THE ESCHATOLOGICAL REFERENCE OF THE CARDINAL CONCEPTS
OF ST. PAUL'S THEOLOGY

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of Divinity, New College
The University of Edinburgh

In Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Robert Blake Barnes
January, 1957
Dedicated to my father
The basic premise upon which the theology of the New Testament is built is the faith that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah sent from God in whom the promised eschaton was definitively inaugurated in history and who was yet to return to bring the eschaton to completion in the kingdom that lies beyond history. The religious thought of the apostle Paul is dominated by this conviction. Thus eschatology is not simply one among the several of his key theological positions, but it is a fundamental conception that exercises a formative influence upon his whole view of God, of man, and of the universe. The purpose of this thesis is to make a study of the Pauline epistles to determine afresh the essential nature of the apostle's conception of 'last things' and to view his cardinal theological concepts in relation to his eschatological teaching.

The classic English work in the field of Pauline eschatology is H.A.A. Kennedy's great volume *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things* published in London in 1904. There appeared in Germany only shortly later the first edition of Albert Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede: Eine Geschichte der Leben-Jesu Forschung* (1906) which was translated into English by W. Montgomery and published in 1910 under the title *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, and there followed later his *Paul and his Interpreters* (E.T. by Montgomery, 1912) and *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (E.T. by Montgomery, 1931). Schweitzer's work is generally designated as marking the beginning of a new era in New Testament research, and the greatest contribution that he made was to restore this field of study to the *terra firma* of biblical reality by pointing
out and insisting upon the fundamental eschatological foundation of New Testament theology. After Schweitzer, and mostly in reaction to his extreme view of 'thorough-going' eschatology, there arose the significant development known as 'realized eschatology' associated primarily with the names C.H. Dodd (The Parables of the Kingdom, 1935; Apostolic Preaching and Its Development, 1936; History and the Gospels, 1938) and E.C. Hoskyns (Cambridge Sermons, 1938). The eschatological debate has continued on into the present, and the vast amount of study given by New Testament scholars to this problem has produced many outstanding works contributing new approaches and insights to the current discussions. Among the most influential are such works as Paul Althaus, Die letzten Dinge (fifth edition, 1949); William Manson, Jesus the Messiah (1943); Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time (E.T. by Floyd V. Filson, 1951); Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament (1933-1954). The general wide interest in eschatology was given further impetus by the discussions of the Evanston meeting (1954) of the World Council of Churches on the theme "Christ, the Hope of the World". In connection with these discussions there appeared numerous publications which have elucidated further the modern understanding of biblical eschatology and its significance for Christian mission, social and ethical interests.

It is a notable fact that not since the work of H.A.A. Kennedy more than half a century ago has there appeared a volume in English devoted exclusively to the study of Pauline eschatology. The theological developments since Kennedy's time have in no way
invalidated the fruits of his study or outdated his book, which will always be a classic in its field, but the changing of the times and the new insights and data that have come forth from the investigations of modern scholarship not only make room for but demand a fresh study of Paul's conception of 'last things'. The prominent position held by the apostle in the primitive church as a thinker and as a writer is such that most all the works on New Testament eschatology that have been published have given serious consideration to his writings, and thus there is an abundance of material available that bears directly upon Paul's eschatological teachings. If this thesis has any contribution to make to this field of study, it could hope to be no more than the bringing together within these pages of some of these many insights into Pauline eschatology that modern New Testament scholarship has produced.

The procedure of study will be as follows. This thesis is divided into two parts. Part I consists of an examination of the eschatological setting of the Pauline teaching and of the technical eschatological terminology of the epistles; this is with a view toward determining the essential character of Paul's conception of 'last things'. Part II is a demonstration, based upon the findings of part I, of the eschatological reference of Paul's cardinal theological concepts. For the sake of the convenience of this study, the cardinal theological concepts are grouped under four headings: 'christology', 'salvation', 'the Christian life', and 'the church and the sacraments'. The writings of the New Testament
used as the primary sources for this investigation are those epistles which are generally accepted as of Pauline authorship or origin: Romans, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I and II Thessalonians, and Philemon. All the direct biblical quotations that appear here are, unless otherwise specified, from the Revised Standard Version; Greek references are from Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 1953.

I wish to express by my deepest appreciation to my advisors, Professors James S. Stewart and William Manson, who have given freely of their time and advice in the preparation of this thesis. My indebtedness to their insights, gained both from private consultation and from their books, will be evident throughout this thesis.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS


EC, The Early Church, essays by Oscar Cullmann.

ERE, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. by James Hastings.

EQ, The Evangelical Quarterly.

ET, The Expository Times.

HBNT, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament.


JTS, Journal of Theological Studies.


RHPR, Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses.

RVEBT, The Root of the Vine: Essays in Biblical Theology, by Anton Fridrichsen and other members of Uppsala University.

SJT, Scottish Journal of Theology.

SP, Studia Paulina, ed. by J.N. Sevenster.

TWzNT, Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.

TZ, Theologische Zeitschrift.

ZATW, Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des nachbiblischen Judentums.

ZNTW, Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche.

ZTK, Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
Part I

THE PAULINE ESCHATOLOGY
INTRODUCTORY MATTERS: THE ESCHATOLOGICAL SETTING OF THE PAULINE TEACHING

The purpose of this chapter is to deal with some matters which, by way of introduction, are essential to present the teaching of Paul in its eschatological setting. These are: (1) the place of eschatology in Paul's epistles, (2) his conversion experience, and (3) his relationship to the early church kerygma. The procedure will be to present these matters in the above order and to indicate the aspect of each as it contributes to the picture of the eschatological background of the apostle's thought.

I. THE PLACE OF ESCHATOLOGY IN THE PAULINE EPISTLES

The only source of first hand knowledge of Paul's eschatology comes from his own epistles, therefore it is necessary first to investigate them to determine their general character as theological writings containing eschatological teaching.

The general character of the epistles. The apostle Paul of the New Testament is known primarily as the greatest of the first missionaries of world-wide Christianity. He was a man with a deep experience of Christ and with an impelling urge to preach the gospel of redemption in Christ. He met with trying and discouraging experiences as he made his missionary journeys throughout Asia Minor and eastern Europe, but these
served only to deepen his faith and increase his zeal. As he made converts and established churches, he attempted to nurture and instruct them in the Christian 'way'; and when he could not be with them in person he wrote to them.\(^1\) Thus, the man under consideration was a missionary and the writings being investigated are missionary letters.

It is important to recognize the nature of these epistles as theological writings. Professor James S. Stewart has well demonstrated that Paul cannot be tied down to any kind of theological system in his writings. The apostle's religious beliefs and positions were hammered out on the mission field, not worked out in a theologian's study. It was not to give a compendium of Christian doctrine that Paul wrote his letters but to deal with immediate problems and local circumstances as he confronted them. Even in his treatment of some of his most basic themes he refused to be tied down to rigid consistency.\(^2\) Dr. Martin Dibelius states that the letters consist of both 'prophetic witness' and 'theological dialectic' and that Paul never proceeds speculatively nor thinks for the sake of thinking: "... his thoughts are not built up symmetrically, but are forced into emotional channels because he is so moved and stirred by the facts as he sees them."\(^3\) This, of course, is an observation

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upon his method and not a depreciation of Paul as a theologian. M. Goguel says, "Certes, Paul a été un grand et puissant theologien, mais ses préoccupations dominantes ont été non d'ordre spéculatif mais d'ordre pratique." It must be recognised that Paul was a religious man writing from the point of view of his faith, and philosophical problems and systematic logic were not directly his concern. He was a man filled with the spirit of Christ writing to meet the religious needs of his children in the faith.

The place of eschatology in the epistles. The Christian eschatological hope is a dominating note in the Pauline epistles. It can be shown that these writings contain the elements of a full eschatology, yet nowhere does the apostle attempt to present a systematic account of it. H.A.A. Kennedy states that Paul made no attempt to construct a systematic view of eschatology for himself and supplied no materials whereby anything of the nature of a scheme could be constructed for others from his writings.

1"Le caractere du salut dans la theologie paulinienne," ENTIE, p. 325.
2See Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis.
4H.A.A. Kennedy, St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904), pp. 21-22. Cf. Charles, A Critical History of a Doctrine of Future Life (London: Adam and Charles Black and Co., 1913), who attempts to show a development, though admittedly not a consistent development, of Paul's eschatological thought in four stages by grouping the epistles as follows: (1) I and II Thess., (2) I Cor., (3) II Cor. and Romans, and (4) Phil., Col., and Eph. (pp. 438-462).
This does not mean, however, that his eschatological teachings were casual statements cast off without reflection; but, as Kennedy adds, they were a matter of firm conviction and a constant emphasis in his missionary preaching. Paul's method of treating eschatology can be illustrated in a comparison of three passages in the epistles where he writes of the Lord's parousia. (1) In I Thessalonians 4:13-5:11 he presents the parousia as the sudden appearing of the Lord soon to take place, and he assures the troubled Thessalonians that their fellow Christians who have died will at that time be raised with the Lord. (2) In his second letter to the Thessalonians (2:1-12) he reminds them that certain events must take place before the Lord comes; and he admonishes them not to be deceived by false reports that the 'day of the Lord' had already set in. (3) In a discussion of the Christian hope of resurrection in I Corinthians 15, the return of Christ is presented as God's sovereign act of final victory in the consummation of history. In these passages Paul is speaking of the parousia, the very heart of Christian hope, from three different points of view. These are considered to be his most eschatological passages, yet not even here does he avail himself of the opportunity to expound a full scheme of final events. Rather, from his own words, it would seem his sole purpose in bringing up the subject was to answer questions his readers

had been asking and to encourage them in the faith. Any inconsistencies that might be detected in the details of his accounts of such eschatological concepts would create no problem for Paul; he is affirming a faith, not speculatively developing an eschatological scheme.

Paul's lack of consistent development of his eschatological views has led to varied opinions among New Testament scholars as to the place or significance of the concept of the last things in his religious thought. On the one hand, there are those who feel that Paul's use of apocalyptic terms to describe his view of the end justifies the assumption that the Jewish apocalyptic tradition was a dominating influence in his thought and that his Christian eschatological outlook can be systematized and interpreted within the context of this tradition. Dr. Albert Schweitzer is the outstanding representative of this view. He holds that the basic presupposition underlying Paul's concept of the end is the eschatology of the Scribes as found in the Apocalypse of Baruch and Ezra, and with this as the background from which to supply the missing links Schweitzer

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1 Thess. 4:13, 18; 5:11; II Thess. 2:2, 15; I Cor. 15:58.


3 Ibid., pp. 89-90.
attempts to reconstruct from the Pauline epistles a scheme of final events. He asserts that Paul's mind was dominated by this eschatological expectation and then proceeds to interpret the apostle's theological thought and doctrines in view of it.

On the other hand, there is the interpretation which, emphasizing the Hellenistic instead of the Judaistic influences of Paul's background, takes a view quite the opposite to the one just presented. It holds that Paul began his ministry with a strong spirit of eschatological expectancy, as is obvious from his earliest writings, but that, as the parousia delayed and he came more into contact with the Hellenistic world, he came to replace his hope for the future with a theology for the present. This discarding of eschatology is regarded as a maturing of the apostle in his Christian outlook on the world. W.L. Knox, an excellent example of one who takes this position, presents his view in this way. He regards Paul as having retained the traditional Jewish apocalyptic outlook until at a crucial time in his preaching he experienced the 'failure of eschatology.' Knox identifies this experience with his sermon at Athens when the Greek intellectuals laughed at his doctrine

Ibid., pp. 65-68. W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), pp. 289ff., takes Schweitzer to task concerning this scheme of final events and argues convincingly that this cannot be maintained with the evidence in the Pauline epistles. This will be given further attention below pp. 110ff., 2/3f.

Ibid., pp. 53-54.

of the resurrection. He writes: "It is interesting that from this time onwards his Epistles show a progressive adaptation of the Christian message to the general mental outlook of the Hellenistic world." Knox regards II Corinthians as the epistle in which Paul makes this transition from eschatology to Hellenism.

It would seem that these opposing views are interpretations built upon presuppositions that cannot be fully substantiated or shown to be consistent with all the evidence supplied in the epistles, and, consequently, neither interpretation affords a sound basis upon which to determine the place of eschatology in the epistles. Furthermore, it must be recognized that Paul's inconsistent manner of setting forth his views is itself a limitation that renders impossible any kind of logically worked out solution to this problem and warns against illegitimate inferences from incidental statements in his epistles.

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1Ibid., p. 26.

2Ibid., p. 128. C.H. Dodd, "The Mind of Paul: Change and Development" (Reprinted from the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XVIII, 1, January, 1934), holds a somewhat similar view to that of Knox. He regards the experience described in II Cor. 12 as a 'second conversion' from which Paul emerges with his futurist eschatology replaced with a realized eschatology. Lowe, "An Examination of Attempts to Detect Developments in St. Paul's Theology," JTS, XLII (1941), pp. 129-142, takes issue with both Dodd and Knox. He shows that their positions are based on two most untenable presuppositions: (1) the possibility of establishing an exact chronology of the Pauline epistles, and (2) the fact that Paul is less vivid in his descriptions of the eschatological hope in his later epistles justifies the assumption that he gave up the hope for the future or lost interest in it. See also H.A. Guy, The New Testament Doctrine of the Last Things (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 125-128; Stewart, op. cit., pp. 270-272.

3Kennedy (op. cit., pp. 17-31) presents an excellent discussion of this whole problem.
Working within the confines of this limitation, however, it is possible to make two general observations that will give an indication as to the place of eschatology in Paul's total thought. (1) Paul's use of apocalyptic terms justifies no assumption that he was a thoroughgoing eschatologist or that his thought was dominated by an apocalypticism of the Judaistic school. It seems that it could hardly be doubted that Paul was familiar with the apocalyptic literature of his day and that he made use of its material, but it is important to recognize that, as far as eschatological background is concerned, it is to the Old Testament and not to Jewish apocalypticism that he is most indebted. Furthermore, it is indeed significant that in the epistles eschatology is never discussed as an interest for the sake of itself, rather it is a means, a vehicle used by Paul to express the future significance of his faith in Christ. Dr. W.D. Davies

1 Goguel says, "Toute apocalyptique implique une eschatologie mais toute eschatologie n'est pas necessairement apocalyptique" (BNTJE, p. 322). Bowman, The Intention of Jesus (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1943), pp. 51ff., carefully distinguishes between 'eschatology' and 'apocalypse' and demonstrates how that the use of the latter as a literary form by no means indicates the acceptance of its content. See also: F.C. Porter, "The Place of Apocalyptical Conceptions in the Thought of Paul," JBL, XLI, (1922), pp. 183-204. Cf. Louis Ginzberg, "Some Observations on the Attitude of the Synagogue towards the Apocalyptic-Eschatological Writings," (ibid., pp. 115-142) who convincingly argues that the influence of apocalyptic-eschatological literature in Jewish thought has been greatly exaggerated by modern Christian scholars.

2 Kennedy (op. cit., pp. 43-46) says that the spirit and center of Paul's religion is in profound harmony with the Old Testament; the here and there affinities to Jewish apocalypticism are superficial and on the circumference rather than at the center of his thought. W. Manson, "Eschatology in the New Testament," SJT Occasional Papers, No. 2, p. 2, does not consider that Jewish apocalyptic eschatology has any real material bearing on the essence of New Testament eschatology.
has aptly put it:

That, in his eschatology, the Apostle drew upon the latter [apocalyptic] for his terms will be obvious, but the character of his eschatology was determined not by any traditional scheme but by that significance which Paul had been led to give to Jesus. This is merely to affirm that his eschatology was subservient to his faith and not constitutive of it.¹

(2) The eschatological expectation persists throughout the epistles as a basic underlying structure in Pauline thought. It is true that in the later epistles there is less use of traditional pictorial description in reference to the events of the end and that Paul faces the possibility that he will not survive until these things take place, but there are no grounds for the claim that there was a basic change in the nature of his hope or that he gave it up entirely.² John Lowe in his article, "An Examination of Attempts to Detect Developments in St. Paul's Theology," makes a study of the problem in the epistles and concludes: Paul's "basic eschatological outlook, the conviction that the coming of Christ meant the beginning of the end, the belief that the crisis is at hand, the consequent sense of tremendous urgency, the ardent looking forward to the final consummation - all this, as far as I can see runs the whole way through."³

¹Davies, op. cit., p. 290. Professor Manson (op. cit., p. 2) "Jesus is the subject of the New Testament religion. Eschatology is the predicate. The subject is not subordinated to the predicate but the predicate to the subject. Eschatology is made plastic to Jesus Christ."

²G.B. Stevens, The Theology of the New Testament (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899), pp. 471-472. This problem will be dealt with more fully in chapter 3 of this thesis under the discussion of the concept of the parousia.

Conclusion. Eschatology is a prominent note sounded throughout the epistles voicing Paul's full and future hope in Jesus Christ. The concept of last things, often expressed in apocalyptic terms, never receives full or systematic development for its own sake; it is always subordinated to faith and persists as an imminent expectation.

II. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONVERSION EXPERIENCE

Paul's personal Christian experience, points out Kennedy, is the supreme factor shaping the eschatological as well as every other element in his religious thought. It is necessary at this point to give some attention to this important formative influence underlying the apostle's concept of last things.

The eschatological character of the conversion of Paul is brought out most clearly when it is seen in relation to the concept of 'messiah' as a central issue involved in this experience. This will be discussed here (1) by attempting to show that the messianic issue was the crucial factor underlying Paul's motive for persecuting the church during his pre-Christian days, (2) by pointing out that the essential content of the


2 The passages upon which this discussion is based are: Gal. 1:11-17; Phil. 3:4-8; I Cor. 15:8-10; I Cor. 9:1; II Cor. 4:6; also the accounts recorded in Acts 9:1-30, 22:1-21, 26:1-23. J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1934), pp. 114-116 shows the difference in details between the accounts in Acts and in the epistles. For the purposes of this thesis, however, they can be regarded as in essential agreement. Fletcher, A Study of the Conversion of St. Paul (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1910) states that there is no reason to doubt that Acts gives the record Paul wanted to make of his conversion (p. 64).
Damascus Road experience was the revelation that Jesus was Messiah, and (3) by viewing Paul's apostolic consciousness in light of his new messianic faith.

The decisive factor underlying the persecution. George F. Moore, in his comprehensive study of Judaistic concepts in the Tannaitic period, makes this general observation concerning the messianic hope of the first century A.D.: "... except for the single article of the revivication of the dead, there was no dogma and no canon of orthodoxy in this whole field."¹ Concerning the person of a messiah, Dodd adds that, so far as is known, there was no such thing as a Jewish doctrine of 'messiah' until after the fall of Jerusalem.² There was, however, at this time a strong spirit of messianic hope among the Jews and, generally speaking, their expectation fell into two basic traditions: (a) a Davidic Messiah coming in peace, who may or may not be an ordinary human being, and (b) a Danielic heavenly 'Son of Man' coming in glory.³ Since there is no evidence that these traditions, prior to Jesus, had been synthesized into a single concept, there is no way to know what the position of Paul as a Pharisee would have been in this matter.⁴ However, there is

²According to the Scripture (London: Nisbet and Co., 1952), p. 114. Dodd points out that the church was the first to put out a concept of messiah and that it was different from the one that later came from Judaism.
³Ibid., p. 337; Schweitzer, op. cit., pp. 76-77.
⁴Schweitzer (Ibid., p. 79) suggests that they existed side by side.
⁵Lowe, op. cit., p. 129.
reasonable certainty that the Jews had never made the identification of the 'Suffering Servant' of II Isaiah with the Messiah and the Christian preaching of Christ who had suffered and died would be foreign and repulsive to them. Weiss says that Christianity was so repugnant to Paul because of its teaching that "a man of common origin, a teacher of very doubtful orthodoxy, a wretched fraud, obviously abandoned by God should have been erected to Messianic glory after his shameful death." And here lies the crucial factor underlying Paul's opposition to the Christian church: they held Jesus to be the Messiah, the one in whom the prophetic hopes of Israel had been fulfilled, the center of the eschatological hope.

Because of the prominence given by some scholars to the place of the law in this experience, it is necessary to give some consideration to this matter. There is the view put forward by Foakes-Jackson that Paul, in his devotion to the torah, was aroused to bitterness against the Christians when he heard them minimize its importance. This view would seem to take on a

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1Moore, op. cit., I, p. 274. Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, II, p. 274. Cf. Davies (op. cit., p. 280, n. 1, 283) who suggests that it would not have been at all impossible for a Jewish Rabbi, such as Paul, to think in terms of a suffering Messiah. H.H. Rowley, The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament (London: Lutterworth Press, 1952), pp. 67-68, critically analyzes Davies' view and concludes there is in Jewish literature the foundation laid for the identification of the 'Suffering Servant' and the 'Messiah' but there is no evidence that this was ever done before Jesus. See W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1943), pp. 171-174.


special significance in light of the fact that there was a tradition among the Pharisees that the messianic kingdom could only come when the law was being kept by the Jewish nation.\(^1\) It would then follow that the Christian attitude toward the law would hinder the coming of the kingdom, thus destroying the whole Jewish hope for the future;\(^2\) herein lies the motive for Paul's attack against the church. Against this view stands the fact that this prerequisite for the coming of the kingdom was by no means a generally accepted belief in Judaistic legalism.\(^3\) An even weightier argument against this view is the fact brought out by W. L. Knox that there is no strong evidence that in the church at Jerusalem, at this early date, there was a Christian polemic against the Jewish law.\(^4\) Therefore, the claim of a Christian negative attitude toward the law may be dismissed as having any material consequence in Paul's motive for persecuting the church.

A more imposing view of the place of the law in this experience is that which presents Saul the persecutor as suffering with strong inner misgivings concerning the pharisaic teaching of salvation through the torah. For example, David Smith states

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\(^3\)Moore (*op. cit.*, p. 350) draws attention to another tradition of quite the opposite view, namely, that the kingdom would come when the moral and religious conditions were so low that divine intervention was necessary.

\(^4\)St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1925), Chapter 1.
that Paul had long been conscious of the futility of Pharisaism, but it had never occurred to him that he was on the wrong road until he came in contact with Christianity, especially in the person of Stephen: he was unable to refute their claims and neither could he accept them, so he sought "to stifle his misgivings and silence the pleadings of the Holy Spirit by engaging in a furious crusade against the heresy... A man is never so violent in his assertion of his faith as when he feels it slipping from his grasp; and this was the reason of Saul's 'exceeding madness' against the Church."¹ Held as support for this view is the interpretation of Romans 7:7ff. as Paul's autobiographical confession of his pre-Christian experience and as an expression of the attitude of mind in which he made his way to Damascus.² His persecuting activity, in this view, becomes a psychological defence mechanism which he employs to reassure himself in the face of his doubts. This would imply that Paul's motive for persecuting the Christians sprang primarily from his doubts as to the validity of his own faith and from his fear that the truth may lie in the Christian claims.


It would seem that this position, in view of the textual evidence, can hardly be held as the major contributing cause of Paul's persecuting activity. First, there is no conclusive evidence that Romans 7:7ff. relates Paul's own personal experience of an inner collapse of which he was consciously aware during his pre-Christian days. Sanday and Headlam show that, while there may be some personal introspection underlying this passage, the main reference is most likely to man in general in his natural state under the law. Furthermore, it would seem from the apostle's testimony in Galatians 1 and Philippians 3 that he thought of himself as having had great confidence and success in his life in Judaism. He could speak of himself as advanced beyond his contemporaries in his position in Judaism, as blameless according to the law's standard of righteousness, and could even offer as evidence of this zeal his persecution of the church. In light of this it seems that Dr. Davies draws the more logical conclusion when he says that Paul's persecuting activity was on behalf of his zeal for Judaism not in defence of it and that Romans 7 can be regarded as written in retrospect from his advanced position as a Christian; there is no evidence that Paul was conscious of a discontent with the law during his Judaistic days. With keen insight, Sanday and Headlam show that the basic issue involved in the experience reflected in Romans 7 is fundamentally different from that involved

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in the conversion experience: the former involves a moral crisis and the latter an intellectual crisis, namely, the acceptance of the proposition that Jesus was truly Messiah. Schweitzer goes so far as to say that law has nothing at all to do with Paul's becoming a Christian; it all turns upon the messianic issue.

The decisive factor underlying Paul's pre-Christian attitude toward the church, it would seem, is due to the impact of this new messianic faith that confronted him from without rather than a discontent with the law that tore him from within. In view of this it then follows that never during this time was he seriously or consciously faced with the possibility that his opponents might be right in their claims. "Their position was a blasphemy against God." Dr. Kennedy well states the conclusion to this matter in these words:

"...it appears to us that the total inversion of the Jewish conception of Messiah and His work in the life and experience of Jesus, culminating in the disgrace of the Cross, must have been the decisive factor in leading Saul the Pharisee to despise and thwart, with all his might, the Messianic faith of the first Christians."

3This is not to deny that there might well have been psychological preparation for the experience, but it is to emphasize the assertion that the decisive issue involved in the whole episode is his meeting with Jesus Christ the Messiah. See Stewart, op. cit., pp. 122-123; Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, p. 60, n. 48.
4Kennedy, op. cit., p. 82.
5Ibid., p. 82, n. 1. It is interesting to note the view of Hugh Schonfield, The Jew of Tarsus (London: Macdonald and Co., 1946). He so accentuates the messianic issue that he regards Paul as/
Jesus revealed as Messiah. In Galatians 1:15,16, Paul says, "Ὅτε δὲ εὐθεῖα κηρύσσειν ἐὰν Θεοῦ ... ἀποκαλύφθαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμαῡ." Ernest D. Burton states that even though τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ is the direct object of ἀποκαλύφθαι it is undoubtedly to be taken as expressing the conception of Jesus that Paul obtained in the revelation; thus it is equivalent to Ἰσαὰκ ὦς (or εἰναὶ) τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ.¹ This means that the content of the conversion experience of Paul was that God revealed to him that Jesus was his Son, and therefore, by determining the eschatological significance of this expression 'his Son' it is possible to bring out the eschatological character of his Damascus Road experience.

Burton in his study of this expression, and its equivalent 'Son of God' as found in the Old Testament, shows that it was used to mark the nation of Israel as chosen and brought into special relationship to God.² He points out further that it was used in reference to the king of Israel in the sense that he was chosen of God and that he exercised authority as his representa-

as thinking of himself as messiah and thus his conversion experience was simply a realization that it was not he himself but Jesus who was the chosen one of God. In these words Schonfield describes the frame of mind in which Paul made his way along the Damascus Road: "There can't be two Messiahs. It must be him [Jesus] or me [Paul]" (p. 89).

¹The Epistle to the Galatians (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), p. 51.

The beginning of the messianic use of this term in Jewish thought is traced to the literature of the first Christian century, but, as Burton points out, the basis for the Christian understanding of 'his Son' when used of Jesus must be sought not in this literature but in the Old Testament. In the Synoptic tradition and in the book of Acts this title was definitely applied to Jesus in its messianic sense, and the idea was carried over by both Paul and John. Paul's use of 'Son' as a messianic designation for the Lord is evident in his writings (i.e., Romans 1:3-4, Galatians 4:4, and Colossians 1:13), and N.A. Dahl says that, though the term has a wider theological significance than simply a messianic title, in Paul's view the office of messiah is included in the sonship of Christ. Thus it may be affirmed that Paul considered the Damascus Road incident an experience in which it was revealed to him that Jesus was the Messiah and, consequently, that the eschaton had begun.

1 E.g. Psa. 2:7; 89:26-27; II Sam. 7:14; I Chron. 17:13,14; 22:10.

2 The references are where God is said to refer to the Messiah as 'His Son': En. 105:2; IV Ez. 7:28-29; 37:52; 14:9.

3 Ibid., p. 40.


6 "Die Messiantät Jesu Bei Paulus." SP, p. 91. Dahl regards Psalm 2 as the background of these references.
It is important to point out here that, when in this experience Paul came to realize that Jesus was Messiah, he did not simply transfer to him his own pre-conceived messianic concept — whatever that might have been — but there came to him at the same time a whole new concept of the meaning and nature of the messiah. Technically speaking, he did not recognize the Messiah to be Jesus, but, rather Jesus to be Messiah. ¹ Also, as Oepke states, when this truth about the Lord was made known to Paul, all his previous 'false knowledge' about him was immediately changed and seen in this new light.² So Paul emerges from this encounter with Christ with a whole new conception of the Messiah, of the earthly Jesus, and ultimately of God.

