raises a question immediately, one which the Corinthians answered in their own way as we shall see momentarily. The question is: Does this new existence in Christ mean that the Christian is completely delivered out of the old age, out of the grip of sin and death? Paul's answer is essentially

¹¹⁵Cf. Bultmann, Theology I, pp. 187-189; idem, "Significance," pp. 235ff.

¹¹⁶Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 194f. Cf. Przybylski, "The Spirit," pp. 158f where he relates Christ of the flesh with Christ of the Spirit in terms as "logical development".

¹¹⁷Arrington, Paul's Aeon Theology, pp. 119-135; Hickling, "Centre and Periphery in Paul's Thought," pp. 199-214; Knox, Chapters in the Life of Paul, pp. 128-131.

¹¹⁸David Stanley correctly concludes that "the Pauline texts in which imitation and example appear...are intended to point to a reality transcending merely human exemplarity, moral influence, or external simulation" ("Imitation in Paul's Letters," From Jesus to Paul, p. 141).

a qualified negative. No, salvation is not complete, since Christians are not yet resurrected with Christ, but their resurrection is assured because of their status in the body of Christ (I Cor. 5:20ff; II Cor. 4:13f; cf. Rom. 8:9-11). This status not only guarantees the resurrection life of the future, but also accommodates a present, ongoing transformation by the power of the Spirit (II Cor. 3:18, μεταμορφούμεθα; 4:16, ἀνακαινούται). By being transformed in the present¹¹⁹ the Christian is made aware that "he who raised the Lord Jesus will raise us also with Jesus and bring us with you into his presence" (II Cor. 4:14). But the change is not one of development or progress to the state of resurrection, but one still of anticipation of the eschatological act of God at the resurrection of the dead (I Cor. 15:20-28).

We must now proceed to a more detailed examination of the way in which this thinking appears in Paul's arguments. To begin, a fair accounting of Paul's bipolar thinking must be given, together with its relation to typology and to the complexity of thought to which it gives rise.

a) Typology in Paul's Bipolar Thinking

Some of the difficulties which Paul faced in his churches, especially the church at Corinth, arose in all probability out of the manner in which he expressed his thought in categorical pairs of opposites. Some scholars refer to Paul's dialectical way of thinking,¹²⁰ although Paul himself doubtless

¹¹⁹ Stanley ("Imitation in Paul's Letters," pp. 129f) sees, correctly, I believe, Paul's conception of the imitation of Christ consisting in the Christian's transformation into the image of the risen Christ.

¹²⁰ N.Q. Hamilton, The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 26; Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 197f; Cf.

would not have considered his soteriology in such philosophical terms. It is evident, however, that Paul set out his thought in what looks like bi-polar form and the result is often a strained argument in which the landscape between the poles takes shape. Nowhere is this bi-polar thinking more evident than in the concept of the old aeon and the new, although it surfaces in other areas as well—flesh/spirit; life/death; law/faith; law kills/spirit gives life; etc. E.P. Sanders¹²¹ has drawn attention to this condition that Paul "tended to think in black and white terms,"¹²² and Sanders believes that this tendency accounts for much of the difficulty in understanding Paul's view of the law. The same is true for typology which is so closely linked with Paul's concept of the old and the new aeons. A problem exists in the way Paul expounds his view of Christian existence between the resurrection of Christ and that of Christians. Some scholars refer to this stage simply as the new creation,¹²³ others, the turn of the ages,¹²⁴ and again, the dawn of the new creation,¹²⁵ or the future breaking in on the present.¹²⁶ The period has also been called

Darrell J. Doughty, "The Presence and Future of Salvation," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 66 (1975), pp. 61-90 (on dialectic in Paul, p. 90).

¹²¹Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 137-41.

¹²²Ibid., p. 70.

¹²³Goppelt, Typos, pp. 130ff.

¹²⁴Martyn, "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages," pp. 285f; also the "overlap of the ages," Arrington, Paul's Aeon Theology, p. 145; A.T. Lincoln, Paradise Now and Not Yet (Cambridge: University Press, 1981), p. 52.

¹²⁵Harrisville, Newness, pp. 70ff.

¹²⁶Hamilton, The Holy Spirit and Eschatology, p. 34.

the "interim time".¹²⁷ Some—including the present writer—prefer to use some of these terms interchangeably in the conviction that each one contains an element of Paul's thought. A certain amount of difficulty rests with the notion, put forward by Conzelmann, of "interim time". Conzelmann notes that "the expression 'new aeon' is not found in Paul," but quite apart from that he says, "the Spirit is a signal of the character of the present as interim time, the time of faith and hope, not of seeing."¹²⁸ Paul, of course, does not use the term "interim time" either, whereas he does assure the Corinthians that the end of the ages has come upon them (I Cor. 10:11), and that if anyone is in Christ he is, by that fact, already participating in the new creation (II Cor. 5:17). He can say also that the old dispensation has been surpassed by the new so as to have been rendered inoperative (II Cor. 3:7-11). And in the same passage he assures the Corinthians that they with all Christians "are being changed" (present passive) into the image (εἰκόν) of Christ, from glory to glory (II Cor. 3:18). The glory of the new dispensation comes through sharply. Yet even in this text Paul has the final "glory" of resurrection in reserve for the future, as 4:13-15 makes plain; moreover, Conzelmann is correct to the extent that Paul is not, after all, prepared to say that the final transformation of Christians has occurred already. I Corinthians 15 is largely a defusing of the Christian enthusiasm on the part of some at Corinth who were saying that the new creation has come already with Christ. They probably developed their thinking from Paul's own word to them about the

¹²⁷Hans Conzelmann, "Current Problems in New Testament Research," New Testament Issues, ed. Richard Batey (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 147, note 25.

¹²⁸Ibid.

newness of life in Christ.¹²⁹ The point is that Paul's bi-polar thinking often calls for a modification which Paul does not always give, and because he does not, misunderstanding can result, as it probably did at Corinth.

Typology in Paul, as we have said, is tied in with the two-aeon conception, and Paul tends to think only of the old and the new aeons as distinct one from the other. Granted, the old has types of the new, proleptic antecedents of the eschatological time of salvation. And so we are confronted with a two-phase typology: first Adam/last Adam; faith of Abraham/faith of Christians; glory of Moses/glory of Christian ministers; Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*/Christ *κατὰ πνεῦμα*. A two-phase typology linked with the two-aeon concept has type and antitype, type-figure and fulfilment-figure, etc. This way of thinking is characteristic of Paul, but it does not always hold true to reality. What we find in the letters, in fact, is something that looks like a three-phase typology in which some fulfilment of type has occurred already and the ultimate has yet to be realized.¹³⁰ This is indeed the way

¹²⁹ A final decision on whether Paul is answering a direct question from the Corinthians in Chapter 15 has not yet been reached. I prefer to think that Paul's exposition of the resurrection of the dead is the result of a report from Corinth; cf. 15:12 and 1:11; 5:1; 11:18. On the structural position of chapter 15 in the letter see Hurd, *Origin*, pp. 91f and Roetzel, *Conversations*, pp. 44-48. That the chapter corrects Corinthian enthusiasm has been demonstrated sufficiently; see e.g. Käsemann, "Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," *New Testament Questions*, pp. 125ff. Cf. M.H. Scharlemann, *Qumran and Corinth* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1962), pp. 45f where he attributes the eschatological enthusiasm to the work of Apollos.

¹³⁰ Cf. Dieter Betz's comment (based on Gal. 6:15) on Paul's view of 'new creation' in the middle of the old. "The Christian has 'put on' the body of the crucified and resurrected Christ who now lives in him. God has, in addition, sent the spirit of Christ who has taken hold of the Christian. All of these concepts are used to show that the 'new creation' takes place in the middle of the old world, 'in the flesh'" (*Galatians*, p. 320). Betz, it would seem, leaves room neither for 'interim time' nor an eschatological future, and his view of new cosmos in Paul is thereby wanting.

it is in Christian relation to Christ. What we have is a kind of three-phase typology in which present Christian experience is partial fulfilment and is thereby constituted type of final fulfilment.¹³¹ But Paul does not always set out a formal three-phase typology of this description. But at points he is obliged to deal with the reality of Christian existence in the world of flesh and blood and the result is a three-stage typology in effect. At the same time Paul's thought is largely bi-partite and his typology takes this form as well. The discussions of present Christian relation to Christ in connection with the future resurrection life are carried out with only these two aspects of present and future in view, not past type/present fulfilment; present type/future fulfilment. The bi-partite typological thinking is guided largely by the two-fold category of the old aeon and the new,—type and fulfilment of type—and he thinks of the resurrected Christ and of the church of Christ as together constituting the new creation of God. But the historical reality of the church in its non-resurrected state, living in anticipation of the final life with Christ, leads him into an aspect of typological thinking by which present Christian life in the Spirit and in the flesh prefigure future resurrection life with Christ.

We must now consider key passages which lead us to think that Paul understands the present Christian experience as a type of the future salvation, and that his thinking along these lines explains in part the peculiar way in which he relates to Jesus of Nazareth in the past.

At points where Paul connects the present Christian experience with the future life with Christ he seems to believe that the present reality of

¹³¹Hamilton, Holy Spirit and Eschatology, p. 39; Doughty, "Presence and Future," pp. 80ff; Przybylski, "The Spirit," pp. 157-167.

Christ augurs for the final victory of life over death to all those who are in Christ. To work through the dynamics of this structure of thought it will be convenient to deal separately with the final salvation soon to come and the present element of that final salvation which we have chosen to designate a "type" of future salvation. After having discussed these two aspects of Paul's thought we will be in a position to draw some conclusions about his conception concerning the interconnection between them.

b) Final Salvation Pending

It is now generally recognized that Paul's terms for salvation are weighted heavily toward the future. The verb σώζειν, "to save," occurs most frequently in the future tense;¹³² only once does it appear in the aorist indicative (Rom. 8:24). But even this instance is in the context of the eschatological section of Romans 8 in which Paul is grounding the hope for a new cosmos in the reality of salvific work already accomplished. More prevalent is the future saving activity as in Romans 5:9: "Since, therefore, we are now justified by his blood, much more shall we be saved (σωθησόμεθα) by him from the wrath of God" (cf. 5:10; 9:25; 10:9, 12; 11:26; I Cor. 3:15). Here the future deliverance is grounded in the present reality of justification (δικαιωθέντες νῦν). But quite apart from the preponderance of the future tense of soteriological verbs, Paul's eschatological statements reveal a futuristic leaning.¹³³

¹³²Werner Foerster and George Fohrer, "σώζω," TDNT, Vol. VII, p. 992.

