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ST. PAUL
A THEOLOGIAN

PART ONE

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PART I



St. Paul as a Theologian

By

PAUL FEINE

Professor in the University of Vienna

PART I



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I

ST. PAUL NOT A SYSTEMATIZER, BUT A THEOLOGIAN

The Pauline theology is not a dogmatic system which exhibits the ideal world of Christian belief as a uniform building connected and divided in itself; nor is it a philosophic system, which seeks to explain everything which exists. Neither the speculative spirit nor philosophical strength belongs to the Jewish character, and Paul is no exception.

The explanation of the world from the standpoint of Judaism is of a religious kind. It rests on the thought of God's revelation in the people of Israel. Philo, an Alexandrian Jew, a contemporary of Paul, endeavored to unite the Greek view of the world and the Jewish faith. He was unsuccessful; both concepts suffered by it. From the books of Moses no philosophic system can be derived. Likewise the effort of Melanchthon and his successors to make Paul's line of thought in the Epistle to the Romans the fundamental scheme of dogmatics did not

prove successful; for the Epistle to the Romans is not a "compendium of Christian doctrine," but a loose stringing together of certain theological lines of thoughts for the church in Rome of Paul's day. And yet it is true that the Reformation rightly considered the triad derived from the Epistle to the Romans—sin, law, grace—as the principal parts of Christian doctrine. "I cannot see," writes Melanchthon, "how I can call one a Christian who does not know it." But in this very Epistle to the Romans—according to a correct understanding of it—Paul shows that the terms sin and law only receive their Christian coining from the experience of grace. Thus the order is again disturbed; and what to us of the present appears as the center of all dogmatics, Christology, is not found at all in the Epistle to the Romans, rather do we find there only isolated Christological statements.

But those also are ignorant of the apostle's teaching who can see in the preaching of Paul no real theology but only a loose combination of thoughts on salvation. Paul studied theology in his youth when he sat at the feet of the rabbi Gamaliel in Jerusalem.

Certain doctrinal views of God, revelation, law, sin, world, history of salvation, perfection of salvation, etc., were transmitted to him; not in a systematic way as we now read them in a manual of Jewish theology, but after the manner of the rabbinic schools and according to their principles of Old Testament interpretation. Yet he received certain doctrinal teachings on which he still depended, or was influenced by, even as Christian and Apostle. His Christian theology is a new building upon the ruins of his Jewish faith; but not only upon, but also partly with its ruins. One can indeed speak of a Pauline doctrine of salvation; for the question how man obtains salvation was clearly and keenly reflected upon by Paul. In his Epistles he never propounded his lines of thought in a systematical and strictly logical manner; but by collecting the elements of his doctrine one gets before him a picture which comprises the whole history of humanity as well as of heaven and of earth.

Because of the truth of his gospel Paul was involved in violent struggles with Judaism; but for a great part they were fought

on theological ground. This was only possible with the means of education of that time, that is, in this case with the methods of rabbinic argumentation, or Judaic-Alexandrian allegory. On this account certain lines of thought, e. g., many things in the Epistle to the Galatians, appear strange to us. It is not easy for us to get through to the religious thought which lies at its foundation; and yet historical justice demands that it should be acknowledged that according to his education and past, Paul was restricted to such argumentation. One should not proudly shrug his shoulders from the point of view of the twentieth century over these out of date methods, but understand and appreciate Paul in connection with his time. We do the same with the Pythagorean symbolism of numbers and the allegorical trifles of Philo.

Paul is the greatest thinker and the greatest theologian of primitive Christianity. The lucidity and keenness of his mind made him the first to perceive Christianity as a new religion, a world religion, though he did not belong to the original apostolic circle, not even to the immediate disciples of Jesus.

Modern theology may find "dangerous casuistry" in some arguments of the Apostle, but before the force of the dialectics of this former rabbi a Peter grew dumb; seditious congregations bowed. To the Greek world of that time the arguments of Paul do not seem to have sounded too strange, for the Apostle had subjected this world to his preaching. So long as there is a Christian theology Paul will not be forgotten; for he was the first to work out a number of theological ideas; upon others he pressed the stamp of his mind and transformed them. That form of theology which he presented has been an important leaven in almost all the great minds in the history of the Christian Church. The best in Augustine's theology comes from Paul, and with full consciousness Luther received Pauline Christianity, for he saw in it the purest expression of the Gospel of Christ in general.

II

CONVERSION THE BASIS OF PAUL'S THEOLOGY

The Pauline theology contains a very strong personal, individual woof. This can only be understood as the theoretical result of the conversion of the apostle. The religious experience which Paul had before Damascus radically changed many religious and theological tenets which, till then, seemed to him immovable. In his mind the world of belief had to adjust itself anew. In the theology of Paul the question is, accordingly, twofold, religious experience and its theological understanding. But, before we proceed to sketch the theology of Paul according to its characteristic features, we must describe the contents of his religious experience at his conversion. There are so many statements concerning it in his Epistles, that an idea of the effect of this experience can very easily be obtained.

Paul experienced his conversion as a new creation. Endeavoring to illustrate that

which at that time entered into his life before Damascus, he grasps at the highest comparison which he had at his command. To him the experience of his conversion was like the light which, on the morning of creation, broke forth from the darkness of eternity (2 Cor. 4. 6)—“Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new,” and Paul himself was a new creature (2 Cor. 5. 17; Gal. 6. 15). He felt the limitations of the earthly falling off from him, he knew himself transferred to the sphere of the divine life. He is now dead (Gal. 2. 19). The world is crucified unto him and he unto the world (Gal. 6. 14). He knows himself delivered from the present world which is evil (Gal. 1. 4); delivered from the realm of darkness and translated into the kingdom of the Son of God (Col. 1. 13). As existence and non-existence, as life and death, his Christian and pre-Christian periods of life separate one from the other.