In this experience, however, Paul receives more than just new knowledge or enlightenment; he felt himself received into the new age of salvation that God had actualized into human experience through his resurrected Messiah. This is implied in his reference to his meeting with Christ as a 'revelation'. In his discussion of the essential meaning of the term ἀποκάλυψις as used in apostolic times, Oepke says that it does not mean

¹ Dahl: "Bei Damaskus kam Paulus zu der Überzeugung, dass der gekreuzigte Jesus wirklich der Messias war. Das bedeutete aber nicht nur, dass er jetzt seine Anschauung von dem Messias auf Jesus übertrug. Vielmehr wurde er berufen, jetzt den Glauben an Jesus, den Messias zu verkündigen, den er früher verfolgt hätte" (ibid., p. 90).

simply the communication of supernatural knowledge, but rather it carries the idea of God 'stepping out of himself' (Aussiccher-austretens Gottes) and, in historical ways, unveiling the 'coming world'; through the 'revelation' of Christ the final age has come, and through the 'revelation' of Christ the end of the world will come.  

1 Seen in this context, this experience becomes not simply an unveiling of special knowledge to Paul, but, rather, it is an act of God whereby the new convert finds himself taken up into and becoming a part of this new eschatological order. It is in this sense that he could call himself a 'new creation.'

He gives this meaning to his conversion experience when he refers to it as a new act of creation by God: "For it is the God who said, 'Let light shine out of darkness', who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ."  

Paul regards his initial Christian experience an act of grace which has made him a part of ultimate, eschatological order.

Apostolic consciousness. Paul makes a special point of the fact that it was the risen Lord who appeared to him in his conversion experience.  

5 The significance of this is to be seen in connection with his apostolic calling. Karl H. Rengstorff,


2II Cor. 5:17.

3II Cor. 4:6.

4John Knox, op. cit., p. 113.

5I Cor. 9:1; 15:4-8.
in his study of the biblical meaning of the term τὴν ὁσίαν Λός, shows that the prerequisite for apostleship established by the early church included both an encounter with the risen Lord and a special commission from him to preach the gospel. The original apostles had met these conditions in their personal contact with Christ in his earthly ministry and post-resurrection experiences. Paul, though as one untimely born, also could claim that he too had met these conditions and therefore was a fully qualified apostle of Jesus Christ. Though his encounter with the risen Lord came at a different time and place, he maintained that it was just as real and objective an appearance as that experienced by the other apostles. He further held that it was at this same time that he was commissioned to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. "Paul's apostolic consciousness is completely determined by his encounter with Jesus on the way to Damascus."  

The references that Paul makes to his apostleship clearly indicate that he attached an eschatological significance to its

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1 Apostleship, tr. by Coates from Kittle's TWzNT (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1953), pp. 28, 43.

2 Stewart, op. cit., pp. 125-126. The evidence for this is based upon I Cor. 15:5-8 where Paul uses the same term, ὥσια Ἰη, to refer to the appearance of Christ to the other apostles as well as to himself. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 83 draws attention to the fact that ὥσια Ἰη is also used in the Gospels to refer to the resurrection appearances; e.g. Luke 24:34.


4 Rengstorff, op. cit., p. 54. Dibelius-Kummel (op. cit., pp. 49-50) shows that there is no evidence that Paul's decision to preach to the Gentiles might have come at a later date as a result of another 'conversion' experience.
meaning. This evolves from the fact that he regards his divine appointment as a special commission for a special time in history. When he traces his call back to the will of God and speaks of himself as 'set apart' from his birth for the gospel, "he finds himself holding a significant and indispensable place in the Divine plan for the world, indispensable from God's point of view, not from his own." Anton Fridrichsen adds that when Paul refers to himself as \( \kappa ητός \) \( \alpha πόστολος \) he is characterizing himself as an eschatological person: "he is a man who has been appointed to a proper place and a peculiar task in the series of events to be accomplished in the final days of this world; those events whose central person is the Messiah, the Christ Jesus, crucified, risen, and returning to judgment and salvation." Paul, then, considers himself called of God to proclaim in these last days the eschatological salvation wrought by God through the resurrection of Christ.

Johannes Munck, in his book Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte,

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1 I Cor. 1:1; II Cor. 1:1; Eph. 1:1; Col. 1:1.
2 Rom. 1:1; Gal. 1:15.
3 Rengstorf, op. cit., p. 56. Here attention is called to the close similarity between Paul's concept of his call and that of the prophets, especially Jeremiah. Cf. Gal. 1:15 and Jer. 1:5.
4 Rom. 1:1.
6 Especially pp. 28-60; also Munck's article "Israel and the Gentiles in the New Testament," JTS New Series, II (1951), pp. 3-16. Fridrichsen (op. cit.) and Schweitzer (Mysticism of Paul, pp. 177-187) hold similar views.
shows that the special eschatological significance of Paul's apostolic consciousness is to be seen in connection with his being called to be an apostle to the Gentiles. His view maintains that Paul was called to fulfil the role of a forerunner prophet, in the Jewish apocalyptic sense, to prepare the way for the parousia of the Lord by preaching the gospel to the Gentiles. The parousia and the end of the world, according to the predetermined plan of God, cannot come until this mission to the Gentiles is completed. Munck then proceeds to interpret Paul's concept of history (Romans 9-11) in terms of this eschatological ministry to the Gentiles. God is using Israel's rejection of Christ as an opportunity to extend salvation to the Gentiles, and when a 'full number' of the Gentiles have come in the Jews will turn and be saved, thus completing God's plan to bring all mankind into the mercies of his salvation. The phrase 'full number of the Gentiles' is held to be equivalent to the words of Christ that before the end of the world 'the gospel must be preached

1Gal. 1:16; Eph. 3:8; Rom. 11:13.
2Op. cit., pp. 28-34. Munck is following the view set forth by Oscar Cullmann in his article "Le caractère eschatologique de devoir missionnaire et de la conscience apostolique de S. Paul. Étude sur le Καιεῖαν (ων) de 2 Thess. 2:6-7," RHPR, (1936), pp. 210-245. Cullmann's view will be discussed below; see p. 35.
3Rom. 11:11.
4By 'full number' Munck means the Gentile world as a whole or 'representative salvation': Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte, p. 41; "Israel and the Gentiles in the New Testament," pp. 7-9. Cf. Schweitzer who interprets 'full number' to mean the full number of the elect; The Mysticism of Paul, pp. 184-186.
5Rom. 11:25.
6Rom. 11:26.
7Rom. 11:32.
to all the world.  

This makes the preaching to the Gentiles the first in a series of events that is to precede the final drama. Paul as an apostle to the Gentiles, then, stands in an organic relationship to this series of final events. "Die Fälle der Heiden, die Paulus' Ziel ist, ist der entscheidende Wendepunkt in der Heilsgeschichte. Mit ihm beginnen Israels Heil und das Kommen des Antichrist, und dadurch Christi Kommen zum Gericht und zur Errettung, und damit das Ende der Welt."  

As W.D. Davies shows in his critical review of Munck's book, this view goes to the extreme in interpreting Paul around an eschatological dogma, but it does, nevertheless, have the merit of pointing in the right direction for the distinctive eschatological significance of Paul's apostolic consciousness, viz., his mission to the Gentiles. Certainly Paul could feel that in his Gentile ministry he was being used to help bring into actuality God's eternal plan for the ages, that is, the full participation of the Gentiles in the promised salvation which has been realized in Christ and is offered in the gospel. This is the mystery that had been hidden through the ages and now revealed to

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1Mark 13:10; Matt. 24:14.

2Munck, Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte, p. 41.


Paul, and this, as God's ultimate purpose for mankind, he could feel confident would be accomplished before the end of time. And if, as it seems, Romans 11:15 can be interpreted as referring to the final resurrection and consummation, then there is good evidence that Paul believed that when both the Gentiles and the Jews had come into the new age of salvation that the end would come. It therefore follows that since this mystery revealed to Paul concerns God's plan for the final goal for history and he has been appointed to participate in this first and very important stage of it, then he can justly consider himself an eschatological figure. However, it would seem that it is going beyond the warrant of the textual evidence to interpret Paul's personal ministry as the pivot upon which a predetermined eschatological program turns.

Ragnar Leivestad's view of this matter appears more nearly to fit the facts of the case; he says it is "doubtful whether Paul intended to 'hasten the coming of the day of God' through his missionary activity. The general conviction was that God had fixed the day beforehand (cf. Acts 1:7). The Apostle's calling was to proclaim the Gospel to as many people as possible while there was still time..."

1 Eph. 3:9.  
2 Eph. 1:9, 10.  
4 Christ the Conqueror (London: S.P.C.K., 1954), p. 285. A.M. Hunter, Interpreting Paul's Gospel (London: S.C.M. Press, 1954), states that Paul believed that there was purpose in this final age of history, 'the years of grace', and that time would last long enough for it to be fulfilled. "That purpose was the evangelization of/
Conclusion. The conversion experience of Paul, as seen in its messianic connections, is the primary factor giving shape to his eschatological thought. Whatever messianic views he might have entertained during his Judaistic past were changed and corrected in the light of God's revelation to him that the resurrected Jesus was Messiah. From this revelation there came not only new knowledge of last things, but, much more important, there issued forth from it the creative act of God's grace that made of Paul a new creation and placed him in the eschatological aeon of salvation. And in this experience this new convert was appointed to be an apostle to the Gentiles, to proclaim to them, during these last days, this mighty act of God wrought in the Risen Lord.

III. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF THE KERYGMA

When Paul became a member of the early Christian body of believers, they were still living in the afterglow of the event of the resurrection of their Lord, and the mighty works of God in outpouring of his Spirit upon them were fresh in their experience.

of the world. He sees the years of grace as the time for a Christian mission which would culminate in the conversion not only of the Gentiles but of his unbelieving fellow-countrymen (Rom. 11:28-32). Believing that God's purpose is to 'sum up all things in Christ' (Eph. 1:10), he conceives of Christ as exercising his sovereignty till all hostile powers are subdued (I Cor. 15:25)."

P. 131.

1 C.H. Dodd, According to the Scripture, pp. 134-135, states that Paul's conversion experience verified his theology but was not the foundation upon which it was built - Paul had no "conversion theology." Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors (London: Nicholson and Watson, 1940), p. 7, emphasizes this same point. This also can be made to apply to his eschatology. His conversion verifies and helps to give shape to the development of his eschatological thought, but it is to the kerygma that we must look for its foundation.
This was the time of the fulfilment of God's promises for which the Jewish people had long waited. These, for the early Christians, were the last days, and the spirit of the eschatological setting in which they lived is well brought out in the kerygma which they preached. It is here assumed that this kerygma represents a tradition prior to and independent of Paul and that an examination of it will throw light upon the eschatological atmosphere into which he entered when he became a Christian.

The kerygma in Acts. The early part of the book of Acts presents an account of the happenings in Jerusalem immediately following the coming of the Spirit upon the first believers who were assembled there. Among these events are four speeches of Peter which C.H. Dodd states may be regarded as representing the kerygma of the Jerusalem Christians at an early period. These speeches of Peter cover essentially the same ground, and their main points may be summarized as follows: (1) the age of the fulfilment of Old Testament prophesies has come into actuality, (2) this has taken place in the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, (3) Christ, by virtue of His resurrection, has been exalted at the right hand of God, (4) the evidence of these things is the power of the Holy Spirit which is manifesting itself among them, (5) this new age will reach its consummation in

1 Our special concern is with chapters 2-4.
the return of Christ, and (6) an appeal for repentance and the reception of forgiveness and the gift of the Holy Spirit.

Two observations will serve to establish the eschatological character of this kerygma. (1) There is strong emphasis upon the present fulfilment of prophecy and the dawn of the new age. The first speech begins with a quotation from the prophecy of Joel

which has come upon them is the prophetic sign of the beginning of the messianic age. These are the days to which all the prophecy has pointed, and its fulfilment is entirely in the person and work of Jesus Christ: in his sufferings, in his resurrection, and in his exaltation. This presents the picture of the messianic age or kingdom as having actually come into the world in power, and the Messiah, through whom it came, as now at the right hand of God in heaven from whence he has poured out the Holy Spirit, which is the dynamic of the kingdom. These mighty things have already happened and are now the basis of their faith and the content of their experience.

(2) This Acts kerygma makes reference to a future coming of Christ at which time God will fully establish all the promises He had made through the prophets: "and that he may send the Christ


33:24.

43:18.

52:24-32.

62:33-36.

73:23.
appointed for you, Jesus, whom heaven must receive until the
time for establishing (ἀνοίκτα τα καταστασις)¹ all that God spoke
by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old."² T.F. Glasson
points out that this is the only verse in the early chapters of
Acts, other than 1:11, that makes reference to a hope in a
parousia of Christ; this fact leads him to conclude that the
parousia did not form a part of the original Gospels.³ His evi-
dence for this assertion, however, is not as convincing as the
position held by A.M. Hunter who states that the fact that every
New Testament writer speaks of a speedy parousia is clear
evidence that the conviction was primitive. Hunter further points
out that the phrase, 'Our Lord, Come!', which expresses a firm
belief in the parousia, was the watchword of the whole church.⁴
Furthermore, the expectation of the return of the Lord was of
crucial importance in this kerygma because in it was embodied
their entire hope for the future. Professor William Manson says
that all the apostles were looking for the return of the Lord and
that they saw in this event "the Ultimate Event of time, the one

¹ L.S. Thornton, The Dominion of Christ (London: A. and C.
Black, 1952), pp. 14-36, interprets this word to mean 'healing'
which is symbolic of new creation. This concept joined with
the idea of the restoration of Israel (Acts 1:6 ἀνοικτα
καταστασις) combine to make the full concept of ἀνοικτα
καταστασις to mean the 'new order.'


³ The Second Advent: The Origin of the New Testament Doctrine

⁴ Paul and His Predecessors, p. 133. References cited:
I Cor. 16:22; Heb. 10:37, 9:28; II Pet. 3:4; Rev. 22:20.
thing which would give meaning to history and consummate the Divine salvation.¹

Summing up these two observations, it can be stated that the eschatological reference of this kerygma falls into a two-fold framework: (1) through Christ the age of salvation has already become real in human experience, but this fulfilment is not complete; (2) the full manifestation of God's act of salvation will come in completion when Christ returns to restore all things.

Paul's relation to this kerygma. It seems that, based on the evidence supplied by C.H. Dodd² and A.M. Hunter,³ there is ample evidence to maintain that this kerygma stood prior to Paul and formed the basic structure upon which his theological thought

¹The Epistle to the Hebrews (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951), p. 32.

²According to the Scripture (London: Nisbet and Co., 1952). Dodd shows how that the Old Testament was used by the early Christians as a support and as a means of interpreting the kerygma. In connection with our interest Dodd offers two very important suggestions: (1) this early Christian use of the Old Testament does not simply illustrate an early method of exegesis, but it brings out for us something of the primitive Christian Weltanschauung underlying their thought as a whole, namely, the significance of Jesus for all history (pp. 126-130). (2) Behind this use of the Old Testament, and all implied in it, is the work of one mind which Dodd suggests could have been none other than Jesus Himself (p. 109). These suggestions offer a sound basis for our regarding the kerygma as the sole foundation for Christian eschatology. Also making an important contribution in this field is Rendel Harris, Testimonies (Cambridge: University Press, Part I in 1916 and Part II in 1920).

³Paul and His Predecessors. Hunter shows the dependence of Paul upon the pre-Pauline tradition.
was built. Dr. Dodd states:

The more closely we study the writings of the New Testament, the more clear it becomes to us that in most of them, at any rate, this apostolic kerygma is a basic standard of reference for everything that is set forth as part of the Christian Gospel... It may be described as the ground-plan of New Testament theology.

In various parts of the New Testament, notably in the epistles of Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Gospel and Epistles of John, we have a theological edifice constructed upon this plan.

Paul himself acknowledges his dependence upon a common tradition, and G.B. Caird says that we can safely presume that he received this tradition at the time of his conversion.

Hunter concludes his study of Paul's eschatology in relation to that of the kerygma, both in its present and future reference, with this important statement:

...Paul's eschatology is not at all of his own devison or a legacy from his pre-Christian Pharisaism. Paul's conviction that, in the life, death, resurrection, and exaltation of Jesus, the new age is proleptically present, and the Christians are already tasting the powers 'of the age to come,' was also the conviction of those who were 'in Christ' before him. The same is true of his belief in an impending parousia, a last judgment at which Christ shall be judge, and a resurrection of those who are in Christ.

Conclusion. The concept of last things as taught in the kerygma, both in its present and future reference, sets forth

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1 According to the Scripture, pp. 12-13.

2 Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, pp. 14-24. The references are: I Cor. 15:21ff. and I Cor. 11:23-25. Even in Galatians, where Paul defends the authority of his apostleship, he asserts that 'his gospel' comes from the same source and is not fundamentally different from that of the apostle before him. Burton, Galatians, pp. 38-39; Caird, op. cit., p. 37.

3 Ibid., p. 37.

4 Paul and His Predecessors, pp. 123-135.

5 Ibid., p. 139.
the eschatological atmosphere into which Paul entered immediately after his conversion to Christianity. The kerygma forms the foundation upon which the apostle develops his own eschatological view.

IV. CONCLUSION

In this chapter the attempt has been made to present the eschatological setting of the apostle Paul and his writings as a basis for a study of his conception of 'last things'. The conclusion to these considerations can be stated as follows:

(1) The kerygma of the book of Acts reproduces, or witnesses to, the basic and essential eschatological outlook of the primitive Christian Church. The kerygma proclaimed Jesus as the One through whom God had brought into history the fulfilment of his eschatological promises made through the holy prophets. At the same time it looked forward to the future when the Lord would return again to bring the full completion of these promises and the consummation of history. This view of final things, both in its present and future references, forms the eschatological atmosphere into which Paul entered when he became a part of the Christian community and it provides the foundation upon which he built his views.

(2) When Paul met the Lord upon the Damascus Road, it was revealed to him that Jesus was Messiah. This meant for him a new messianic concept and a realization that already he was living in the messianic aeon, the final age of history. This experience made
of him a new creation and commissioned him to go to the Gentiles to proclaim to them, during these last days, God's salvation wrought through the risen Lord. This experience gave to Paul the verification, the spirit, and the shape of the eschatological thought which he was now to build upon the kerygma he had received. (3) Paul's lack of consistent treatment of his eschatological views in his writings places a limitation upon his interpreters prohibiting them from imposing a systematic concept upon his thought. This limitation is within itself a clue to the essential nature of the place of eschatology in the mind of Paul because it indicates, on the one hand, that he was not an apocalyptic eschatologist and, on the other, that eschatology was subservient to his faith in Christ. Paul's eschatology as revealed in his writings is a basic underlying hope of the ultimate significance of his faith in Christ, and this hope prevails throughout his writings as an imminent expectation of what the future is to bring.
CHAPTER II

THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTER OF THE PAULINE ESCHATOLOGY:

I. REALIZED ESCHATOLOGY

Several key words occur throughout biblical and apocryphal and pseudépigraphical writings that can be regarded as technical eschatological terms. These terms are: (1) Messiah, (2) kingdom of God, (3) world ages, (4) parousia, (5) resurrection, (6) judgment, and (7) consummation. To designate these as technical terms does not mean that each conveys a standardized concept commonly understood by all who heard and used them. It is obvious that in these writings the different authors attach different meanings to their uses of these key words and that no author attempted to treat them systematically, but it is always some variety of these terms that is used to set forth an eschatological view. Thus by making a study of an author's use of this technical terminology it is possible to determine the nature or character of his eschatological outlook.¹

In his unsystematic way, Paul used each of these terms in his writings, and the objective here is to make a study of his use of them with a view toward determining the essential character of his conception of 'last things'. The procedure will be to approach this study according to the two major ways in which these

¹This approach to the study of biblical eschatology has been followed by such authorities as Charles, Doctrine of a Future Life; Matthews, The Messianic Hope in the New Testament (Chicago, University Press, 1905), especially pp. 51-54.
key concepts occur in the epistles: (1) as description of final events that have already happened, usually referred to as 'realized eschatology', and (2) as designation of final events yet to come, which we are calling 'unrealized eschatology'. The realized eschatology will be dealt with in this chapter and the unrealized eschatology in chapter III. The primary concern here is with the meanings of these terms as they are used by Paul, and background matters, such as critical analysis and historical development of the various concepts, will be dealt with only as an aid in this purpose.

The terms used by Paul to describe the part of his eschatology which he regarded as already fulfilled in history are: (1) the sending of the Messiah, (2) kingdom of God, (3) new age, (4) resurrection, and (5) judgment. These concepts will be discussed in the above order, the objective being to show how each is the fulfilment of an eschatological expectation and the sense in which Paul considers this fulfilment to be already realized.

I. MESSIAH

As it was pointed out in the preceding chapter, Paul's initial experience in Christianity was the revelation that Jesus was Messiah, and it is fitting that the first record we have in the book of Acts of his Christian activity is that he went into the synagogue and proclaimed Jesus, saying "He is the Son of God", and that he confused the Jews by "proving that Jesus was
the Christ. The messiahship of Jesus is expressed in the idea that he was the One in whom the Old Testament promises were fulfilled, "For all the promises of God find their Yes in him." Hence there can be no doubt that, in the mind of Paul, the 'Christ-event' is understood to be an eschatological happening and that the conviction that Jesus is Messiah is the foundation upon which all his eschatology, and ultimately all of his theology, is based.

There are several especially significant titles used by Paul to designate Jesus as the Messiah who has already come; they are (1) Son of God, (2) Christ, and (3) Lord. The messianic significance of the first of these titles has already been dealt with, and the concern now is with the other two.

Christ. The term χριστός occurs in the LXX and in the New Testament as a translation of the Hebrew word נְזֵר, meaning 'the Anointed One', and it was used in the Old Testament generally as an epithet denoting one who was called of God for a

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1 Acts 9:20, 22; cf. 18:28.
3 Manson, Jesus the Messiah (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1943), pp. vii, 7, states that the confession of Jesus as Messiah was the absolute presupposition of the church's tradition and the basis upon which it built its distinctive witness to the Christian revelation of God.
4 Paul never actually designates Christ as 'Son of Man' or as 'King', but both are important Pauline christological concepts; see below pp. 33ff. 239f.
special function on his behalf. 1 The technical messianic meaning of this term that grew up in the later apocalyptic literature does not appear in the Old Testament. 2 In fact, the Old Testament writers had no difficulty in conceiving of a future kingdom of God without a Messiah and this leads R.H. Charles to conclude that the person of a messiah did not necessarily have an organic place in their future messianic hope. 3 However, even though the technical idea is not present in the Old Testament, the concept of a Davidic figure clearly appears in the prophetic dream of the golden age; 4 and John Bright points out that this messianic figure is never thought of apart from the future kingdom. 5 Rowley states that in the first century B.C. this concept

1 C.W. Emmet, "Messiah," ERE, VIII, p. 571, points out that 'messiah' was used in reference to the king of Israel (e.g. I Sam. 12:3), kings in general (e.g. Cyrus, Isa. 45:1), and priests (e.g. Lev. 4:5; 6:22); see also Haggai 2:23.

2 S. Mowinckel states: "In practically every passage in the Old Testament where the expression 'Yahweh's Anointed', or 'the Anointed One', occur, the reference is to the reigning king of David's line, the king in Jerusalem, designated, installed, and anointed by Yahweh through His cultic representative the priest." The reference is never to an eschatological messiah; He That Cometh E.T. by G.W. Anderson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), pp. 5, 7. Mowinckel's thesis is that the conception of messiah was derived from the ideal of kingship, or 'king-ideology', and he most persuasively works out this position in his important volume.

3 Religious Development between the Old and New Testaments (London: Williams & Norgate, 1914), p. 75ff. There is no mention of a messiah in Zeph., Nahum, Hab., Joel, and Dan.; this is also true of the eschatological passages in Isa. 24-27; 44:11-17; 45-46.


took on an important technical significance in the writings of the Pseudepigrapha. From this time, according to Charles, the expectation of a Messiah took firm hold on the national consciousness of the Jewish people, and the figure of the Messiah consequently came to assume a dominating place in the hope for the future. During the first century of the Christian era the hope that a Davidic Messiah should be sent from God became an all but universal expectation.

The title Χριστός is used generally in the Gospels and in the Acts in its technical messianic sense, and it is also used in particular reference to Jesus identifying him as the Davidic Messiah. Nowhere in the epistles does Paul explicitly state that 'Jesus is the Christ;' but he did use Χριστός technically in reference to Jesus, and once he calls him 'Son

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1 The Relevance of Apocalyptic, Second ed. (London: Lutterworth Press), p. 25. Rowley regards Ps. Sol. as the writings in which 'messiah' assumes its technical meaning. Charles points out that for a time (i.e. the second century B.C.) the messianic hope shifted to the priestly line (e.g. T. of Reub. 4:7ff.; T. of Levi 8:14; Zadokite Frag. 9:10) but that in the first century it shifted back to David; APQT. II, pp. 294, 630, 795ff.

2 The Doctrine of a Future Life, pp. 303ff. This is best exemplified in the Similitudes of En. and Ps. Sol.

3 E.g. Matt. 2:4, 22; Mk. 12:35; Lk. 2:26; 24:26; John 7:26ff; Acts 2:31; 17:3; etc. Burton, New Testament Word Studies, p. 27.

4 E.g. Matt. 1:18; 11:2; 23:10; Acts 8:5. Ibid., p. 28.

5 Dahl, op. cit., p. 94.

6 Thornton/
of David. This is unmistakable evidence that the epistles teach that Jesus is the Messiah of Jewish hopes.

When the church took over this title it had already been in circulation, in its Hebrew form, without the use of an article, and the church, by and large, also used the Greek equivalent without the article. It soon passed from being an independent title and became a permanent member of a proper name, and consequently the Lord became known in the Greek speaking world as Jesus Christ. This is obviously the case in the Pauline epistles, and this fact has lead some to conclude that for Paul the appellation ceased to have messianic significance. It would seem much more likely, however, as Professor William Manson affirms, that this shows how completely the personality of Jesus had absorbed the messianic idea. Thus it can be rightly

Thornton (The Common Life in the Body of Christ, pp. 34-37) designates II Cor. 5:1 and Col. 1:23 as technical uses. Burton (New Testament Word Studies) considers the messianic idea almost always in the background of Paul's use of the term 'Christ'.

1Rom. 1:3; Sanday and Headlam, ad loc.

2Vincent Taylor, The Names of Jesus (London: MacMillan Co., 1953), p. 67, states that the New Testament use of both the title 'Christ' and the expression 'Son of David' illustrate that the early Christians recognized Jesus as the Messiah of Jewish hopes.

3Stauffer, op. cit., p. 113. Taylor (op. cit., p. 67) well demonstrates that it is not possible to determine whether or not Paul is using \( \Phi\i\sigma\tau\sigma\) in a technical sense on the basis of its occurrence with or without the definite article.


5Jesus the Messiah, p. 158.
maintained that the term \( \pi \nu \tau \sigma \tau \omicron \omicron \) persists in the thought of Paul as a fundamental designation of Jesus as Messiah, the Fulfiller of the Jewish messianic hope, and that even when he comes to see this word in a much wider theological and liturgical sense it still signifies for him something of the fundamental meaning with which it began in his Christian vocabulary.

Vincent Taylor sums it up in these words:

There is no fixed meaning of the title 'Christ' as it is applied to Jesus in the New Testament. In its messianic sense it denotes Jesus as the One in whom the promises of God were fulfilled in the coming of the Rule or Kingdom of God, and it may be argued that even when it became a personal name something of this significance still lingered in its connotation.

Lord. In the LXX \( \kappa \upsilon \rho \iota \omicron \omicron \) is the usual translation for the Hebrew \( \text{תַּלְתֵּל} \) (or \( \text{תַּלָּה לָה} \)), and it is the term most commonly substituted for the name \( \text{תַּלָּה לָה} \). 2

As applied to God, 'Lord' denotes his power over the world and men, as the Creator, the Ruler, and the giver of life and death. 3 'Lord' was used in reference to Jesus prior to Paul's entrance into Christianity, and it means vastly more than simply 'Jewish Messiah', but it

\[ \text{1 Op. cit., p. 67.} \]
\[ \text{2 Quell, TWzNT, III, p. 1056.} \]
\[ \text{3 Taylor, op. cit., p. 39.} \]
\[ \text{4 The expression 'Jesus is Lord' (Rom. 10:9; I Cor. 12:3; Phil. 2:11; II. Cor. 4:5) appears to have been a primitive confession; Caird, op. cit., p. 44. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of Christ (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1926), pp. 231ff., successfully refutes the claim of Bousset, Christus Kyrios, Zweite Auflage. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921) that Christ as Lord was not a conviction of the primitive church but a development in Hellenistic Christianity.} \]
does serve to convey something of the early church's fuller understanding of the messianic office of their Savior. This title had been used messianically prior to the Christian era in Jewish apocalyptic literature, and in the kerygma it had been ascribed to Jesus to designate his exalted position after his resurrection, "God hath made him both Lord and Christ." The resurrection gave a new dimension to the person of Christ, and it was this decisive event that gave rise to the application of 'Lord' to him. This is brought out in Romans 1:3-4: "the gospel concerning his Son who was descended from David according to the flesh and designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord." It was, in fact, this resurrected One whom Paul recognized as Messiah in his Damascus Road experience. Thus Weiss rightly insists that it was the appearance of the exalted Lord to Paul that convinced him the reign of the Messiah had already begun. It must be further pointed out here that this title 'Lord' is used by Paul to convey his conviction that Jesus has transcended all the limits of the Jewish messianic idea and that his messianic rule extends over all mankind and all angelic

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1 Ps. Sol. 17:36, "...their king is χριστός κυρίου." This is, of course, assuming that this portion of Ps. Sol. is pre-Christian; see Foakes-Jackson and Lake, The Beginning of Christianity (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920), I, p. 354.