¹³³The futuristic element of Paul's thought on salvation has received significant attention recently; among some of the important contributions are studies by A.T. Lincoln, Paradise Now and Now Yet, pp. 169-195 especially; Darrel J. Doughty, "The Presence and Future of Salvation in Corinth," pp. 61-90; and Randy Klassen, in a forthcoming publication, "The Future Aspect of Salvation: Experience and Eschatology in the Spirit, Romans 8,"

The stress of I Corinthians 15 clearly falls on the future resurrection of Christians, although not in isolation from the resurrection of Christ already in effect. I take it that chapter 15 is climactic¹³⁴ in this letter, that Paul has been leading up to this argument, and that it constitutes a corrective¹³⁵ to a Corinthian emphasis which Paul rejects. Ernst Käsemann's assessment of the circumstances behind the writing of chapter 15 are probably correct. In the church at Corinth, says Käsemann,

we have an undoubtedly eschatological enthusiasm unambiguously distinct not only from apocalyptic expectation of an imminent End but also from any theologically relevant future hope. Today we may take it for granted that the dominant group in Corinth believed themselves to have reached the goal of salvation already....The resurrection of the dead has already happened.¹³⁶

presented to Mennonite Brethren College of Arts, University of Winnipeg, 1984, pp. 1-22; J.D.G. Dunn, "Spirit and Kingdom," Expository Times, 82 (1970), pp. 36-40. Dunn emphasizes a "present-future tension, a dual relationship between part and whole" (p. 37), but he does not make a major attempt to classify the so-called tension within Paul's theology. "Tension" is not the most suitable term for the phenomenon, as we shall see shortly.

¹³⁴That is, the exposition of the gospel throughout chapters 1-14 has left the resurrection noticeably in the background; the letter opens with Paul's thought on the paradox of the cross in the plan of God, followed by a number of contingent answers to problems in the community, and finally an exposition of the counterpart of the cross, the resurrection, and its relation to Christian experience. Bornkamm, Paul, pp. 73ff, sees this kind of development. Cf. Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 6: "I Corinthians simply follows the order of the Corinthian letter;" and Schmithals, Gnosticism in Corinth, pp. 91f, chapter 15:1 connects with 11:34 and chapters 12-14 belong with 16:1.

¹³⁵What is being corrected is an over-realized understanding of salvation; so Barrett, I Corinthians, p. 109; Bornkamm, Paul, pp. 68-77; Käsemann, New Testament Questions, p. 133; Lietzmann, An Die Korinther I-II, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1969). Darrell Doughty cautions against playing up the corrective aspect of chapter 15; that is, the chapter is not merely saying, against the Corinthians, that salvation is future, not present. Rather, "the Corinthians have misconceived the very nature of salvation, in the present and the future" ("Presence and Future", p. 63).

¹³⁶Käsemann, New Testament Questions, p. 125.

Verse 19 is particularly striking: "If for this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most to be pitied." Paul here is not dealing with the human condition outside of Christ, as he does, for example, in Romans 7. The reference is to Christian experience in the present, and Paul discounts sharply any notion that the present reality of Christ is final.¹³⁷ It cannot be final because the onslaught of certain cosmic powers, especially the power of death, is still pending (15:24f). On the other hand, in a less polemical situation Paul can speak as if the life of the new order is realized already, as in Romans 8:2:¹³⁸ "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set me free from the law of sin and death." If Paul had preached something of this nature on his mission to Corinth, it would not be surprising to find at least some of his hearers in that environment conclude that the old order of sin and death is cancelled by virtue of the new relation to the resurrected Christ.¹³⁹ But Paul, as we see from I Corinthians 15 and Romans 8:18ff, has an eschatological element in reserve

¹³⁷ Doughty takes issue with the widely accepted view that Paul is countering a denial of a future resurrection which is implied in the Corinthians' claim to have attained full salvation. He says, "there is no indication anywhere that they actually grounded this claim with the assertion that the resurrection of believers had already taken place....The Corinthian enthusiasts denied the possibility of a future life or at least were not concerned about such a possibility" ("Presence and Future," p. 75). In the final analysis, though, the issue is still the same and Paul's answer the same.

¹³⁸ Even in the earlier part of I Corinthians Paul expounds the present experience of salvation (I Cor. 3:21f; 6:11), but not in the same terms of reference as Romans 8:2.

¹³⁹ The over-realized eschatology at Corinth is implied as early as chapter 4: "Do not pronounce judgement before the time, before the Lord comes...(v. 5). Already you are filled! Already you have become rich! Without us you have become kings!" (v. 8). See the discussion in Lincoln, Paradise Now and Not Yet, pp. 35-7 and Schmithals, Gnosticism, pp. 169-71.

even while he glories in the present reality of life in Christ.

Above all, the corporeal transformation¹⁴⁰ of Christians, whether dead or alive, is still future. They are destined for a more radical change than the "remoulding"¹⁴¹ which comes from the Lord who is the Spirit in the present situation (II Cor. 3:18). Their present status in the body of Christ makes them eligible for a new body (σῶμα, 15:44) at the parousia,—whether or not they happen to be alive or dead at that time. "We shall not all sleep, but we shall be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye..., the dead will be raised imperishable and we shall be changed" (15:51f). Moreover, final salvation is still pending, but it is, at the same time, assured by virtue of the resurrection of Christ (15:3-5, 20ff) and by the ongoing transformation through the Spirit (II Cor. 3:18).

For Paul the "perfect" lies ahead as the goal of the present, attainable but not yet attained. And the "perfect" is still associated with resurrection life, as Philippians 3:11ff confirms. In expressing his desire to know Christ, Paul leaves no doubt with the Philippians that his participation in Christ's sufferings and death falls short of perfect relation to Christ. Perfect relation comes only with resurrection and that is still outstanding.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Clearly Paul is opposed to any idea of a "naked" spirit (πνεῦμα) in the new world of the future. See Dahl, The Resurrection of the Body, pp. 74-84. Bultmann, Theology I, pp. 192-203; Jewett, Anthropological Terms, p. 267.

¹⁴¹ Stanley, "Imitation in Paul's Letters," p. 129.

¹⁴² Hamilton, Holy Spirit and Eschatology, p. 39. "The believer is not perfected, but his status and his life, in so far as they are determined by the Spirit, as of the same kind as his status and life will be after the consummation, and already he moves toward that goal."

"Not that I have already obtained this or am already perfect; but I press on to make it my own, because Christ has made me his own." This passage and Romans 8:18ff are particularly explicit on Paul's thought concerning the future, perfect goal of salvation in Christ. The past, necessary as it has been, stands in the shadow of the future triumph of God in Christ (Phil. 3:13-16).

Elsewhere as well Paul alludes not only to the perfect future, but also to the imperfect present, and he means by this latter the present Christian experience. I refer to I Corinthians 13:9-13. Knowledge and prophecy are partial (ἐκ μέρους) in the present, and what is even more peculiar in this passage is that when the perfect comes the partial will be rendered inoperative (καταργηθήσεται, note the future tense). Only love (ἀγάπη) in accord with faith and hope will remain (13:13); and this meaning holds whether οὐδὲ δὲ of verse 13 is logical or temporal, although the logical sense seems more appropriate.¹⁴³ Jack Sanders has shown convincingly that verse 13 "looks to the parousia as do verses 10 and 12."¹⁴⁴ The Corinthians, on the other hand, have over emphasized the present aspects of Christian existence in the understanding that they are in the permanent

¹⁴³Following Lietzmann, An Die Korinther I/II, p. 66. "οὐδὲ λογisch: während die andern Charismen vergehen, bleiben (II Cor. 3:11) Glaube, Hoffnung, Liebe auch nach der Endvollendung." See also Arrington's treatment of love as "an eschatological phenomenon," Paul's Aeon Theology, pp. 153f; and Bultmann, Theology I, p. 44: "Love is designated as an eschatological phenomenon by the fact that it is the primary fruit of the Spirit" (Gal. 5:22).

¹⁴⁴Jack T. Sanders, "First Corinthians 13: Its Interpretation Since the First World War," Interpretation, 20 (1966), pp. 159-187 (quotation from 186). Cf. also Schweitzer's impressive analysis in which he likewise stresses the eschatological nature of ἀγάπη in I Cor. 13, Mysticism, pp. 303-307.

new creation already. For Paul, the centre of gravity lies in the future."¹⁴⁵

A further point needs to be made: the eschatological salvation of the future is imminent. And one is left with the impression that Paul's thought on the imminent parousia is an attempt at resolving the dilemma of the unfulfilled experience of the present reality of Christ through the Spirit. The Christian appears as one who lives at the juncture of the aeons,¹⁴⁶ yet Paul does not actually say this, any more than he posits an "interim time"¹⁴⁷ of Christian existence in history. The result is that the period of Christian relation to Christ prior to the parousia is not clearly defined by Paul. He does not say that the Christian is still in the old aeon, neither does he say plainly that he is in the new, although the accent of many of his statements could be construed in this way (e.g. II Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15; Rom. 8:1-11). Perhaps the appropriate designation for the interval between the resurrection of Christ and the parousia would be "time of eschatological mission". It is a time (*καρπός*) of urgency in which the events of the end are rapidly being completed. Christians at Corinth are called upon to live as though¹⁴⁸ the present social structures such as marriage were already defunct (*ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες*, I Cor. 7:29), and this because "the appointed time

¹⁴⁵ Hamilton, Holy Spirit and Eschatology, p. 18.

¹⁴⁶ Martyn, "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages," pp. 284ff;
Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 200ff.

¹⁴⁷ See note 125 above.

¹⁴⁸ The five *ὡς μὴ* (as though) exhortations of I Cor. 7:29-31 are bracketed by two eschatological assertions: "The time has been shortened" (v. 29) and "the form of this world is passing away" (v. 31). Doughty has a helpful discussion of these verses in "The Presence and Future of Salvation at Corinth," pp. 66-74.

has grown very short," and the doom of the rulers of the present age is impending (I Cor. 2:6). Christians should know this critical hour for what it is, "for salvation is nearer to us now than when we first believed..., the day is at hand."