This separation, the most wonderful surprise to himself, suddenly entered his life. He feels the contrast of his present life with the past so strongly that he constructs no bridge between the past and present; nay,

he excludes a time of transition from one period of life to the other. Christ apprehended him with invisible power at a time when he was least inclined to obey the Gospel, when he rather distinguished himself before his coreligionists and his pharisaical friends by fanatical zeal in persecuting the entire Christian Church (Gal. 1. 13, 14). According to its contents the apostle described his experience before Damascus as a revelation of the heavenly Christ. He saw Christ as a heavenly form, surrounded by divine splendor (2 Cor. 4. 6; comp. also Acts 9. 22, 26). It was not a phenomenon which he perceived with his outward senses only, but this revelation of Christ hath shined into his heart (2 Cor. 4. 6), and opened to him an inner understanding of the Person manifesting himself ("to reveal his Son *in me*," Gal. 1. 16). It were much too little to say that he simply understood that this Jesus so bitterly persecuted by him is, nevertheless, the Messiah. The heavenly Christ, in that hour, drew Paul into life-union with himself. It was this experience which produced the revolution affecting his innermost part, which filled him with

new life and the immovable conviction that the power of God had become powerful in him. Henceforth he feels himself so united with this heavenly Christ that he can no more free himself from him. This Christ-life pervades him, his power fills him, his will rules him.

With this, something else was given at the same time. Paul, feeling himself apprehended and surrounded by the grace of the Messiah exalted to God, and feeling a stream of divine love flowing in his heart, acquired what had been the most ardent desire of his heart, that is, to become an heir and citizen of the Messianic kingdom and to be in harmony with God. But this came about through him whom he had persecuted in an experience which made him share not only in the highest blessedness, but at the same time also contained the severest judgment on his past life and effort. He had been in the wrong way and by persecuting the Messiah had sinned against the honor of God. And yet he was not punished because of this guilt; but in spite of it was found worthy of the sanctifying experience of the Messiah. In that hour every false

zeal was killed in him; the overpowering sense of the grace of God dawned upon him, apprehended him, the sinner in Christ. Henceforth the grace of God is to him the guiding star of all religious life.

And yet another thing became intensely alive in Paul since that hour before Damascus: the consciousness that Christ had called him into his service and made him his apostle. The self-manifestation of Christ to him did not take place in order that he, the persecutor, might simply be led in the way of truth, but that he might bear witness before the world of the glory of Christ. Thus, the whole preaching of Paul had no other purpose than to make alive in others that which he had himself experienced as the most blissful truth.

As a Christian Paul knows himself in a new existence. He is filled with new impulses and powers, is raised above the limits of the earthly; freed from the temporal; detached from the world; exempt from the power and guilt of sin. Nothing external, sensual, material, or ungodly fetters him any more. He is transferred to the new age of the Messianic time; he lives, as a child of

God, in the communion of God. He is freed from all fear; he frankly comes before God with the childlike exclamation: "Abba, Father." There may have been ever so much of eschatology, of the hope of perfection in the religious thought-world of the apostle; but the fundamental and decisive element in his consciousness was the already experienced new creation, redemption, reconciliation, justification, salvation, divine adoption. The feeling of the certainty of salvation which permeated him gave him his sublime energy, joyfulness and apostolic strength.

Paul often describes this experience of his life as the efficacy of the Holy Spirit. A transcendent power, the Spirit of God, had seized him, and revealed unto him "what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man," yea, even the deep things of God, which the Spirit reveals unto him. In the power of the Spirit he knows that the flesh as an opposing potency is now abolished, for the Spirit is the new ruling principle of his life. Whoever follows the influence of this Spirit and is ruled by him, in him is killed that which

is sinful, and there is brought about the fulfilment of the righteousness of God. Where the Spirit is, righteousness is; where righteousness is, there also is divine life.

But this experience of the Spirit is for the apostle, on the whole, nothing else than the personal experience of Christ. Let one only read 2 Cor. 3. 5, and see how Paul traces back to the Spirit all the new which is in him as Christian. The Christian congregations are epistles written by the Spirit of the living God. But Christ wrote them by using his apostles as instruments. If the old covenant, which had the ministration of condemnation, had glory, the manifestation of the Spirit, how much more the new covenant which, as ministration of righteousness, is ministration of the Spirit! Yea, one must deny glory to the old covenant in comparison with the overpowering glory of the New Covenant. The glory on the countenance of Moses was transient; but Christ is the Spirit himself. From his shining glory, splendor for splendor, universally, comes upon the face of the Christian, and transforms him instantly, so that the nature of the Christian becomes ever more the

glory of Christ. From the face of this Christ the glory of God shines into the hearts of believers. This treasure they have in earthen vessels, in the mortal body; but in distresses, perplexities, persecutions, in the mortification of this body in the apostolic service, the power of the life of Jesus becomes powerful. If the outer man perish, the inner man is renewed day by day in this experience of Jesus, external "affliction worketh a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory," the completion of which the Christian longs for in the expectation of speedy, perfected union with Christ.

Thus, the briefest and most comprehensive expression of all his faith and life is, Christ. He calls his gospel the Gospel of Christ. In his preaching he wishes to bring in the fullness of the blessing of Christ (Rom. 15. 29). All his thoughts he brings into captivity to the obedience of Christ (2 Cor. 10. 5). He speaks not, but Christ speaks in him (2 Cor. 13. 3). As Christ lives in him (Gal. 2. 20), he desires by his preaching that this Christ shall be also formed in believers (Gal. 4. 19). He even coined formulas to express this relation of com-

munion: Christ is "in us" as the ruling power of life, or, we are "in Christ." This must be understood spatially. Christ is thought of as the sphere, the province of life, within which we should move, so that he surrounds us like the air which we breathe; or, Paul exhorts "to put on Christ," as one puts on a garment, covered by which one is protected and is well secured. In his preaching he is determined to know nothing save Jesus Christ, and him crucified (1 Cor. 2. 2). He sets him before our eyes (Gal. 3. 1). When Christ is preached, he rejoices, though he may have to find fault with the manner in which this is sometimes done (Phil. 1. 18). The apostle's entire activity, his life or his death, can only serve for the magnifying of Christ (Phil. 1. 20). "For me to live is Christ" (Phil. 1. 21). To obtain him, he forgot all former life-interests; and he knows only the desire to be apprehended by the living power of Christ (Phil. 3. 7-14). As the apostle of the Gentiles he preaches the riches of the glory of the divine mystery, that among the Gentiles also, Christ is the hope of heavenly glory (Col. 1. 27 sq.; Eph. 3. 3-12). The apos-

tle's understanding of the entire development of the world is directed to the end that Christ shall become the ruling head of the universe (Eph. 1. 10, 22 sq.; Col. 1. 17 sq.), that Christ shall be all and in all (Col. 3. 11); especially, however, that the fullness of the gifts and faculties working in the Christian Church shall become the sum total of that which Christ is (Eph. 4. 1-16).