2 Acts 2:34. This is a reference to Ps. 110:1 which was also used by Jesus to make known that the messiah was more than just David's Son; Taylor, op. cit., p. 50.

3 Ibid., p. 49.

4 History of Primitive Christianity, p. 446.
powers of the universe: "that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord..." It was to the risen and glorified Lord that Paul attaches final and universal messianic significance.

Summary of the Pauline view. Bringing together the passages in which Paul uses these titles in reference to Jesus, we may outline his view of the Messiah as follows. The Messiah is pre-existent. He was fully human and had an earthly career: he was born of a woman, was a member of the Jewish race, and lived as a human being. He suffered, was crucified and died. God raised him from the dead and exalted him as the glorified Lord. He is now reigning at the right hand of God the Father, and all things are already subjected to him.


2E.g. I Cor. 10:4; Phil. 2:5-7; Col. 1:15ff. See below chapter 4 for further treatment on this point.

3Gal. 4:4.

4Rom. 1:3; 9:5.

5Rom. 8:3; Phil. 2:7.

6II Cor. 1:5; Col. 1:24. S.L. Thornton (The Common Life in the Body of Christ, pp. 34-37) interprets these verses as referring to the messianic sufferings.

7E.g. I Cor. 1:23; Rom. 5:6.

8I Cor. 15:4ff.

9Rom. 1:4 etc.

10Rom. 8:34; Eph. 1:20; I Cor. 15:25; Col. 3:1.

11Eph. 1:22.
His present position as reigning Lord is hidden from the world, but he will return and the full power of his dominion will be revealed.

**Conclusion.** Through his resurrection Jesus has been exalted as the universal Messiah of all mankind and is now reigning from his position at the right hand of God; at the present time his messianic reign is hidden from the world but at his parousia it will be fully revealed to all. This whole view of the messiahship of Jesus is summed up in the watchword of the early Church μεσαιωναι ἀνέρ (Our Lord, come!), which expresses their confession of faith that Jesus is now Lord and their hope that he will soon come again to reveal himself in full victory.

II. KINGDOM OF GOD

**Old Testament view.** The fundamental idea in the biblical and Jewish eschatological hope is the kingly rule of God. The actual technical phrase 'kingdom of God' does not occur in the Old Testament, but the basis for the concept which later grew into the technical idea, as in the literature of the interbiblical

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2 I Cor. 15:24ff.

3 I Cor. 16:22. Moffatt, The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), pp. 282-286; Rawlinson, **op. cit.**, pp. 234-236; Caird, **op. cit.**, p. 45.

4 Mowinckel, **op. cit.**, p. 143.
period, is abundantly present.\(^1\) The basis of the whole idea is Israel's conception of herself as a people living under the direct kingship of God.\(^2\) This conception takes on eschatological significance sometime before the eighth century B.C. and centers in the expression 'the day of Yahweh' which was conceived to be a day of Divine judgment preceding a state of future blessing for Israel. Under the influence of the prophets this concept of the 'day' developed into the idea of an inauguration of a coming kingdom, and it persisted throughout the Old Testament as what the scholars call the messianic hope of the prophetic tradition.\(^3\) This eschatological expectation received no systematic development, but it sounds as a predominating note throughout the messages of all the prophets and, in very general terms, may be summarized as follows:\(^4\) the kingdom is to come as an act of God and will be under his rule, though a messianic agent is often implied;\(^5\) it is to be established on the present earth


\(^3\) Charles, *The Doctrine of a Future Life*, p. 82f. Emmet (ERE, VIII, p. 570) states that the word 'messianic' is used in the broad sense denoting the hope for a glorious future and it does not necessarily have to do with a personal messiah. See Mowinckel, *op. cit.*, p. 451f.


with its center at Jerusalem, and its principal inhabitants will be the Jewish people. It will be universal and eternal. It is to be a kingdom of a moral and spiritual character having the qualities of holiness, righteousness, peace, justice, and love. The spirit of God will be upon them, and there will be joy, healing, and prosperity. The effects of all this spiritual blessing will extend to a renewing of the natural world.

E.F. Scott observes that the Old Testament conception of the sovereign reign of God has the twofold aspect of both present and future significance. As Creator of the world God governs all things according to his wisdom, but at the present time the world at large does not know or recognize this. Yahweh has revealed his sovereignty to his people, and he is their King in a special sense; but, because of their sin and disobedience, they are now

1 Isa. 24:23; Jer. 3:17; cf. Isa. 65 and 66 which speak of a new heaven and earth.
2 Hos. 1:11; Zeph. 3:20.
3 Jer. 3:17; Isa. 60:3; Zech. 2:4; 8:23; Dan. 7:27.
4 Isa. 9:7; Micah 4:5; Dan. 7:27.
5 Ezek. 37:28.
6 Isa. 9:7; 11:3-4; Hos. 2:19.
7 Isa. 2:4; Micah 3:4.
8 Isa. 9:7; 33:5; Hos. 2:19.
9 Hos. 2:19.
10 Joel 2:28-29; Ezek. 36:27.
11 Isa. 25:9; Jer. 30:19.
12 Isa. 29:18; 35:5,6; Zech. 8:12; Mal. 4:2.
14 Isa. 11:6-9; 35:1-3.
only a germ of what they ultimately will be as the true people of God. The emphasis in the Old Testament is in the future when this universal rule or kingdom of God will come into reality. "The aim of the prophets in all their teaching is to point forward beyond the present in which the kingship of God is still latent, to a glorious coming age when it will be realized."¹

The Apocalyptic view. After the time of the Old Testament prophets until the close of the first century A.D. the Jewish messianic hope undergoes further development in apocalyptic literature. Because of their style, these writings are easily read as products of wild fantasy or mere dreams of utopia, and thus the fact that their primary concern is with the divine kingdom where the will of God will be perfectly done is often obscured.² The eschatological details of these writings vary greatly, and even a compendium of their teachings is difficult to present. Rowley well epitomizes the apocalyptic view as follows:

Sometimes it is thought of as a kingdom here on earth; sometimes as on a new earth, that is transformed into a fitting home for it; sometimes as in heaven. Sometimes it is thought of as a kingdom of God administered through the saints; sometimes as administered through a great personal leader who in Himself embodies its spirit, by whatever title that leader may be described. Sometimes the kingdom is thought of as a temporary one, be it for four


²Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic, pp. 155-156.
hundred years or for a thousand, while at others it is thought of as one that shall endure so long as time shall last.

From this diversity a major generalization may be drawn. By the first century of the Christian era the simple concept of an eternal kingdom of God to be established upon the present earth was abandoned, and J.W. Bailey gives evidence that at this time there was a commonly accepted view that a temporary messianic kingdom would precede the eternal heavenly kingdom of God. This means, generally speaking, that the messianic kingdom ceases to be identical with the kingdom of God and, at the best, can be regarded as a temporary and partial manifestation of it.

Underlying apocalyptic thought is a dualistic world view and a transcendent concept of God that leads the later Jewish expectation of the kingdom to have an almost entirely future reference. In fact, there is a sharp dichotomy between the

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1 Ibid., p. 155.
4 Charles, Religious Development between the Old and New Testaments, p. 58.
view of present history and its expectation of a future kingdom; the coming of the kingdom, which is of an altogether different order of existence, is expected to bring a complete end to history.\(^1\) Rowley brings out the sharp contrast between the prophetic and apocalyptic views of the relation of the kingdom to time when he says, "Speaking generally, the prophets foretold the future that should arise out of the present, while the apocalypticists foretold the future that should break into the present."\(^2\)

The Synoptic view. The teaching of Jesus is based on his proclamation of the kingdom of God,\(^3\) and it is obvious from the Synoptic Gospels that he used language suggesting both the present and the future realizing of the advent of that kingdom.\(^4\) The attempt to determine the relationship between the present and the future aspects of this teaching forms the basic problem of biblical eschatology, and varied solutions have been put forth by many eminent New Testament scholars. On the one hand, there are those who place a complete emphasis on the future aspect of

\(^1\) C.K. Barrett, op. cit., p. 138.

\(^2\) The Relevance of Apocalyptic, p. 34; John Bright, op. cit., p. 164f.

\(^3\) E.F. Scott, The Kingdom and Messiah, p. 1.

\(^4\) Burton, New Testament Word Studies, p. 96, states that all of the New Testament writers regarded the kingdom as already present in some degree and yet as something yet to be fully realized. He divides Jesus' teaching in this way: (1) as fully present, Lk. 17:20, 21; Matt. 11:12; 12:28; (2) as near at hand, Mk. 1:15; Matt. 3:2; 4:17, 10:7; Mk. 9:1; 15:43; Lk. 9:27; 10:9; (3) as future, Matt. 5:19, 20; 6:10; 16:19; 18:3, 4; Mk. 10:23-25; Matt. 7:21, 8:11, 13:24f.; 25:1, 31; Lk. 13:28, 29; 21:31, etc.
the teaching of the kingdom at the exclusion of all the present
references. On the other hand, there are those who deny entirely
the teachings of a future kingdom and interpret the message of
Jesus purely in terms of present experience. Other scholars,
however, have assumed a much sounder position and, taking the
kingdom preaching of Jesus as a whole, interpret the message in
both its present and future aspects. A discussion of this
critical and deeply involved problem is beyond the scope of this
thesis. It is, however, pertinent to take special note of a

1The most important example of one who holds this view is
A. Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus. E.T. by W.
position is essentially a development of the views put forth by
J. Weiss, Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes (Göttingen: Van Den
Hoeck & Ruprecht, 1900). W. Manson (Jesus the Messiah, p. 15)
states that Schweitzer has placed "too heavy an emphasis on the
external and traditional character of the motives determining the
mind of Jesus:" he further presents four excellent reasons why
Schweitzer's position cannot be regarded as a valid interpre¬
tation of the eschatological thinking of Jesus. A more recent
exponent of Schweitzer's view is Martin Werner, Die Entstehung
des Christlichen Dogmas, problemgeschichtlich dargestellt (Bern
and Leipzig, 1941).

2The chief representatives of this view are: Dodd, The
Parables of the Kingdom (London: Nisbet and Co., 1935) and
T.F. Torrance states that this view is based on a rigorous
application of form criticism eliminating all passages that do
not fit the presupposition that in the mind of Jesus the kingdom
of God had fully come in his own person. The references to the
future kingdom in the New Testament are regarded as a misunder¬
standing in the minds of the early teachings of Jesus. ("The
Modern Eschatological Debate," Eq., XXV, 2, pp. 103-104.)

3E.g. Althaus, Die Letzten Dinge. Fünfte Auflage (C. Bertel¬
smann Gütersloh, 1949); W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah; Otto, The
Kingdom of God and the Son of Man. E.T. by Filson and Woolf.
(London: Lutterworth Press, 1938); Kümmel, Verheissung und
Erfüllung (Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1953); T.W. Manson, The
fact of supreme importance, namely, the true character of the eschatology of Jesus can be determined only when it is evaluated in terms of both the present and the future teachings of the kingdom of God. Kümmel, in his detailed analysis of this problem, concludes that these two aspects of Jesus' teaching by no means contradict each other but that both are vitally essential in interpreting his eschatological view as a whole; he says

The Pauline view. The teaching of the kingdom of God in the Synoptic tradition exerted a powerful influence on the thinking of Paul.² The actual phrase, 'kingdom of God,' or some form of its equivalent, occurs in the epistles only about a dozen times,


²Kennedy: op. cit., p. 286.
and Professor Stewart makes this very important observation concerning Paul's use of it, "It is noteworthy that where the phrase does occur in the epistles, it is used quite in the spirit of Jesus: there is the familiar double aspect of the kingdom, as a present actuality and a future hope." Authorities are generally agreed that three of these references are used in the present sense. (1) In I Corinthians 4:20, Paul says, "For the kingdom of God does not consist in talk but in power." The context of this passage makes it plain that this reference to "power" indicates that the kingdom is an act of God which is present among men and capable of proof. (2) Romans 14:17 gives a description of the supernatural life of the believers as they are now in the kingdom: "For the kingdom of God does not mean food and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit." This is Paul's fullest description of the kingdom, and the spiritual characteristics which he mentions - 'righteousness,' 'peace', 'joy', 'Holy Spirit' - when compared with those mentioned above as belonging to the Old Testament messianic hope,

1Op. cit., p. 293. Dr. Stewart points out further that Paul's concept of the kingdom is not limited to his use of the technical phrase. Some of the terms and phrases found in the epistles which various scholars suggest as Pauline equivalents to the 'kingdom-preaching' of Jesus are: salvation, life, righteousness of God, 'in Christ', sonship, Church, and 'in the Spirit'. These will be dealt with below in chapters 5 and 6.

2Kennedy (op. cit., p. 289) compares this with Jesus' teaching in Lk. 17:20,21, "The kingdom of God is not coming with signs to be observed; nor will they say, 'lo, here it is!' or 'There!' for behold, the kingdom of God is in the midst of you;" and he regards both I Cor. 4:20 and Rom. 14:17 as Paul's interpretation of this Synoptic tradition.
make it clear that he regards the kingdom for which he had previously hoped as now having come into reality.

(3) Paul's key reference to the present aspect of the kingdom is Colossians 1:13, where it is designated as the kingdom of the Son: "[God] has transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son." This particular designation indicates that in Pauline thought there is a sense in which a distinction is to be drawn between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Christ. This comes out more clearly in Ephesians 5:5 ("the kingdom of Christ and of God"), and E.F. Scott points out that the clue to the meaning here is to be found in I Corinthians 15:24 where it is said that at the end of time Christ will give up his kingdom to God the Father. Scott states, "In the future the realm will be God's, but Christ is now reigning as God's vice-regent." The Pauline teaching of the kingdom of Christ (the messianic kingdom) as present realization can be characterized as follows: (a) it is temporary; it began when Christ was exalted to messianic glory and will continue until the
end of history when it is given over to the Father.\(^1\) (b) The messianic kingdom of Christ is only a partial fulfilment of the eschatological hope for a kingdom in which the sovereign reign of God would be complete. This is seen when I Corinthians 15:24ff. is read in the light of Colossians 2:15. The victory which Christ gained over the powers hostile to the rule of God at the beginning of his messianic reign was only partial (he 'disarmed' them), and their hold over unredeemed history remains. Consequently, Christ's present reign in history must remain partial until the final conflict at the parousia when these powers are completely destroyed.\(^2\)

This distinction is not to be thought of in the Jewish apocalyptic sense as two separate kingdoms, the one (messianic) preceding the other (the kingdom of God), because in Pauline thought the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of God are qualitatively and organically the same. This is seen in two ways. (1) The messianic kingdom of which Paul speaks has no Messiah actually on earth visibly reigning in it; rather, the Messiah of this kingdom is hidden in heaven with God and reigns as his 'vice-regent.' Christ's rule on earth is known only by

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\(^1\)Stauffer (*op. cit.*, p. 218) states, "Paul has it that the glory of Christ, though not his kingdom, will last forever."

\(^2\)See Cullman, "The Kingship of Christ and the Church in the New Testament," *EC*, p. 115f. This will be given further treatment in Chapter 7.
those who receive it by faith. (2) Paul regards the messianic kingdom of Christ as the kingdom which the Father has appointed to him during the period of the historical process (Colossians 1:13 cf. Luke 22:29) and that at the end of time the Son gives this kingdom back to the Father (I Corinthians 15:24). 1 The kingdom of Christ, then, is the kingdom of God in its partial and proleptic manifestation in history, and the believer's present experience of the messianic kingdom is, at the same time, his foretaste and guarantee of the full possession (the perfected kingdom of God) that is yet to come. 2 "The exaltation of Jesus, the commencement of the Messiah's reign, meant accordingly the victorious beginning, the assurance of the final and complete rule of God." 3

Conclusion. The Pauline view of the kingdom of God is in basic and essential agreement with the Synoptic Gospel record of the 'kingdom preaching' of Jesus: it has both the present and the future reference. This present kingdom is described by Paul as the 'kingdom of the Son', or the messianic kingdom, which he regards as the partial and temporary manifestation in history of the eternal kingdom of God. The believer's parti-

1Schmidt, TWNT, I, pp. 581-582. This problem will be dealt with more fully under the discussion of the consummation; see below p. 105 ff.

2I Cor. 6:9,10; 15:50; Gal. 5:21; Eph. 5:5. C.H. Dodd, "Matthew and Paul," ET, LVIII, pp. 293-294, gives a brief but excellent discussion of this whole problem; he further maintains that this view of the two kingdoms is also found in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

3Weiss, History of Primitive Christianity, p. 35.
pation in the kingdom of Christ is both his foretaste and guarantee of the perfected kingdom yet to come.

III. THE NEW AGE

The Jewish concept of the two ages. The transcendental concept of the future kingdom of God in apocalyptic teaching gave rise to a new development in the history of eschatological thinking that exercised a fundamental influence on primitive Christian thought. This is the conception of the two world ages - 'this age' (ἦν ἡ γῆ) and 'the coming age' (ἐλθεῖν ἡ γῆ). Generally speaking 'this age' refers to the present course of human history in its sinfulness and subjection to the powers of wickedness that are in revolt against God, and 'the coming age' is that one beyond history when God will assert his authority and establish his kingdom.¹ In this conception we have the view of history which Jewish eschatology presupposes, and the general view just presented forms a basic framework within which apocalyptic teaching moves, although, as is obvious from even a casual reading of the apocalyptic writings, the details and descriptions developed by the various writers vary greatly and

¹Mowinckel, op. cit., p. 263f. Rowley (The Relevance of Apocalyptic, p. 21) traces the origin of this concept to the prophetic tradition centering in the phrase 'the day of Yahweh' which signified a divine judgment marking the dividing line between the old order and the beginning of the new one. The technical, formal use of these expressions as found in the New Testament comes from the Jewish writings of the first century B.C. Kittel (TWNT, I, p. 207), Strack-Billerbeck (op. cit., IV, p. 799f.) et al. give full descriptions of the conceptions of these two ages.
could not possibly be standardized.  

Because of the fundamental pessimism of the present age, the Jewish hope for the fulfilment of the divine purpose in history is denied the present and shifted to the future supernatural age. A basic Jewish conviction was, as Moore points out, that their religious faith was the only true one and that it was God's ultimate intention that it should be the universal one: "the end of God's ways in the history of the world, past, present, and to come, is the universal recognition of his own sovereignty, the time when the Lord shall be King (ruling) over all the earth; when the Lord shall be One and his name one." This is the hope for the new age, and this is the point at which the Jewish messianic concept is seen to be eschatological in the strictest sense: the end of history must come so that the purpose of God might be fully realized in the supernatural age beyond.

There are two aspects of the Jewish conception of the world ages that are especially significant for Pauline eschatology. They are: (1) the idea that the new age follows successively

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1 Barrett, op. cit., p. 140.

2 Moore (op. cit., II, p. 346) bases this statement on references from the Tannim. The quoted statement is in special reference to Zech. 14:9 which, according to Moore (I, p. 229), runs like a thread through all later Jewish literature.

3 Mowinckel (op. cit., p. 263) points out that the Jewish hope became eschatological in the strict sense when it was linked to a dualistic view of the world and that this dualism was expressed in the conception of the two world ages.
and immediately upon the close of the old one, the day of judgment marking the dividing line between them,\(^1\) and (2) the identification of the 'coming age' with the messianic kingdom.\(^2\) Regarding the first aspect there is a change of supreme importance that the Christian view makes upon the Jewish concept, namely, in Christ the new age has already come but since it has only partially come it does not bring the old one to its end; the two must co-exist until the parousia, at which time the old age ceases and the new one comes in full.\(^3\) It is this period of the two overlapping world ages, in which there is a tension between the two, that is the period of the realized eschatology; and, as Barrett states, Paul's theology is essentially a development of this fundamental concept.\(^4\) In regard to the second aspect of the Jewish conception, it is evident that also in the New Testament the concept of the new age and the kingdom are identified -- the new age is the age of the kingdom. W.L. Knox shows that Paul would quite naturally in his missionary preaching use 'the new age' as an equivalent for the kingdom

\(^1\)E.g. Slav. En. 61:2; 65:7,8. IV Ez. 7:113: "But the Day of judgment shall be the end of this age and the beginning of the eternal age that is to come."

\(^2\)E.g. IV Ez. 6:7-10. APOT, II, p. 575.

\(^3\)John Marsh, The Fulness of Time (London: Nisbet and Co., 1952), p. 31. Marsh also points out that, according to the records, the Christian view of the overlapping aeons originated with Jesus himself.

\(^4\)Op. cit., p. 147. Nygren (op. cit., pp. 16-37) considers the conception of the two aeons as a predominating concept in Pauline theology, and he well substantiates this claim by showing its fundamental place underlying the book of Romans. It is in this light that the book of Romans is seen to have a fundamental eschatological reference.
of God in order to interpret the latter essentially Jewish concept for the Gentile mind.

Paul's use of the terms 'this age' and 'the coming age.'

The actual expressions 'this age' and 'the coming age' appear relatively few times in the epistles. 'This age' (οὐ̂ς ω̂ν οὗ̂ς) occurs seven times and 'the coming age' (οὐ̂ς ω̂ν μέλλων) only once, but there are several terms used as synonymous expressions: i.e. ὁ αἰῶν οὗ ἐνεστῶς ποιήσας, ὁ νῦν καιρὸς, and ὁ κόσμος οὗς. Throughout the epistles, and especially in the more apocalyptic passages, even when Paul does not use the actual expressions it is clearly evident that he entertained a full view of two world ages. From the passages in which the technical expressions or their equivalents are used, Paul's general view can be described as follows. The present aeon: it is evil and is passing away, and its rulers, who

1 St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, pp. 92-93.
2 Rom. 12:2; I Cor. 1:20; 2:6 (twice), 8; 3:18; II Cor. 4:4.
4 Gal. 1:4.
5 Rom. 3:26; 8:18; 11:5; II Cor. 8:14.
6 I Cor. 3:19; 5:10; 7:31; Eph. 2:2. There is, as will be pointed out later, a fundamental distinction to be drawn between 'this age' and 'this world', but this distinction has no essential bearing on the problem at hand. In the above discussion we have followed mainly Kittel, TWzNT, I, p. 206. See also Sasse, TWzNT, III, p. 892.
8 Gal. 1:4. Kittel (TWzNT, I, p. 206) states that this is Paul's characteristic way of referring to the present age.
9 I Cor. 7:31; 10:11.
10 I Cor. 15:24; Rom. 8:38; Col. 1:16; 2:10,15; Eph. 1:21; 3:10; 6:12. This will be given further discussion below, p. 42 ff.
crucified Jesus, 1 are also doomed to pass away; 2 the god of this age has blinded the eyes of disobedient people to the light of the new age that has come in Christ. 3 In short, this age may be described as the whole order of human existence that is living under the sway of sin and death and upon which the judgment of God rests. 4 The coming aeon: it has already begun, 5 and its lord is Christ, the Lord of glory; 6 the full glory of the new aeon is yet to be revealed, 7 but it is now manifested in history as an age of light, 8 grace, 9 righteousness, 10 and forgiveness. 11 The coming age is the new era of salvation and life inaugurated into human history by Jesus Christ.

There is a sense in which Paul regards the new age as eternally existant in the heavens. It both IS and COMES. 12 This is seen in two instances in the epistles. (1) In Colossians 1:5 there is a reference to the "hope laid up for you in heaven." In light of the context of this passage (especially verses 12-13)

1 I Cor. 2:8. 2 I Cor. 2:6.
3 II Cor. 4:4.
5 Gal. 1:4; Rom. 3:26; 12:2; I Cor. 3:18; II Cor. 4:4; Eph. 2:2.
6 I Cor. 2:8. 7 Rom. 8:18.
8 II Cor. 4:4. 9 Eph. 2:7.
12 Davies, Paul and Rabbinic, p. 314ff.
this refers to the "inheritance of the saints" which is their participation in the future kingdom of God. Paul, then, is saying that the kingdom already exists in heaven. (2) Galatians 4:26 speaks of "the Jerusalem above," and there is ample support in both Jewish and Christian literature to identify this 'New Jerusalem' as the capital of the new kingdom, and thus to regard it as an apocalyptic symbol for the new eschatological age. 

It is significant, then, to note here that this is the pre-existent heavenly Jerusalem, or, according to Lietzmann, a platonic 'idea' Jerusalem of which the earthly counterpart is but a faint likeness. Thus the age 'beyond history' can be said already to exist, but Paul teaches that believers will not experience it fully until after the parousia.

Conclusion. From the above description four conclusions may be drawn concerning Paul's view of the world ages. (1) The present age, though it is doomed to pass away and is already in the process of doing so, has not yet actually done so. (2) The new age has already partially come through the incarnation and resurrection of Christ, and Christians are now experiencing it, but its full glory is yet to come. (3) At the present these

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3 E.C. Rust, "Time and Eternity in Biblical Thought," Theology Today, X, 3 (July, 1953), p. 348, states that though the new aeon has supervened upon the present age, it remains hidden and its presence is known only by Christian believers through faith.
two aeons co-exist and will continue to do so until the end when the old one has passed completely away and the new one comes in full. (4) Paul's conception of the new age, as already partially present and yet to come in full, coincides fully with his concept of the kingdom of God as partially and proleptically realized in Christ. The 'coming age' is thus the age of the kingdom.

The conception of the two 'ages' is fundamental in Paul's eschatological thinking, and it will come up for fuller treatment at various places throughout the remainder of this thesis.

IV. THE RESURRECTION

The Jewish concept. The resurrection from the dead was one of the primary eschatological doctrines of Judaism. 1 Guignebert maintains that during the Maccabean times this concept took hold of the Jews, especially the Pharisees who spread it among the people through the synagogues, and by the time of Christ it was a generally held belief. 2 This doctrine, of course, was never worked out or developed systematically; but there is an aspect of it that has a special bearing on the present interest at hand, and that is the relation of the resurrection to the messianic age. Moore states that originally the resurrection was expected to occur at the inauguration of the messianic kingdom and was thought to apply only to the deceased righteous Jews who were to be brought back to life to share in the blessings of the time. Another view,

1Moore, op. cit., II, p. 379.
which was a later development and persisted along side the
original one, expected the resurrection to occur at the close of
the temporary kingdom as a culminating event at which all mankind
would be raised to face divine judgment. Underlying these
two conceptions are two differing views of the coming kingdom.
As long as the expectation was for an eternal kingdom established
on the earth then the deceased who were to participate in it
were to be raised prior to its advent; but when the later hope
took the form of a temporary messianic kingdom the resurrection
was placed after the kingdom, and the future rewards and
punishments were thought to take place in Paradise and Gehenna.
The concept of resurrection held in the Judaism of the first
century A.D. was only a hope for the future and had no relation¬
ship to a faith based on past and present experience. In con¬
trast to this, the distinctive characteristic of the New Testa¬
ment concept is that it closely associated its resurrection hope
with a real faith grounded in history. The essential nature of
the New Testament conception is brought out in this statement by

\begin{enumerate}
\item Moore, op. cit., II, 397. Charles (Religious Development
between the Old and the New Testaments, pp. 112-114-121)
shows that before the third century B.C. Jewish eschatology con¬
sisted of two primary hopes which were independent of each other,
the individual and the national. It was a synthesis of these two
hopes that resulted in the concept of the resurrection of
individuals to participate in the coming kingdom.
\item Ibid., p. 58.
\item E.g. Dan. 12:2; I En. 6-36; 83-90.
\item E.g. IV Ez. 7:25-36; II Bar. 29:3-30:2. APOT, II, pp. 498, 582.
\end{enumerate}
Resurrection ceases to be only an object of hope; it is faith and in particular faith in a fact, the resurrection of Christ, which has already occurred at the mid-point of time. It is no longer possible to say, 'We shall arise,' without saying at the same time, 'Christ has risen!' This is the new thing in the resurrection in the New Testament.