Moreover, Paul seems to deal with the reality of the present historical existence of Christians in terms of a transition from the old aeon to the new. Certain aspects of the change-over come through at points as we have indicated, but Paul expounds the glory of the new over against the old and the impression which this way of thinking gives is that the alternatives are only two, the old or the new. The Christian, therefore, appears to be in the new, until Paul is pressed to deal with the present experience at the juncture¹⁴⁹ between the two. Commenting on Paul's vision of life at the change of aeons, M.E. Dahl observes:

In this period hovering between the old aeon, which is drawing to an end, and the new aeon which is close at hand and has already begun in Christ, we belong both to the generation of Adam and to the generation of Christ.¹⁵⁰

While the last part of Dahl's statement makes good sense, and lends weight to the view that present Christian experience is type only, the fact remains that Paul does not state the case in such clear categories. One must read between the lines, so to speak, to find that the Christian belongs partially to the generation of Adam and only partially to the new

¹⁴⁹ Proof of this intersection of the ages cannot rest on the plural of *αἰών* in I Cor. 10:11, as Héring purports to show, The First Epistle, p. 89; Arrington is likewise mistaken in following Héring (Paul's Aeon Theology, p. 145). See discussion in chapter 5, at notes 85 and 86.

¹⁵⁰ Dahl, Resurrection of the Body, p. 83.

order of Christ.

Romans 7 and 8 are representative of Paul's way of thinking. These two chapters tend to exclude any middle ground by their exaggerated emphasis on the status of a person outside of Christ and the status of one in Christ. From Romans 7 one is left with the distinct impression that anyone who is not in Christ is incapable of doing good of any kind. Of such a person outside Christ Paul states in the first person: "I can will what is right but I cannot do it" (7:18).¹⁵¹ And this condition exists, according to Paul, because the person is in the flesh and "sold under sin" (7:15). On the other side of the ledger in Romans 8, however, those who are "in Christ Jesus" (8:1) are not condemned, they are free from the law of sin and death, they are "not in the flesh," but are "in the Spirit" (8:9).¹⁵² What stands out in both chapters is the exaggerated way in which Paul pictures humanity either outside of Christ or in Christ. And some of Paul's first readers could very well conclude that there is no "hovering" between the old life and the new, between the old aeon and the new. Yet when we read further in Romans 8 we find that the present state of Christians is one of unfulfilled hope in Christ. Christ has already been raised, and consequently "he who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life (ζωοποιήσας, future) to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit which dwells in you" (8:11). Elsewhere we learn that the indwelling Spirit performs a change in Christians "from one degree of glory to another" (II

¹⁵¹ Cf. Barrett, Romans, p. 148 on the distinction between "I" and "flesh" in chapter 7.

¹⁵² Ibid., pp. 158f.

Cor. 3:18), and this, as we shall see, prefigures the greater change from mortality to immortality (I Cor. 15:51ff).

Scholars are coming to recognize more and more that this final salvation is not limited to an individualistic, anthropological deliverance.¹⁵³ The salvation of man in Adam is bound up with the emancipation of the created universe from its "bondage to decay" (Rom. 8:21). Käsemann is doubtless correct in locating the background of Paul's apocalyptic thinking in the apocalypticism of Judaism.¹⁵⁴ But whatever elements of Jewish apocalyptic Paul has taken over, they have been thoroughly baptized in Christian motifs, and made to fit Christian eschatology which is partly realized, so that extensive apocalyptic details are virtually absent¹⁵⁵ (cf. I Thess. 4:13-18; I Cor. 15:20ff). Romans 8:18ff is most illustrative of the cosmic scope of the impending salvation. To enter into a full-scale exegesis of the passage would involve more space than this chapter permits.¹⁵⁶ The

¹⁵³ See, for example, the debate between Bultmann (e.g., "History and Eschatology," New Testament Studies (1954), pp. 5-16); and Käsemann (e.g., "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," New Testament Questions, pp. 82-107). Käsemann takes issue with Bultmann's interpretation of Paul's thought as deriving from his anthropology. "Apocalyptic was the mother of all Christian theology," says Käsemann (New Testament Questions, p. 102). More recently J.C. Beker classified Paul as an apocalyptic theologian, Paul the Apostle, pp. 353f.

¹⁵⁴ Käsemann, New Testament Questions, pp. 111-124.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 543: "The similarity between Paul's view and apocalypticism is general rather than detailed...; he observed none of the literary conventions of apocalyptic literature."

¹⁵⁶ Käsemann's commentary on the structure and meaning of this passage is very illuminating, Romans, pp. 231-252; cf. C.H. Dodd, Romans, pp. 133f who favours a realized eschatology and believes Paul is speaking poetically in Rom. 8:18-27. See further Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Römer, pp. 171-179; and Barrett, Romans, pp. 161-171.

principal points of the text may be cited to illustrate the futuristic aspect of salvation for Christians and the created world: 1) present sufferings betoken future glory (18); 2) creation "groans" in hopeful anticipation of the "revealing of the sons of God" (19-21); 3) sons of God await full sonship, the redemption of their body; and meanwhile, 4) they have the Spirit of the future salvation already (23, 26-27). Futuristic eschatology here is undeniable, as it is in I Corinthians 15 and I Thessalonians 4.

Paul's futuristic eschatology does have traces of apocalyptic thinking, especially that of the final triumph of God over the powers of darkness.¹⁵⁷ But his thinking about future salvation may also be described as typological, and that in concert with apocalyptic.¹⁵⁸

What has often been called a tension in Paul's understanding of salvation realized and salvation yet to be realized¹⁵⁹ belongs to typological thinking. In fact, when the typological aspect of Paul's thought is fully recognized, the so-called tension which tends to have a negative connotation can be appreciated in a more positive frame of reference. The future and the

¹⁵⁷ See Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 135-181; 351-367.

¹⁵⁸ Against Goppelt, Typos, pp. 234f, who identifies the characteristics of typology and apocalyptic, believes that both operate in Paul's letters, but they do not relate one to the other. Cf. Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 144, 150.

¹⁵⁹ As in Käsemann, New Testament Questions, p. 136; Bouttier, Christianity According to Paul, p. 84; Dunn, "Spirit and Kingdom," p. 36. But cf. Doughty, "The Presence and the Future of Salvation," p. 85: "The attempt to conceive Paul's understanding of Christian existence in terms of a tension between the presence and future of salvation leads...to a misunderstanding of Pauline theology as such, i.e. to a misunderstanding of the fundamental relationship between indicative and imperative....The Pauline imperative is ultimately deprived of its christological ground."

present are probably not in dialectical tension with each other, but in typological relation to each other. That is, the future glory is prefigured in the present glory (II Cor. 3:18) and the present guarantees the final reality of Christ, a "face to face" reality, so to speak (I Cor. 13:12).

We have considered the futuristic aspect of salvation for Paul, and we have hinted throughout that the future salvation cannot be divorced from the present experience of Christ resurrected. Rather, we have strongly suggested that while future salvation is prominent in Paul's thinking it appears at times as if it has already occurred. Present and future relate to each other as type to fulfilment, in the same way that past occurrences of salvation relate to the present. What results is a kind of three-stage typology, but Paul does not actually think in terms of three stages, but two. And at those points where he discusses the Christian experience of Christ in relation to the future, he still thinks in terms of the two stages only, not three. Similarly, when he discusses the relation of the present to the past, his thinking there is also in terms of the two, not three.

Attention now needs to be given to the present aspect of salvation to find out the extent to which this aspect can, in fact, be called a "type" of the final salvation still future.

c) Final Salvation Realized in Type

Although we could look in various directions for indications of Paul's understanding of present Christian experience in relation to the future, we shall restrict the examination to texts containing two kinds of evidence pertaining to our subject: 1) the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and 2) key terms of a typological nature relating to the Spirit.

i) The Sacraments

That Paul reserves eschatological salvation to be realized in the future is beyond dispute, as our survey has indicated. But the fact remains that he proclaims the arrival of the appointed time (νὺν καιρὸς εὐπρόσδεκτος, II Cor. 6:2) of eschatological salvation.¹⁶⁰ "Behold now is the day of salvation," he tells the Corinthians. Christ crucified and raised is the content of the kairotic time now present, and this "fact" is proclaimed both in word and in sacrament, not one or the other, but the two coordinately (cf. I Cor. 11:26).

Explicit mention of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper is not extensive in the letters. This condition could be the result of an over-emphasis on their efficacy in some of the churches, especially in Corinth.¹⁶¹ On the other hand, the Christian sacraments may be so much part of the life of the church that they are assumed by Paul and implied in many of his statements about life in Christ.¹⁶² The more explicit statements will be sufficient to make the point.

Baptism enters Paul's discussion of Christian existence alongside two concomitant ideas: initiation into the body of Christ and reception of the Spirit. One or the other of these two may be stressed in a given context,

¹⁶⁰"Christ is the eschatological event not as a figure of the past but as the *Christus praesens*....Therefore, Paul can proclaim: 'Behold now is the day of salvation'" (Bultmann, "History and Eschatology," pp. 15f). Bultmann, however, interprets Paul's eschatological salvation in existential, anthropological categories: "The decisive history is not the history of the world...but the history which every one experiences himself" (pp. 13f).

¹⁶¹Schweizer, "Dying and Rising with Christ," p. 180.