This description of the effect of Paul's conversion would, however, be incomplete without the moral life-ideal which since then stood before the soul of the apostle, and which in great part he realized. As a Pharisee, Paul also naturally considered pharisaic ethics as divinely ordained. That he led a sinful life in the pre-Christian period of his life, and was only freed from the chains of this life by his conversion is out of the question. What he speaks in praise of the Jews devoted to the law (Rom. 10. 2 sq.; 9. 30 sq.), that they have a zeal of God, concerns him also before he became a Christian. According to his own confession (Phil. 3. 6), he led a legally blameless life at the time of his conversion. In Rom. 7 he expresses confessions, which were only to be attained

from a Christian point of view. But in the Epistle to the Philippians he asserts in the strongest manner the contrast of his Christian and pre-Christian morality. What formerly was his pride and his glory before God, is to him loss; yea, dung. He feels in himself the fundamental difference between his new ethics and the old. And again, it is the overwhelming knowledge of Jesus Christ which has destroyed the old and makes him follow after the new ideal.

The law, the book of the revelation of God, as scribism of that time interpreted it, was the codex of the Jewish, especially Pharisaic, morality. God had laid down his law; it was for man to fulfill it. The doing of God's commandments made men righteous before God. The complete fulfilling of the law was indeed difficult, a yoke under which the pious had to groan the whole day, but it was not impossible, and what was still lacking, the merit of the fathers supplied. Hence, with all aspiration after holiness, the Pharisaic morality is outward, legal, cold, calculating. Formalism, egoism, pride, and a mania for retaliation characterize it in spite of all its correctness. All these, how-

ever, are contrasts which Paul, the apostle, praises as morality. But the law is abolished; is put aside by the death of Christ. All performance as such, like circumcision, sacrifices and ceremonies, is completely depreciated, not, however, in order to establish a new norm to which the Christian had to submit in place of the Jewish, but that the Spirit of Christ which moves and fills the Christian, regulates all moral action of man. And this Spirit of Christ is here also nothing else than the life, in this case the moral life, of Jesus itself, flowing from perfect communion with God. For the apostle the morality of the Christian grows from his life-communion with his Lord. In the consciousness of this lasting life-relation and inner unity Paul coined the maxims of his Christian ethics. All moral doing has its independent norm in the lasting and undisturbed religious communion with Christ and God—"whatsoever is not of faith is sin" (Rom. 14. 23); hence, the conscience norm which is bound in God and Christ can prohibit to the one what it permits to the other (1. Cor. 8. 7 sq.). There is no outward legal authority for the Christian. Every

truly moral action grows out of the love which has its root in God and Christ—"in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love" (Gal. 5. 6).

In his struggle against legalistic, Jewish Christianity, the apostle expressly emphasizes the truth that only the preaching of Christ, who by his power morally transforms believers, leads to the full height of Christian freedom from the law and to acceptance with God. From the descriptions of his personal and apostolic processes of life, of which we occasionally read in his Epistles, we can ascertain how he also had been morally renewed by Christ, and in following Christ we can also see how according to his judgment, his Jewish Christian opponents in spite of their opposition to his gospel, nevertheless did not experience the power of Christ in such a manner as he. Certainly the confessions of Saint Paul (2 Cor. 6 and 11) have no equal. Show us the man who can say the like of himself! In them we get a clear understanding that this apostle was destined to procure for the gospel a victorious career in the world at that

time. "Giving no offence in anything, that the ministry be not blamed. But in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labors, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by knowledge, by longsuffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned; by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left; by honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report: as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and, behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things." This is what a man could write of himself who, with ardent zeal once followed after Pharisaic righteousness. Herein we recognize the profoundest change in the apostle. But only such conduct of life and administration of office, according to the firm conviction of the apostle, was worthy of the servant of Christ.

From what has been said we must now

draw some inferences. The Person who accomplished these effects in him the apostle could not, of course, comprehend as human. The Christ, who did all this in him, was to him of divine nature. But this does not entirely disclose the meaning of the apostle. Paul rather combined this Christ with God in an inner unity. Ideas, between which he can optionally choose, are, that *God* wrought in him the miracle of the manifestation of his Son in him (Gal. 1. 16; Rom. 15. 15 sq.), or that *Jesus Christ* had revealed himself unto him (Gal. 1. 12; Rom. 1. 4 sq.; Phil. 3. 12). Paul is apostle by *Jesus Christ and God* (Gal. 1. 1). In the revelation of Christ God himself becomes efficient. The revelation of God which brings salvation leaves no remainder in the revelation of Christ, because in Christ dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily (Col. 2. 9). The gospel is the gospel of God, because it is the gospel of Christ. The apostles are servants of God (2 Cor. 6. 4) as well as of Christ (1 Cor. 3. 5; Col. 1. 7; 1 Tim. 4. 6); the Christian state is service of God as well as that of Christ (1 Thess. 4. 1 sq.; Gal. 1. 10; Rom. 14. 18; Eph. 6. 6);

a life and a bringing forth fruit for God and Christ (Gal. 2. 19; 2 Cor. 5. 15; Rom. 6. 11-13). The apostle prays to Christ as to God (1 Thess. 3. 11 sq.; 2 Cor. 12. 8 sq.; 1 Cor. 16. 22) (*maranatha, come, Lord*).

For this reason Paul on the whole traced back the experienced effects of salvation to Christ as well as to God. It is God who calls men to believe. Nevertheless Paul calls the Christians also "the called of Jesus Christ" (Rom. 1. 6; 1 Cor. 7. 22); for God has called the Christians into the grace of Christ (Gal. 1. 6; Phil. 3. 14). Thus he also says of Christ (Rom. 15. 7), as of God (Rom. 11. 15; 14. 3), that he receives men unto faith. Grace is imparted to the Christian by Christ as well as by God. Thus in the introductions to the Epistles, where almost throughout the grace of Christ only is solicited (1 Thess. 5. 28; 2 Thess. 3. 18; Gal. 6. 18; 1 Cor. 16. 23; 2 Cor. 13. 13; Rom. 16. 20; Phil. 4. 23; also 2 Cor. 8. 9; Rom. 1. 5), God beseeches by the apostles as they pray in Christ's stead that the world may accept the offered reconciliation (2 Cor. 5. 20). Like God, Christ works effects of the Almighty: he directs that the apostle

can go to his congregations (1 Thess. 3. 11; 1. Cor. 4. 19; 16. 7); he punishes and chastens in this life (1 Cor. 11. 32); can bestow health (2 Cor. 12. 8); he keeps from evil (2 Thess. 3. 3); directs the hearts (2 Thess. 3. 5); makes faithful (1 Cor. 7. 25); keeps firm and blameless unto the coming (1 Cor. 1. 8); is able to subdue all things unto himself (Phil. 3. 21).