The Pauline view. It has already been pointed out above that Paul's view of Jesus as the exalted Lord whose messianic reign has already begun is based upon his conviction that God had raised him from the dead, and it may be further asserted that for him this resurrection is the sign of the eschaton. "The resurrection of Christ was to Paul a fact of his own observation, and it was an eschatological event, and the first such event..." Paul does not look upon this simply as a miraculous event in which an individual somehow survived death, but what he sees is the Son of God conquering death and initiating an order of resurrection that carries with it the raising from the dead of all Christian believers. Christ's own resurrection is a prototype pointing forward to the resurrection at the last day. This is seen in I Corinthians 15:23 where the resurrection is presented as

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an order (+aγυμα) beginning with Christ's own rising—he is the 'first fruits'—and ending at the parousia with the final resurrection of all believers. Great significance lies in Paul's use of the term 'first fruits' (ἁναρχων). When, for example, the first fruits of a harvest are offered (e.g. Leviticus 23:10; Romans 11:16) it is taken for granted that the harvest itself will and must follow. Thus to designate the risen Lord as ἁναρχων means the resurrection of those who belong to him will follow.2

In the light of the context of this passage (especially verse 21, "For as by a man came death, by a man came also the resurrection") it is evident that Paul is placing the new order of resurrection of which Christ is head in contrast to the old order of death of which Adam is head. This same contrast is given further treatment in Romans 5:12-21, and Nygren argues convincingly that the presupposition underlying this whole view is the eschatological concept of the two world ages and that the following identification may be made: the order of Adam is the present age (ὁ οὗτος

1 Plummer and Robertson, The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1953), p. 354, suggest that the +aγυμα is a military metaphor conveying the idea of company, troop, band or rank. Moffatt translates it 'division'. Some commentators see a third division implied here, namely, the resurrection of those outside of Christ; this concerns the Pauline concept of the consummation and will be treated in detail below, p. 179ff.

2 Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, p. 256. Cf. Rom. 8:23; I Cor. 15:20. The same idea is expressed with a different metaphor in Col. 1:18 where Christ is described as 'the first-born from the dead.' Briggs, The Messiah of the Apostles (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895), p. 217, states, "The first-born implies other subsequent births, just as the firstfruit implies the harvest." This is given further illumination in Rom. 8:29 where Christ is referred to as the 'first-born among many brethren.' See Kennedy, op. cit., p. 218.
the order of Christ is the coming age (διέλθυαν αἰών), the 'new resurrection-aeon'. Thus Davies very aptly writes, "We cannot doubt that in the Resurrection of Jesus Paul saw the beginning of the End; already in that resurrection the powers of the Age to come were at work."^2

The Pauline view is that through the resurrection of Christ the resurrection of the righteous, which traditionally was to precede the inauguration of the new age, has already begun. Christians must wait until the parousia for their bodily resurrection, but their experience of the powers of the resurrection life is by no means relegated entirely to this future event. Spiritually speaking, they experience their final resurrection proleptically when they are joined by faith with the Lord in his resurrection and receive the Holy Spirit. It is through this spiritual resurrection that believers become participants in the new age of the kingdom in its present partial manifestation. This is brought out in several passages which speak of the Christian's resurrection as present experience. (1) In Ephesians 2:5-6, they are said to have already been made alive with Christ and are raised with him to a higher, heavenly condition of living. (2) In Colossians 2:12 and Romans 6:3-4, Paul uses the rite of baptism as a symbolic dramatization of the Christian's experience with the Lord. He states that the purpose

^1Nygren, op. cit., p. 210-224. Cf. Lk. 20:35 where 'that age' and 'the resurrection' are used synonymously.

^2Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 297.


^4The same idea is expressed in Col. 3:1-2; E.F. Scott's Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, pp. 62,164.
of this union with Christ in his death and resurrection is that the believer "might walk in the newness of life." Nygren maintains that this latter phrase is a reference to the new aeon, and so the idea is that this faith union with Christ is resurrection to life in the new eschatological age. The fact that this present resurrection is spoken of in terms of baptism is clear indication that Paul thinks of it as only sacramentally complete. Dodd comments on the Romans 6 passage: "In principle we are already in the sphere of life; we shall be actually so in the future." (3) In Colossians 3:1-4, which also has the idea of baptism in the background, the resurrection life is described as presently hidden - "your life is hid with God in Christ" - but Paul assures his readers that it points forward to Christ's return when the glory of the new life will appear in full.

Conclusion. The Pauline view of the resurrection as realized eschatology is that through the resurrection of Christ the eschatological age becomes proleptically realized in history. Those who by faith are united with him in his resurrection are spiritually raised to life in the new age and are assured that they will share in the full bodily resurrection at the end of time. It is the doctrine of the resurrection that gives the spiritual content to the Pauline concept of the new eschatological age.

1 Romans 6:4.  
3 Romans, p. 89.  
4 Scott, Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, p. 62.
V. THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD AND JUDGMENT

The Old Testament 'Day of Yahweh'. One of the cardinal eschatological concepts of both Jewish and Christian thought is that of a final judgment of God upon man. In the Old Testament this concept centers in the expression 'the day of Yahweh'. From the use of this phrase by the prophet Amos¹ it is evident that he presupposes it as well known among his people and that it conveyed to them the conception of a day in which Yahweh was to manifest himself in victory on behalf of Israel against their enemies.² The prophets, beginning with Amos, took over this expression and, adapting it to their own messages, gave it ethical and universal significance by re-interpreting it to signify a day of divine judgment and wrath when Yahweh's righteousness would be vindicated against all evil whether among Israel or among her enemies.³ With the exception of Daniel,⁴ where two classes of the deceased (i.e. the martyrs and apostates) are raised to receive their respective rewards and punishments, the Old Testament view of this final event includes only the living Jews and Gentiles.⁵ In prophetic thought this

¹Amos 5:18.
³Charles, Doctrine of a Future Life, pp. 84-85. Hentrich (TWzNT, III, p. 926f.) gives ample evidence that this day of judgment was conceived to be essentially a day of wrath.
⁴Dan. 12:2; cf. Isa. 24:21, 22.
⁵Charles, Doctrine of a Future Life, p. 154.
is the event expected to bring to an end the old era and to usher in the new one.¹

The apocalyptic view of judgment. The theme of divine judgment continued in the apocalyptic tradition as the event in the final drama that was to bring into reality the Divine verdict on those who were to enter the future world and those who were to be excluded from it.² There was, of course, no uniformity among these writers as to the place of this judgment in their scheme of 'last things', but, as Rowley states, all the apocalyptists looked forward "to a great Assize at the end of history, when men and nations shall be judged at the bar of God."³ In some of these writings of the first century A.D. the judgment came to be preceded by a general resurrection and was thus extended to include the dead as well as the living.⁴

The Pauline view. The concept of a final, universal judgment is maintained in the New Testament, and Fison points out that the major advance of the Christian view over the Jewish concept lies not so much in the fact of or details concerning the event but, much more important, in the person of the Judge:

²Goguel, op. cit., p. 331.
³The Relevance of Apocalyptic, p. 164.
⁴E.g. IV Ez. 7:31-44.
the office of judge is ascribed to Jesus Christ.¹ According to Paul judgment is a function of the universal lordship of Christ, and that he would return to execute this function was a part of the kerygma which the apostle proclaimed.² The time of this judgment in the New Testament scheme of things, however, is not reserved entirely until its final manifestation but is conceived of as being already in process. The very presence of Christ and his kingdom is a sign that the eschatological judgment has begun.³ This is clearly seen in the epistles in the teaching concerning the wrath of God. In Romans 1:18, Paul says, "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and wickedness of men." The use of the verb 'revealed' (ἀνακάλυπτειν) signifies that this is an eschatological event, and, at the same time, there can be no doubt from the context that Paul is referring to this revelation of wrath as something which is already happening. Stählin points out that this verse runs parallel to the preceding one which states that the "righteousness of God is revealed."⁴ This

¹The Christian Hope: The Presence and the Parousia (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1934), p. 133. Paul sometimes designates the Judge as Jesus (e.g. I Cor. 4:4,5; 5:5; II Cor. 1:14; 5:10; Phil. 1:10) and sometimes God (e.g. Rom. 1:18; 2:2-10; 3:6). On the basis of Rom. 2:16, it would seem that the Pauline view is that judgment is the work of God which he effects through Christ as His "Deputy"; so Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., p. 62.


³E.g. John 3:36.

⁴TWZNT, V, pp. 432-434.
expression "the righteousness of God" denotes the Jewish idea of the final verdict of God to be pronounced upon the elect that they are worthy to enter the eternal kingdom of God,\(^1\) and the parallel idea here is that in the same act in Christ whereby God pronounced believers already worthy of the kingdom he also reveals his judgment of wrath upon the unredeemed world.\(^2\) Thus the eschatological judgment is now an on-going process which began in God's revelation in Christ.

The present significance of judgment is brought out further when it is seen in relation to the concept of the two world ages. Dodd places Romans 1:18ff. alongside Romans 2:3ff., which speaks of the future and final revelation of wrath, and suggests that what Paul has in mind is a process of judgment beginning with the first coming of Christ and extending to the parousia when it reaches its completion in the last judgment.\(^3\) This means that God's act of judgment in Christ is a process, it might even be said a power, that continually acts revealing the status of all mankind in relation to the new age of salvation that has come. The non-believers are already condemned, and the wrath upon them works as a force delivering them to the enslaving powers of the fallen aeon;\(^4\) believers are already justified and are experiencing the dynamic of the new life.\(^5\)

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\(^1\) Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul*, p. 205.

\(^2\) Büchsel, *TWzNT*, III, p. 938.

\(^3\) Romans, p. 33.

\(^4\) *Rom., 1:18ff.* See below chapter 5.

\(^5\) See below chapter 6.
Thus it would seem that Nygren is correct in his claim that Paul uses the expression "the wrath of God" to characterize the entire order of human history ('the present age') and "the righteousness of God" to characterize the new spiritual order.

Conclusion. In the coming of Christ the final verdict upon history has been proleptically pronounced revealing that, from the Divine point of view, history falls in two periods, one designated as "wrath" and the other as "righteousness of God." These are the two world aeons -- the old one condemned by His wrath and the new one justified by his righteousness.

During the interval between the advent and the parousia, in which the two aeons overlap, the judgment of God persists as a spiritual force condemning non-believers to the bondage of the old aeon and justifying those with faith to life in the new.

It must be emphasized that this is a view of history that can be seen only through eyes of faith -- "it is revealed εκ πιστεως εις πιστιν." At the present time it is unknown to the world, and it will remain unknown until the end.

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1 Op. cit., p. 98. Nygren states (p. 97), "This idea about the wrath of God is not an unimportant appendage to Paul's view, which could be dropped without serious loss; it stands in indissoluble relation to his whole faith in God." In his following exegesis of Romans 1:18-3:20 he well substantiates this assertion. See also Stählin, TWzNT, V, p. 434.

2 See Stählin, TWzNT, V, p. 434. The doctrine of justification will be discussed below; see p. 150 ff.

3 Rom. 1:17.
when it will be fully revealed before the eyes of all.¹

VI. CONCLUSION

The realized eschatology of Paul is the fulfilment in history through the advent of Jesus Christ of his inherited eschatological hopes which were grounded in the Old Testament and Jewish faith in the final acts of God. The end for which this eschatological faith had looked was the close of history and the full establishment of the heavenly kingdom. Consequently, for Paul, the eschaton that had broken into time and that coexisted with the on-going of history could be only a partial and temporary fulfilment. This historical fulfilment of eschatological events centers entirely in the conviction that Jesus was the promised Messiah of God, and the manner in which the accompanying events have become actualized in the experience of believers corresponds with the nature of the present messiahship of Jesus. Just as Jesus is now in actual fact exalted to messianic glory and reigning from the right hand of God although his messianic glory is known only in part by believers and is completely hidden from the world, so can the kingdom, the new age, the resurrection, and the judgment which have been

¹Stühlin, TWzNT, V, p. 432. Most authorities are in agreement that Rom. 1:18f. is the most important passage presenting Paul's view of judgment as realized eschatology. Stühlin (ibid, p. 433) states that in other passages where Paul mentions wrath either as present or as future both aspects are in some degree implied. Moule ("The Judgment Theme in Sacraments," BNTIE, pp. 464-481) discusses the present aspect of judgment as seen in the Pauline view of baptism; this will be dealt with below in chapter VII.
definitively inaugurated in him be characterized as only partially experienced by Christians and as hidden from the world. Also, just as the present messiahship of Jesus is waiting for a future event when it shall be fully revealed to all, so the corresponding events are awaiting the same moment when they too shall be completely realized.

This partially realized eschatology of Paul's is, however, in principle and in essence the fulfilment of the true eschatological promises of God, and thus it can be summarized in a single statement as the eschaton of God partially and proleptically actualized in history through the incarnation and resurrection of his Messiah.
CHAPTER III
THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTER OF THE PAULINE ESCHATOLOGY:

II. UNREALIZED ESCHATOLOGY

Throughout the writings of Paul there runs, alongside his realized eschatology, a strong element of hope which points forward to a final act of God which will bring the eschatological process to completion. Dr. E.C. Rust points out that in the New Testament a futurist eschatology is implied in the realized eschatology:

...the very hiddenness of the eschaton implies that this period of hiddenness must end in a final consummation when the full glory shall shine forth. Then, what is happening in the present period of history, when the aeons overlap and the powers of the coming aeon are at work in historical time, will be summed up and made plain.1

The terminology used by Paul to express his conception of the final acts of God yet to come consists of (1) the parousia of Christ, (2) last judgment, (3) final resurrection, and (4) the consummation. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss these terms in the above order and to show how each fits into the Pauline view of the final stage of eschatological fulfilment.

I. THE PAROUSIA OF CHRIST

"Parousia" (παρουσία) is a term used in the New Testament primarily by Paul. As a general word it means 'presence'

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or 'visitation',¹ but as a technical eschatological term it is used to designate the triumphant return of our Lord to the earth in the full manifestation of his messianic glory.² This is one of the major doctrines of the kerygma which Paul received when he became a Christian, and it is the key concept about which his futurist eschatology evolves.

The fact of the parousia. Weiss sets the stage for the understanding of this early Christian doctrine when he makes the general observation that in the New Testament the expectation of this final advent is placed in this paradoxical situation: there is always the un-questioning assurance that the event will take place, and, at the same time, there is great uncertainty as to the time of its occurrence.³ This paradox is seen clearly in the thought of Paul. (1) The expectation of the second coming of the Lord is an integral, it might even be said an axiomatic, part of his Christian faith which he everywhere takes for granted and nowhere attempts to justify or to

¹E.g. II Cor. 7:6,7; Phil. 2:12 (here it is contrasted with his 'absence').


³History of Primitive Christianity, p. 134.
explain. Kennedy\(^1\) suggests several reasons why Paul believed in an imminent parousia, and while these may well help to account for the intensity of the expectation, it would seem that an attempt to find reasons for this conviction is superfluous.

Davies says, "The belief in the Second Advent was integral to that eschatological faith which Paul shared with the early church. It did not require any external factors to convince Paul that the Lord was at hand."\(^2\) In one of his most important discussions on the parousia, the apostle traces the origin of his instruction to Jesus himself - "For we declare to you the word of the Lord."\(^3\)

It would seem that the appeal to such authority as this provides

\(^1\)Op. cit., p. 184ff. Kennedy's three reasons: (1) the success of his own missionary work, (2) the influence of the Old Testament prophecies of the day of the Lord, and (3) the belief that the forces of wickedness were ripening for the end.

\(^2\)Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 286. Davies makes this statement with special reference to Kennedy's three reasons.

\(^3\)I Thess. 4:15. Neil, The Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1950), pp. 97-98, considers that Paul is here making an amplification of an actual pronouncement going back to Jesus himself. Glasson (op. cit.) regards the New Testament concept of the parousia as gradual formation of primitive theology emerging some time within the first 20 years of the Christian era (p. 156), the origin of which is due to neither the teachings of Jesus nor to Paul (p. 168). Glasson considers the Old Testament as the common source from which the early church drew to develop the concept of the return of the Lord; he makes reference to the idea of R. Harris (op. cit.) that the Christians drew the Old Testament references from a Testimony book (pp. 157, 172). C.H. Dodd (According to the Scripture) suggests that the mind behind the Testimony book could have been none other than that of Jesus himself, and it seems that we can only conclude with Neil (p. xi) that "it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the initial impetus to the Church's belief in the return of Christ was given by the Lord Himself".
ample justification for the assertion that there was no tenet of the faith which Paul held with more assurance than the conviction that Jesus was going to return. (2) On the other hand, Paul not only refrains from any chronological conjecture in his descriptions of this future event, but he also discourages his readers from vain attempts to reckon the time of its occurrence. His position is stated in his own words, "For you yourselves know well that the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night." And Paul further admonishes believers that, in view of the certainty of the fact and the uncertainty of the time, they should always live in a spirit of constant expectancy: "So let us not sleep, as others do, but let us keep awake and be sober."

The delay of the parousia. This paradoxical view of the parousia is brought out more fully as a constant expectation underlying Pauline religious thought when it is seen in relation to the problem of the delay of the Lord's appearing. Some commentators hold that the failure of the Lord to return before the passing of the first generation of Christians came as an unexpected delay, and even embarrassment to the original apostles. Dodd,

1 I Thess. 5:1ff.; II Thess. 2:2. Oepke, TWNT, V, p. 866.

2 I Thess. 5:2. Kennedy (op. cit., p. 170) points out the close similarity between this Pauline view and the Synoptic tradition; e.g. Matt. 24:27, 43, 44; Lk. 12:39, 40; 17:24.

3 I Thess. 5:6.

for example, argues that the first Christians looked for an immediate - not simply early or very soon - return of the Lord and that the apparent delay of his coming precipitated a crisis that demanded a readjustment of early Christian thought. He places Paul in the midst of this by contending that his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians is our earliest extant record of an attempt to account for, or to reconstruct, Christian thought in reference to the delayed parousia.¹

There are several considerations that render this view untenable. (1) Dodd's argument gives a prominence to the place of chronology in Paul's eschatological thinking that it would be indeed difficult to support with evidence. J.N. Geldenhuys points out this significant fact: there is not a single passage in the New Testament which teaches as a part of the apostolic kerygma that Christ would return within a lifetime or within any fixed period.² Cullmann draws a distinction between the 'near expectation' (die Naherwartung) and the 'hope' and firmly insists that the near expectation is only a particular form of intensity accompanying the hope and that the hope itself rests not upon the imminence of the future but upon the eschatological

¹Apostolic Preaching and its Development, p. 68f. Dodd's view is that the first Christians considered the resurrection, exaltation, and return of the Lord as inseparable parts of a single event. After waiting in vain for three or four years for the parousia they projected it into the future as a crisis yet to come.

²"Our Lord's Teaching Concerning the End", EQ, XIX, (July 1947), p. 168.
fulfilment of the past. Furthermore, Cullmann adds, the so-called attempt to account for this delay, which is ascribed to Paul, could hardly be regarded as his ingenious attempt to account for an unexpected crisis, because there is the tradition, which is traced back to Jesus himself, that an interval of time was expected to elapse for an eschatological mission to the Gentiles. In light of these considerations, it would seem that there are solid grounds for an affirmation that chronology was not an essential part of Paul's teaching of the parousia and that there is no real evidence that he ever gave up, in II Thessalonians or in any other epistle, his view of the imminence of the Lord's return as expressed in I Thessalonians.

(2) In the later epistles it is true that Paul begins to face the possibility that he himself might not survive until the day of the Lord's appearing, but it must be underscored that this denotes a change not in his view of the parousia as a fact but, rather, in his own personal relationship to the parousia. There can be detected a change of emphasis in two passages where Paul expresses his expectation to be still alive at the final advent: in I Thessalonians 4:15 it is taken for granted that the majority of believers will still be alive and the deceased are regarded as the exceptions, whereas in I Corinthians 15:51 the

1"Das wahre durch die ausgebliebene Parusie gestellte neuteilamentliche Problem", TZ, III, 3 (MaJ/Juni 1947), p. 179. See also Marsh, op. cit., p. 135; Kennedy, op. cit., p. 221.

reverse is true, the survivors are the exceptions.\(^1\) Neil designates the experience at Ephesus\(^2\) as the turning point where Paul began to face seriously the possibility of his own death before the parousia. "[Paul's] belief in the imminence of the Parousia did not change; he merely had to reckon with the new possibility that he himself might be one of those about whom the Thessalonian Church was concerned who had 'fallen asleep' before the Lord came."\(^3\) And even in the Roman prison when his own impending death was a threatening reality the apostle still proclaimed "The Lord is at hand."\(^4\) Thus throughout the epistles the expectation of the return of Christ can be characterized as none other than 'imminent'.

The event of the parousia. While maintaining the conviction of an imminent parousia, Paul can, at the same time and without contradiction, write to the Thessalonians that there are certain events to precede its occurrence. The apostle never clearly defines the exact meanings that are to be attached to these preceding events because, apparently, he presumes his reader's familiarity with them.\(^5\) A detailed analysis of these matters here

\(^1\) Barrett, op. cit., p. 143.

\(^2\) I.e. II Cor. 1:8.

\(^3\) Neil, op. cit., p. xxxiii; Fison, op. cit., p. 152. Beet points out that Paul's expectation to survive until the end was no essential part of his teaching of the parousia (The Last Things [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897], p. 35).

\(^4\) Phil. 4:5; cf. 3:20. Geldenhuys, op. cit., p. 168.

\(^5\) II Thess. 2:5, 6. Neil, op. cit., p. 177, well shows the impossibility of a certain and clear interpretation of this passage.
would be of little pertinence to the primary concern of this thesis, and the procedure will be simply to state what seems to be their basic place in Paul's full view of the parousia. The end will not come, he says, "unless the rebellion comes first, and the man of lawlessness is revealed, the son of perdition." There is involved in this statement the apocalyptical concept that before the consummation of the new age there will occur a great battle between the powers of good and evil in which the latter will be defeated and destroyed and God will emerge in complete victory. Both the rebellion and the man of lawlessness represent, in the thought of Paul, this final conflict. Paul goes on to say that this mystery of lawlessness is now at work but that there is a power keeping it in check until the time of its

1 I Thess. 2:3.

2 Neil (op. cit., pp. 155-179) shows that the traditional interpretation of this passage in historical terms (e.g. Kennedy, op. cit., pp. 208-219) does not adequately convey its full eschatological significance. He considers that here Paul is presupposing the mythological element of the Christian apocalyptic (cf. Matt. 24; Mk. 13; Rev. 13) and he states that, in both the Jewish and the Christian traditions, this eschatological-mythological concept is often conceived to be actualized in historical crises. Thus it is not wrong to interpret Paul's concept here in his own historical context, but that there is more involved must never be dropped from view.

3 Neil (op. cit., p. 160) states that Paul has in mind as a technical apocalyptic term signifying one of the unnatural portents to precede the end of the world (II Mardas 5:1; Matt. 24:10ff.). Kennedy (op. cit., p. 218) considers that this could only be a reference to the disbelief of the Jews.

4 Neil, op. cit., p. 163. Neil states that Paul has reference to the doctrine of the Antichrist (Matt. 7:15; 24:4f.; Lk. 17:21, 22; I John 2:18, 22; 4:3; II John 7) and traces this idea from the Old Testament (e.g. Ezek. 38; Dan. 7 and 11); this became a part of the eschatological expectation in apocalyptic literature and reappears in Christian apocalyptic as the Antichrist.
full revelation.

Because of its connection with Paul's concept of the final stage of history it is necessary to take special note of this 'restraining power'. There are two major views as to its identity. First, there is the traditional view that that which is restrained is the man of lawlessness and the rebellion which is to accompany his appearing. The power which restrains (τὸ καὶ τέλοιον) him is identified with the Roman Empire whose administration has maintained order throughout the empire, preventing the outbreak of the rebellion and, consequently, aiding Paul in the execution of his commission to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. The 'restrainer' (ὁ καὶ τέλοιον of II Thessalonians 2:7), in this case, becomes the emperor. The other view is put forth by Oscar Cullmann. He regards that which is being restrained as the parousia of the Lord, and consequently it would be quite unthinkable that the restraining power could be an earthly government. Cullmann builds excellent grounds for his claim that the restraining power is the eschatological mission to the Gentiles and that Paul himself, who spearheads this mission, is ὁ καὶ τέλοιον. Since in either case the crucial issue involved is the present age of grace which must necessarily precede the end, it would seem that these

1II Thess. 2:6.

2Kennedy, op. cit., p. 219; see Neil on II Thess. 2:6f.

3"Le caractère eschatologique de devoir missionnaire et de la conscience apostolique de S. Paul. Etude sur le καὶ τέλοιον (ὁ καὶ τέλοιον) de II Thess. 2:6-7." RHPR (1936), pp. 240-245. See also Cullmann's "Eschatology and Missions in the New Testament" (BNTIE, p. 417ff.) and Christ and Time, p. 164ff. Cullmann has been followed more recently by J. Münck, whose view has already been presented above, p. 117ff.
two views are not mutually exclusive. Ultimately it is the will of God at work fulfilling his plan for the end of the ages, and the important consideration is that the end is being stayed long enough for this eschatological mission to be carried out.

The work of evil to precede the end will be by the activity of Satan, and God will send a strong delusion to come upon "those who are to perish" so that they are deceived and taken in by it. Then comes the final crisis. The Lord descends from heaven with a "cry of command", with the "archangel's call", and with the "sound of the trumpet of God". This is the parousia, the full revelation of the hitherto hidden messianic glory of the Lord, and the full sway of his authority is exercised in his overthrow of the powers of evil: "and the Lord Jesus will slay him (the lawless one) with the breath of his mouth and destroy him by his appearing and his coming". Here the victory which was begun at the inception of the eschatological process - the disarming of the evil powers by death on the cross - is brought to consummation and the victory is complete - the regnum gratiae becomes the regnum gloriae.

It is important to emphasize that, in the Pauline view, the parousia comes not as an addition to the eschatological fulfilment but

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1 I Thess. 4:16. 
2 II Thess. 1:7. 
3 II Thess. 2:8. 
4 Althaus, op. cit., p. 39; Stauffer, op. cit., p. 217.
already achieved in the first coming of Christ, but it is the final, culminating event when this fulfilment is to be brought to completion and fully manifested to all. It is the same Jesus Christ returning to be revealed in his full glory.¹

**Conclusion.** The parousia of Jesus Christ is the future and final event in which the Lord is to return to the earth and the full power of his messianic glory be revealed to all. His very appearing means the final overthrow of the powers of evil and the bringing to completion of the eschatological process begun in the incarnation. The fact of this event is certain but its time unknown: therefore, it persists throughout the epistles as a constant expectation for which readers are admonished to be prepared at all times.

The parousia is the first of the future eschatological events, and it remains now to show that it is the central one about which the ensuing events evolve.

**II. THE LAST JUDGMENT**

The relation of the judgment to the parousia. In biblical thought the 'coming' or 'unveiling' of the exalted Lord is, in a sense, for the purpose of judgment.² It has already been pointed out above that the Old Testament concept of the 'day of Yahweh' referred to the triumphant appearing of Yahweh when he was to


execute the final judgment, and Glasson maintains that this concept is the source upon which the New Testament writers drew for their descriptions of the parousia of Christ. The Old Testament concept of the final act of the Lord is now transferred to the final advent of Christ, and in this act of judgment the messianic authority of the glorified Lord is openly and fully exercised. In the New Testament, this 'day' is never thought of in reference to the present stage of realized eschatology. It is an entirely 'future and of time' concept and is always associated with the revelation of Christ at his parousia - it is the last day! Thus the conception of the 'day of the Lord', with its double understanding of parousia and judgment, is thoroughly crystallized into the future expectation of the early Christians. This is illustrated clearly in the epistles in the fact that the primary phrase used by Paul to refer to the last judgment, i.e. the 'day of the Lord' or some equivalent form, is also one of his most important expressions designating the parousia. He does, in fact, use this phrase many more times than 'parousia' to refer to the Lord's return.

3Delling, TzNT, II, p. 956.
4'Day of the Lord': I Thess. 5:2; II Thess. 2:2. 'Day of Christ': Phil. 1:10; 2:16. 'Day of the Lord Jesus': Phil. 1:6; I Cor. 5:5; II Cor. 1:14. 'Day of the Lord Jesus Christ': I Cor. 1:8. 'The (or that) day': Rom. 2:16; 13:12; I Cor. 3:13; I Thess. 5:2, 5; II Thess. 1:10. 'Day of wrath': Rom. 5:2. 'Day of redemption': Eph. 4:30.
5Oepke, TzNT, V, p. 863.
The final judgment as completion of realized judgment.
The first thing to be noted about Paul's concept of last judgment is that it is the completion of the judgment that began with the first advent of Jesus. In Romans 2:5ff, Paul says, "But by your hard and impenitent heart you are storing up wrath for yourself on the day of wrath when God's righteous judgment will be revealed. For he will render to every man according to his works..." He goes on to describe the rewards and punishments that are to follow, and Dodd points out that this description gives clear indication that Paul has in mind the traditional Jewish concept of the 'day of the Lord'. But, Dodd points out further, Paul is viewing this through Christian eyes and sees no sharp line between this future denouement and the present revelation of Divine judgment; the future wrath is simply the completing of the process (i.e. the 'realized wrath' of Romans 1) already begun.¹

The last judgment will be universal; all mankind will be there, both good and evil, for their already determined fates to be fully revealed.² For believers it means the completion of the justification already pronounced upon them,³ their entrance into the perfected kingdom of God,⁴ and a time of marvel and glory.⁵

¹Romans, p. 33.
²Rom. 2:9,10; 3:19; I Cor. 3:13.
³Phil. 1:6.
⁴II Thess. 1:5. This is the receiving of the full inheritance, e.g. I Cor. 15:50; Gal. 5:21; Eph. 5:5.
⁵II Thess. 1:10.
They are declared guiltless before God and saved from the wrath of this 'day'. At this point they begin their reign with Christ and participate with him in the execution of judgment on both men and angels.