¹⁶²Ridderbos, Paul, p. 396.

but the second member is never far away. Perhaps the clearest case where the two aspects appear in association with baptism is I Corinthians 12:13. "For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews and Greeks, slaves or free—and all were made to drink of one Spirit." By baptism the believer is admitted into the eschatological community which Paul here (as elsewhere) calls the body of Christ.¹⁶³ Baptism has an eschatological significance by signalling the presence of a new entity in the world, at the same time that it marks the incorporation of the individual into the new community of the people of God. The Spirit, similarly, is eschatological, appearing most poignantly in connection with the great eschatological reality of the resurrection of Christ, as we saw in Romans 1:3f (cf. I Cor. 15:45f; Rom. 8:9-11). Eduard Schweizer has presented a convincing argument for the eschatological character of baptism. He cites a number of passages, besides the explicit ones, where he believes Paul has baptism in mind. Regarding baptism in the dialogue between Paul and the Corinthians, Schweizer maintains, I think correctly,

that the experience of the Spirit seemed to prove that the new aeon had in the church already broken into the world; resurrection was already an accomplished fact, since it had taken place in the rising with Christ in baptism. Against this enthusiasm, Paul emphasizes that the rising

¹⁶³The question of baptism as a means of salvation is not clearly set out in Paul; one would suspect that if baptism is the way into the body of Christ, and if the means of entry communicates the Holy Spirit to the recipient then it must have some kind of saving significance, in conjunction with other aspects, such as faith, to be sure. See Ridderbos, Paul, pp. 406-414; Bouttier, Christianity According to Paul, pp. 59ff. Cf. Käsemann, Perspectives, p. 104: "The sacrament effects a metamorphosis in which the old man dies and a new creature comes to life." Sanders says "admission was sealed by baptism" (Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, p. 178).

with Christ is still to be awaited.¹⁶⁴

This outlook begs the question: Did anything significant actually happen when the believer was incorporated into the body of Christ by baptism?

And Paul answers a confident "yes". "You were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God" (I Cor. 6:11).¹⁶⁵

Participation in the body of Christ by baptism involves change, and the change is related to the eschatological kingdom of God, but it is not resurrection. One who is transferred into Christ will *inherit* the kingdom of God¹⁶⁶ (I Cor. 6:9). The term "kingdom of God" does not occur frequently in Paul, but where it does its use is eschatological and corrective, as in I Corinthians 6:9.¹⁶⁷ The immoral, idolaters, sexual perverts, etc. will

¹⁶⁴ Schweizer, "Dying and Rising with Christ," p. 181; *idem*, "πνεῦμα," TDNT, VI, p. 422. Cf. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 216: "In becoming a Christian Paul entered a new community and in the pneumatic phenomena that marked the life of that community...he saw proof of the advent of the Age to Come. The active presence of the Spirit in power was a mark of the *Endzeit*." Cf. also Tannehill, Dying and Rising, pp. 68ff.

¹⁶⁵ In any statement of this nature, resurrection is noticeably absent. Whatever baptism may do for the participant, it does not convey the future life of resurrection, but it does equip for it. Käsemann, New Testament Questions, pp. 132f states the case thus: "Participation in the Resurrection is spoken of not in the perfect tense, but in the future. Baptism equips for it, calls to it, but does not itself convey this gift.... Baptism is still only an anticipatory hint of what...is undoubtedly in the future." See further, Bornkamm, Early Christian Experience, pp. 71-84.

¹⁶⁶ Dunn, "Spirit and Kingdom," p. 36. "Inherit" is taken over from the Scripture where it refers to the occupation of the land of Palestine. It is also used in a wider sense (e.g. Ps. 24:13); see Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 106, note 31.

¹⁶⁷ Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 106; Héring, First Epistle, pp. 41f; Leitzmann, An die Korinther I/II, p. 25 ("Paulus korrigiert ihre Wortklauberei").

not inherit the kingdom of God. Again in Galatians 5:21, "those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Moreover, baptism which marks the transfer into Christ's death and resurrection,—into his body—involves a change of conduct as well as of status. Paul does portray the other more positive side of the transfer, the "in-Christ" side. And the picture is that of life in the Spirit. He may apply various terms—live by the Spirit (Gal. 5:25), walk by the Spirit (5:16, 25), led by the Spirit (5:18), the fruit of the Spirit (5:22), the Spirit intercedes (Rom. 8:27)—but the overwhelming conviction seems to be that Christians receive the Spirit of new life on the basis of faith (Gal. 3:2) and incorporation into membership in the body of Christ through baptism¹⁶⁸ (Rom. 6:4ff; I Cor. 12:13). The transfer and the attending gift of the Spirit involves change, ongoing change "from one degree of glory to another" (II Cor. 3:18), but the grand finale still lies ahead "when the perishable puts on the imperishable" (I Cor. 15:54) because "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (I Cor. 15:50).¹⁶⁹ Yet this final and climactic change is not unrelated to the transfer into Christ and to the ongoing change which accompanies the transfer. More positively, the change involved in being baptized into the body of Christ is the same in kind—not in degree—as that which Christians will experience at the resurrection.¹⁷⁰ The present change prefigures the

¹⁶⁸ On the relation of the admonitions of the second part of Romans 6 to the baptismal part at the beginning, see Bornkamm, Early Christian Experience, pp. 79-84. "Baptism is the dedication of the new life, and the new life is the appropriation of baptism" (p. 84).

¹⁶⁹ Jeremias, "Flesh and Blood," pp. 151-9. Beginning at verse 50 the theme changes from resurrection of the dead to transformation of the living at the parousia. Flesh and blood cannot see God or inherit his kingdom. Cf. Conzelmann, I Corinthians, pp. 289f.

¹⁷⁰ There is a "hiddenness of the new life that is given to us in baptism. The old aeon has turned, but in such a fashion that the new world

final one, but it is not the final change. The Corinthians apparently misread Paul on this point, as Schweizer affirms:

The Corinthians understood the resurrection not as a mere pledge or first fruits like Paul (sic), but as the new, eschatological¹⁷¹ life itself, as the apocalyptic 'living with Christ'.

In Romans 6, a less polemical passage than those of the Corinthian correspondence, we find the same motif set out in quite bold strokes:

Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the father, we too might walk in newness of life. For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his....If we have died with Christ we believe we shall also live with him (Rom. 6:3-8).¹⁷²

The passage is quoted at length to illustrate the movement of thought. Baptism unites the believer with Christ in his death, but only proleptically in his resurrection. Just when we would expect Paul to say that the Christian likewise is raised with Christ (v. 4), he recoils and allows only that he "walk in newness of life". The attainment of resurrection life like that of Christ is certain, but still future. Note the occurrence of the future tense from verses 5 through 8. But the present-future pattern stands. Christian union with Christ in his death and resurrection qualifies the

situation has not directly and openly begun...Paul cannot say that the "flesh" is done away; rather that we no longer live 'in the flesh' (Rom. 7:5f)." (Bornkamm, Early Christian Experience, p. 80); similarly Schweizer, "Dying and Rising With Christ," p. 180.

¹⁷¹Schweizer, "Dying and Rising With Christ, p. 181; idem, "πνεῦμα," TDNT, Vol. VI, p. 422.

¹⁷²Reference has been made to Bornkamm's article on Romans 6, and here we wish to acknowledge the perceptive analysis he has made of this important text in Paul (in Early Christian Experience, pp. 71-86).

participant with "the new life of the Spirit" (Rom. 7:6), which in turn certifies him for the final resurrection life.¹⁷³ Clearly, the direction of thought is from present to future; the past event of Christ crucified and raised is contemporized and then oriented toward the final resurrection of all those who are in Christ.

Briefly, the Lord's Supper, for Paul, bears the same proleptic marks.¹⁷⁴ What is particularly striking, I think, in Paul's citation of the eucharistic words in I Corinthians 11 is his own qualifying statement following the words: "For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes" (ἄχρις οὗ ἔλαθῃ, 11:26). What appears to be uppermost in Paul's thought on the Lord's Supper is the ongoing (or present) participation in Christ which bespeaks the final life with Christ.¹⁷⁵ Far from a mere memorial supper, the Lord's Supper celebrates membership in the body of Christ. Actually, as the last part of I Corinthians 11 indicates, the Corinthians tended to misunderstand and misrepresent membership, "not discerning the body" (11:29).¹⁷⁶ Sacramental participation in Christ is

¹⁷³Käsemann, New Testament Questions, p. 132: "Baptism equips for it." See further on the background and character of this conceptuality in Morna D. Hooker, Pauline Pieces, pp. 69-95; Rudolf Schnackenburg, New Testament Theology Today, ET David Askew (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963), pp. 71-89; Joseph Bonsirven, Theology of the New Testament (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1963), pp. 352-368; Klümmel, Theology of the New Testament, pp. 217-244.

¹⁷⁴Again we appeal to the excellent work of Bornkamm on the "Lord's Supper and Church in Paul," in Early Christian Experience, pp. 123-160 for a detailed analysis of Paul's understanding of the eucharistic meal. Cf. also the excursus on "The Tradition of the Lord's Supper," in Conzelmann, I Corinthians, pp. 200f. See also John C. Hurd, "The Jesus Whom Paul Preaches," in From Jesus to Paul, pp. 84f: "The meal was not only a memorial but also an anticipation of the Messianic Banquet."

¹⁷⁵Bornkamm, Early Christian Experience, pp. 151f.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p. 149: "To discern the body, to esteem Christ's body in

not an end in itself,¹⁷⁷ and it is certainly not *the* end, any more than baptism is. But the Lord's Supper foreshadows the end, as Bouttier states so well:

The Lord's Supper tells of the Lord's death till he returns; the bread and the wine are at once gifts of his presence and tokens of his absence, and foreshadow a feast,¹⁷⁸ whose unutterable happiness we can only conjecture.

Bouttier goes on to say that "the Lord's life among his people represents no resurgence of the past; it is an advance signal"¹⁷⁹ for the more glorious communion with Christ at the parousia.

The Lord's Supper, then, like baptism communicates two principal aspects of Christian experience: 1) participation in the body of Christ, and 2) anticipation of the more glorious presence of Christ.

What we may quite reasonably construe from Paul's statements concerning the sacraments is that they represent present salvation in anticipation of consummation. The present participation in Christ, itself a reality, prefigures the greater outcome in the future, and the pattern of thought is again typological. Type, it should be recalled, is not a substitute for the final reality. It bears the same *kind* of reality as the final fulfilment, and harkens after the fulfilment. To put it another way, typology in

its peculiarity, means to understand that the body of Christ given for us and received in the sacrament unites the recipients in the "body" of the congregation and makes them responsible for one another in love."

¹⁷⁷ As enthusiasts at Corinth may have believed, depending on how we read the warnings in chapter 10 (see chapter 5 above). See Conzelmann on "The Corinthians and the Lord's Supper," I Corinthians, p. 194.

¹⁷⁸ Bouttier, Christianity According to Paul, p. 38.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

Paul sees a connection from the end to the beginning, but the end (τέλος) is supremely important.¹⁸⁰ Christian experience is a foretaste of the end and represents the greatest of all types of salvation in history in that it directly precedes the final resolution and fulfilment in Christ.