In the Epistles to the Thessalonians are many passages of which the expositor will never be able to decide conclusively whether the question is of God or of Christ. The quotation from Isa. 45. 23: "Every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue confess to God," which in Rom. 14. 11, answering to its original meaning, is referred to God, in Phil. 2. 10 sq. is applied to Christ. According to Rom. 12. 3 sqq., we are members of *one* body in Christ, because God gives to every man gifts of grace.

In the preceding we presented the Christian experience of the apostle, and derived it wholly from his conversion. We must now justify this procedure. There are still many who wrongly assert that the Christian faith of the apostle only gradually reached

its full height; that his doctrine of justification is the product of his struggle with believing and unbelieving Judaism; and that the consciousness of his call as a missionary to the Gentiles is erroneously transferred by the apostle to the time of his conversion; that in truth from the very beginning Paul was rather a Jewish missionary like the other apostles, and was only led by the course of his activity to the mission among the Gentiles.

We do not wish to be misunderstood. Paul's theology is certainly missionary theology. Nothing was so much on the apostle's heart as that Christ should be universally preached. For this reason, as he himself stated, he became unto the Jews a Jew, unto the Greeks a Greek to gain them for Christ (1 Cor. 9. 19 sq.). He accommodated himself to circumstances. In the presence of new situations his preaching received new directions. According to Gal. 2., the inference that the Jewish Christians under certain circumstances sinned by clinging to the law, was made by Paul against Peter only after the Apostolic Council at Antioch. Many theological statements and wordings

in his Epistles are later formations. His argument in the Epistle to the Galatians against his Jewish Christian opponents, and also many things in the Epistle to the Romans, are only to be fully explained from the necessity of the critical position against Judaism. In the captivity-epistles we first find the teaching that Christ is made the Head of all which he has redeemed, also of the angelic powers. Here the cosmological importance of Christ compared with the earlier Epistles appears enlarged. Paul could only write Rom. 9—11 and Eph. 2. 3 after a Gentile Christian church had grown up beside the Jewish Christian.

Nevertheless the characteristic features of Paul's preaching and also of his theology were settled in him as soon as he had come to a deeper understanding of his experience before Damascus; for this, *outer* as well as *inner* reasons conclusively speak.

Respecting the outer reason Paul differs from Augustine, Luther and Calvin, in that he himself does not know of any development of his Christian knowledge, but treats his Christian as well as the fore-Christian period of his life throughout as one. In

some conclusive passages in which he represents his preaching of Christ as the only true preaching which answers to the true nature of Christ, and where he also has his conversion in mind (Gal. 1. 9, 10 and 2 Cor. 5. 16), the "now" is the whole time of his Christian state without any consciousness of a change. But in the Epistle to the Galatians he defends his gospel which is free from the law against Jewish Christianity. He would be spiting his own face, would himself have been a servant, had he also had a period of Jewish-Christian preaching. Where could one find an event in his Christian life which had ripened his consciousness still undeveloped in conversion to such high religious experiences as we have elicited from his Epistles, and which, according to the apostle's own spirit, stand in opposition to the Jewish Christian gospel of his opponents? Gal. 1 can only be understood in this way, that the contrarities of "divine" and "human" in which his own and a Jewish-restricted gospel are opposed to his judgment, had already entered into his consciousness as the result of his conversion. 2 Cor. 5. 17 shows the inference with which he

introduces this verse ("therefore"), that the consciousness of being a new creature is contemporaneous with the giving up of the fleshly Christ-picture; which means, that with conversion he entered from the state of a knowledge of Christ according to the flesh into that of Christ according to the spirit.

Paul knows nothing either of the assumption that his apostleship to the heathen commenced only in the course of his missionary activity. Rather he records: "but when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that *I might preach him among the heathen*; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood" (Gal. i. 15, 16). One can push embarrassing facts into the corner and ignore them; one can get rid of them by a forced interpretation; one can here say that Paul was mistaken in his recollection and took later perceptions as immediate results of his conversion. But realities cannot be divested of their indwelling power. Paul expresses here clearly and distinctly the consciousness that he felt himself called not only to be an apostle but to be an apostle to the heathen, before he considered whether

he should confer with flesh and blood, or whether he should get his legitimation from the older apostles; and we must further add that the structure of the first two chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians, the retrospective view of the history of his life and missionary activity, rests upon the thought that with his conversion he at once knew himself loosened from everything human including what was Jewish, and that from the beginning he worked as an apostle among the heathen. In the struggle with Jewish Christianity he means to prove that every true Christian experience is opposed to Judaism; that from the beginning he had this knowledge and finally set it off victoriously even against Peter. Under such circumstances an error of Paul in this question is out of the question.

To all this concerning the external reasons must be added by way of confirmation the *inner* reasons. What Paul experienced in his conversion was not to be apprehended in the religious setting of Judaism. He experienced a religious and moral regeneration which destroyed his Jewish ideals. The inner change which he experienced placed

him in closest relation to him whom Judaism, especially Pharisaism, had rejected and cast off. In an overwhelming manner he learned that the question was not activity but passivity. Righteousness is not acquired, it is bestowed. The quality of man is not a ground for salvation, but God's grace. All the blessedness which came to him he received not because of his Pharisaic zeal, but in opposition to it. The cross of Christ is not the righteous judgment of God on a pseudo-Messiah, but him whom the Jews had crucified God has invested with the highest dignity, imbued with divine power, and this power Christ made efficacious in Paul.

The theologian Paul is strongly underrated if one thinks that the course of his mission first opened his eyes to the truth that salvation is also destined for the heathen. No, Paul became a heathen missionary, knew himself to be sent to the heathen, because in his conversion the religious difference between Jews and Gentiles had faded into an unreal semblance over against the contrasts of the human and the divine, of sin and grace. When speaking of

Judaism (2 Cor. 3. 4; Rom. 9. 11), Paul describes his personal experience in conversion. In sinful conceit against God, Judaism pursues the way of its own righteousness; the spirit of stupefaction rests on it; they have eyes, but see not; ears, but they hear not; a veil is on their heart when they read the Old Testament as the testimony for the divinity of their religion. Christ is the end of the law. The ministration of the Old Testament is the ministration of the letter, of condemnation, of death; that of the New Covenant is ministration of the Spirit, of righteousness, of life. Not only is sinful heathenism lost and damned, but Judaism also which sees not the light of the glorious gospel of Christ who is the image of God. On the other hand, every one is saved who calls upon Christ as Lord who died and rose again.