For those outside of Christ - "those who do not know God ... and those who do not obey the gospel" - the prospect of this 'day' holds out for them only just retribution for their sins and final damnation. When the Lord is to be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels in flaming fire, he will inflict vengeance upon them: "They shall suffer the punishment of eternal damnation and exclusion from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his might." This verse comes closer than anything else in the epistles to a statement of Paul's concept of

1 I Cor. 1:8; Col. 1:22; Phil. 1:10; Rom. 5:9.

2 II Thess. 2:12 and the idea of the receiving of the full inheritance: Gal. 5:21; etc.

3 I Cor. 6:2,3. Weiss (Her erste Korintherbrief, pp. 146-148) interprets this passage as Paul's reminding his readers of a well known eschatological doctrine that the saints will judge the world. The origin of this concept is traced to Dan. 7:22 and it is given further development in the book of Enoch, but it gets its fundamental meaning in the Christian sense from the promise of Christ that the elect (i.e. those participating in the kingdom of God) should reign with him and participate in the judging of the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt. 19:28; Lk. 22:28-30). Weiss also makes reference to a Semitic concept that reigning and judging go together which would have been influential in the thinking of Paul.

4 II Thess. 1:8. Neil (op. cit., pp. 147-148) regards the former of these groups as the pagans and the latter as the Jews. Milligan, St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians (London: Macmillan & Co., 1908), p. 90, considers that these two groups go together to form one general class, viz. "all who as the result of wilful ignorance or disobedience oppose themselves to God." Cf. Jer. 10:25.

5 II Thess. 1:7,8,9. Note the close similarity of this passage with Isa. 2 and 66.
the fate of non-believers. Nowhere in his writings do there occur any of the terms, such as ἀβισμός or ἔκκακία, used in other parts of the New Testament to denote the final condition of the wicked, nor does he paint pictures of their future misery and suffering. Kennedy brings together the terms that Paul employs to denote the fate of the unbelievers and states that they combine to form a group of conceptions which are linked together by the one idea of 'destruction'. After a careful analysis of these terms and with special reference to the two passages that throw most light on the problem of the duration of this future punishment, i.e. II Thessalonians 1:9 (ἀλεθροτός ἀμώνιος) and Philippians 3:19 (ἀνάπλωληκα), Kennedy concludes that Paul’s concept can best be described simply as eternal and hopeless ruin. Generally speaking, then, it may be maintained that the Pauline view of the final condition of non-believers is exclusion from the bliss of the eternal, heavenly kingdom of God and condemnation to suffer the misery of this exclusion throughout the new aeon.

1 Or. cit., pp. 313-314. The terms which Kennedy lists are: ἀλεθροτός (I Thess. 5:3; II Thess. 1:9), ἀναμακρόης (e.g. Rom. 6:23; 8:6), ὃθόμος (Gal. 6:3), ἀπωλεία (I Cor. 1:18; 10:9; 15:18; II Cor. 2:15-16; 4:3; Rom. 2:12; Phil. 1:28; 3:18), ὅμοιος (e.g. I Thess. 5:9; Rom. 2:5,9; 5:9).

2 Ibid., pp. 315, 316-317.

3 Paul’s reticence on this matter has lead to varied interpretations of his concept. E.g., Dodd (Romans, pp. 184-187) interprets Romans 11:1-32 in connection with other such passages as Col. 1:16-20, Eph. 1:10, and I Cor. 15:28, and states that whether Paul himself comes to the 'universalist' position or not we are justified in drawing such a conclusion from his premises. (See Dodd's diagram, Ibid., p. 187). Morgan, The Religion and Theology/
Conclusion. The appearing of Christ is his full messianic glory on the 'last day' signifies his return as Judge to consummate the process of judgment which began at his first coming. This is the universal judgment of prophetic and apocalyptic expectation that reveals and seals the final destiny of all men and nations. For Christian believers it is the event which fulfills their justification and ushers them into the eternal kingdom. For non-believers it means the culmination of the wrath that has been already passed upon them and their final exclusion from the kingdom of God.

III. THE FINAL RESURRECTION

Paul's hope for the individual in the life to come is contained in his doctrine of the final resurrection. This is more than just an expectation: it is a hope founded on faith in what God has already done in Jesus Christ, "God raised the Lord and

Theology of Paul (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1917), pp. 236-240, recognizes these universalist implications, but he takes into consideration such passages as Rom. 2:5, 12, Phil. 3:18, and II Thess. 1:9 and states that the only alternatives are either an annihilation of the wicked after death or their eternal suffering. Morgan concludes that the tenor of Pauline thought points conclusively to annihilation. Kennedy maintains that the Pauline position is future punishment for non-believers, and he substantiates his case by showing (1) that Phil. 3:19 ("their end is destruction") carries no idea of annihilation but simply says that the fate of the wicked is 'destruction' or 'utter ruin', and (2) that II Thess. 1:9 ("eternal destruction") carries the idea of 'everlasting' (op. cit., pp. 316-318). Kennedy presents his case most persuasively and his view, it seems to us, is most consistent with the tenor of Pauline thought.

1Phil. 3:11.
will also raise us up by his power"; and the event is expected to occur suddenly and simultaneously with the parousia: "For the Lord will descend from heaven... and the dead in Christ shall rise."

The final resurrection as completion of present spiritual resurrection. Final resurrection is the event which is to bring to completion the process or order of resurrection which began with Christ's resurrection; it is the harvest of the 'first fruits'. This process of resurrection in two stages is presented in Romans 6:5-11. Here the thought is that the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ is a 'once for all' act which not only makes possible for believers, by virtue of their baptism into him, their present spiritual resurrection to new life in him, but also assures them that they will be raised with him: "So you must consider yourselves... alive to God in Christ Jesus"; and "we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his."

The last phrase, "a resurrection like his", gives the clue

1 I Cor. 6:14; II Cor. 4:14.
2 I Thess. 4:16; I Cor. 15:23,52.
3 I Cor. 15:23; Col. 1:18.
4 Rom. 6:11.
5 Rom. 6:5. Professor William Manson offers this translation: "we shall be united with him by that which is the 'likeness' (or 'concrete representation', ἁμαρτία κατὰ τὸν θερμανθὸν ) of his resurrection". (This translation was suggested to the present writer by Professor Manson in private consultation.) Dodd (Romans, p. 89) points out that Paul usually refers to the present experience of Christians as in Christ and their future state as with Christ (cf. I Thess. 4:17; Phil. 1:23).
to the Pauline concept of the nature of this future resurrection—it is to be a bodily resurrection like that of the Lord: "we await a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will change our lowly body to be like his glorious body, by the power which enables him even to subject all things to himself."¹ Moffatt translates the phrase τὸ σῶμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ "the body of his Glory", and this translation helps to bring out more fully the eschatological force of this passage. The setting is at the parousia when the glory of the resurrected Lord will be fully revealed, and a part of the universal victory (subjecting all things to himself) which is to accompany this revelation is the transforming of believers into bodies like his.² Thus with the full revelation of the glorified body of the Lord, which he has possessed from his resurrection but has hitherto been hidden from the eyes of the world, Christians are transformed into their glorified bodies of resurrection which hitherto they have possessed only spiritually and sacramentally.

**The resurrection body.** This concept of a resurrection body is given further development in I Corinthians 15:35ff, where it is designated with the enigmatic phrase 'spiritual body' (σῶμα πνευματικόν). This concept is unique in the New Testament to Paul, and he never ventures to speculate on the nature of this

¹Phil. 3:20-21.

'body'. However, generally speaking, there seems to be an agreement among authorities that the apostle is here presenting a view that is a compromise between the Greek concept of the immortality of disembodied spirits and the Jewish apocalyptic concept of a resurrection of the actual body of flesh. As to the origin of Paul's concept it seems most reasonable to assume, along with H.L. Goudge, that it came primarily from his vision of the risen Lord on the Damascus road. Moffatt suggests the essential meaning of this expression when he says,

It is a semi-metaphysical term, essential to his view of the risen life as neither pure spirit nor wrapped in a crudely material shape, neither disembodied nor yet embodied, as current rabbinic speculation imagined, in a replica of the present physical constitution.

The transformation which Paul describes as taking place is from the physical (\(\Psi\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon\kappa\upsilon\delta\nu\)) body to the spiritual (\(\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\omicron\nu\)) body, and in light of the context (especially verses 22, 44-49) it is evident that underlying the thought here


2 Stewart (op. cit., p. 208) brings out the essential compromise of the Pauline view when he says, "The Greek view of immortality safeguarded spirituality, but endangered personal identity. The Jewish view safeguarded identity, but endangered spirituality. Paul's view preserves both spirituality and personal identity."


5 This is a parallel to the 'lowly body' and the 'body of glory' of Phil. 3:21; cf. Rom. 8:10,11.
is the concept of the two aeons. The argument runs: in Adam, head of the aeon, belongs the living or physical \((\psi u X i k o n)\) body in which all share; through Christ, head of the new aeon into which believers are incorporated, comes the 'life giving spirit'. Thornton points out that the 'life giving spirit' is connected in thought with the 'spiritual body', and in view of the statement (v. 46) that the physical comes first and is followed by the spiritual it is seen that the words "in Christ shall all be made alive" (verse 22) refer to the resurrection of the 'spiritual body'.

In the present state, while living in the aeon of Adam's physical existence, believers cannot possess this body of the new age; but at the parousia, when the old aeon passes away and the new one comes in full, they will receive the spiritual body that is appropriate for their future redeemed state with Christ. The purpose of the new body is for entrance into the perfected kingdom of God; therefore, all believers must be transformed into it and death is not an indispensable preliminary through which they must go. Those who are still living at the time of the parousia will be suddenly changed - in the twinkling of an eye - and, as the dead in Christ arise, they too


\(^2\) The future tense here clearly indicates a reference to the final resurrection. Thornton (The Common Life in the Body of Christ, p. 267, n. 4) sees the same idea in Rom. 8:11 where the mortal \((\delta m t c)\) body belongs to the present and \(\xi w o n m i s e \) to the future.

\(^3\) I Cor. 15:49.

\(^4\) I Cor. 15:50.
shall put on the imperishable nature. Thus when the Lord appears all who belong to him will appear in a body like his.

The general resurrection. In the epistles the doctrine of the final resurrection is based entirely upon the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and it is presented as a hope for believers only. In fact, never once does Paul state that non-believers will be raised at all. Because of this, and especially because his conception of the resurrection body, which would seem to leave no room for a raising of those outside of Christ, some scholars have concluded that Paul has no idea of a general resurrection. For example, Hering considérable that since the purpose of a resurrection of the non-elect would be only for their appearance at the last judgment to have their doom of ultimate discrimination from the righteous fully revealed, there is no real need for their resurrection because their very absence would sufficiently reveal their doom; and this is why Paul never mentions a general resurrection. It would seem that Goguel gives the appropriate answer to Héring with this reply: "Qu'est-ce qu'un

1 I Cor. 15:51-53; I Thess. 4:17. See Jeremias, "Flesh and Blood Cannot Inherit the Kingdom of God", NTS, II, 3, p. 151ff.
3 Cf. Acts 24:15. Moffatt (op. cit., p. 245) rules out I Cor. 15:22 ("in Christ shall all be made alive") as a reference to a general resurrection.
On the other hand, however, most scholars hold that in biblical thought the concept of a last judgment presupposes the resurrection, and, as we have already indicated, there can be no doubt but that Paul thought in terms of a judgment of all mankind. Therefore it must follow that, in some way in which he does not explain, the apostle's view of resurrection does include the raising of those outside Christ to face their judgment of eternal destruction. Althaus suggests that Paul has two thoughts on the resurrection: there is the resurrection to eternal life and the resurrection to judgment, the former being the work of the Holy Spirit and the latter the work of God's creating activity; in the final analysis both are the work of the Spirit, yet, at the same time, the resurrection to salvation is entirely different from the general resurrection from the dead. However this may be, the most feasible conclusion seems to be that Paul does think of a general resurrection occurring at the parousia and that those outside of Christ are raised in a


body appropriate for the final judgment passed upon them.

II Corinthians 5 of I Corinthians 15. Some scholars consider that II Corinthians 5:1ff. teaches a doctrine of resurrection different from that contained in I Corinthians 15. The contention is that whereas in the latter passage Paul taught that the resurrection body comes only at the parousia, in the former passage he has changed his view and teaches that upon the moment of death each individual receives the new body prepared for him. In the II Corinthians 5 passage the resurrection body is referred to as "a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens" (verse 1), and there is further expressed the desire to put on this heavenly dwelling so as to escape disembodiment after death ("So that...we may not be found naked", verse 3). Those who interpret this as Paul's new view consider it to be an advancement in thought due primarily to the conditions of the time (i.e. the delayed parousia) and to the maturing of the apostle's theological thinking as a result of his contact with hellenistic influences. Other scholars, however, and with what appears to be the stronger evidence, hold that these two passages in no way conflict and

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1 Some scholars hold that Paul conceives of two separate resurrections, one for believers and a later one for non-believers. This is a problem involving the concept of consummation and will be dealt with below.

that throughout them runs the single idea that it is at the parousia that the new body comes. There are several excellent reasons in support of this view. In the first place, Kennedy points out that in the II Corinthians 5 passage there is no reference to the detail of time. The context of this passage is set by the conclusion to chapter 4 (verses 16-18) where Paul is contrasting present distresses with future glory and the transient with the eternal. This same thought predominates his mind as he writes chapter 5, thus the εχομεν (5:1) is simply equivalent to 'there awaits us a sure possession', and no period of time is specified. Also it is to be noted that there are several parallel ideas in these two passages (e.g. cf. II Cor. 5:1 and I Cor. 15:38; II Cor. 5:2,4 and I Cor. 15:53, etc.), and thus it would seem that Goudge is perfectly justified in his assertion that II Corinthians 5:1-5 is a working out of I Corinthians 15:42-43. Furthermore, the conspicuous reference to the last judgment in II Corinthians 5:10 would lend weighty support to the claim that in this passage Paul has in mind the parousia eschatology and the receiving of the spiritual body at the final resurrection. Wernle has well stated the conclusion to this matter:

3 So Morgan, op. cit., p. 239.
The yearning to die and to be with Christ is for [Paul] the same thing as the hope of resurrection. His yearning overlaps all between death and resurrection, and hurries to its goal for reunion with Jesus...For religious hope, death, resurrection, coming to God, are always the same, not for Paul alone. In the same way, the passage about the dissolution of the bodily tabernacle and overclothing with the new garment refers to the transformation at the Resurrection and to nothing else.1

The intermediate state. In view of this, there now arises the problem of the state or condition of believers during the interval between their death and the receiving of their resurrection bodies. The argument of some scholars that Paul held to the traditional view, i.e. the deceased descend into Hades during this interval as disembodied spirits, would imply a temporary separation from God.2 This, especially in light of Romans 8:28, Philippians 1:23, and II Corinthians 5:6-8, appears inconsistent with Paul's prevailing conviction that the Christian's relationship with Christ can never be broken.

W.D. Davies attempts to bridge this gap of the intermediate period by utilizing the concept of the new age as eternally existent3 and constructing upon it an argument that the resurrection body ("the body of the final Age to come") is already being formed as Christians, at the moment of faith, are being transformed into it. At death the believer passes into the final and

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1 This is quoted by Kennedy, op. cit., p. 272.

2 E.g. Morgan (op. cit., p. 231f.) suggests that II Cor. 5:2-4 and I Thess. 4:13-17 imply a separation from God and, on the basis of Eph. 4:9, it can be assumed that it takes place in Hades. See also Guy, op. cit., p. 117.

3 See above p. 60f.
complete stage of the new age and thus comes into full possession of his 'spiritual body'. Davies points out that in the later epistles (i.e. Romans 8:19 and Colossians 3:4) Paul refers not to the final 'resurrection' of Christians but to their final 'revelation'. This would mean that deceased believers already possess their new bodies and that the so-called final resurrection is simply the manifestation of a fact already existent but hidden in the eternal order.\(^1\) Granting the validity of this argument, there would be no room in Pauline eschatology for the intermediate state of the dead. However, as Cullmann rightly stresses, there is no valid ground for the assertion that Paul taught that Christians were to receive their new bodies prior to the parousia and to consider otherwise would be to render without meaning such passages as I Thessalonians 4:13ff.\(^2\)

It must be conceded that Paul conceives of an intermediate stage through which deceased believers must pass before the final resurrection. The key to the condition of believers during

\(^1\)Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, p. 314ff.

\(^2\)Christ and Time, p. 237; also Cullmann’s article, “The Proleptic Deliverance of the Body according to the New Testament,” Ec, pp. 165-173. J.A.T. Robinson would highly object to Davies’ view on the ground of its undue stress of individualism in Paul’s concept of the resurrection. Robinson considers that the resurrection body signifies “the solidarity of the recreated universe in Christ”, thus it cannot be complete until he is all in all. The believer’s experience is in two stages: (1) incorporation into the body of Christ (i.e. the Church) at baptism, and this leads (2) to the final stage, incorporation into the spiritual body at the parousia. Death for the believer is a putting off of the body of the flesh; he then persists as 'spiritual body' (*The Body*, p. 73ff.).
this period is II Corinthians 5:3: "that we may not be found naked". Sevenster argues forcefully that though the term 'naked' (γυμνός) does give a clue to Paul's concept of the condition during this period it cannot be interpreted to mean separation from Christ. His argument goes as follows.

Paul sees the believer's experience with Christ in three stages: (1) the present stage, in which the Christian is in his earthly body and away from the Lord (II Corinthians 5:6), (2) the intermediate stage, in which they are away from the earthly body but with the Lord (II Corinthians 5:8; Philippians 1:23), and (3) the final stage, where they will always be with the Lord (I Thessalonians 4:17). Stage two is preferred to stage one, but stage three is desired above all; Paul hopes stage two, if at all, will be short.¹ There is nothing in the epistles to indicate his concept of the nature of this intermediary existence, and as Plummer points out, about all that can be said definitely is that during this period believers will be in a state of consciousness and happiness with the Lord.²

¹Sevenster, "Some Remarks on the ΓΥΜΝΟΣ in II Cor. 5:3", SE, pp. 204-214. Sevenster considers 'nakedness' as the designation of the intermediate state of all the deceased, believers and non-believers. Cf. Oepke (TWzNT, p. 774) who states that in light of Phil. 1:23 'nakedness' could apply only to non-believers. Most authorities are agreed that γυμνός here is not a speculation on the nature of the intermediate state but the expression of a human dread of death; Kennedy, op. cit., p. 270; Strachan, The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), p. 100; et al.

²The description of Christian death as 'sleep' (e.g. I Thess. 4:14; I Cor. 15:51) gives no clue to a concept of a future 'unconscious' existence; Strachan, op. cit., p. 100; E.C. Rust, The Christian Understanding of History (London: Lutterworth Press, 1947), p. 172.

Because of the expectation of the shortness of time and the firmness of the conviction that believers would never be separated from their Lord, it is most likely that the matter of the intermediate state never confronted Paul as a vital issue, and consequently he was never pressed into formulating a view. A much more important consideration is the fact that Paul's faith is grounded on the Easter event - it is the past, not the future, that is the crucial factor in Paul's conception of the believer's life after death. One resurrection body, that of Christ, already exists, and the power of his resurrection, the Holy Spirit, is already at work in believers and is their guarantee of their life to come. Therefore the problem of the intermediate state is virtually insignificant and has no material bearing on Paul's concept of the final resurrection.

Conclusion. The final resurrection is one of the eschatological events that is to accompany the parousia. It is a general resurrection in which all mankind will be raised for final judgment. For Christians it is a completion of the spiritual resurrection already begun in them, and they are raised with 'spiritual bodies' that are appropriate for their future life in the perfected kingdom of God. Paul gives no definite teaching concerning the resurrection of the non-believers, but it may be assumed that they are raised with bodies that are appropriate for their endurance of future punishment.

1See Cullmann's Christ and Time, pp. 231-242 for an excellent discussion on this point.
IV. THE CONSUMMATION AND THE KINGDOM

Paul's teaching of the consummation is found primarily in I Corinthians 15:24-28, but before entering on a discussion of it, it is first necessary to deal with a related problem, namely, the place of the messianic reign of Christ in relation to the end of history. Generally speaking, there are two different major interpretations of Paul's teaching on this matter; they are (1) the view that Paul conceives of the reign of Christ as beginning at his exaltation and ending at the parousia, and (2) the view that he conceives of a special millennial reign of Christ during an extended time between the parousia and the consummation. In this thesis we are adopting the former of these alternatives, but before presenting it we will give a critical analysis of the latter view.

The millennial view of the kingdom. Scholars who interpret the Pauline teaching of the messianic kingdom of Christ as a

1 Some important representatives of this view are Kennedy, op. cit., p. 329ff.; Charles, The Doctrine of a Future Life, p. 390; Stewart, op. cit., p. 293; Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 294f.; Héring, Le Royaume de Dieu et sa Venue, p. 169ff.


3 Davies (Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 293-297) gives a valuable gist and criticism of these views, and we are deeply indebted to him in this discussion. There is a third interpretation, represented by Barth (The Resurrection of the Dead, E.T. by Stending [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1933], p. 171) and Burkitt (JTS, XVII, p. 384f.), but this one concerns more the resurrection, and, in our opinion, makes no material addition to the two views we shall present.
future millennial reign base their conclusions on one or more of the following claims. (a) The background of I Corinthians 15:24-28 is apocalyptic, and since later apocalyptic literature, both Jewish and Christian, conceives of a temporary messianic era coming after the end of history and preceding the eternal kingdom of God, it is reasonable to assume that Paul presupposes such an era here. In this sense Schweitzer considers τὸ τέλος to be a technical term denoting the end of time and taking for granted such an apocalyptic scheme. (b) The second claim rests upon the linking together of verses 23 and 24 and then focusing attention on the following words: ἀναρρήτητα... ἐπειτα... ἐπίτα. Thackeray sees specified here two intervals of time: one (clearly indicated) between the resurrection and the parousia and the other (required by implication) between the parousia and the consummation. This second interval is regarded as the time allowed by Paul for the future messianic reign of Christ. (c) Lietzmann presents the final major claim of this view when he gives evidence that the term τὸ τέλος can be translated 'the rest' in the sense of 'the remaining ones', and interprets it to refer to a general resurrection that is to follow, after an interval, the resurrection of believers; this interval, he claims, makes room for the messianic kingdom. Weiss, following Lietzmann, considers that

1 The Mysticism of Paul, p. 68.
this translation of ὁ ἑαυτὸς gives a more logical and consistent meaning to the discussion of the resurrection which forms the context of this whole passage; it adds a third order (τὰ γυμνά) to the already mentioned two orders (i.e. Christ and the believers, verse 23) thus completing the resurrection of all mankind in two final resurrections.¹ The idea of two final resurrections becomes a logical necessity in this view of the consummation. It presupposes both a general resurrection and a millennial kingdom, therefore the righteous must be raised before the advent of this kingdom in order to share in it, but non-believers who are excluded from it, can only be raised at the close of it in order to receive their final judgment.

Taking together the implication of these three claims, we can outline generally this view of the consummation as follows: (1) the parousia, (2) the resurrection of deceased believers and transformation of the living believers, (3) the period of the messianic rule of Christ during which he struggles with the powers of evil,² (4) the subjection and destruction of hostile powers and end of the messianic kingdom, (5) the general resurrection, (6) the last judgment, (7) and then the end of the world and the beginning of the eternal kingdom of God.

There are several criticisms to offer against this view which, in our estimation, invalidate its scheme of the consummation. First, claim (a) rests entirely upon an assumption.

¹ Der erste Korintherbrief, p. 358.
² Weiss, History of Primitive Christianity; Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul, p. 66.
There is not a single passage in the Pauline epistles that, taken on its own ground, can be interpreted as a teaching of a future millennial reign of Christ, and only when apocalyptic ideas are read into the passage in question can it be made to yield such a concept. In the light of this and in view of the position we have already taken concerning the relation of Paul to apocalyptic ideas, it would seem that, without further discussion, we are justified in dismissing this assumption as affording a valid basis for the interpretation of Paul's conception of the end of time. Argument (b) can be dispensed with by referring to the evidence supplied by Kennedy that the occurrence of εἰμὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ and εἰμί in I Corinthians 15:23-24 need not at all be taken to imply an interval of any duration. Thus the claim that this passage provides room for a reign of Christ has no substantial foundation. The claim (c) that τὸ ζῆλος can be translated 'the rest' seems especially weak in view of the fact that Lietzmann offers only two instances when it has this meaning. Hering carefully analyzes Leitzmann's evidence and concludes that this term could mean nothing other than 'the end'. This, then, does away

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1 See above p. 74.

2 Op. cit., p. 323; references cited are John 13:4,5; 19:26,27; I Cor. 15:5,6,7 where these Greek words are used without implying a lengthy interval. See also Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 293; Martin Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1909), p. 100.

3 "Saint Paul a-t-il enseigné deux réssurrections?" PHPR (1932), pp. 304-306. Hering shows that the evidence given from the Old Testament (Isa. 19:15) actually means 'end', and the use by Aristotle (De generatione animalium 1:18) has a theological meaning. Moffatt, op. cit., p. 248.
with the basis for the claim that I Corinthians 15:23-24 teaches a doctrine of two resurrections with an intervening messianic kingdom. Héring further disposes of any claim that a third order of resurrection (or a second final resurrection) can be read into this, or any other passage in the epistles, by showing that if Paul has in mind a third order at all it is in reference to the transformation of the living Christians into their resurrection form of existence at the time of the general resurrection. He works this out by interpreting I Corinthians 15:23-24 in the terms of the three orders designated in I Thessalonians 4:16-17, viz., the appearance of Christ (which naturally presupposes his resurrection), the resurrection of deceased Christians, and the transformation of living believers. Héring concludes his argument by stating that Paul did not make reference in the I Corinthians passage to the transformation of the living as a third order of resurrection because they are not actually raised from the dead but only changed. Jeremias gives support to Héring's argument by affirming that the primary concern of I Corinthians 15 is with the transformation of living Christians into their resurrection form of existence as well as with the

1Ibid., p. 307, "L'évocation de plusieurs ταμεταφανεία qui supposerait au moins trois groupes de réssuscitants et qui ne correspond pas exactement à la pensée de Paul, s'expliquerait sans doute encore mieux si on pouvait admettre qu'il s'est inspiré d'une formule pré-chrétienne présupposant une autre eschatologie."

resurrection of dead in Christ in order that all believers might enter the heavenly kingdom of God. This, it seems, provides sufficient evidence to assert that there is no adequate foundation anywhere in the Pauline epistles for the building of a two-resurrection theory with an intervening messianic kingdom.

Before leaving this matter of a future reign of Christ there are two general objections yet to be levied against this view. First, it presumes that the reign of Christ after the parousia is an eschatological necessity because this is the time when he will be engaged in a protracted struggle to overcome the powers of evil; the victory here will usher in the eternal kingdom of God. However, as we have already pointed out, Paul conceives of this struggle as beginning at the death, resurrection and exaltation of Christ, and ending with a final battle in which death is overcome. This latter battle may be equated with the final resurrection of Christians because it is just after his

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1 Jeremias, in his article "Flesh and Blood Cannot Inherit the Kingdom of God" (NTS, II, 3, pp. 15ff.), maintains that Paul's concept of the resurrection did not undergo a great change but that he did gain new insight. This new insight was that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, or, in other words, the living as well as the deceased must be changed before they can enter the perfected kingdom. This new insight is what Paul has in mind when in I Cor. 15:51 he speaks of a mystery - "I tell you a mystery...we shall all [i.e. the living as well as the dead] be changed." Jeremias points out that this idea was not mentioned prior to I Cor. 15 (e.g. there is no such idea in I Thess. 4:17) and that in the later writings it becomes a dominating idea (e.g. II Cor. 5:1-5; Phil. 3:20f.; Rom. 8:14,23).

2 This is seen when I Cor. 15:24 is read in the light of Col. 2:15; Kennedy, op. cit., p. 329f.
reference to this event that Paul says "Death is swallowed up in victory", and in Philippians 3:21 he identifies the power that effects the resurrection with the power with which Christ subjects all things (wins the final victory) to himself. Leivestad states that because death, the greatest enemy of all, is overcome by the resurrection there is no need for a final, extended cosmic battle. This means that the struggle with evil ends, not begins, at the parousia, and thus it would seem that the idea of a millennial reign is an unnecessary appendage affixed to Paul's eschatological thinking by his interpreters.