To add more cogency to the case, we must consider Paul's use of particular terminology in the same context of Christian relation to Christ as prefiguring final life with Christ. The terms are "particular" in the sense that they are rare in Paul, but their use is striking. The importance of terminology should not be judged on frequency of usage any more than on infrequency.¹⁸¹ A term appearing only a few times could be carefully chosen for the communication of a particular thought, and on that basis should be studied carefully. I think that this condition is a high probability for the terms now to be considered: ἀπαρχή, usually translated "first fruits",¹⁸² ἄρραβών, rendered "pledge", "guarantee", "down payment",¹⁸³ or "first instal-

¹⁸⁰This compares with the earlier discussion (chapter 3) of the "backward direction" of Paul's thought. That is, Paul thinks from the eschatological end (τέλος) backward--back to the present, and back to the past. (See Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, p. 443; Knox, Chapters in the Life of Paul, pp. 130f.

¹⁸¹The infrequency of "covenant" in late Judaism, for example, is deceptive, says Sanders: "It is the fundamental nature of the covenant conception which largely accounts for the relative scarcity of appearances of the term 'covenant' in Rabbinic literature" (Paul and Palestinian Judaism, pp. 420f). Likewise in Paul, τύπος, ἄρραβών and ἀπαρχή are not very prominent, but the concept inherent in these terms is expressed variously without them.

¹⁸²Gerhard Delling, "ἀπαρχή," TDNT, Vol. I, pp. 484ff.

¹⁸³Johannes Behm, "ἄρραβών," TDNT, Vol. I, pp. 475f.

ment," and σφραγίζεω, "to seal", "stamp".¹⁸⁴ Paul's typological thought on Christian experience, it should be noted further, is not bound to these terms, but these are especially telling for his typological way of thinking and will serve to illustrate the same.

ii) ἀπαρχή, I Corinthians 15:20, 23

Numbers 15:20f has a regulation which calls for the offering of the first part of the meal from the grain harvest. The term in the LXX for the "first part" is ἀπαρχή. Something of this idea could lie behind Paul's use of the word in I Corinthians 15:20-23 as also in Romans 8:23 (but more so in Romans 11:16). Its significance in I Corinthians 15 on the resurrection of the dead is both substantive and temporal.¹⁸⁵ The resurrection of Christ is substantially the same as the resurrection of Christians which is still outstanding.¹⁸⁶ The body of the resurrected Christ of Paul's vision transcends flesh and blood, the physical (ψυχικόν, v. 44) and perishable (φθαρτόν, v. 53). Wolfhart Pannenberg has read Paul correctly, I believe, when he says that "Paul understood the resurrection of Jesus to be a radical transformation, not a mere revivification of his corpse."¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴Gottfried Fitzer, "σφραγίζω," TDNT, Vol. VII, pp. 940ff. Of importance also is the fact that the meaning of the noun form, σφράγις, is strikingly similar to that of the basic meaning of τύπος. Both words carry the idea of an imprint or mark left by an instrument. (On this meaning of τύπος see Goppelt, "τύπος," TDNT, Vol. VIII, pp. 246f; idem, Typos, pp. 4f, not 14). σφράγις can mean either the mark or the instrument, depending on the context, whereas τύπος means the mark.

¹⁸⁵Or in Hamilton's words: "ἀπαρχή implies an identity in kind with more fruit to come from the same source in the same season," Holy Spirit and Eschatology, p. 17.

¹⁸⁶"It is the beginning of one resurrection event (verse 20)" (Lincoln, Paradise Now and Not Yet, p. 38).

¹⁸⁷Pannenberg, "Did Jesus Really Rise from the Dead?" p. 105.

The argument of I Corinthians 15, however, is not an apologia for the resurrection of Christ,¹⁸⁸ but an exposition of the creed (1:3-5) in support of the resurrection of the dead, against Corinthian enthusiasm whereby the Corinthians considered themselves already pneumatically transformed by virtue of their membership in the body of Christ. The term "first fruits" in verses 20 and 23 drives home two points: that the form of the resurrected body of Christ is the first of its kind to transcend the power of death (v. 22), and that his resurrection is the first stage of the more extensive resurrection and transformation of Christians to follow. The accent falls on the second point, in so far as it corrects the view that the future resurrection of the dead is not an option.¹⁸⁹ Yet ἀπαρχή does not permit radical separation of one resurrection from the other, either temporally or substantially. Resurrection life is the supreme goal of the plan of God in Christ for mankind, and in this respect the resurrection of Christ and of Christians should be viewed as the single goal of the plan of God for humanity. Both the resurrection of Christ and the resurrection of Christians are of the same kind, the difference is one of extent. M.E. Dahl believes ἀπαρχή carries the figure of the harvest even here in I Corinthians 15. He concludes that "the Corinthians have failed to see that the resurrection of Christ and all men is one of totality,

¹⁸⁸Conzelmann, I Corinthians, pp. 249f.

¹⁸⁹"There is no resurrection of the dead" (15:12); that is, the resurrection is a present reality, in the sense of spiritual exaltation. Or it could be that the Corinthians simply denied the possibility of the resurrection of the dead; the result is the same. See H.W. Boers, "Apocalyptic Eschatology in I Corinthians 15," Interpretation 21 (1967), p. 55. Cf. Bultmann, Theology I, p. 169 who holds that the Corinthians believed the resurrection to have been realized in the Spirit; "Paul misunderstands his opponents" (15:12); and Doughty, "Presence and Future of Salvation," pp. 74f.

just as the first fruits of the harvest are part of one crop."¹⁹⁰

Doubtless, this assessment is essentially valid, except that a due accounting must be taken of the implication of a time-lapse between "first fruits" and "final harvest". Within the scope of Paul's cosmic vision he accounts for the interval as a kind of eschatological "mopping up" process before the end. The parameters of the time-span are not clearly defined, but it is quite evident that Paul is reckoning a period precursory to the parousia within which the mission is conducted, and in which also Christians live in a historical context. At the same time, certain cosmic powers, such as death (I Cor. 15:24-28), remain for the exalted Christ to destroy before the ultimate end "when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father...that God may be everything to everyone" (15:24, 28).

Again, we see in Paul's use of "first fruits" another aspect of his typological thinking at work in correcting a Corinthian notion of over-realized eschatology. The reality of the resurrection of Christ is the first instalment (ἀπαρχή) which prefigures the larger eschatological reality still outstanding, the resurrection of all who are in Christ.¹⁹¹ The term occurs again in the futuristic eschatology of Romans 8, but its function there falls into another related dimension of salvation.

¹⁹⁰Dahl, Resurrection of the Body, p. 76. One problem in Dahl's statement concerns his reading of 15:22 where Paul says "in Christ shall all be made alive." We ran into the same problem earlier. It is very doubtful if Paul would actually say, outside the context of the argument, that all men will be raised as Christ was raised. His central conviction and the statement in the argument do not always tally. See chapter 3 above, note 113.

¹⁹¹Note 190 above.

iii) ἀπαρχή, Romans 8:23

In Romans 8:23 "first fruits" takes on a nuance in several respects. Here the Spirit is first fruits, not Christ resurrected; the believer possesses the first fruits of the Spirit (τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες ἡμεῖς, 8:23); and the context of the possession is one of "groaning in travail" in hope of redemption. Nevertheless, the nuance of ἀπαρχή in Romans 8 over I Corinthians 15 is far from radical.¹⁹² The Spirit is consistently linked with the resurrection of Christ (Rom. 1:3f); is identified with Christ as Lord (e.g. II Cor. 3:17f; Rom. 8:9-11; I Cor. 15:45), and guarantees the resurrection of Christians (Rom. 8:11f).¹⁹³ Romans 8:9-11 is a good case in point for this interconnection. Several points from this text may be highlighted so as to catch the significance of the function of ἀπαρχή at 8:23: 1) the Spirit effects the relation between the believer and Christ; 2) the terms "Spirit", "Christ", "Spirit of Christ" and "Spirit of God" are used interchangeably; 3) the Spirit was involved in the resurrection of Jesus; 4) those who possess the Spirit will be given life through the Spirit.¹⁹⁴ Various aspects of this interconnection of ideas surfaces in other contexts. For example, in I Corinthians 15:45 Christ, the last Adam, is called "a life-giving Spirit". Or again in II Corinthians 3:17f the Lord who is the Spirit brings about change in Christians.

¹⁹²Delling, "ἀπαρχή," p. 485. Käsemann interprets ἀπαρχή in Rom. 8:23 as synonymous with ἀρραβῶν of II Cor. 1:22; 5:5, so that "the reference is to a deposit on a purchase," Romans, p. 237; cf. Michel.

¹⁹³Dunn, "Spirit and Kingdom," pp. 36f; Nygren, Romans, pp. 332f; Barrett, Romans, p. 167, An die Römer, p. 176.

¹⁹⁴See Käsemann's incisive analysis of the section which he titles, "Being in the Spirit as Standing in Hope," Romans, pp. 230-245.

It remains now to enquire concerning the "first fruits of the Spirit" in Romans 8:23.

The term is used in that part of the chapter in which a whole new creation is envisioned,¹⁹⁵ to be headed up by the sons of God in the redemption of their bodies (8:23b). The full redemption of Christians and of the whole creation of which they are a part is absolutely assured on the basis of the church's possession of the Spirit. The Spirit of the present Christian experience is the same Spirit¹⁹⁶ who will activate the climactic renewal of the whole cosmos. Compared to the final glory (8:18), the present possession of the Spirit is only "first fruits", the sign that the greater life is still to come. N.Q. Hamilton's statement is apropos here: "Because the centre of gravity lies in the future, the sons of God groan in the present."¹⁹⁷ But it is paradoxically a "groan" of hope, not one of existential despair. To have the "first fruits" of the Spirit is proof positive of the subsequent fulfilment of the plan of God for the world.

¹⁹⁵ According to Bultmann, "Gnostic mythology lies behind the allusion to the fall of creation in Romans 8:20ff, which, because of its allusiveness is difficult to explain in detail" (Theology I, p. 175). Cf. Käsemann, Romans, p. 233: Paul presupposes "the tradition of Jewish apocalyptic;" similarly Rudolf Schnackenburg, New Testament Theology Today, ET David Askew (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963), p. 77, except that he says the Jewish assumption is "heils-geschichtlich in character." See further Bonsirven's discussion of "The Jewish Foundations of Pauline Doctrine" in Theology of the New Testament, pp. 212-220.