In like manner the contrast of flesh and spirit in Paul's sometimes almost dualistic keenness, is only rightly explained from the manner of the apostle's Christian experience before Damascus, since by that he felt himself lifted into a new sphere of existence, which he understood as in opposition to the

earthly. With this personal experience some theological lines of thought were afterward connected, thus that of Gal. 4, according to which Judaism also belongs to the category of the cosmic and that the old covenant was carnal, or that concerning the death of Christ as God's judgment, in which all flesh—Jews and Gentiles—shall receive the sentence of condemnation from God (Rom. 8. 3).

III

MAIN ELEMENTS OF PAULINE THEOLOGY

GOD

The apostle's conception of God is in the main the same as that of contemporary Judaism. It is religious belief, not philosophic speculation, and it rests on the consciousness of possessing the revelation of God. On this account also the problems of world-view do not disturb this conception of God, for they find in part an answer already given in the contents of religious belief itself, like such questions as to origin of the world; or they are either not felt at all or only imperfectly so, like the problem of the origin of evil, or the antinomy of the freedom of man and his dependence on God.

God's Almighty Will created the world and rules in it continually. Nature follows not its own laws which God imposed upon it, but in every event God is immediately efficient. Jewish contemplation of the world had also the feeling of a regulated course in nature; and it also held as self-evident that

God can interfere with it at any moment and often does so in extraordinary events, in signs and miracles. In the hand of God lies the beginning, as well as the progress and the end. The bringing about of this end of the world by God, by means of his omnipotence, was one of the familiar views of the Judaism of that time, which Paul also shared.

Like nature, man also is unconditionally subject to the will and guidance of God. He rules the individual as well as nature and the whole history of humanity with irresistible power in order to realize his purpose. Man came forth faultlessly from the creative hand of God; the order of nature was also good. When sin entered the world through Adam—in answer to the question how this was possible with God's all-powerful will, only statements are given—God's sentence inflicted death on humanity and subjected also the whole creation because of the sin of man to vanity. Under this divine judgment the whole creation groans, especially man, but he must bow to it. Every man is in the hand of God as clay in the hand of the potter. God can make man a vessel of honor

and a vessel of dishonor; no man can oppose him, as little as the clay can say to the potter: why hast thou made me thus? God knows indeed very well that the condition of the world is a stranger to his will. But the question why he does not restore the normal condition by his all-powerful will, is no problem for Judaism. That God does not stop sin, shows that God designs certain ways for humanity and it means to understand these ways. Judaism is convinced that humanity and nature, which both have their origin in God, will certainly accomplish their end and will be brought back by God to a union with him; for God's strong arm will in its own time destroy all that is opposed to God and bring about paradisaical conditions.

But if such is the relation of the created world and of man to the Creator, men are weak instruments of his mighty power and have no independence over against the accomplishment of his ends. The course of the world, then, must not be judged according to the category of cause and effect, but of the purpose which God has appointed. The contemplation of the world and its history by

Judaism and Paul is teleologico-theistic. The transcendent will of God appoints the course of the world; an inflexible course has been fixed by God. There is no room for the freedom of man,¹ for the thought of a development resulting from the sum of individual wills. God, and not man, has constructed this world-picture. Anthropology recedes behind theism. Man has the task to look at the facts in history and nature which God puts forward to manifest his will.

Since God's will is immutable and is fixed from eternity, the whole course of the world is foreseen and predetermined. It is a firm Jewish maxim that that which is last in the execution is first in the intention; for this reason everything which happens is from eternity clear before God's eyes, and he manifested in typical manner certain historical phenomena at which his will aims. But the perfect knowledge is only possible to man when he looks back from the end to

¹ The author can hardly be understood here as denying personal human freedom, since, as he knows, Paul, referring to his conversion, declares he "*was not disobedient to the heavenly vision,*" which he could not be were he not free, but as denying the fact that combined humanity in any generation or period can thwart the purposes of God.—
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the beginning and from the success discloses the intention of God.

It is impossible to have an historical understanding of the history of the apostle unless one takes into account these premises self-evident for the apostle. Many things which we of the present day find strange in Paul, because we no more think a pure teleological theism, but acknowledge the law of causality in the explanation of the world, have their origin in these premises.

This scheme of world-contemplation filled Paul since he had become a Christian with partially new contents. The decisive change was this: that Paul perceived the cross of Christ which to him, as to Judaism in general, was the greatest offence, as a divine act for the salvation of the world. As a Jew he considered the law as the perfect revelation of God, given as the way of righteousness, a guide to life. But now the death of Christ shows him that this dying of the Messiah was necessary for salvation; for nothing took place without God's will and intention. Had God delivered the Messiah unto death, salvation was not possible without this death. Then Israel also, from

whom Messiah came, was declared sinful before God, entire humanity was guilty before God. There was nothing in the claim of Judaism to special holiness acquired by observing the law. Rather had the law executed its judgment on the Messiah; but in the Messiah, the representative head of the people, the people were altogether declared guilty of such death.

We shall now understand the lines of thought of the apostle, objectionable not only to the Judaism of that time but which also may be to us, according to which God gave the law, not for the sake of leading the people of Israel to fulfill the will of God, but because of transgressions (Gal. 3. 19), that is, to call forth transgressions or to increase sin (Rom. 5. 20), that the law is mediator, a codicil to the testament of divine promise (Gal. 3. 17); a cruel schoolmaster which enslaved humanity till Christ came and loosened the bonds (Gal. 3. 24, 25); for in these sentences the experience of the abolition of the law as a principle of salvation which Paul had made in his conversion, is inserted into his teleological-theistic contemplation of the world. The

thought of the gradual education of the human race by a gradual revelation of God and the understanding of the law as such educational means in the hands of God, was entirely remote from the apostle. But God must certainly have had some purpose with the law. As soon as Paul saw from his Christian point of view that Christ died under the curse of the law (Gal. 3. 13; Deut. 21. 23); as soon as he perceived that the natural man not having the Spirit, could not fulfill the law, the law turned into the opposite of that which it was to him before. He inferred that it served in the hand of God to increase sin, that grace might the more abound.