The second general objection gives further emphasis to our contention that the concept of a millennial reign of Christ is superfluous to Pauline thought. Otto Michel points out that in Judaism the concept of a temporary messianic kingdom was a necessary auxiliary utilized by the apocalyptists in their attempt to equalize the great tension they felt between their earthly experience and their theoretic knowledge of a transcendent God. But, he continues, for Paul who had met the exalted Lord this 'auxiliary' became unnecessary because the tension between the present world and the eternal God was bridged by the presently reigning glorified Christ. "Bei Paulus ist diese Spannung überwunden, weil er dem erhöhten Christus begegnet ist und sein Denken aus dem Glauben schöpft."  

1 I Cor. 15:24.  
Thus an important theological reason for the concept of a temporary millennial reign maintained in Jewish thought becomes superfluous in the Christian view because of its realized eschatology. Weiss, when discussing Colossians 1:13 states that both Paul and primitive Christianity in general take for granted that the messianic reign of Christ begins at his exaltation. But then in his interpretation of I Corinthians 15:24-28 he adds that an actual earthly rule of Christ will follow, at the parousia, the heavenly messianic reign of his exaltation. In the light of Michel's statement and in view of the fact that this reign after the parousia is not explicitly taught in the epistles, Weiss' interpretation would seem an unjustified imposition on the thought of Paul. Even Schweitzer, who firmly maintains that Paul has an entirely future view of the messianic era, appears unable to escape the fact that the apostle regards the powers of the new age as having already begun. He states:

If Jesus has risen, that means, for those who dare to think consistently, that it is now already the supernatural age. And this is Paul's point of view... Through the Resurrection of Jesus it had become manifest that resurrection powers, that is to say, powers of the supernatural world were already at work [and] the supernatural world had already begun, though it had not as yet become manifest.

1 History of Primitive Christianity, pp. 34-35.
2 Der erste Korintherbrief, pp. 357-358. Weiss speculatively considers the possibility that there is no messianic kingdom after the parousia taught by Paul (p. 362).
3 The Mysticism of Paul, pp. 98-99.
Schweitzer considers this problematic character of the period between the resurrection of Jesus and his parousia to have resulted because of the appearance of the Messiah before the beginning of the future messianic age. As we have already shown, the concept of the age to come ('the supernatural world') in the thought of Paul, as well as in biblical thought generally, is the age of the kingdom; the 'new age' and the 'kingdom' cannot be separated. Therefore Schweitzer's statement really amounts to an admission that the messianic kingdom began with the resurrection of Christ. Thus Schweitzer has invalidated his own scheme of Pauline eschatology in which he designated the messianic kingdom as an entirely future reign of Christ.

That Paul regarded the messianic reign of Christ as having already begun cannot be denied, and that he anticipated a future millennial reign cannot be substantiated, therefore we are able to make the following affirmation: the claim that Paul taught a millennial reign of Christ after the parousia is inconsistent with the apostle's conception of the final resurrection as the power whereby Christ deals the final blow to the powers of evil, it is superfluous to his faith in the exalted Lord, and it is cancelled out by his realized eschatology.

The Pauline view of the kingdom. In I Corinthians 15:25 Paul states, as a parenthetical expression serving to assure

\[\text{The Mysticism of Paul, pp. 65-68. Schweitzer's view will be given further treatment below; see p. 2/3. See Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 297f.}\]
that there will be no misunderstanding concerning the time of
the messianic kingdom, that Christ must continue his present
reign until he has conquered all hostile powers and that this
final conquering will come when 'death' is destroyed at the
final resurrection.¹ Since the final resurrection is an event
accompanying the parousia, there can be no doubt that the Pauline
teaching is that the reign of Christ is during the present time,
beginning at his exaltation and extending until the parousia.
On several occasions Paul does refer to a kingdom yet to come,
and Héring rightly observes that in each case there is the
implication that this kingdom has no end and there is no mention¬
ing of a future preliminary millennial era through which
believers must pass before they enter this eternal kingdom.³
Thus Paul's essential view of the kingdom is that the spiritual
messianic reign of Christ continues throughout the course of
history until the parousia when it ends and the perfected king¬
don of God comes in full.⁴

¹Héring, La premiere épitre de saint Paul aux Corinthiens, p. 141. I Cor. 15:25 is a reference to Psa. 110:1, which we have already shown was used by Paul to speak of the present reign of Christ from his exalted position. It seems that Moffatt (op. cit., p. 248) is inconsistent when he acknowledges that in other places (i.e. Eph. 1:20, Col. 3:1) Psa. 110:1 is used to refer to the present reign but maintains that its use in I Cor. 15:25 is to designate a millennial reign.

²I Thess. 2:12; II Thess. 1:4, 5; Gal. 5:21; I Cor. 6:9-10; 15:50; Col. 4:11.

³"Saint Paul a-t-il enseigné deux Résurrections?" p. 312f.

⁴Cf. Bright, op. cit., pp. 235-244.
The Pauline view of the consummation. Having established the proposition that there is no lengthy interval of time between the parousia and the consummation, then it must follow that these two events occur as a single event, or at least as two parts of a single event with very little, if any, lapse between them. Thus the parousia is the end, and Paul's view of the consummation can be represented as follows. At the parousia (accompanied by the general resurrection and the last judgment) the aeon of human history comes to an end, the unredeemed humanity is banished eternally from the presence of the Lord, and the powers of evil that have opposed God and impeded his absolute, universal reign are completely subdued or destroyed so that peace reigns throughout the universe. Finally, creation is delivered from its bondage, and the messianic work of Christ is complete. He is now able to deliver to the Father a universal kingdom fully reconciled in all its parts so that he is 'all in all'. With this the eschatological process is completely fulfilled, because, as Hering states, this description of the 'end' as 'God all in all' could only be an affirmation of the total

1 Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 295. Cf. G.A. Smith, (op. cit., p. 169) who states that in the prophetic view the events of the 'day of the Lord' were expected to occur literally in the course of a day.

2 I Col. 2:15; I Cor. 15:24. These matters will be dealt with in more detail below; see p. 142 f.

3 Rom. 8:19ff.
presence and visibility of the kingdom of God.

The messianic activity of Christ is actually the Father working through the Son his plan for the establishment of his perfected kingdom. This is brought out in two ways. (1) The power with which Christ subjects all things to himself is the power which God has given him for this purpose. (2) The kingdom which the Son gives back to the Father is the kingdom which has belonged to him all the time, but which was appointed to the authority of the Son during its period of historical manifestation. No qualitative differentiation may legitimately be drawn between the messianic kingdom of Christ and the eternal kingdom of God; the former is but the latter proleptically and partially manifested in history. It would be actually incorrect to speak of the reign of Christ coming to an end, because when his kingdom has served its purpose in history it is simply absorbed into the

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1"Πάντα" pourrait bien être l'accusatif grec, de sorte que la phrase signifierait: que Dieu soit sous tous les rapports (ou: complètement) dans l'univers - tandis qu'a present sa domination n'est que partielle" (La première épitre de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens, p. 141).

2This involves the christological problem of the subordination of the Son to the Father. In Paul it is clear that Christ is inferior to God (e.g. I Cor. 3:23; 11:33, 15:28) and the source of his work as Mediator and Redeemer is traced to God (e.g. Gal. 4:4; Rom. 8:32; Phil. 2:9). See Macintosh, op. cit., p. 71ff.; G.B. Stevens, Pauline Theology (London: Richard D. Dickson, 1892), p. 204; Stewart, op. cit., pp. 170-173.

3Robertson and Plummer, op. cit., p. 355.

4Karl Schmidt, TWzNT, I, p. 587.
eternal kingdom of the Father. And the subjection of the Son to the Father, which is naturally involved in the transferring of the kingdom to God, in no way takes from him the messianic glory to which he was elevated at the beginning of his reign. Paul sees no rivalry between the eschatological glory of Christ and the eternal glory of the Father; because all that Christ has done is not for himself but "to the glory of God the Father." 2

There remains to be added a word concerning the final destiny of the non-believers. As pointed out above, the Pauline concept can fall in neither the 'universalist' nor the 'annihilationist' position, and therefore a very great problem arises at this point. There is a perfected kingdom of God and a universe which has been purged of all evil, yet at the same time, there remain the non-believers upon whom the judgment of eternal destruction and death has been passed. Paul never designates the place of this future punishment (except that they are excluded from the kingdom of God) nor does he make any attempt to solve the implied problem of an ultimate dualism.

In the final analysis, the underlying problem is the antinomy of God's will and human freedom, and with Cave we can only make

1Glasson, op. cit., pp. 201-202. Dodd ("Matthew and Paul", ET, LVIII, p. 293) states that the subjection of the Son to the Father is the kingdom of God in its final consummation.

2I Phil. 2:9-11. Héring, La Première Épitre de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens, p. 141. Cf. Moffatt (op. cit., p. 249) who sees in I Cor. 15:28 a teaching that the messianic glory of Christ is just a phase of his sonship. Moffatt sees this idea as standing in contrast to teaching of Christ's final lordship in Phil. 2:9-11.
recognition of the fact that, according to the evidence of the epistles, this remained an unsolved problem to Paul:

When Paul contemplated the grace of God in Christ, he looked forward to its perfect victory. Yet there was the dreadful fact of human sin, and, even in his latest Epistles, side by side with his impassioned statements of his hope in the fulfilment of Christ's work, we have stern warning that sinners cannot "inherit the kingdom of God."¹

Conclusion. Paul's teaching of the end of history is intrinsically related to his concept of the parousia -- the appearing of the Lord from heaven is the 'end'. The epistles present no final scheme of events, but those which Paul expressly anticipates as occurring at the end of time are: the parousia, final resurrection (and transformation of living believers), last judgment, subjection of hostile powers, redemption of creation, the delivering of the kingdom (and the subjection of the Son) to the Father. All of these constitute God's final act in summing up history, and thus they occur essentially as a single event; therefore, the question, asked by some, of the sequence of events in the final drama has no significance for Paul. The real meaning of the consummation, in the mind of Paul, is that God acts finally in Christ bringing to completion and into ultimate realization his eternal plan for the ages: "Ὦν ἦς ὁ Θεός πάντα ἐν πάσιν."²

V. CONCLUSION

The unrealized eschatology of Paul is his expectation for the final act of God that will bring the eschatological process to completion. This is not an anticipation engendered by a conviction that the partially fulfilled realized eschatology demands augmentation by a novel act of God, but it is a faith that awaits the removal of the present hiddenness from the full glory and splendor of the eschaton that has already been actualized in Christ. The hope for the future centers in the parousia because it is the final messianic activity of Christ upon which the realization of the last eschatological stage depends. When the Lord is revealed in his messianic glory, then it is that the eschatological judgment and salvation which are now supervening upon men in the age of human history will be fully realized in the new age and the cosmic victory won on the cross will be consummated in the complete subjection of all things to the Messiah. The concluding act of the Lord's messianic task is the delivering of his triumphant kingdom to the Father, and with this the eschatological process reaches its ultimate goal: God is 'all in all'.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION TO PART I

I. SUMMARY

Bearing in mind the impossibility of systematizing the eschatological thought of Paul into a scheme, we present this outline as a general summary of the apostle's concept of the 'last things'. The scripture references cited are selected from the more exhaustive list used in this investigation.

I. Realized eschatology.

A. The sending of the Messiah.

1. The Jewish expectation of a messiah fulfilled in Jesus (II Cor. 1:20).
2. Jesus exalted as glorified Messiah (Rom. 1:3-4) of all mankind (Phil. 2:9-11) through his resurrection.
3. Victory won by Messiah over powers of evil (Col. 2:15) and now reigning at the right hand of God (Eph. 1:20, 22); present reign hidden from the world (Col. 3:3).

B. The advent of the messianic kingdom.

1. Kingdom of Christ already begun and experienced by believers (Col. 1:13).
2. Messianic kingdom will last until the parousia (I Cor. 15:24).

C. Dawn of the new age; its co-existence with the old age.

1. The new age already begun (II Cor. 4:4; Eph. 2:2); old age not yet passed completely away (I Cor. 7:31).
2. The full glory of the new age yet to be revealed (Rom. 8:18).
D. The resurrection.
1. The resurrection of Christ assures the resurrection of believers on the last day (I Cor. 15:23).
2. Believers already spiritually raised with Christ (Rom. 6:5ff.).

E. The righteousness of God and judgment. God's judgment of wrath and justification already pronounced on the world in revelation of Jesus the Messiah (Rom. 1:17-18).

F. Period of realized eschatology is period of world wide missionary preaching (Rom. 9-11).

II. The unrealized eschatology.

A. The parousia of the Lord (I Thess. 4:13ff.).
1. The manifestation of the messianic glory of Christ (II Thess. 1:7).
2. The full exercise of his messianic power:
   a. Resurrection of believers (Phil. 3:21; Col. 3:4).
   b. Judgment (II Thess. 1:8).
   c. Final subjection of evil powers (I Cor. 15:24-28).

B. The general resurrection (I Cor. 15).
1. Believers: the receiving of the 'spiritual body'.
   a. The raising of the deceased (I Cor. 15:23,51f.).
   b. The transformation of the living (I Cor. 15:50,51).
2. Non-believers raised for judgment.

C. The last judgment (Rom. 2:5ff.).
1. Believers: justification fulfilled in pronouncement as worthy of entrance into the perfected kingdom of God (II Thess. 1:5).
2. Non-believers: excluded from the eternal kingdom (II Thess. 1:9).

D. The consummation of the kingdom.
1. Death destroyed and all evil subjected to the Messiah (I Cor. 15:25f.).
2. The messianic kingdom taken up into the eternal kingdom (I Cor. 15:24), and the Son subjected to the Father (I Cor. 15:28).
3. The earth transformed (Rom. 8:19-21).
4. The establishment of the eternal kingdom of God (I Cor. 15:28).

II. CONCLUSION

The eschatology of Paul has been discussed here under two headings 'realized' and 'unrealized'. The former has been summarized generally as the partial historical fulfilment of the eschatological promises of God in the experience of Christian believers and the latter as the completed eschaton which is expected to come, when at the 'end' the limitations of the historical existence have been removed, with the full splendour and glory of God. It has further been pointed out that each of these divisions of Pauline eschatology centers in a 'Christ-event', that is, the realized eschatology centers in the Messiah who has come and the unrealized in the same Messiah who is yet to come. From this three general conclusions may be drawn.

(1) The two divisions of Paul's eschatology are two stages in a single process of eschatological fulfilment. Pauline
eschatology cannot be plotted on a time line as punctiliar, either as a single point in the future (parousia) or as a single point in the past (resurrection), but it must be diagrammed as an extended line between these two focal points and described as linear.\(^1\) Thus the two stages become organically related in a temporal sense. The first stage loses its true eschatological character except as it is the preliminary to the second stage, and the second stage becomes divorced from present faith and loses the distinctively Christian characteristic unless preceded by the initial fulfilment in history.

The organic relationship of the two stages is brought out further by the fact that each consists essentially of the same eschatological events, those of the latter being the completion of their counterparts in the former. This can be illustrated as follows:

**STAGE I: Realized eschatology.**

1. The hidden Messiah.
2. The kingdom of the Son.
3. The spiritual resurrection.
4. Wrath and justification.

**STAGE II: Unrealized eschatology.**

1. The parousia of the Lord.
2. The kingdom of God (Beginning of the new age)
3. The 'spiritual-body' resurrection.
4. The last judgment.

\(^1\) Generally speaking, the biblical concept of time as worked out by Dr. Cullmann (*Christ and Time*) well brings out the concept of time that underlies the Pauline eschatology. It would seem, however, that in special reference to the thought of Paul, Rust (*"Time and Eternity"*) offers a valid criticism of Cullmann's view when he states that he has not sufficiently emphasized the hiddenness of the present period of fulfilment on the time line. Cf. also valuable criticism of Cullmann by Marsh (*op. cit.*, pp. 174-181) and Althaus (*op. cit.*, pp. 339-340).
Thus Paul has not two eschatologies - i.e. not a present and a future or an apocalyptic and a hellenistic - but only one: the fulfilment of the eschatological promises of God in two stages. The first one is the proleptic realization in history of the latter, and they are of the same quality, the only difference being in the degree of manifestation.

(2) The fact that each stage of Paul's eschatology centers in and is determined in character by a manifestation of Jesus Christ as Messiah affirms the assertion made above that in the thought of Paul eschatology has become completely subordinated to his faith in Jesus Christ. Just as the messiahship of Jesus to which he was exalted after his resurrection is presently hidden in heaven and seen only through the eyes of faith, so are the eschatological events that have become actualized through this 'coming' hidden and only partially realized. Also, just as at the parousia the messianic glory of the Lord will be fully revealed so also the events accompanying it are to be fully and completely realized. The Messiah in both stages of the process is the same Jesus Christ, the only difference being that at his latter manifestation the veil that had hidden his glory from the eyes of men will be removed. This concept of a present messianic kingdom partially established on earth with its Messiah reigning from his hidden position in the heavens belongs, so far as we can determine, uniquely to Paul and New Testament eschatology; and this fact serves to illustrate the assertion that Pauline eschatology, to use Professor William Manson's phrase, "is made plastic to Jesus Christ".
(3) Paul's eschatology is predominately a teleology. It is the Divine purpose in creation (i.e. the absolute sway of the kingly rule of God throughout the universe) becoming fully realized in the Messiah. Thus the meaning of history, in Pauline thought, is determined by its eschatological goal. This eternal purpose has been revealed to eyes of faith, and it is already partially realized in the proleptically inaugurated messianic kingdom. It will fill the universe, however, only when Christ completes his work and the Father is 'all in all'.

In a single statement, the essential nature of the Pauline eschatology can be characterized as follows: the full establishment of God's promised eschaton is accomplished through Jesus Christ in two stages, first, as partially or proleptically realized in history through the advent of Jesus the Messiah and, finally, as completed or consummated through the parousia of the Lord.
Part II

PAUL'S CARDINAL THEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS IN THEIR ESCHATOLOGICAL REFERENCE
CHAPTER IV

PAULINE CHRISTOLOGY: THE CONCEPTION OF THE UNIVERSAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CHRIST

One of the conclusions arrived at in part one of this thesis was that in the thought of Paul eschatology is subordinate to and made plastic to Jesus Christ. At the same time, it is also true, as N.A. Dahl points out, that the messiahship of Jesus has a basic significance for Paul's whole christology. In Pauline thought christology and eschatology are organically related, and his christology, though not originating from or determined in character by a pre-conceived messianism, is based upon the one absolute presupposition of the primitive Christian kerygma that Jesus is the One in whom the eschatological promises of God have been fulfilled. In this sense Paul's christology is an eschatological doctrine.

Because of the fundamental eschatological setting of Paul's christology and because it spans the entire range of his religious thought, it is not possible to confine a discussion of its eschatological significance to a single chapter. Already in the course of this thesis, in order to determine the essential character of Paul's conception of 'last things', it has been necessary to deal with several of his primary christological concepts — i.e. 'Christ', 'Lord', 'Son' — and in the discussions of his theological doctrines to follow, the eschatological significance of his other

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1"Die Messianität Jesu bei Paulus," SP, p. 95.
christological teachings will be demonstrated in manifold ways in their appropriate theological settings.

The purpose of this chapter is to give some special treatment to two christological ideas by means of which the apostle sets forth his fuller and wider view of fulfilment in Christ. These are: (1) the doctrine of the Second Adam, which brings out the universal significance of Christ for humanity; (2) the conception of the cosmic Lord, which brings out the significance of Christ for the whole universe. A full discussion of these concepts would be, of course, an entire thesis within itself. The procedure here will be to deal with these concepts in the above order by presenting a brief description of these doctrines and then establishing each in its eschatological setting.

I. THE SECOND ADAM

The doctrine of the Second Adam is a teaching found in the New Testament only in the Pauline epistles. The apostle simply states this concept and never elaborated upon it, but it maintains a far more prominent place in his christological thinking than his

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1 On the basis of 1 Cor. 15:45 ("Thus it is written") Burney, The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), pp. 45-48, considers that in the Second Adam idea Paul is following a concept already current in Christian circles based upon an Old Testament Testimonium. Jeremias (TWNT, p. 141) sees the Christ/Adam analogy implied as the underlying thought in the temptation narrative of Mk. 1:13. Darnell ("The Idea of God's People in the Bible," RVEBT, p. 34) suggests that the Second Adam idea may be indicated in Luke's tracing of the genealogy of Christ back to Adam. Cf. Rawlinson (pp. cit., pp. 130-131) and Davies (Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 41-44) who maintains that the Second Adam concept is Paul's original idea.
scanty references to it would indicate. The concept of the Second Adam, states Professor Matthew Black, is a central idea "which provided St. Paul with the scaffolding, if not the basic structure, for his redemption and resurrection Christology". ¹

This discussion will be developed by first presenting a brief statement of the doctrine and indicating its basic eschatological setting; its eschatological reference will be further extended by pointing out its relation to two other allied concepts, the new creation and the apocalyptic son of Man.

A statement of the doctrine and its basic eschatological setting. The Pauline teaching of the Second Adam is contained primarily in I Corinthians 15:21-22, 45-49, and Romans 5:12-21, ² and a general description of the doctrine can be summarized as follows. In order to illustrate for his readers the universal significance which Jesus the Messiah has for mankind, Paul contrasts and parallels his person and work with the person and work of Adam. Both are referred to as 'man', Adam being the


² Rawlinson (op. cit., pp. 134-136) regards Phil. 2:5ff. and the passages describing Christ as 'image' and 'glory' as teaching the Second Adam concept. Black (op. cit., pp. 174-175) agrees with this and adds Col. 3:10; Eph. 2:15; 4:22. (All these references will be dealt with below in this discussion.) Paul does not actually use the term 'Second Adam', but the names he applies to Jesus to describe him as such are: "Ἀνθρωπός, δεύτερος Ἀνθρωπός, Ἀνθρωπός ἐστὶν οὐρανοῦ, ἐσχάτος Ἄδωνις, κεφαλὴ, εἰκὼν"; Stauffer, op. cit., p. 381 n. 325.
first man and Christ the second or last. Adam, the man from the earth, was created a living soul; Christ, the man from heaven, was created a life-giving spirit. Each man has a corporate relationship to humanity; each is the head of a type of humanity which bears the image of his character and shares in the effects of his work. The work of Adam, the head of the old humanity, is disobedience and sin; and thus through him sin, followed by death, has come upon all mankind and all are condemned as sinners. The work of Christ, the head of the new humanity, is obedience and righteousness, and through him grace, justification, and eternal life have come for all mankind. As creatures of dust, all men are by nature incorporated into the humanity of the earthly man and share in his sinful human nature, but by spiritual union with the man from heaven believers become incorporated into his new humanity and have the hope of bearing his image. Thus the Pauline teaching of the two Adams is essentially a concept of two humanities, an earthly one and a heavenly one, which exist in the world, each having its representative head. Christ comes as a counter-part to Adam to restore for mankind what was lost in the transgression of the first man.

The context in which the teaching of the two Adams occurs in the I Corinthians passage is the discussion of the resurrection.

1 I Cor. 15:21,47,48,49; Rom. 5:18,19.
2 I Cor. 15:45.
3 I Cor. 15:48,49.
4 Rom. 5:12ff.
5 I Cor. 15:48,49.
It is as risen Lord that Christ is conceived to be the new Adam, and the humanity of which he is head consists of those who by faith-union with him have been incorporated into the order of resurrection which he has initiated. We have already worked out above the identification of the new order of resurrection with the 'coming age' that has been actualized in Christ; therefore the new humanity is also to be identified with the new age. Herein lies the basic eschatological setting of the teaching of the two Adam: it presupposes the doctrine of the two world ages, Adam as head of the old age and Christ as head of the new one. This general assertion comes to light in a more detailed manner when seen in relation to the conception of the new creation in Christ, to which we now turn.

The Second Adam and the new creation. Dr. C.F. Burney states that Luke, John and Paul all go back in thought "to the appearance of Jesus Christ on the earth as a new Creation, to be compared and contrasted with the first Creation of the world and of mankind; and all therefore draw upon Gen. 1,2 in working out their theme." This conception of Christ as new creation is found in Pauline thought in connection with his teaching of the Second Adam. The key reference is I Corinthians 15:45 where the apostle says, "'The first man Adam became a living being'; the

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1See above p. 65 ff

2Though not occurring in a context directly concerned with a discussion of the resurrection, the Rom. 5 passage also presupposes the concept of the two world ages. See above p. 65.

last Adam became a life-giving spirit." The Old Testament passage to which Paul makes reference here is Genesis 2:7 which, in its context, is an explanation of how man who was formed from the dust became a living, animate being.¹ The actual words quoted are "εγένετο ο... ανθρωπος... εις ψυχην ζωσαν," and the words Paul adds in his paraphrase are "πρωτος... Αβαμ... ο εσχατος Αβαμ εις πνευμα ζωσαν." These additional words indicate clearly that Paul is placing Christ in a position parallel to that of Adam and thus describing him as a new creation of a higher spiritual order. The parallel is: first Adam, a living being / last Adam, a life-giving spirit; and in this the essential meaning is, as Rawlinson suggests, that Paul is tracing the origin of natural life to Adam and new spiritual life to Christ.² Thus the first creation (the order of natural life) consists of Adam and his descendants and the second or new creation (the order of spiritual life) consists of Christ and those to whom he has imparted spiritual life.

There is general agreement among New Testament scholars that Paul, in his paralleling of Christ with Adam, is presenting an eschatological interpretation of the Genesis narrative of creation.³ There is no evidence in apocalyptic literature that

¹Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 131.
²Ibid., p. 131.
³Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," ENTE, p. 429. Rawlinson (op. cit., p. 129, n. 1); Weiss (Beginning of Dogma, pp. 70-78), et al. point out Philo's interpretation of Gen. 1 and 2 (Legum allegor. I, 31,49 and De opif. mundi, 134,32). They rightly maintain, however, that this, being a speculation concerning the/
the expected Messiah was ever described as a 'second Adam' or as a 'new creation', but that the messianic age was anticipated to come as a new creation was a widely held view. In Jewish thought the idea of the eschaton in these terms concerns the entire cosmos; and while this is also the case in Paul's full view of the eschaton, as will be pointed out later, his interest in the new creation in relation to the Second Adam doctrine concerns directly the creation of the new humanity in the age to come. The particular problem which forms the context of the passage in which he discusses this view (I Corinthians 15:45ff.) is the kind of body that will be raised at the final resurrection. His argument runs as follows: it is not the body in which man lives his natural life (the body of the old humanity) that will be raised for the future existence - or, in other words, "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" - but it is a new spiritual body (the body of the new humanity) that will be raised

the Logos, has no influence on the interpretation of Paul whose interest is primarily eschatological. Cf. Lietzmann (HBNT, an die Korinther, I, p. 155) who regards Paul's interpretation as a polemic against Philo's view. Jeremias (TWZNT, I, p. 143) states, on the basis of Col. 1:15, that Paul regards Christ as created before Adam and thus his idea is parallel to Philo's teaching that the heavenly man was created prior to the earthly man but that Paul differs from Philo by assigning to the heavenly Man an eschatological role.

1 Jeremias, TWZNT, I, p. 142; Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., III, p. 477f.

2 Paul Volz, op. cit., pp. 63ff., 338f. The evidence from Jewish literature will be given below p. 149 n. 1.
for life in the new aeon. ¹ The spiritual body of the final resurrection is the new creation of Christ, the 'life-giving spirit'. Paul thinks of this spiritual body as proleptically present in the experience of believers as spiritual life. Thus he speaks of them as having already having become new creation in Christ, ² but the new creation will not be completed in them until the final resurrection when they receive their spiritual bodies. ³

Paul's view of Christ as the new Adam is seen further in his use of the term 'image' and 'glory' in reference to him, and here again we see that the new creation which Paul has in mind is the resurrection life. Taylor states that Paul is using these terms to designate Christ as the Second Adam, the One in whom the divine attributes lost by the first Adam are restored in messianic times. ⁴ We shall consider these two terms separately.