¹⁹⁶ That is, the Spirit in the present is *fully* the Spirit of the future. ἀπαρχή presents some difficulty here, if we retain too strictly the idea of "first fruits" of the total harvest. I take the genitive πνεύματος, v. 23, to be exegetical not partitive (following Käsemann, Romans, p. 237; against Delling, "ἀπαρχή," p. 486), and thus to mean that *the Spirit* is the first fruit of that which is to come, namely, sonship (υἱοθεσία), redemption of the body, and a new creation. See Lietzmann, An die Römer, p. 85; Bornkamm, Paul, p. 220; Barrett, Romans, p. 167; Cerfaux, The Christian, pp. 195f.

¹⁹⁷ Nygren notes that in addition to the Christian's groaning, "the

What we find in Paul's use of ἀπαρχή, I submit, is a kind of typological thinking which views the present in dynamic relation to the future. Christian relation to Christ in the present prefigures the future life with Christ, which is greater than the present. The effect of such present/future typological thinking is virtually to eliminate the notion of following Jesus of the past. This horizon of thought has been aptly accented in Schweizer's study of the Holy Spirit in Paul:

We are really free only when we acknowledge that Jesus is not just a model to be copied, not just a pioneer for us to follow,¹⁹⁸ but an offer from God which we can only accept as a gift.

The same thought appears in Paul's use of σφραγίζεω and ἀρραβών in II Corinthians.

iv) σφραγίζεω and ἀρραβών, II Corinthians 1:22; 5:5

The full force of the arguments within which these words occur can not be explored at length within the present purpose of this chapter. Suffice it to say that in Paul's use of σφραγίζεω, "to seal", and ἀρραβών, "first instalment", in conjunction with the Spirit we discover the same typological way of thinking.

Seals were used to guarantee ownership, to assure authenticity, etc.¹⁹⁹ In the Hellenistic world of Paul's time the practice of using a seal had the legal sense of authenticating a document or safeguarding an object.²⁰⁰ This sense could very well be involved in Paul's metaphorical use of the

Spirit himself groans... 'with sighs too deep for words', Romans, p. 336. The "groaning" of the Spirit is in the relation with the Christian.

¹⁹⁸ Schweizer, The Holy Spirit, p. 86.

¹⁹⁹ Fitzner, "σφράγις," TDNT, Vol. VII, p. 440.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 941; Barrett, II Corinthians, p. 79; Bultmann, Der Zweite Brief, pp. 46f.

aorist participle of σφραγίζεω in II Corinthians 1:22: "God has put his seal upon us and given us his Spirit in our hearts as a guarantee". Some seal-instruments bore the stylized form of a god or the insignia of the emperor,²⁰¹ and the resulting stamp marked the object for possession and/or safe-keeping. Paul's use seems to be in keeping with this practice; he understands present Christian existence to bear the stamp of God by the possession of the Spirit.

Coupled with this idea in the same text is another term, ἀρραβών, probably also having legal connotations. It can mean "guarantee" or "first instalment" of the complete payment.²⁰² The function of the word is also very close to that of "first fruits" in Romans 8:23.²⁰³

Evidence to this effect is clear from its second occurrence in the futuristic context of II Corinthians 4:16-5:5. Again we find the anticipatory "groan" and "sigh" for the new heavenly life, free of the transient clothing of mortality.²⁰⁴ And the gift of the Spirit in the present is the

²⁰¹Fitzner, "σφραγίς," pp. 142f; G.A. Deissmann, Biblical Studies (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1901), pp. 238f. See note 177 above.

²⁰²Behm, "ἀρραβών," TDNT, Vol. I, p. 475.

²⁰³Käsemann, Romans, p. 227, ἀπαρχή is "synonymous with ἀρραβών in II Cor. 1:22; 5:5."

²⁰⁴Cerfaux believes II Cor. 5:1-5 to indicate that "the chief attitude of the Christian towards the parousia" should be one of "intense desire to put on the glorious body...and the anxious fear of having to pass through death instead of immediately putting on the glorious body over the mortal body" (The Christian, pp. 196f). Cf. Barrett, II Corinthians, p. 157: the state to be feared is the nakedness which may happen if God fails to provide a new body. This passage could, as C.F.D. Moule proposes, mark a change of attitude on his own survival until the parousia from that of I Corinthians 15, "St. Paul and Dualism," New Testament Studies, XII, pp. 106-123 (p. 119 on the change).

ἀρραβών, the "first instalment" of the glorious life of the future.²⁰⁵ Paul's use of σφραγίζεσθαι and ἀρραβών in the eschatological context in which they occur, appears to confirm the view that his thought is that of a present/future typology. The present state of the Christian who has the Spirit as guarantee prefigures the future, greater reality of final triumph and eternal life in the sphere of the resurrected Christ.

Several results accrue from the discussion of Paul's statements on the Christian's relation to Jesus Christ. We were seeking a means by which to understand Paul's thought on Jesus of history, on the one hand, and on Christ the Lord on the other. What we found, first of all, was that traditional material associated with Jesus of Nazareth was taken over by Paul, transposed by him into the sphere of the present rule of Christ, the resurrected Lord, and constituted as part of the revelation of Christ which guides the church in its present existence. The tradition of Jesus, then, is not linked with the old aeon; it does not conform to type in any recognizable way. And the figure of Jesus of Nazareth with whom the tradition would properly be associated does not appear as a model for Christian behaviour.

By implication, and only by implication, was the existence of Jesus in history a parallel to Christian existence. That is, it could be implied that Christian existence in the flesh and in possession of the Spirit of Christ is more or less parallel to the existence of Christ κατὰ σάρκα.

²⁰⁵ It is doubtful if Paul has changed his view of the future resurrection to any significant degree; since the writing of the first letter he may have concluded that he would be among those who would die before the parousia. But his confidence in God's plan and power is still as certain as it was in I Cor. 15. "The reason for the sighing and groaning is Paul's desire to put on the heavenly habitation over the earthly tent-dwelling" and "the Spirit is God's guarantee that he will fulfil his promises"; Lincoln, Paradise Now and Not Yet, pp. 65, 68 respectively.

But Paul does not make the parallel explicit, neither does he give any indication that Jesus' life and death prefigured Christian life and death. Instead, the Christian is said to exist in dynamic relation to the resurrected Lord, carries in his body the death of Jesus, is being renewed every day (II Cor. 4:11, 16), and is living in hope of the final salvation when mortality will be swallowed up in victory.

What we discovered, in fact, was a present/future typological way of thinking about Christian relation to Christ. The present experience prefigures the future salvation. The thought is complex mainly because Paul's thought tends to be bi-polar. Typology works primarily in terms of the old and new aeons, but Paul is not prepared to say that the Christian exists in the old aeon. But in dealing with the reality of Christian life in the world in anticipation of the imminent salvation Paul implies a three-stage typology in which the present Christian experience of the Spirit fulfils past promise and types and prefigures future salvation and glory. We found also, that by possession of the Spirit the Christian is described in terms which are characteristic of a typological way of thinking. ἀπαρχή, σφραγίζεσθαι and ἀρραβών all contain the notion of a type-reality which prefigures a greater reality to come.

Finally, by recognizing the significance of this present/future typology for Paul (as well as the past/present typology discussed earlier) we were able to come to terms with his sparse reference to Jesus of history and with the way in which he treats the traditional material which he includes in his letters.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusion

The foregoing discussions have sought to expose a pattern of thought in Paul's letters which we have called "typological". The exposure as such is not new,¹ but the intention underlying the whole endeavour was to shed new light on a question of long-standing: Paul's relation to Jesus. By investigating the pattern of typology in Paul's letters we were in a position to consider Paul's understanding of his (and his churches') relation to Jesus from a perspective which had hitherto not been proposed explicitly.

The pattern of typology may be described simply in terms of type-antitype. That is, the antitype is "the person or object or fact or event in the sphere of reality that answers to /the/ specification" of the type.² But typology in Paul's letters is frequently idiosyncratic, sometimes complex, but always dynamically interconnected with a range of ideas inherent in Paul's Christian self-understanding.³ The study of the

¹Reference has been made to the classic work of Leonhard Goppelt on typology in the New Testament; he devotes two sections to Paul (Typos, pp. 127-152; 209-237). See also Ellis, Paul's Use, pp. 126-135; Schoeps, Paul, pp. 229-235; cf. Northrope Frye, The Great Code, pp. 78-101. To my knowledge a large-scale study of Paul's typology to the extent of the present work has not appeared in print.

²Fowler, Modern English Usage, p. 655.

³Beker's criticism of Goppelt's attempt to draw distinct lines between typology and apocalyptic in Paul is well taken (Paul the Apostle, p. 144). The lines are more often than not interconnected as our discussion has shown.

dynamics of the pattern of typology in Paul's letters has led to some pertinent results relative to his thought on his relation (and that of his fellow-Christians) to Jesus of history, vis-à-vis the resurrected Christ of faith. The following is a summary of the principal conclusions drawn throughout the discussion.

1. The Changeless Plan of God and the Change of Aeons

Two aspects of Paul's typology are held in balance: God's plan of salvation and the change of aeons. The plan of God for the salvation of mankind and for the renewal of the cosmos is one and changeless.⁴ Although Paul conceives of the old and the new aeons (cf. II Cor. 3; 5:17; Gal. 6:15), he does not express the idea of change from one to the other as violating the plan of God.⁵ On the contrary, the change is indicative of the fact that the purpose of God is effective. All along God intended to send his Son into the world (Rom. 8:3; Gal. 4:4), to raise him from the dead (Rom. 6:4; 8:11; I Cor. 15:3f; 20; II Cor. 4:14), and thus to inaugurate the new creation out of the old (II Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15). Christ was always in the plan of God,⁶ and came to expression in the old aeon in typological form. The second Adam, who became life-giving Spirit (I Cor. 15:45ff), and the Lord to whom a man turns in the new dispensation

⁴"Typological exegesis assumes a divine sovereignty over history" (E. Earle Ellis, "Foreward" to Typos, p. xv).

⁵Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 119-214.