We now understand also what Paul says of the work of God—especially in the first chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. The doctrine of the wrath of God as the righteousness of God punishing sin, is current in Judaism; but it is new that the apostle thinks of Judaism as being under the wrath of God like the rest of the human race. This statement also Judaism cannot understand. To put Israel's moral status on a par with that of heathenism—in spite of all self-

accusations of lacking righteousness which the fourth book of Ezra contains—appeared to the Jews as blasphemous. But one must only free himself from the traditional conception of the Epistle to the Romans and rightly understand it. In the first chapters Paul did not intend to make a statement of the moral condition of the whole human race and lead it to repentance and prepare it for the acceptance of the gospel. The Epistle to the Romans was written to a congregation which was already Christian and to this, not to the extra-Christian world, Paul wishes to say something in chapters 1 and 3. The apostle would show how the history of the pre-Christian human race presented itself to the view of the Christian spectator. The description of the sinful heathen world (chapter 1) and of sinful Judaism (chapter 2) is sketched from the point of view of the Christian consciousness and is eclipsed by the light of the gospel, by the power of God and righteousness of God given to men. Out of the Christian consciousness grew also the parallel of the two types of humanity, Adam and Christ, a contrast which we also find traces of in Jewish writings. Adam

and Christ are the two heads in the history of humanity; by the one sin and death entered the human race; by the other righteousness and life. The one brought a curse on the human race, the other a blessing. But curse and blessing are effects of God. In the second head of the human race God abolished the doom which he had ordained in consequence of the first head.

But it is not to be mistaken on which side of the divine working the center of gravity lies for the apostle. "For, if by one man's offence death reigned by one; *much more* they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ" (Rom. 5. 17). God's judicial righteousness is an inalienable element of the Pauline view of God. That God is the Judge of the world is, for the apostle, plainly a maxim (Rom. 3. 6; 2. 5, 6). He speaks of such "as are saved" and of such "as are lost." He knows that "the world is condemned" (1 Cor. 11. 32), and that all enemies of God are to be destroyed (1 Cor. 15. 24-26). The giving of Christ unto death is an act of judicial righteousness (Rom. 3. 25); but this deed is saving rather

than condemning, rather a proof of divine love than of divine justice; and in spite of the thought of judgment, the act of redemption embraces *all* men (Rom. 5. 18; 8. 32; 1 Tim. 2. 4).

The apostle thinks in the first place of Christ's surrender to expiatory death for the human race when he speaks of the proof of divine love: "For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor heights, nor depths, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 8. 38 sq.). Since this love of God is a kindness bestowed upon the sinful race, Paul calls it grace. This is the most frequent designation in the Pauline Epistles of the work of God in men. In Christ the grace of God becomes exceeding abundant and enters upon a royal rule in the world. The grace of God is applied to men, apprehends and rules them; is the supporting foundation of all salvation. Hence the apostle's habit of commencing and closing his Epistles with the desire that God's or Christ's grace may be with the readers.

This love and grace has been personified in the person of Christ and was given to man through Christ. God spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all (Rom. 8. 32). What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God accomplished by sending and giving of his own Son in the death of flesh. To the apostle God is the Father of his Lord Jesus Christ, and through his mediation is also the Father of Christians. On this account he coins again some formulas for the designation of this Christian knowledge of God: "God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," or, "God and the Father," that is, God, who is God and Father of Christ. Thus he also speaks of "God, the Father," or, merely the "Father," and includes therewith the mediation of this relation through Christ.

In the Old Testament already the name of the Father is frequently used to designate the relation of God to his people, and in later Jewish times this notion is also transferred to the individual relation of the individual Jew to God. But Paul sees the main roots of this designation of God in the unique Son-

ship of Jesus, of which Paul knew from the evangelic teaching, and in the salvation-experience of the Son of God who died and rose again and had drawn him into his communion. The divine adoption is to him a designation of the new life-relation to God, into which the believer feels himself placed through the atonement and redemption of Christ and which still awaits the consummation.

From the experience that God in Christ is gracious to the human race, we must also understand the apostle's thought concerning predestination and the final destiny of human history. A real doctrine of Paul on these questions, however, cannot well be presented. Paul knows nothing of a predestination of one for eternal salvation and of the other for eternal damnation. Such a conception belongs to times and persons which produced a "doctrine," and consequently endeavored to repair the gaps of Paul's idea of God, and did not perceive that Rom. 9 contained only the remains of a still Pharisaic belief in God. But they achieved no great success and at any rate did not understand the apostle.

Paul himself knows only of an eternal predestination for salvation (Eph. 1. 4; Rom. 8. 28-30). His severe declarations on God's condemnation of Esau (Rom. 9. 13); on God's arbitrariness, on whom he will have mercy and whom he will harden (Rom. 9. 14-18); of God's intention to show his wrath and to make known his power (Rom. 9. 22), these treat of God's manifestations in the course of the history of salvation, and have no reference to eternal decrees. For the entire discussion (Rom. 9. 11) is according to Rom. 9. 3, 4, entirely intended to prove that God's promises to Israel have not fallen to the ground but will be accomplished. The way which the history of salvation has taken leads indeed through a selection of some and a part of Israel, through guilt and rejection of the people, to the glorious gospel, that ungodliness be turned away from Jacob, that sin be taken away from the people (Rom. 11. 26, 27). To the Gentiles salvation is offered because Israel had grown stubborn for the time being and will not submit to the preaching of righteousness (Rom. 9. 30 sq.; 10. 2 sqq.). How little this agrees with the idea of the

unwilling subjection of man to God's determination as developed in the ninth chapter, the apostle does not show.

Finally, "all Israel shall be saved" (Rom. 11. 26). Then the whole human race shall be embraced by the grace of God. What at the end of history becomes of those who in the course of the history of salvation will make instruments of divine wrath or remained unbelieving, the apostle does not reveal; this gap also remains open. But temporary rejection does not necessarily include everlasting condemnation. The close of the eleventh chapter forbids us to understand this historical rejection in the sense of the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. For "God hath concluded them *all* in unbelief that he might have mercy upon all" (Rom. 11. 32).

Thinking of this highest proof of God's mercy, the apostle breaks out in praise of God, which represents the climax of the Pauline belief in God: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how immeasurable are his judgments and his ways are past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord?"