(1) In Colossians 1:15 Paul says, "He is the image of the invisible God." ⁵ If, as it seems according to Kittel, ⁶ the background of this statement is Genesis 1:26, then there can be no

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¹ Kennedy, op. cit., p. 258; Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 131.
² II Cor. 5:17; Rom. 6:4.
⁴ The Names of Jesus, p. 126; e.g. T. of Levi 18:10. Dahl ("Christ, Creation, and the Church", p. 435) sees the concepts 'image' and 'glory' implied throughout the Christ/Adam analogy.
⁵ Cf. II Cor. 4:4.
⁶ TWzNT, II, p. 394. T.K. Abbott (op. cit., p. 210) considers the use of εἰκόνα in Col. 1:15; I Cor. 15:49; II Cor. 3:18; Rom. 8:29; Col. 3:10; and I Cor. 11:7 all as illusions to Gen. 1:26, 28.
doubt that Paul is here designating Christ as the 'image of God' in order to present him as the creation of a new Adam; and in this same context there is the statement that it is by virtue of his resurrection that Christ is the beginning of the new creation.\(^1\) Linked with the idea of Christ bearing the image of God is the idea that Christians bear the image of Christ.\(^2\) Believers are said to put on the new nature (Christ, the new creation) and thus to bear the image of God in the present life,\(^3\) but it is not until their final resurrection that they bear this 'image' in full.\(^4\) (2) Closely connected with the idea of the 'image of God' is the idea of the 'glory of God'.\(^5\) Paul's view is that the glory of God, which Dodd considers to be the divine image men were intended to bear,\(^6\) has been lost by mankind\(^7\) and Christ has come to restore it.\(^8\) The Christian already participates in the glory brought by Christ,\(^9\) but he will not experience

\(^1\) Col. 1:18.

\(^2\) Rom. 8:29. Sanday and Headlam, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 218.


\(^4\) I Cor. 15:49. Lietzmann (\textit{HBNT, an die Korinther I}, p. 45) states concerning I Cor. 15:49, Rom. 8:29, and II Cor. 3:18: "Mit ist der verklärte Leib nach der Auferstehung gemeint."

\(^5\) E.g. I Cor. 11:7-12; II Cor. 3:18; 4:4. Rawlinson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 132.

\(^6\) Romans, p. 50.

\(^7\) Rom. 3:23.

\(^8\) II Cor. 4:4, 6.

\(^9\) II Cor. 3:18; Rom. 8:30. Kittel, \textit{TWzNT}, II, p. 254.
ultimately until the parousia when he receives the 'body of glory'. ¹

The Second Adam doctrine, then, is a teaching of the creation of a new humanity wrought by God through the resurrection of Christ. The risen Lord himself is God's new creation, and it is the resurrection life he communicates to believers through their union with him by faith that makes of them a new humanity. The resurrection life is the life of the age to come, ² and the new humanity now experiences it presently as spiritual life, but when the eschaton comes in full the new creation will be completed in them when they receive their spiritual bodies prepared for them for their life in the perfected kingdom of God. It is the resurrection that gives spiritual content to the Christian view of the new eschatological age, and in this sense we can affirm with Harrisonville that the New Testament view of the coming age is not just the epitome of prophetic and apocalyptic anticipation but in Christ is come as a new creation of God. ³

The Second Adam and the Son of Man. One of the conclusions to which Professor Black came in his study of the Second Adam

¹Col. 3:4; Phil. 3:21.

²Kennedy (op. cit., pp. 100-101, 234-236) points out the support in the Synoptic Gospels for this identification of the resurrection and the age to come. He considers the Pauline σώμα πνευματικον and σώμα τῆς ζωῆς as equivalent to the Synoptic description of life in the new age as ἅμα γενόμενον (Lk. 20:36). In Lk. 20:35 'that age' and 'the resurrection' are used synonymously, and in Matt. 19:28 the new age is referred to as a new creation (τὰλιγγενεσία). Kennedy regards Col. 1:15-18, Rom. 8:29 and I Cor. 15:20 as an extension of this synoptic thought.

teaching was that in Pauline eschatology the doctrine of the Second Adam and the eschatological Son of Man concept are brought together, and in the nexus of these two concepts the messianic significance of the Second Adam concept is brought into a fuller view. In the Synoptic tradition the term 'Son of Man' was the primary title or designation by means of which Jesus conveyed to believers the messianic significance of his mission, and Riesenfeld points out that this term, in a higher degree than "Messiah" expresses the notion of universality. Although this actual phrase does not occur in the epistles it is evident in various ways that the concept was known to Paul and maintained a fundamental place in his christological thinking.

It is first necessary to establish the presence of the Son of Man eschatology in the epistles, and this can be done with

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2An analysis of the complicated and involved problem of the meaning of this term in the Synoptic tradition is beyond the scope of this thesis. The basic sources consulted for this discussion are: W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, pp.65-66,98-103, 113-120, and appendix C and D; Otto, Kingdom of God and Son of Man, pp. 159-255; T.W. Manson, The Teachings of Jesus, pp. 211-236; J.W. Bowman, The Intention of Jesus, pp. 106-136; Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, pp. 133-205; Cadoux, The Historic Mission of Jesus (London: Lutterworth Press, 1941), pp. 90-102.

3"The Mythological Background of New Testament Christology," ENTIE, pp. 86-87. Riesenfeld makes this statement in reference to Dan. 7. He states, "...in Jewish apocalyptic the Son of Man has a bearing not only upon the people of Israel but upon mankind; his reign is not confined to a flourishing Palestine but comprises a new world." P. 87.
two observations. (1) In I Corinthians 15:27 there is the following quotation from Psalm 8:6: "For God has put all things in subjection under his feet." Paul is using this reference to confirm his claim that Christ must continue his messianic reign until all enemies have been subjected to him. Psalm 8 was one of the basic testimonies used by the early Christians in support of their conviction that Jesus was the Son of Man of messianic expectation, and Professor William Manson states that if Paul were not thinking "of Christ as the Son of Man, it would not have occurred to him to base Christ's universal sovereignty on this text." It is significant to note that in this same passage (I Corinthians 15:24-28) reference is made to Psalm 110:1, which we have already established was used by Paul to refer to the present reign of Christ from his exalted place in heaven. The use of Psalm 8:6 in this context helps to confirm the assertion that Paul considers the risen Lord to be the fulfilment of the Son

1 Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 32. Authorities seem generally agreed on this.

2 Jesus the Messiah, pp. 187-188; also Jeremias, TWNT, I, p. 143; and Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 125. Dodd (According to the Scriptures, pp. 32-33) suggests that Phil. 3:21 ("enables him to subject all things to himself") is also an allusion to Psa. 8:6. This is based upon the assumption that Paul sees in the resurrection of Christ the fulfilment of the 'crowning of man with glory' referred to in Psalm 8. Through his resurrection Christ has already fulfilled in himself this 'glory', and it will be fulfilled in believers when they receive their resurrection bodies. In view of the fact, as already pointed out above, that in both I Cor. 15 and Phil. 3:21 Paul links together 'the subjecting of all things' and 'the resurrection' it seems that Dodd has excellent grounds for his claim.
of Man of messianic expectation.¹

(2) In the Synoptic tradition one of the primary uses Jesus made of the Son of Man concept was in connection with his teaching of his future return in judgment and glory.² Black compares the teaching of the parousia in I Corinthians 15:21ff. with that of the Synoptic teaching and states concerning the Pauline teaching, "in all essentials it is the primitive Church's doctrine of the Parousia, a 'Son of Man' eschatology."³ In like manner Rawlinson points out that I and II Thessalonians and other teachings of the parousia indicate that Paul held the conviction that the exalted Messiah was soon destined to be manifested as the Son of Man returning with power and glory.⁴

The bringing together of the Son of Man and the Second Adam concepts by Paul is seen first of all in his use of the term 'the Man' (ὁ ἄνθρωπος). It has already been pointed out above that this was one of the terms employed by Paul to designate Jesus as the Second Adam, and it is also the Greek word normally

¹Psa. 110:1 and Psa. 8:6 occur respectively in Eph. 1:20 and 1:22 where they are also used in reference to the present messianic reign of Christ. Cf. also Hebrews 1:13 and 2:6-8. Dodd (According to the Scriptures, pp. 32-34) includes both Psalms 6 and 110 in the early Christian testimonies to the messiahship of Jesus.


used as the translation of the technical Aramaic expression 'Son of Man' (א"שנף). This Aramaic expression was usually translated literally in the Gospels as "ο άνθρωπος τού θεού ανθρωποσπου, but Lake and Foakes-Jackson suggest that Paul was "too good a Grecian" to translate it literally - "ο άνθρωπος τού θεού ανθρωποσπου" would be an unintelligible expression to Greek readers - and he rendered it idiomatically by "ο ανθρωποσπου". Therefore when Paul refers to Christ as 'the Man' it may be assumed that he is designating him both as the new Adam and as the heavenly Son of Man.

This can be demonstrated in the following way. In the Second Adam doctrine there is the predominating idea that Christ stands in a corporate relationship with the new humanity, and likewise in the Son of Man teaching there is the idea of the solidarity of the Messiah with his people. Dodd points out that there are only three Old Testament passages of which there is certainty that they were included in the early Christian testimonium that Jesus was Son of Man - viz., Psalm 8, Psalm 80, and Daniel 7 - and he summarizes the essential meaning of these passages as follows: "...the 'Son of Man', is a figure representative of a community, which may be Israel, as the people of God,

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3 So Bowman, The Intention of Jesus; Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, p. 376.
or mankind as 'visited' by God. If we take seriously the
universalism of the 'eschatological' people of God, then the
idea of humanity as redeemed by God's grace may be recognized
in both.\(^1\) The 'representative' or 'corporate' concept of the
Son of Man has been well stressed by many New Testament scholars,\(^2\)
and T.W. Manson, recognized as a leading propounder of this view,
regards the Son of Man of the Gospels as the embodiment of the Old
Testament Remnant idea. "The Son of Man", writes Dr. Manson, "is
an ideal figure and stands for the manifestation of the Kingdom of
God on earth in a people wholly devoted to their King."\(^3\) Jesus,
then, as the Son of Man is the ideal representative of the King-
dom of God, and as such he embodies in himself the believers who
through faith-union with him participate in the kingdom and thus
constitute the redeemed community of God. With this Synoptic
idea in the background of his thinking, it can be clearly seen
that when Paul describes Christ as the Man from heaven who is
head of a new humanity the underlying thought is of the heavenly

\(^1\) According to the Scriptures, p. 117. 'Son of Man' in Dan.
is a personification of the 'Saints of the Most High' (7:18);
in Psa. 80 he is representative of Israel; in Psa. 3 he is
the ideal man, the crown of God's creation. This Old Testament
concept of the Son of Man (especially Dan. 7) exercised a great
influence in the writings of Enoch and IV Ezra where the figure
is individualized and attached to the person of the Messiah.
Many New Testament scholars are in agreement, however, that the
'Son of Man' apocalyptic writings exercised no material influence
Manson, (op. cit., p. 229), W. Manson (Jesus the Messiah, p. 188),
and Cadoux (op. cit., p. 98ff.)

\(^2\) T.W. Manson (op. cit.), Bowman (The Intention of Jesus),
Cadoux (op. cit.), et al.

\(^3\) Op. cit., p. 227. Dr. Manson defines the 'Remnant' as the
people in whom the kingdom of God is realized in history.
Son of Man who incorporates in himself the true people of God. Thus the new humanity incorporated in Second Adam is, eschatologically speaking, the realization of the kingdom of God on earth, and there can be no doubt, as Lietzmann affirms, that for Paul "der 'zweite Mensch' der Messias ist."¹

The messianic significance of the Second Adam is brought out again in Philippians 2:6ff., where it is seen in connection with the 'suffering' Son of Man. The unique element which Jesus added to the traditional Son of Man concept when he applied it to himself as Messiah was the motif of humiliation, suffering and death. In this Jesus has brought together two different messianic traditions, the Son of Man of Daniel and the Suffering Servant of Isaiah; and Professor William Manson brings out the significance of this synthesis for the total messiahship of Jesus when he states, "...it is 'the man of sorrows', the man who identifies himself with his sinful nation to the extent of making its guilt and tragedy his own (Isa. 53), who is raised to glory as the Redeemer-Man (Dan. 7:13-14). The Son of Man is thus revealed in his solidarity with men, as their friend, helper, benefactor, vicarious substitute, and intercessor; so he becomes

¹HBNT, an die Korinther I, p. 155.

²Bowman, The Intention of Jesus, p. 136. T.W. Manson (op. cit., p. 227) consider the 'Son of Man' of the gospels as the final term in a series of conceptions found in the Old Testament: (1) the Remnant (Isa.), (2) the Servant of Jehovah (II Isa.), (3) the 'I' of the Psalms, and (4) the Son of Man (Dan.). Riesenfeld, "Background of New Testament Christology," BNTIE, pp. 91ff. Cf. Davies (Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 280) and Dodd (According to the Scriptures, p. 117, n. 2) who see in Dan. 7 a 'suffering Son of Man'.
their Saviour." They is the idea Paul is putting across in the Philippians passage. He begins by drawing a contrast between Adam who yielded to his temptation to seek equality with God and Christ who, though in his pre-existent state was actually equal with God, gave up his prerogatives in order that he might become the Son of Man (\(\omega\ s 2\nu\theta\rho\omega\eta\sigma\)) and thus to endure the humiliation of historical existence, suffering, and death. This submission to the will of God in death made him not simply the ideal Man, but as suffering Son of Man his vicarious death was an act of obedience whereby God exalted him in the heavens as the glorified Son of Man. Paul is here viewing Christ from the post-resurrection perspective; thus the mysterious 'Son of Man to come in glory with his saints' taught by Jesus before his death is seen now to be fully realized in the exalted Lord, head of the new humanity. From here would logically follow the parousia teach-

1 *Jesus the Messiah*, pp. 117-118.
2 Ibid., p. 118.
3 *Gen. 3:5.*
4 *Phil. 2:8.*
5 Cf. *II Cor. 8:9.*

6 *Phil. 2:7,8.* The comparison of the two Adams in this passage is pointed out by many; e.g. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 133f.; Hering, "Kyrios Anthropos," *RHE*, (1936), pp. 196ff. Hunter (*Paul and His Predecessors*, p. 45) points out that Phil. 2:6ff. is a pre-Pauline hymn and that this gives further evidence that the Christ/Adam analogy is of pre-Pauline origin.

7 *Phil. 2:9f.* Cf. with the idea of the exalted Son of Man in *Eph. 1:22* and *I Cor. 15:27.*

8 T.W. Manson, *op. cit.*, p. 234. Riesenfeld: "In the situation of the Church the term [Son of Man] became superfluous. For the mystery of the Son of Man had been succeeded by the witness about Jesus Christ, his incarnation, suffering and resurrection. With a slight exaggeration one could say that the Son of Man christology/
ing of the Son of Man eschatology of I and II Thessalonians, and related passages, that the exalted Lord is soon to return to gather his new humanity unto himself and to usher them into their eternal abode, the kingdom of God. This brings to completion the creation of the new humanity begun at the resurrection of the new Adam.

Conclusion. In the Christ/Adam analogy Paul teaches the universal significance of Christ in the creation of a new humanity. This new creation is the work of God wrought through the risen Lord, and it has reference to the life in the age to come. Therefore, it may be asserted that the Second Adam teaching is a christological development of the conception of Christ as the Messiah in whom God has inaugurated and will consummate the new age of salvation. In this way Paul sets forth for his mission converts throughout the world a teaching of the full meaning of man's redemption in Christ and the goal toward which it is moving. It is the fact that this redemption means life in the new age that makes its Creator a Second Adam.

II. CHRIST IN HIS COSMIC RELATIONS

Implicit in the conception of the universal significance of Christ for humanity is the idea that his messianic work extends also to the realm of the created order. In the Pauline epistles this idea is found in the teaching of the cosmic relations of

cristology of the Gospels has given place to the preaching and creed of the Christian Church" ("Background of New Testament Christology," ENTIE, pp. 94-95). See also Jeremias, TWzNT, I, p. 143.
Christ. The approach here will be to present Paul's essential view of creation and of the relation of Christ to the cosmos and then to demonstrate the basic eschatological reference of this teaching.

**Paul's view of creation.** Paul's view of creation presupposes as an underlying concept the biblical principle that a bond of unity exists between man and the physical universe so that creation shares in the experience and fate of man. ¹ This principle is first illustrated in the Genesis story of creation. Man was created from the dust of the ground, ² and the sin of Adam brought a curse not only upon himself and his descendents but upon the ground as well. ³ Paul expresses this same essential view of creation when in Romans 8:20 he states that the good creation of God became marred by the sin of man and was consequently condemned to futility and corruption. ⁴ This solidarity of man with the natural world is brought out still further in Pauline thought by the way in which the terms 'this age' (✠ αἰών οὗτος) and 'this world' (✠ κόσμος οὗτος) are used synono-


² Gen. 2:7.

³ Gen. 3:17. In this connection Allen D. Galloway, The Cosmic Christ (London: Nisbet and Co., 1951), p. 10, points out that in the prophets there is no clear distinction drawn between moral and physical evil; the term ΥΔΙ is used indiscriminately to cover both types. The prophets bring the realm of physical disaster within the pattern of God's judgment; e.g. Amos 4:6-13.

⁴ This is obviously a reference to Gen. 3:17, "cursed is the ground because of you." Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., p. 207.
mously to describe the present fallen state of existence. This implies that the order of unredeemed humanity ('this age') and the condemned cosmos ('this world') are so organically related that both share in the depravity of the other. The hierarchy of angelic being - i.e., thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, etc. - under whose tyranny the cosmos has fallen also extends the exercise of its power over men. According to late Jewish teachings, which Paul seems to have shared, these spiritual beings, though created by God and entrusted with the temporary government of the world, were, for the most part, neutral or antagonistic to the best interests of man and most of the disharmony and evil of the world could be traced ultimately to them. Because of their misuse of their powers they were to be brought finally under the judgment of God. In the Pauline view these cosmic rulers have a complete sway over the world and the old humanity, and they are a source of the evil with which Christians are forced to struggle:

"For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against

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1 See above p. 57. E.g., I Cor. 3:18-19.

2 Galloway (op. cit., p. 41) states that in Paul the idea of the created world (Koaioi) becomes so closely associated with the idea of its demonic distortion (Koaioioi) that the two terms come to mean the same thing. See Bultmann (Theology of the New Testament, I, pp. 254-259) on the Pauline meaning of "cosmos" and also the discussion of Paul's view of creation (pp. 227-232).

3 Thackeray, op. cit., chapter 6; Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, passim.

4 Eph. 1:12; 3:10; 6:12; Col. 1:16; 2:10,15; Rom. 8:38; I Cor. 8:5ff.; 15:24. The angelic powers as rulers of 'this age' are seen also in their function as administrators of the law (Gal. 3:19); cf. Heb. 2:5. Somerville, op. cit., p. 297.
the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places."

It would seem that as far as the present state of existence is concerned no material differentiation can be made between the condition of humanity and the cosmos - both are fallen, subjected to the dominion of hostile powers, and suffering the same depravity. In regard to the destined end of all things, however, there is a clear distinction between his view of the fate of 'this age' and of 'this world'. The assertion is based on the following observations. (1) Though the present age is spoken of as 'passing away', it is never so of the cosmos. (2) In like manner, there is reference to the 'coming age' but never any idea of a 'coming cosmos'. (3) The present age is characteristically referred to as the 'present evil age', but it is not always so with the references to the cosmos. These observations add up to mean that the term Κόσμος is not always used by Paul as a synonym for αἰών and that it still retains the essential meaning of the existing universe. The differentiation of the meanings of these two terms is brought clearly in Ephesians 2:2, "you once walked according to the course (αἰών) of this world (Κόσμος)." Here the terms obviously are not used


2Dibelius (Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, pp. 65-66) regards 'this age' as temporal and 'this world' as local in meaning. Upon a comparison of Paul's use of these terms, Dibelius states that it is clear "dass Paulus tatsächlich Κόσμος (ζ δάυτας) und αἰών αἐτος promiscue gebraucht." Robinson and Plummer, op. cit., p. 20.
synonymously; the age belongs to the world but the two are not the same.

In I Corinthians 7:31 there is the statement that it is the form ($\sigma\nu\alpha\omega\nu\alpha$) of this world ($\kappa\omega\mu\omega\varsigma$), i.e. the whole order of human existence, that is to pass away. The cosmos itself, however, will abide. Thus whereas there is a total pessimism for the fate of the present age there is a fundamental optimism for the cosmos. Even in its present state the cosmos witnesses to the eternal power and deity of God, and the subjection imposed upon it is not its end; it was subjected in hope, hope to be delivered from its bondage and to share in the final redemption of the new humanity. It is the same principle of solidarity of man and creation that underlies Paul's view of the redemption of the cosmos but with this fundamental difference: its subjection is in solidarity with the old humanity, but its redemption is in solidarity with the new creation of Christ. Paul's view of creation can be summarized in his own words:

For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God; for the creation was subjected to futility, not of its own will but by the will of him who subjected it in hope; because the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God.

The relation of Christ to creation. Paul's concept of the

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1Abbott, ad loc.
2Kennedy, op. cit., p. 336.
3Rom. 1:20.
4Rom. 8:22.
5Rom. 8:19-21.
relation of Christ to creation covers the entire history of the universe from its beginning to its end. In Colossians 1:15 there is a statement which gives the clue to the Pauline view: "He is...the first born (Πρωτότοκος) of all creation." According to the context of this passage (verses 16-17) this description of Christ places him outside the realm of the created order and makes him prior to it in both time and dignity.¹ Lightfoot points out several significant ideas that are implicit in the term Πρωτότοκος.² First, the term is closely connected with the Alexandrian vocabulary of the Logos³ where it is used to convey the idea of the original conception, the archetype, of creation which was afterwards realized in the material world. If, as Lightfoot thinks it most likely, something of this meaning underlies Paul's use of Πρωτότοκος then he is thinking of Christ as the ultimate origin, the spiritual counterpart of creation which is superior to it in every way. Next, it is most likely also that in the use of Πρωτότοκος there is an allusion to the Jewish conception of the inheritance rights of the eldest son who is both ruler and heir of his father's household. Thus as 'first-born of creation' Christ is sovereign Lord of his Father's universe and the ultimate and final heir of all things.

The Pauline view of the relation of Christ to creation is

¹E.F. Scott, Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, p. 21.
²In our discussion of this term we are following primarily Lightfoot, Colossians and Philemon, p. 146ff.
³Philo, e.g. De Agricultura 12 (I. p. 308).
further expanded in Colossians 1:15-17 and I Corinthians 8:6 and can be summarized in three statements.  

1. Christ is not only pre-existent to creation, but he was God's agent in the act of creation. As such he is the Creator of all things, including the spiritual beings that hold dominion over the universe: "for in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities - all things were created through him."  

2. Christ is the sustainer of the universe; he holds all things together so that they cohere in the unity and solidarity that make a cosmos.  

3. He is the end, the eschatological goal toward which creation is moving. In short, Paul conceives of Christ as outside of, before, above and superior to creation; he is the intermediary of

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1Col. 1:15. Cf. Gal. 4:4; Rom. 8:3; I Cor. 10:4; II Cor. 8:9; Phil. 2:5-7.  
2Col. 1:16; I Cor. 8:6; cf. Heb. 1:2. The task of attempting to determine the origin of the conception of Christ as pre-existent and as agent of creation is beyond the scope of this thesis. C.F. Burney ("Christ as the ΑΡΧΗ of Creation," JTS, XXVII, pp. 160-177) traces the origin to the Jewish concept of the Divine Wisdom (Prov. 8:22ff.; cf. Wisdom 7:26). His view is that Prov. 8:22ff. is an interpretation of Gen. 1:1 (ס"כ) and that when Paul utilizes the Wisdom concept in Col. 1:15 he is interpreting the Genesis ס"כ in terms of Christ. Burney is followed by Rawlinson (op. cit., p. 163f.) and Davies (Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 151f.). Cf. Scott (Colossians, Philo, Ephesians, p. 20f.), Lightfoot (Colossians and Philo, p. 143f.), et al. who trace the origin of the idea to the Alexandrian doctrine of the Logos. Regardless of the conceptional form employed by Paul to set forth the teaching of the pre-existence of Christ, the idea certainly goes back to primitive doctrine and preaching; R.H. Strachan, The Historic Jesus in the New Testament (London: S.C.M. 1931), p. 52f.  
3Col. 1:16.  
4Col. 1:17.  
5Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 70.  
6Col. 1:16: "all things were created...for (€κ') him." This will be given further treatment below.
God in creation, the source, the sustainer, and the goal of all things. The history of Christ embraces the history of the universe, and it finds its meaning and goal in him.

The eschatological reference of the cosmic relations of Christ. From the fundamental primitive Christian premise that Jesus was the eschatological Redeemer of mankind, it would follow naturally that as such his person and work were of cosmic significance. We have already pointed out the biblical view of the organic relation of man and creation, and Allan D. Galloway shows that upon the basis of this principle the eschatological hope of the Old Testament for the salvation of man was extended to include the redemption of his physical environment.¹ Thus there is, as Gösta Lindeskog states, a fundamental relation between creation and eschatology. The eschatology of later prophecy looked forward "to a final end when the old world would end in total catastrophe before the creation of a new heaven and a new earth. This new creation would be the restoration of the original state of creation as it was before the Fall."² This idea of eschatological redemption of the cosmos was taken up and given full development in apocalyptic literature, and Paul Volz offers ample evidence that in the Jewish expectation a new or transformed creation was to accompany the


coming of the new aeon of salvation. 1 In the Synoptic tradition it is evident that the coming of Jesus was believed to be of cosmic significance. This, of course, is not taught explicitly, but it is made evident by symbolic implication in the Lord's healing ministry and in his miracles which manifest his mastery over the natural world. 2 These signs of Jesus were sufficiently significant to the first Christians to convince them that in him the new age had already begun and only its final fulfilment was lacking. 3

From this brief survey it becomes evident that in biblical thought the doctrine of cosmic redemption is a corollary to the concept of the redemption of man. It is the salvation of man that is foremost and central, and from this the hope is extended to include the cosmos. 4 The New Testament teaching of a new or renewed creation is a component part of its hope for the final act

1 Op. cit., p. 338f. E.g. En. 33:1f.; 72:1f.; IV Ez. 7:25; II Bar. 32:5. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," BNTIE, pp. 424-431. Galloway (op. cit., pp. 13-18) opposes the charge made by some commentators (e.g. R.H. Charles) that the apocalyptic view of the world was essentially pessimistic and that the idea of cosmic redemption was abandoned. Galloway recognizes the paradoxical view of the apocalypse but convincingly maintains the Jews rejected the dualism of an 'other-worldly' redemption and held to the belief in ultimate cosmic redemption.

2 E.g., Mk. 2:1-12 (especially verse 9 where Jesus seems to equate the forgiveness of sins and physical healing.)

3 Galloway, op. cit., pp. 35-36; W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, chapter 3; Bright, op. cit., pp.220-223; Leivestad, op. cit., p. 249f.

4 Galloway (op. cit., p. 8) bases his interpretation of biblical eschatology on the following fundamental proposition: when a community accepts a redemptive faith it is forced by the impact of its environment upon it either to narrow its conception of redemption by giving it an 'other-worldly' interpretation or to widen its reference so as to include redemption of the whole environment. Galloway well substantiates his claim that the biblical view is to widen the eschatological reference of the concept of the redemption of man to include the cosmos.
of God. It is regarded as having already begun and is expected to come in full at the parousia when Christ returns to bring to completion the process of eschatological fulfilment.

This assertion is borne out in the teaching of Paul. His basic treatment of this problem is found in his Colossian epistle where the rise of a Jewish-Gnostic heresy has precipitated a crisis forcing him to formulate a statement concerning the relation of Christ to the universe. Lightfoot shows the impossibility of defining precisely the origin and nature of this heresy, but it is clear that the effect of its teaching created doubt in the minds of the Colossian Christians concerning the scope of the redemptive work of Christ. There is no evidence that they doubted the ability of Christ to save men from their sins, but the difficulty arose concerning his power to redeem them from the bondage of the spiritual powers of the universe. In short, it seems to be a heresy that denied the cosmic significance of the work of Christ and taught that men must look to other sources for redemption from this sphere. This teaching carries with it strong christological implications; it reduces Christ to one of several 'saviors', all of whom were necessary for the complete salvation of man. In the final analysis, what this heresy does is to divorce Christian redemption from its eschatological foundation. It says, in effect, that Christ is not the Messiah in whom is embodied the divine salvation of eschatological

\[1\] Lightfoot (Colossians and Philemon, pp. 73-113) and W.L. Knox (Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, chapter 7) give full discussions of the Colossian heresy.
expectation but that he is simply a redeemer, though an important one, in a gnostic system.