⁶"The full and final revelation of the plan may be recent (cf. Gal. 1:16; 3:23-25), but the plan is not" (Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, p. 26).

to have the veil removed (II Cor. 3:16f), is antitypical with the salvific events in the experience of the old community of Israel. To the extent that persons, events or objects are soteriological in the history of the old community, to the same extent they are also Christological. The supernatural rock from which the Israelites drank life-giving water was Christ (I Cor. 10:4); the glory on Moses' face came from the Lord who is the Spirit of Christ (II Cor. 3:12ff); the promise to Abraham is likewise connected to Christ the "offspring" (σπέρμα) of Abraham (Gal. 3:16). The divine plan is singular: to create a new order of life through Jesus Christ.⁷ But Paul is conscious not only of the singular, changeless plan of God but also of the change from the old creation to the new since the resurrection of Christ. He is gripped by a new frontier of knowledge (II Cor. 5:16f)⁸ commensurate with the revelation of Christ which God granted him (Gal. 1:12, 16; cf. I Cor. 2:10). The change itself, as we discovered, is epitomized most pungently in the letters by the Adam-Christ typology.⁹ The state of sin and death with which man in Adam is afflicted is radically reversed by the act of God in raising the crucified Christ from the dead. Resurrected to lordship and effective in the world through the Spirit, Christ is life and life-giver (I Cor. 15:22, 45; Rom. 8:9ff). It is from this awareness of living at the change-over from the old to the new aeon that Paul's typological thought operates. He reads the record of past

⁷Ibid., p. 85: "God's will to save by Christ is changeless".

⁸Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 208f.

⁹Beker, Paul the Apostle, p. 100: "The last (eschatological) Adam reverses radically what the first Adam has initiated in world history.... Adam typology underscores the radical newness of God's act in Christ."

salvation in Scripture with an eye to the present life in the Spirit of the resurrected Christ. Moreover, the pattern of typology in Paul's letters is conditioned largely by Christology on the one hand and by eschatology on the other, God being the "prime-mover" to bring the plan of salvation to consummation.¹⁰ Of the facts and figures of pre-Easter salvation-history, Paul is obliged to reckon them to be types of end-time salvation; that is, they are not ends in themselves but bespeak, anticipate or prefigure the end (τέλος). They are the same *in kind* as the eschatological salvation in Christ, but they do not carry the same degree of intensity that accompanies present eschatological salvation. For this reason also Paul's articulation of his typological thought is sometimes expressed in explicit *a fortiori* language: "much more the grace of God...of that one man Jesus Christ" (Rom. 5:15, 17); "...the dispensation of righteousness must far exceed the old in splendour" (II Cor. 3:9, 10). This form of typological expression, so it appears, is undergirded by the two concepts of the changeless plan of God and the change from the old aeon to the new. From where Paul stands on the threshold of the new creation inaugurated by the resurrection of Christ he is able to see proleptic types of post-Easter salvation in pre-Easter history.

2. Paul's View of Christ Consistent With Two-Aeon Typology

That Paul's typological thought functions in line with his understanding of the change from the old aeon to the new there can be very little doubt.¹¹

¹⁰Beker, Paul the Apostle, p. 357.

¹¹Hickling, "Centre and Periphery," pp. 198ff; Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 152ff. Cf. Daniel Patte, The Faith of the Apostle to the

Further, the critical point of change is focused in the act of God in raising the crucified Christ, thereby creating a new order of life. Types of salvation in the old aeon correspond to their antitypal fulfilment in the sphere of the resurrected Christ and his church. Of Adam in Romans 5, as we noted above, the accent falls on the change itself (or exchange) from the state of sin and death to the state of righteousness and life. Thus, the death of Christ and the resurrection of Christ are held in balance in that passage. But in I Corinthians 15 the resurrection-life of the second Adam is the compelling focus, and we are led to believe from this passage and others (e.g. Rom. 6:4; Gal. 4:6; I Cor. 12:1ff) that for Paul the newness of life in the last Adam is to be associated with the life-giving Spirit of Christ resurrected.

The study of texts dealing with Abraham and Moses has led to the same conclusion. Concerning Abraham, Paul considered the promise of blessing to the nations (εὐνη, Gal. 3:8; cf. Gen. 18:18) through the patriarch to be fulfilled in the post-Easter mission,¹² and the faith of Abraham to be the basis for entry into the body of the resurrected Christ.¹³ Likewise, the dispensation of Moses' ministry has its antitype in the ministry of Paul

Gentiles: A Structural Introduction to Paul's Letters (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), p. 236: "Past acts of God are "typical" of God's interventions in human affairs." Patte's structural analysis minimizes the significance of the change of aeons for Paul, and emphasizes, rather, the repeated manifestations of God's saving activity to people of faith (pp. 293ff).

¹²See Patte, Faith of the Apostle, pp. 317f where he sees Abraham's experience as a type of the *experience* of the Gentiles who are righteous by faith.

¹³Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, pp. 33f.

(and the other apostles) under the lordship of Christ "who is the Spirit" (II Cor. 3:18); the "surpassing" antitypal glory is that of the Spirit of life in Christ (II Cor. 3:4-18). In short, antitypal fulfilment of types in Scripture is found consistently in the sphere of post-Easter Christianity. And this condition exists in Paul's letters, we believe, because he construes the new aeon to have begun with the newness of life in Christ resurrected. From this understanding of the two aeons, the death-resurrection event constituting the initial change from the old aeon to the new, Paul is led to interpret the salvific events of the sacred record in a typological manner. This much we were able to affirm with reasonable certainty. But this typological perspective, as we may call it, opened the way to a further investigation of Paul's thought concerning Jesus of Nazareth vis-à-vis the resurrected Christ of revelation (Gal. 1:12).

The evidence adduced persuades us that Paul's thought on Jesus Christ is consistent with his typological interpretation. Where he ascribes to Christ the phrase κατὰ σάρκα (Rom. 1:3; 9:5; II Cor. 5:16) he is not thereby denying or deriding that form of Christ any more than he denies or derides Abraham by ascribing to him the same phrase (Rom. 4:1).¹⁴ Granted, the phrase κατὰ σάρκα in given contexts can have pejorative force, but this is not categorically so in every instance. In the case of Christ κατὰ σάρκα we have contended that the phrase merely limits Christ to a sphere of existence characteristic of type but not of antitype. The antitypal sphere of fulfilment is that of the Spirit of the resurrected Christ.¹⁵ Moreover,

¹⁴Against Dunn, "Jesus—Flesh and Spirit," pp. 40-68.

¹⁵A weakness of Patte's analysis of Paul's typology is that he understates the significance of the eschatological intensity of antitypal fulfilment (Faith of the Apostle, pp. 357-361).

Christ κατὰ πνεῦμα is the antitypal reality of Christ κατὰ σάρκα, and within this sphere of the antitype Paul regarded eschatological salvation (I Cor. 15:20-22; 42-50; Rom. 8:18-27; Phil. 3:10-16) new creation (II Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15), life in the Spirit (Rom. 8:1-4; 9-11), surpassing glory (II Cor. 3:4-18), etc. to take place. For Paul to place equal emphasis on the two spheres of Christ's existence would contradict his conviction concerning the purpose of God for mankind and for the world. The newness of life is characteristically resurrection-life or life in the Spirit (e.g. Rom. 6:4; 8:1-11; I Cor. 2:10; II Cor. 1:21f; 3:17-18; 4:14; Phil. 3:10ff; Gal. 5:16-26). We conclude, therefore, that Paul's view of Christ according to the flesh vis-à-vis Christ according to the Spirit is consistent with his typological interpretation, operating as it does in coordination with his understanding of the change of aeons brought about by the act of God in raising Christ.

The discussion also revealed that Paul's use of the sayings of Jesus is likewise consistent with the pattern of his typology. The sayings appear to be transposed out of their historical setting in the life of Jesus into the higher key of the resurrected Lord who rules the church (I Cor. 7:10; 9:14).¹⁶ Again, it is not that Paul denies the words to Jesus, but rather that he attributes them to the Christ of the changeless plan of God for the world. The same is true for the earthly example of Jesus. Paul does not consider the temporary, earthly existence of Christ to be an object of contemplation much less a model for imitation.¹⁷ The life of Christ that truly matters to Paul is the life of the Spirit of Christ that he possesses.

¹⁶Dungan, Sayings, p. 3.

¹⁷David Stanley, "Imitation in Paul's Letters," pp. 127-141; cf. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 147.

"Anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him. But if Christ is in you, although your bodies are dead because of sin, your spirits are alive because of righteousness" (Rom. 8:9-10). In Paul's terms of reference, to imitate Christ is to become one with God through the Spirit of his Son (Gal. 4:4-7; Phil. 2:5-11; Rom. 8:3-4). Again, we submit that this mode of thought is consonant with Paul's typological thinking relative to the change of aeons. Elements existing in the sphere of post-Easter Christianity, whether the resurrected Christ, the Spirit of Christ, the words of the Lord, or the example of Christ, are regarded by Paul as part of the newness of life associated with the resurrection. They have, as it were, a vertical dimension in association with the exalted Christ. They exist for Paul in the eschatological realm of antitypal reality characteristic of the new creation in Christ.

3. Typological Existence of Christians in the Present Age

Invariably Paul's interpretation of types of salvation in the record of Scripture emphasizes fulfilment in the present reality of Christ. Substantially eschatological salvation is realized in the resurrection of Christ and in the gift of the Spirit. The resulting new community of Christ manifests the eschatological reality of the newness of life represented in the resurrection of Christ. At times Paul's statements to this effect give the impression that the fulness of the new aeon has already occurred for Christians. He will say, for example, "You are not in the flesh, you are in the Spirit" (Rom. 8:9); or "You are no longer a slave but a Son" (Gal. 4:7); or again, "If any one is in Christ, he is a new creation" (II Cor. 5:17). And the operative conceptuality and terminology of Paul's typological

interpretation depict the antitypal realization as having occurred in the exalted Christ and his church. But behind the two-stage terminology of this kind of typological thought lies another typological conceptuality: the *unfulfilled* Christian experience.