Or who hath been his counselor? Or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever, Amen" (Rom. 11. 33-36).

CHRISTOLOGY

God is everything; man is nothing. This is the pith of the religion of the apostle. One can, accordingly, call his religious thinking theoretic; and yet, the singular godliness of Paul is not correctly qualified. We have already seen that not God but Christ stands in the center of his faith. His religion is Christocentric. This contradiction is removed by the fact that in Christ Paul bases full religious experience of God. In Christ dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily (Col. 2. 9); Christ is the image of the invisible God (Col. 1. 15; 2 Cor. 4. 4). Christ's work of salvation is God's work of salvation. Christ's power is God's power. The full knowledge of the nature of God and of his ways with the human race is obtained in Christ.

What is the concrete picture of Christ

which lived in the mind of Paul? The heavenly Christ, highly exalted, mighty in the power of God, rules the Christian thought of the apostle. This Christ is presented by the apostle as a divine being, whose manifestation like that of God is itself brightness, heavenly glory. God gave to this Christ the royal government over his own by means of which Christ makes effective the redemption and reconciliation brought about by him, as well as his own heavenly life with its powers. Paul accordingly ascribes to Christ almighty effects; and these go beyond the Christian Church. Christ is put as Lord over all powers. God put him, whom he raised from the dead, at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion—by this, different categories of angelic powers are meant—and above every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come (Eph. 1. 20, 21); that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, not only of all inhabitants in earth, but also of things in heaven and things under the earth (Phil. 2. 10, 11). Christ, the firstborn from the dead, is to

have the preëminence in all things (Col. 1. 18); is to become the head in which all things which are in heaven and which are on earth are to be gathered together (Eph. 1. 10), only with the qualification that, since it is God who has given him this dignity, he shall surrender his dominion to God after having subdued all enemies (1 Cor. 15. 27, 28), that God may then be all in all (1 Cor. 15. 28; Eph. 4. 6; Rom. 11. 36).

Christ obtained this high dignity for two reasons. From the very beginning he already stood to God in the relation of Son, and therefore surpassed all created things. From this blessed life of fellowship with God in the heavenly world he stepped forth for the time being to bring about the work of reconciliation and redemption which God's counsel had appointed. Because of this, and after its accomplishment, God made him ruler and head of the universe. The high dignity which Christ already had in his preëxistence shows itself in this, that God made him take part in the creation of the world. The statements of Paul on this point are, however, not clearly definite.

In 1 Cor. 8. 6 the apostle says: "We

(Christians) have *one* God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and *one* Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." The nearest understanding of the passage is, as God is the primal ground and goal of all things, so is Christ the mediator by whom the universe, including man, was called into existence. But this statement could not fully express the meaning of the passage; for Paul speaks as a Christian for whom God is the world-goal ("we in him"), and who through Christ knows himself as made such ("we by him"). The two statements "we in him" and "we by him" correspond. The first is accomplished in the second; and for this reason, in the face of the preposition "by" in both members of the statement concerning Christ, the first member of this statement stands in closest relation to redemption. Moreover, when Paul means to speak of Christ's cosmic significance the thought involuntarily reverts to the saving significance of Christ.

This is still more the case with the second passage (Col. i. 15-20), the meaning of which may first of all be given as this, that

the universal significance of Christ is to be proven within the created world. Christ is the firstborn of all creatures; by him every thing is created which exists in heaven and in earth, the visible and the invisible; and angelic powers, which Paul calls thrones, dominions, principalities, powers (verse 16).

In what sense the "by him were all things created," is to be understood, is not clear. It is possible that the apostle himself gives the meaning in the words: "All things were created by him and for him" (verse 16); "By Christ were all things created" denotes then: He is the cause and aim of creation. Many understand this in the sense of "first cause" and "final aim," and by this predicates are transferred to Christ which, according to Pauline teaching, belong only to God. But it is overlooked that the whole statement from verse 15 on is grammatically dependent on verses 13, 14; in verse 13 sq., however, God is called the preparer of our redemption in the kingdom of his dear Son. It must also not be forgotten that the whole long construction runs again with verse 19 into a statement whose subject is God and whose contents are again the reconciliation

of the whole world through Christ. Paul is therefore far away from enlarging the position of Christ at the expense of that of God; the idea is rather this, that Christ is the Creator of all things appointed by God, but also he by whom the world is to be led back in the work of redemption and reconciliation. To the creation by Christ no doubt verse 17 refers also: "And he is before all things, and by him all things consist"; and yet this statement is also ruled by the thought of redemption, for the clause "and by him all things consist" is qualified by the other, "and he is the head of the body, the church." Hence appears the proper meaning of the whole passage, verse 15 sqq.; which is not the general or universal significance of Christ within the cosmos, but rather that Christ, the creator and bearer of all things, is also the redeemer of the universe. Already verses 12 and 13 treat of the redemption as God's work through Christ. Redemption is the principal thought of verse 14, and the Christological statement (verse 15 sq.) turns in again and again into the point of view of redemption. On this account the statements referring to the crea-

tion become somewhat vague, because a transition is made from the creation to the goal appointed for the world, or it treats of Christ as the Creator, not with reference to the beginning of the world, but to the world in its present existence.

It follows, therefore, that more important than the idea of preëxistence of Christ Paul considered that of his heavenly power and the execution of his divine purpose of salvation. With this the thought of preëxistence in the apostle is not to be depreciated; it certainly has a definite significance within the Christology of Paul. There is nothing gained for Paul by making a distinction between a real and an ideal preëxistence. Paul thinks of Christ as preëxistent in a real sense; the Creator of the world can only be a real being. True 1 Cor. 10. 4: "All [Israelites in the wilderness] did drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ." The notion of preëxistence occurs in the softened form of the Jewish-Alexandrian typology and rabbinic tradition. But in another place the apostle says that God sent his Son—from heaven (Rom.

8. 3; Gal. 4. 4); that Jesus Christ became poor for our sakes (2 Cor. 8. 9); that he left the existence in the form of God, which, however, does not yet include perfect equality with God,¹ and made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, in order to obediently fulfill the will of God (Phil. 2. 6 sqq.). This is real preëxistence.