In the final analysis Paul keeps the resurrection of Christians in reserve for future realization. He and his fellow Christians still live in anticipation of fully realized resurrection-life at the parousia, the fore-taste of which Christians possess already in the Spirit.¹⁸ Possession of the Spirit is "guarantee," "seal," and "first-fruits" of the ultimate life in the resurrection-body (II Cor. 1:22; 5:5; Rom. 8:23; I Cor. 15:35-57). Since "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (I Cor. 15:50) as Paul believes, and since the present life in the Spirit is at the same time life in "flesh and blood" as he is obliged to acknowledge, Paul envisions a further transformation consonant with, yet greater than the change already in progress by the power of the Spirit (II Cor. 3:17f; 4:14ff). The newness of life in the sphere of the Spirit (cf. Rom. 6:4) may be regarded as a type of the greater life in the resurrection-body, transcending flesh and blood. Thus, we find a further manifestation of Paul's typological mode of thought in his conceptuality of Christian existence in the Spirit in anticipation of resurrection. This thinking certainly makes much of the present reality of Christ resurrected and the corresponding newness of life in the Spirit,

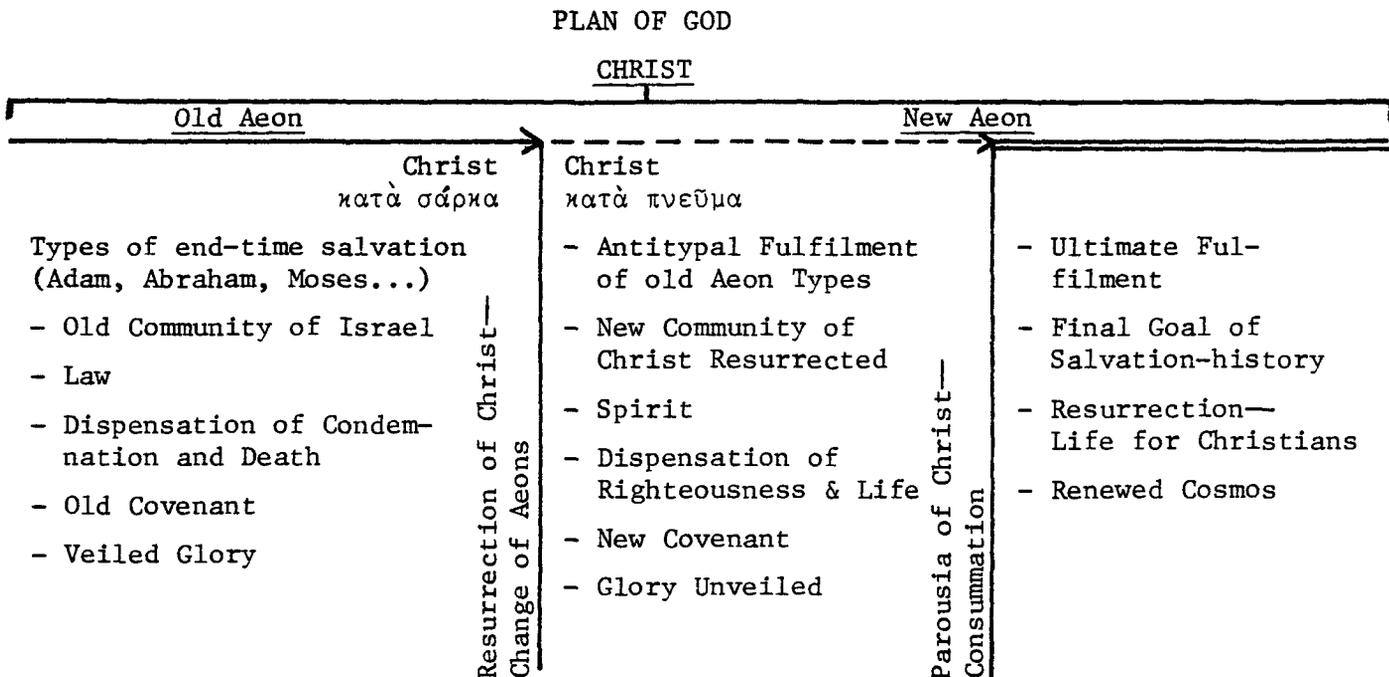
¹⁸"The new creation in Christ (*kainē ktisis*, 2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15) is an anticipation of the final resurrection of the dead and the new act of creation by the God who 'raises the dead and who calls into existence the things that do not exist' (Rom. 4:17)" (Beker, Paul the Apostle, p. 152).

but this present reality still only prefigures an even greater triumph in the imminent future at the parousia (cf. II Cor. 5:1-5; Rom. 8:18-25; Phil. 3:10-16).

4. Three-stage Typology Behind Two-stage Terminology

Typology by definition is expressed in two-stage form, type and anti-type. And this is, of course, true of Paul. We have pointed to the fact that Paul usually interprets types in the sacred record as having their antitypal fulfilment in the present stage of the dawn of the new creation in Christ resurrected. But we have also drawn attention to the fact that Paul views the newness of life in the initial stage of new creation as itself typological. It prefigures the final stage. Even though the typology comes to expression in two-stage form, the total picture develops, in fact, into three stages.

While a diagram runs the risk of oversimplification, it may help to clarify the dynamics of the three stages and the two-stage articulation thereof.



Although much of the diagram is self-explanatory, some parts, particularly the position and direction of the lines, require some explication. The top-most line under Christ depicts the plan of God overarching the course of salvation-history.¹⁹ For Paul, Christ always existed in the plan of God for the cosmos. Then the two directional lines, one solid under the old aeon and one broken under the new aeon, indicate the goal-oriented form which Paul's typological thinking takes. The stage of salvation in which Paul lives and works, under the broken line, is a stage of antitypal fulfilment of types in the old aeon. But the final goal still lies in the future. And until that goal of resurrection-life is reached Paul presses on (Phil. 3:14), while he continues to be changed "from one degree of glory to another" (II Cor. 3:18). The ongoing experience of being changed by the Spirit is for Paul a "first fruits" (Rom. 8:23) which "guarantees" (II Cor. 1:22; 5:5) the ultimate fulfilment of resurrection-life in a renewed cosmos (Rom. 8:18-25; I Cor. 15:20-28). The non-directional double line toward which the two directional lines point represent Paul's concept of the ultimate triumph of God in subjecting "all things" (I Cor. 15:28) to himself in Christ.²⁰

5. Consequences for Paul's Thought and Word on Jesus of History

The dynamics of this typological way of thinking have notable consequences for Paul's manner of speaking about Jesus of history. By locating the change from the old to the new aeon in the death-resurrection event of

¹⁹"Any manifestation of God is Christ-like" (Patte, Faith of the Apostle, p. 360).

²⁰On the "triumph of God" in Paul, see Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 351-367.

Christ, the biography of Jesus falls under the shadow of the new ontic reality of the resurrection-life of Christ. That an identity exists between Christ in the new order and Christ in the old is beyond dispute, but the "identity" comes across in typological style. Antitypal fulfilment in the new surpasses the old (cf. II Cor. 3:7-11) to the extent that the type is less worthy of reflection, contemplation and discussion than its antitype. This situation appears to be true for Christ according to the flesh vis-à-vis Christ according to the Spirit. The new body of Christ that emerged "on the third day" (I Cor. 15:4) constituted a reality of such eschatological magnitude as to render the previous mundane existence of flesh and blood inconsequential by comparison. This thought is constitutive of Paul's own "groaning", Christian existence in hope of resurrection-life. "The sufferings of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory that is to be revealed in us" (Rom. 8:18). An identity exists between the two forms nonetheless, principally because Paul conceives of the plan of God as changeless. What changes is not the divine plan, or the ever-existent Christ of the plan, but the aeons, and the form of expression which the divine plan takes from one aeon to the next. In any case, the typological perspective which we have described at length in this study tends to diminish the importance of the κατὰ σάρκα life of Christ in Palestine in favour of the κατὰ πνεῦμα life of resurrection and transformation (cf. I Cor. 15:45; II Cor. 1:22; 5:5; Rom. 8:9-11).

Furthermore, the whole orientation of typological thinking is directed towards outcome, from prefiguration to realization. This condition exists not only for the figures, acts, and objects of the old aeon recorded in

Scripture, but also for members of the present eschatological community. They too "sigh with anxiety" to be "further clothed, so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life" (II Cor. 5:4). Moreover, both past and present manifestations of God's grace harkens after their greater realization in the future. The net result for Paul's thought and word on Jesus of history is to shrink the biographical life of Christ κατὰ σάρκα to proleptic type-size over against the present reality of Christ resurrected and the anticipated realization of resurrection for those in Christ.

A tendency of typological thinking of the description adduced for Paul is to make the salvific elements in the "type-situation" bend toward the antitypal realization.²¹ The sayings and example of Jesus are illustrative of this point. Both the sayings and the example of Jesus in Paul's letters are devoid of the kind of identifiable historical, biographical context they have, for example, in the Gospel of Matthew (cf. Matt. 5:1f; 18:1-4). The accent in Paul, falls, rather, on the present reality of Christ whose Spirit is a living force in the church and in the world. Historical reflection on Christ according to the flesh, as on other figures of the sacred past, has value only in so far as the historical episodes prefigure their corresponding higher reality of life in Christ. This manner of thought is directed forward, and upward, to the point ultimately of transcending history altogether in the sphere of "spiritual body" (I Cor. 15:44) and redeemed creation (Rom. 8:19-23).²² To think in this way powerfully reduces

²¹Goppelt speaks of a "heightening" from type to antitype (Typos, p. 18).

²²Typology of this description is capable of mingling with allegorization, as in Gal. 4:21-31. See Woollcombe, Essays on Typology, p. 40, and Grant, Letter and Spirit, pp. 48-51.

the significance of past salvific episodes. So forceful is Paul's expression of this unfolding of the plan of God in Christ that at times the type-situation is rendered inoperative altogether in the presence of the antitypal realization, as in the case of II Corinthians 3:7-14. Similarly, the present earthly existence of Christians is transient, tent-like and destined to be destroyed with the coming of the eternal, heavenly life (II Cor. 4:18-5:1). Both past and present aspects of salvation are incomplete apart from their antitypal fulfilment; the spot-light, as it were, falls characteristically on the latter while the former passes necessarily back-stage. And this conceptuality, we have argued, is true for Jesus Christ in Paul's letters. Rather than an aberrant construal within Paul's Christian self-understanding, the nature and scope of his statements about Jesus are thoroughly consistent with the mind of one whose typological way of thinking focuses pronouncedly on the final unveiling of the plan of God for the ages.

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