One finds a reference to the supernatural birth in Gal. 4. 4. But "made of a woman," without mentioning the generator, is no allusion to Isa. 7. 14; it means, according to Jewish mode of expression, nothing else than entrance into humanity (comp. Job 14. 1) ("Man, that is born of woman"; Job 15. 24; 25. 4). In a peculiar manner Rom. 8. 3 treats of Jesus's entrance into the human race: "God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh." However, the perfect humanity of Jesus is by no means to be denied—this is irrefragably established for the apostle. He means to say that the sinful

¹And yet the Apostle declares that it was from this equality Christ lowered himself to the state of a servant. "Who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God." Phil. 2. 6ff. See Knowling, *Testimony of Saint Paul to Christ*, p 118.—EDITOR.

flesh of humanity is the model after which the flesh of Christ was also fashioned. Christ too would have been subject to sin had not another power, that of the Spirit, ruled in him. But with Paul the thought is excluded that the earthly Christ could possibly have been sinful. In a passage which represents a climax of his theological statements concerning the power of salvation (2 Cor. 5. 21) he states expressly that Christ knew no sin. After all, Rom. 8. 3 must necessarily be supplemented; this is offered by Rom. 1. 3, and 4, according to which Christ led a prior existence as Son of God. On earth he became David's descendant "according to the flesh," that is, according to his earthly birth; this, however, is only the one side of his earthly existence. The other is an existence according to the Spirit of holiness, that is, of the Holy Spirit. If this Holy Spirit is to be thought of as the power of his life in the flesh, then Christ is demonstrated to be Son of God, with power, after the resurrection from the dead, by reason of the Spirit now unimpeded by the bounds of the flesh. Here an inference may be drawn in which Paul would have seen the power of

the prior existence of Christ, had he given it consideration. It can be no other than that of the Spirit which determined the earthly and post-earthly existence of Christ. The effort toward an understanding of Christ as an undivided person in different forms of existence admits of no other decision. To this also the Christological statements in 1 Cor. 10. 4; 8. 6; Phil. 2. 6, "in the form of God" and Col. 1. 15 sqq. point.

Such questions, however, which come before the modern consciousness, as how the incarnation of the Son of God, how the mutual relation of the human and the divine in Christ is to be thought of, whether Jesus had also a human soul and human consciousness, how the relation of the sinful flesh to the divine spirit in Christ is to be thought of, etc., the apostle does not seem to have considered. Even the later ecclesiastical Christology has no satisfactory answer. In the mind of the apostle the historical reality of the person of Christ combined the two seemingly disjointing parts. He knows a Christ who was man and also of divine nature. Ancient thinking was more naive than ours. Psychological questions of this Christology

Paul did not investigate. But we should not forget that, even with the help of all modern psychology, we shall not succeed in lifting the veil of the divine mystery which once for all surrounds the person of our Lord and his entrance into the world.

Paul puts Christ as a member of humanity parallel to Adam (Rom. 5. 12 sq.). As Adam is the head, a representative and type of humanity, so also is Christ, only that Christ is superior and in him God's ways with humanity are fulfilled. It would have been easy for the apostle to assert in his Christology the Jewish-Hellenistic ideas of the heavenly man as the type after which the earthly man was created, or the self-designation of Jesus as Son of man. There are traces proving that these notions were not foreign to the apostle; but he allowed them no special influence upon his theological thinking. In the parallel between Adam and Christ (Rom. 5. 12 sq.) we find no reference to them at all, and 1 Cor. 15. 27 he quotes indeed Psalms 8. 7, according to which God has put all things under the "Son of man"; but the term "Son of man" we vainly seek by him. And if 1 Cor.

15. 47 sq. reference is indeed made to the doctrine of Philo of the archetypal man as the type of the created man—which in Philo is not at all connected with the Messianic idea—it has been reversed by the apostle and turned to the effect that the heavenly man is called the second, and not the first man. Only by the resurrection, according to this passage, did Christ become the second Adam. But if one wishes to grasp at ancient, Oriental notions in explanation of the Pauline heavenly man, he certainly loses firm ground from under his feet, judging at least from efforts hitherto made. At any rate the occasional and only solitary mention of the “heavenly man” in the Epistles of the apostle shows that other Christological ideas were more important to him; it may therefore be considered as a sign of sound judgment when in critical theology the effort is made again and again to construct from this point the Pauline Christology.

This brings us to the question as to the divinity of Christ. Paul never called Christ “God.” In three passages one may think such designation is found (2 Thess. 1. 12; Titus 2. 13, and Rom. 9. 5); but in the first

two Christ is not spoken of as "our God and the Lord Jesus Christ" and "the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ," but God and Christ are put side by side; and in Rom. 9. 5 the contrast between the two statements bordering on each other, "of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came" and "who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen," is much too strong, that both could be referred to the person of Christ; add to this that Christ would be called God over all, which in Eph. 4. 6 is reserved to God alone. The doxology (Rom. 9. 5), like the other doxologies in the Pauline Epistles, refers to God.

Our exegetical understanding of these passages finds its support in this, that Paul in an unmistakable manner subordinates Christ to God. This is contained in the designation of Christ as "Son of God" in the gradations "all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's" (I Cor. 3. 23); "the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God" (I Cor. 11. 3); also, in the mediating part of Christ in the creation and redemption. In both Christ acts not independently but by order of God; and

Paul closes (1 Cor. 15. 28) the description of the Messianic power of Christ which subdues all enemies expressly by this, that Christ is subject to him who has put all things under him, that God may be all in all. The monotheism of Paul is accordingly established as according to 1 Cor. 8. 6; 12. 6; Rom. 11. 36; Eph. 4. 6.

But, on the other hand, the fact equally remains true that, according to the Paul view, Christ is of divine nature; "for he is the image of God and in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily" (Col. 2. 9). As Son he is of like essence with the Father; as Creator of the world and ruler of the world (Col. 1. 17) he possesses divine omnipotence. In his prior existence he was with God not in human but in divine form (Phil. 2. 6). The universal efficiency of his work of redemption and reconciliation rests on his dignity surpassing the whole creation. After finishing this work God gave him the dominion over all powers in earth, in heaven and under the earth. The appropriation of this redemption operates through him in such divine power, and working to a definite end, that he penetrates

the universe with his power. Hence Christ belongs, according to Paul, not on the side of humanity. He is God. But, on the other hand, the problems which open to us are not considered how we have to think in detail of Christ's origin from God, of the relation of the work of Christ beside that of God.



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FEINE, PAUL

ST. PAUL AS A THEOLOGIAN