Paul's approach to this problem is first to re-establish for the Colossian Christians the eschatological foundation of their faith. He begins his epistle with a prayer of thanksgiving on their behalf in which he places before them the triad of Christian graces which embrace the full scope of the Christian experience - (1) faith, which rests on the past, (2) love, which works from the present, (3) and hope, which looks to the future. The focus of attention is upon the final one because it is the hope of the gospel that the heresy is undermining, and the description of the hope as "laid up for you in heaven" implies an assurance that their future possession, although its full nature is still hidden, is absolutely secure. Paul reminds them that in the gospel, as they heard it originally from Epaphras before the current crisis evolved, the future hope is so intrinsic to the foundation of their faith that their loss of it would incur the forfeiture of their entire inheritance, i.e., their participation in the coming kingdom of God. Paul does not

1Col. 1:4-5. Lightfoot, Colossians and Philemon, p. 134.
2F.E. Scott, Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, p. 15.
3Col. 1:17.
4Col. 1:23.
5Col. 1:12: "to share in the inheritance of the saints in light." These words give more precise definition to the aspect of the 'hope' which Paul has in mind; he is thinking of the future kingdom. This is seen by reading Col. 1:12 in the light of Paul's references of the future kingdom as an 'inheritance' (e.g. Gal. 5:21) and by the contrasting of the dominion of darkness (the old aeon) with the inheritance 'in light' (Col. 1:12-13). Hence, the "inheritance of the saints" could only refer to life in the new age of the kingdom. Cf. Heb. 3:7-4:11; Lightfoot, Colossians and Philemon, p. 144.
think they have fallen from the truth yet, but he deems it necessary to warn them lest under the influence of the false teachers some are tempted to waver.\footnote{E.F. Scott, \textit{Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians}, p. 28.} The thought then turns from the future expectation of the gospel to its present experience of redemption, and he places this within the framework of realized eschatology. The apostle states that their present redemption, which evidently they correctly understood as the forgiveness of sins, means much more; it is their total salvation. They have been delivered from life in the old age and from under the dominion of its ruling powers and are now living in the new age of the messianic kingdom which God has initiated into human experience through his Messiah.\footnote{Col. 1:13-14.} Thus redemption is placed in an eschatological context, and the Messiah is designated as the unique Son of God through whom this whole plan of salvation is being accomplished. With this, Paul has laid the necessary foundation upon which to base a discussion of the cosmic relations of Christ.\footnote{\textit{Cf.} H.A.A. Kennedy, \textit{The Theology of the Epistles} (London: Duckworth, 1919), p. 154.}

The reasoning which underlies his discussion of Christ in his cosmic relations (Colossians 1:15ff.) is as follows: if the salvation proclaimed by the gospel is the fulfilment of the kingdom of God, then the subjection of the powers that are hostile to the rule of God and the redemption of the fallen creation are implicit in it. If Christ is the chosen One through whom God
is working his plan for the complete salvation of man and the cosmos, then he must be pre-eminent in all things. In other words, it is from the perspective of Christ's position as eschatological Redeemer that Paul presents him in his cosmic role. He was appointed to this position from before the foundation of the world, and it was with this end in view that he acted as God's agent in creation. This is suggested in the term πρωτότοκος (verse 15). It has already been shown that with this term Paul establishes Christ as prior to creation in time and dignity, and Lightfoot points out further than it is also linked with the Jewish messianic concept and that the idea of messiahship is embodied in Paul's use of it here. The idea is that just as Christ is the messianic Redeemer of the church (πρωτότοκος, verse 16) so is he also the Redeemer of the created world, and this broadens the scope of his redemptive activity to include all things and establishes him with an unrivalled preeminence over both the old and the new creations. This same idea is restated in different words in the following verse (16): all things were created 'in (ἐν) him', 'through (διὰ) him', and 'with a view toward (ἐπὶ) him,' that is, with a view toward his final reconciliation of all

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1 Eph. 1:3-10. Cf. John 17:24; I Peter 1:20. Culmann (Christ and Time) well substantiates his view that primitive Christianity began with the redemptive act of Christ (the mid-point of salvation history) and worked both in the backward (creation) and forward (eschatology) directions for the full significance of his person and work. (See especially chapter 7.)

2 Op. cit., p. 146. E.g., Ex. 4:22; Psa. 89:28; Psa. Sol. 18:4; IV Ez. 6:58. Lightfoot points out that the usual term used by Philo was πρωτόγανος; he suggests that Paul uses πρωτότοκος here instead because it carries the same meaning as πρωτόγανος and would include the messianic meaning as well.
things.\(^1\) W.R. Mackintosh well sums up Paul's view of Christ's cosmic role in these words:

... Christ is conceived as creator of the world qua the Person in whom the universe was in due time to find its organic centre in virtue of His work of reconciliation; He was the initial cause of all things, as being destined to be their final end. His function as Creator is proleptically conditioned by His achievement as Saviour.\(^2\)

In the discussion above of Paul's concept of the kingdom and the consummation it was established that Christ's victory over the cosmic powers occurs in two battles which correspond to the advent of the kingdom of God in its two stages. On the cross there raged a battle between God and these powers which they imagined they had won,\(^3\) but in the death and resurrection of Christ God disarmed them, stripped them of their power,\(^4\) and won the decisive victory that meant their ultimate doom. This same event ushered in the realm of human existence a new sphere over which the angelic beings have no control and into which believers are transferred never to be separated from their Father by evil forces.\(^5\) In his present exalted position Christ is already 'head' (\(\kappa\varepsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\nu\)) of all things,\(^6\) but all things are not yet summed up (\(\alpha\nu\kappa\varepsilon\varphi\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma\sigma\theta\alpha\varsigma\)) under him;\(^7\) the

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\(^1\)Abbott, op. cit., p. 216, interprets \(\varepsilon\tau\varsigma\ \alpha\delta\iota\tau\omicron\nu\) in light of I Cor. 15:24, 28; this will be given further treatment below.


\(^3\)I Cor. 2:6f. E.F. Scott, Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, p. 4f.

\(^4\)Col. 2:15.

\(^5\)Rom. 8:38-39.

\(^6\)Head of man (I Cor. 11:3), of Church (Col. 1:18; 2:19; Eph. 4:15; 5:23), of all things (Eph. 1:22; Col. 2:10).

\(^7\)Eph. 1:10.
created world remains outside Christ and his body. These powers continue their rule over the unredeemed world until the end when their dominion is completely destroyed by Christ at his parousia. With this final event the old aeon passes away, the new humanity is raised, the cosmos transformed, and all things are summed up under Christ. Thus the new creation is complete; Christ has reconciled everything to God, and he is 'all in all'. This is the perfected kingdom of God, the new Jerusalem, the restoration of all things.

The crucial point in Paul's teaching of the cosmic relations of Christ is that the completed task of his messianic work is to give to the Father a universe that is fully reconciled so that peace prevails in all its parts. The manner in which the subjection of the spiritual powers is to take place Paul is not clear, and Dibelius well demonstrates the impossibility of organizing his various ideas into a consistent teaching. Without attempting to systematize where

1 Schlier, TWNT, III, pp. 679-680.
3 Thus ἀποκατάλλασσεν (Col. 1:20), ἀνακατέβαλεν (Eph. 1:10), and ἐπυρευζόμενον (Gal. 4:26) are all synonymous expressions for πάντα ἐν πάσιν (I Cor. 15:28). Cf. 'New heaven and earth' (Rev. 21:1; II Pet. 3:13), παλαιγενεσία (Matt. 19:28), and ἀποκαταστάσις (Acts 3:21).
4 According to Dibelius (Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus) Paul has three views on the fate of the spiritual powers: (1) destruction (I Cor. 15); (2) forceful subjection to Christ (Phil. 2:6ff.; Rom. 8:38ff.), and (3) peaceful subjection to Christ (Col. and Eph.); (pp. 99-113, 129-133). Dibelius points out further that Paul writing as a religious man perceives no contradiction in these views (p. 206).
Paul himself did not, it would seem that his general view is as follows: at the parousia 'death' and Satan, the rulers of 'this age', are destroyed, but the other cosmic powers are included in the redemption of the cosmos and are brought to a peaceful submission to God. The victory of Christ on the cross is referred to as a 'making of peace,' and the whole cosmic sphere as well as man is included in this; therefore the final submission of the cosmic powers to God is included in the culmination of the universal peace initiated on the cross.

Conclusion. Paul's teaching of the cosmic relations of Christ is essentially an eschatological doctrine. It presupposes the redemption of mankind through the Messiah and completes the eschatological picture by bringing the entire cosmos within the scope of this redemption. This teaching brings out the full significance of the messianic activity of Christ, and it is only upon the accomplishment of this cosmic work that the eschatological process can be realized in full. Running consistently with the nature of his eschatological thinking is Paul's view that cosmic redemption has already begun in the victory on the cross and that believers

1 I Cor. 15:26. Cf. Rev. 20. Paul considers both 'death' (a semi-personal power, Rom. 5:12ff.) and Satan (II Cor. 4:4) as rulers of 'this age'. The two are so closely related in Pauline thought (I Cor. 5:5; 10:10 cf. Heb. 2:14) that they may be considered in the same category. Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, pp. 63ff., 102, 115f.; Plummer, op. cit., pp. 114-116.


3 Col. 1:20.

4 Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, pp. 131-132.
are already delivered from the dominion of the hostile spiritual powers. The completion of cosmic redemption, however, will not be realized until the parousia when the Lord returns to bring the cosmos to absolute submission and to deliver it to the Father.

III. CONCLUSION

In the two teachings of the Second Adam and the cosmic Lord we have Paul's view of the universal significance of Jesus the Messiah. Both doctrines are christological developments based upon the messianic work of Christ and represent attempts on the part of the apostle to illustrate and interpret for his readers the full meaning of their faith. As Second Adam, Christ is more than just the Savior of individuals; he is the Creator of a new humanity which is that humanity prepared to inhabit the new age of salvation. As cosmic Lord, his redemption is seen to embrace the entire cosmos. Thus these two teachings are not unrelated; in fact, they are complementary, the latter being a natural implication growing out of the premises of the former, and the end toward which they both point is the eschaton. A new humanity of a spiritual order inhabiting a redeemed cosmos - this is the creation of the new Adam, and it is at this point that these two doctrines converge into a single idea, 'the new creation'. The messiahship of Jesus so far transcends that of Jewish expectation that he himself is a 'new creation', and the world which he ushers in is the new order in which the original purpose of God in creation is realized, viz. a universe in which there is perfect harmony and fellowship with Him.
The universal significance of the person of Christ is seen in his full role as eschatological Redeemer; it is as such that he holds the position as preeminent throughout the universe and that all things are seen to have their ultimate goal and meaning in him. This is the christological foundation upon which the gospel is built, and it is the whole basis for its message of the redemption of history. To divorce Christian salvation from this foundation, as did the heretics at Colossae, is to lose complete view of its universal significance. The Christianity which Paul preached proclaimed an eschatological goal beyond history, and it is based on the conviction that this goal had already been definitively inaugurated in history by the Son of God and that it awaited his final act, at the end of history, to bring it to completion. The fundamental importance of this 'eschatological christology' in Pauline thought will come into clearer view in the discussion of the doctrine of salvation to follow in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE DOCTRINE OF SALVATION

In the preceding chapters of this thesis it has already been indicated in various ways that in Pauline thought the expected salvation of messianic times has become actualized in human experience through the mediatorial work of Christ. The task now is to demonstrate, in a more detailed fashion, the eschatological reference of the apostle's full view of this doctrine. The biblical doctrine of salvation is of a twofold character; it concerns what man is saved from and what he is saved to. Thus a discussion of this teaching falls naturally into two categories: (1) the negative aspect, which concerns man's deliverance from the forces that hold him in subjection and separate him from God, and (2) the positive aspect, which concerns the new life and fellowship with God to which the believer is saved. The negative aspect of this doctrine will be dealt with in this chapter and the positive aspect in the following chapter which we are entitling "The Christian Life". The objective is to show how the various concepts which go to make up Paul's full doctrine of salvation relate to his teaching of the fulfilment of the eschaton in both its present and future stages.

1 This is the approach to the study of Pauline soteriology followed by C.A.A. Scott, op. cit., and A.M. Hunter, Interpreting Paul's Gospel. See also Cave, The Gospel of St. Paul.
The procedure in this chapter will be first to present a general survey of Paul's view of eschatological salvation, then a discussion of his conception of the enslavement of the old aeon, of the atonement, and concluding with a demonstration of the eschatological reference the key ideas of deliverance: redemption, justification, and reconciliation.

I. A GENERAL VIEW OF PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL SALVATION

Σωτηρία and its cognates. C. Anderson Scott, in his important book Christianity According to St. Paul, has well pointed out the centrality of the conception of salvation in the religious thought of Paul.¹ The term σωτηρία, which had long before the advent of Christ established itself in the Bible of the Greek-speaking Jews as a synonym for the complete fulfillment of Israel's hope in God,² became for Paul the most comprehensive term for what he found in Christ. This, as no other term, embraces

¹ Scott's book is written from the point of view that the conception of salvation provides the center and framework of Paul's understanding of Christianity. Scott has been followed more recently in this basic point of view by A.M. Hunter, Interpreting Paul's Gospel.

² E.g. Isa. 12:2; 52:10; Psa. 35:3; 85:9 (LXX). H.A.A. Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913), dispenses with any such theory that Paul's conception of salvation can be traced to hellenistic sources. He states, "Like all his regulative ideas [Paul's doctrine of salvation] has direct connections with the Old Testament, and denotes that Messianic salvation which is the consummation of God's redeeming purpose for his people. Again and again in the LXX σωτηρία is the translation of נחא́ (Isa. 52:10, Psa. 35:3) which was a current Messianic idea." (P. 217).
for him all the aspects of the Lord's saving activity. The comprehensiveness of σωτηρία, and its cognates, is seen further in its use as a description of the Christian experience in the three aspects of past, present, and future. The saving act of God in the death and resurrection of his Son was a once and for all act, and believers are said to be already saved, "For by grace you have been saved (σωτηρία) through faith." Yet, salvation in the individual is not complete; it continues in the believer's experience as a progressive, growing process — he is 'being saved' (σωμενέω). Present salvation is in hope; hence, it looks to the future for fulfilment. In fact, in the majority of the cases in which the term 'salvation' occurs in the epistles it is with reference to a goal yet to be reached. Paul writes to the Thessalonian Christians: "For God has not destined us for wrath, but to obtain salvation through our Lord.

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1 C.A.A. Scott, op. cit., pp. 16-23.
2 Rom. 6:10 (εφαπαξ).
3 Eph. 2:8; cf. 2:5.
4 I Cor. 1:18; cf. 15:2; II Cor. 6:2.
5 Rom. 8:24.
6 The fact that Paul's references to salvation most frequently occur in the phrase εις σωτηρια is evidence of the predominating future reference; Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions, p. 298. G.B. Stevens: "Paul's general conception of the nature and conditions of salvation is the same as that of Jesus, although it is developed much more largely with reference to a future day of assize." The Christian Doctrine of Salvation (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1905), p. 54.
Jesus Christ," and he designates the "day of the Lord Jesus" as the time when the process of salvation will be brought to completion.

Wagner, in his study of the term θάνατον and its cognates in the New Testament, defines salvation in its technical religious sense as deliverance from the sphere of spiritual and eternal death to the sphere of spiritual and eternal life. This definition is well illustrated in the Pauline epistles where the deliverance is always from the old aeon that is passing away to the new one that has come through the resurrection of Christ. This is the message that Paul proclaims when he preaches the gospel. Nowhere in the epistles does he give an exact definition of the 'gospel', but according to Romans 1:16 it is a proclamation of the eschatological act of God through which he has executed the promised salvation; and it is clear from Romans 1:3-4 and I Corinthians 15:1ff. that this act was the raising of Jesus

1 I Thess. 5:9.
2 I Cor. 5:5; 3:15; Rom. 5:9,10; 13:11.
3 "Über θάνατον und seine Derivata im Neuen Testament," ZNTW, (1905), p. 212ff. R.McL. Wilson ("SOTERIA," SJT, VI [1953], p. 407) suggests that Wagner unduly restricts the meaning of it in his definition of it. It seems, however, that in respect to Paul's use of the term Wagner's definition is accurate and that he well demonstrates this in his article.
4 Friedrich (TWZNT, II, p. 727) regards these two passages as offering the fullest description of Paul's concept of the gospel.
from the dead. The full conception of the gospel is, of course, wider than just a reference to this event, but the resurrection is always the underlying and controlling idea because it is through this act that the new aeon of life into which believers are saved has broken into time and become actualized in human experience. The salvation referred to in Romans 1:16 is defined as deliverance from the old aeon under wrath (verse 18) to the new life of the justified (verse 17); believers are justified in order that they might enter the age of life, and thus they are saved. The same idea is found in I Thessalonians 5:8-10 where Paul admonishes his readers to cling to their hope of salvation because God has not destined them to wrath (i.e. to the doom of the old aeon) but to obtain salvation through Christ by sharing in the life of his resurrection. The gospel proclaimed by Paul is not merely an utterance, but, as Nygren states, "It is something that occurs. The power of God is at work for the salvation of men, snatching them from the powers of destruction, and transferring them into the new age of life." Paul's view of man's salvation is summarized in Romans 5:8-10 and may be paraphrased as follows: 'God's love for us has been demonstrated in Jesus Christ in that while we were yet sinners he died on the cross and then rose from
the dead for our salvation. Already now we are justified by his blood, but we are yet to be fully saved by him when he delivers us from God's final judgment of condemnation upon the old age. Yes indeed, and if while we were still enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, we shall much more receive the full possession of our salvation by becoming incorporated into the new life created through his resurrection.  

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The comprehensive scope of the Pauline view. Paul's full conception of salvation, however, has reference not only to the destiny of the redeemed humanity, but it also includes the redemption of the cosmos. 2 Cosmic redemption, as has already been pointed out above, 3 is a part of the Christian expectation of Christ's final messianic activity. Paul's conception of salvation covers a vast span. It begins as a plan of God before the beginning of the world and reaches its goal only when the new creation is complete. Goguel brings out the comprehensiveness of the Pauline view in this statement:

Le cadre de la théologie paulinienne est vaste puisqu'il va de l'état intemporel antérieur à la création à un Τέλος , état intemporel, lui aussi, qui est caractérisé par la formule: 'Dieu tout en tous', c'est-à-dire non plus Dieu seul, mais

1"Saved by his life" (v. 9) cf. "life-giving spirit" (I Cor. 15:45).

2Rom. 3:19-23.

3See above, chapter 4.
Dieu recevant l'hommage de l'obéissance et de l'adoration de la création. C'est entre ces deux moments que s'encadre toute l'oeuvre de Dieu.  

Thus eschatological salvation is the new creation, and it will not come into full reality until the new creation, both of man and the cosmos, is completed. This fact, more than any other, is our strongest evidence that the theological thinking of Paul presupposes an eschatology with both the present and the future reference. Even if such apocalyptic passages as I and II Thessalonians and I Corinthians 15 were 'demythologized' of all future reference there would still be this salient feature that dominates the epistles: the fulfilment of the present salvation lies above the confines of mundane existence and beyond the course of human history, and there is one goal toward which all things are moving for their fulfilment. It is in this connection that the individual and the collective aspects of Pauline soteriology are seen to converge. Goguel regards the individual idea as coming from Paul's own Christian experience and the collective from his Jewish background, but he points out that both are vital to an understanding of Paul's full conception of salvation. At the moment of faith salvation becomes individualized

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1"Le caractère du salut dans la théologie paulinienne," BNTTIE, pp. 325-326. Goguel's idea is that God's original plan was for a creation in two stages, the physical first then the spiritual (I Cor. 15), the goal being a universe that worships Him. Because of the fall of man, it became necessary for God to superimpose upon his original plan a plan of cosmic redemption. Even outside the need for an act of redemption, there still would have been required a Divine intervention in the effecting of the new spiritual creation.

2E.g. Phil. 1:23; 2:12. I.e. the final resurrection.

in the believer, and this is the partial experience which will find fulfilment when the believer, in solidarity with the redeemed humanity and the cosmos, is transformed into the glorified body. It is this final, corporate salvation that is the eschatological goal of the messianic work of Christ.

Cullmann discusses the mediatorial work of Christ in relation to the Heilsgeschichte and points out that in the New Testament the whole history of salvation is directed towards Christ, the Lord. Christ has participated in God's plan from the beginning and at all times: "From the creation to the new creation the whole course of the work of God has Christ as its centre."¹ This has already been pointed out above as an important Pauline christological conception; it was with the view toward his appointment as eschatological Redeemer that Christ acted as agent of creation, and the fulfilment of salvation in both its stages is dependent upon corresponding acts of Christ, the first advent and the parousia. This means that the history of salvation is dependent upon and identical with the history of Christ, and it confirms the assertion that the absolute presupposition underlying Paul's full view of salvation is that Jesus is the eschatological Redeemer through whom God is working his eternal plan. The term σωτήρ occurs only twice in the Epistles, and in one case it refers to

¹ "The Return of Christ," EC, p. 145. Cullmann's study (Christ and Time) of the concept of time underlying the biblical teaching of salvation clearly brings out the fundamental relation of eschatology and salvation.
the Savior who has already come and is head of the church, \(^1\) and in the other it speaks of the Savior who is expected to return from heaven to bring salvation to its completion. \(^2\) Thus salvation is the work which God is accomplishing through his Messiah, and Paul's conception of it corresponds fully with his teaching of the eschatological fulfilment in two stages. \(^3\)

II. THE OLD AEON OF DEATH

Eschatological salvation, considered negatively, is deliverance from the old aeon of enslavement and death. Several of the most important aspects of Paul's view of the present age have been dealt with above, \(^4\) and what has already been said may be summarized as follows: the present age is the whole order of natural human history which through sin has fallen from its originally intended glory and become a dominion of darkness ruled over by death and hostile cosmic powers. It has thus become alienated from its Creator and fallen under his judgment of condemnation; when the Lord returns this judgment will be fully executed which means its total destruction — i.e., death annihilated, cosmic powers reconciled, and unredeemed humanity excluded from the fulfilled kingdom of God. Before entering a

\(^1\) Eph. 5:23.  
\(^2\) Phil. 3:20-21.  
\(^3\) Stählin, TWzNT, V, p. 447.  
\(^4\) Above, pp. 57-42, et passim.
discussion of Paul's conception of deliverance from this sphere, it is first necessary to present a fuller description of his view of the fallen condition of the unredeemed humanity.

Flesh. The clue to Paul's concept of life in the condemned aeon is found in his use of the term \( \sigma \alpha \rho \varepsilon \), and especially the phrase \( \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \alpha \rho \kappa \alpha \). In its general sense, as Bultmann and Robinson point out, \( \sigma \alpha \rho \varepsilon \) is used in the epistles to designate the visible, transitory sphere of human existence.\(^1\) It refers not simply to one part of the human constitution; it is the whole man considered from the point of view of his external, physical life;\(^2\) it is the natural man, the 'flesh and blood creation.' Robinson correctly stresses the corporateness of this concept, because \( \sigma \alpha \rho \varepsilon \), in its full sense, refers not simply to the earthly nature of individual men but teaches that mankind as 'flesh' is related to God as a part of the whole created world order. "\( \Sigma \alpha \rho \varepsilon \) stands for man, in the solidarity of creation, in his distance from God."\(^3\) In other words, \( \sigma \alpha \rho \varepsilon \) denotes the

\(^1\)Bultmann, New Testament Theology, I, pp. 232-246; Robinson, The Body, pp. 17-26. E.g.: 'flesh' is used (1) in reference to man as a person (Rom. 3:20; I Cor. 1:29; Gal. 1:16; 2:16), (2) in the sense of human nature (Rom. 6:19; I Cor. 15:50); to designate the sphere of earthly life (Phil. 1:22, 24), (3) in reference to the human race (Rom. 1:3; 8:3; 9:3; Gal. 3:23), and (4) in the sense of human self-sufficiency (II Cor. 3:5; Col. 2:18). Bultmann and Robinson list many other uses.

\(^2\)Robinson, The Body, p. 18.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 31. Robinson points out Paul's use of \( \sigma \omega \mu \alpha \) to express the earthly existence of man (pp. 26-30). In this respect it is used synonymously with \( \sigma \alpha \rho \varepsilon \), but there is a fundamental/
natural relation of man to creation and consequently can be regarded as synonym for \( \kappa \omega \nu \omega \) in the sense that 'cosmos' denotes the world of created things which is the stage for natural life.\(^1\)

\( \Sigma \alpha \gamma \varepsilon \) however, denotes more than a sphere; it is an attitude of mind -- "the mind of the flesh" -- that determines the way of life from the point of view of the earthly and transient and that denies God and the world of spiritual reality.\(^2\) The 'natural' man is stamped as 'sinful', because as 'flesh' he is identified with the fallen aeon and subjected to its powers. It is through the 'flesh' that sin has attacked him and gained a demonic sway over his whole being.\(^3\) Sin, in the thought of Paul, is not simply the description of a moral status of fallen men, but it is an external semi-personal force which attacks man and drives him into servitude; man becomes sin's bondman -- he is sold under sin.\(^4\) Sin ruled as king in the realm of death,\(^5\) and, up until the coming of Christ, wielded such power that there was no escape

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fundamental difference between the two -- \( \sigma \alpha \gamma \varepsilon \) cannot inherit the kingdom of God whereas it is \( \sigma \omega \mu \alpha \) that does. Each concept stands for the whole man regarded from different points of view (PP. 31-32).

\(^1\)Bultmann, New Testament Theology, I, p. 235. 'Flesh' is used as a synonym for 'the present age': e.g., I. Cor. 1:26; 7:28; II Cor. 1:17; Gal. 5:16. This is brought out especially clearly in the contrast between \( \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \rho \kappa \alpha \) and \( \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \pi \nu \varepsilon \sigma \mu \alpha \)


\(^3\)Rom. 7:25.

\(^4\)Rom. 7:14.

\(^5\)Rom. 5:20.
from its tyranny. Paul's view of sin has been well stated by
C.A.A. Scott: "sin is a power invading, attacking, subjugating
men from without, and using for this purpose the flesh or
physical constitution as its instrument." ¹

Because of man's transgression and consequent servitude
to sin the torah was given to show him the way of righteousness
and make him alive unto God. ² This, however, because of the
weakness of the flesh, ³ is the very thing it failed to do; ⁴
'the law' became 'a law' (i.e. a pattern of influence, a structure
of dependence) of sin and death ⁵ intensifying the self's reliance
on the flesh. The law had consequently become a curse to those
who had had the opportunity to attempt to obey it, ⁶ and it is a
yoke of bondage from which they must be redeemed. ⁷ Even so, in
the mind of Paul, the law is not all bad. Although doubly
mediated, it came from God; ⁸ and although it is transitory, ⁹ it
was given for a good purpose and remains spiritual and holy. ¹⁰
It revealed the true character of transgression. ¹¹ The law had
religious value in that it quickened and deepened the sense of sin
and human powerlessness, and thus it had actually served as a guide

² Rom. 7:10; Gal. 3:12.
³ Rom. 8:2; 7:7ff.
⁴ Gal. 3:21; Rom. 7:9.
⁵ Rom. 8:2. See Paul S. Minear, "The Time of Hope in the New
Testament," SJT, VI (1953), 346; Sanday and Headlam, ad loc.
⁶ Gal. 3:10.
⁷ Rom. 7:6.
⁸ Gal. 3:19.
⁹ Rom. 10:4; II Cor. 3:13.
¹⁰ Rom. 7:12, 14.
¹¹ Rom. 3:20; 5:20; 7:7.
to bring men to Christ. But the 'mind of the flesh' is such that the law became a snare; it tempted the Jew to seek to earn his own salvation through the keeping of the law and to boast in his accomplishments -- 'to glory in the flesh.' The law, then, because of the weakness of the flesh, enslaves the sinner more fully in the bondage of the old age and alienates him farther from God; thus, as Bo Reiche asserts, to live under the law is to live in the flesh.

It is through the flesh that the cosmic powers have gained their hold on mankind. Therefore 'to be in the flesh' is, according to Paul, to live in the old aeon and to be enslaved by all its tyrannical powers. It is upon this whole mode of existence upon which God's judgment has been pronounced and that is now under his condemnation.

A concise view of the Pauline concept of the old aeon is found in Ephesians 2:1-3 which may be paraphrased as follows: 'in your old, unredeemed state you lived in the fallen aeon of this world and were held in bondage by its

1Gal. 3:24; C.A.A. Scott, op. cit., p. 45.
2Rom. 4:2; Eph. 2:9.
3Phil. 4:3.
4The fact that the law works through the flesh is an illustration of the fact that 'flesh' denotes the whole man in his self-centeredness, i.e. his moral and religious efforts as well as his sensuous nature. A further example is Gal. 5:19-21; in this list of the works of the flesh, ten out of the fifteen sins listed have nothing to do with sins of sensuality. Cf. also I Cor. 3:3; Robinson, The Body, p. 24.
5"The Law and This World According to Paul," JBL, LXX, 4 (December, 1951), p. 259ff.; this is seen especially in Rom. 7:1-6 and Gal. 4:21ff.
6Eph. 2:2-3; Col. 2:20; Gal. 4:3. Especially as they work through the law (Gal. 3:19); Reiche, op. cit.
7Rom. 5:16,18; 8:1. This is the 'wrath' of Rom. 1:18ff.
tyrannical powers: you were under the domination of death, sin held sway over you, and you followed Satan, the prince of the cosmic powers, who is right now at work among those who still live according to the flesh. All of us once lived just like the rest of mankind, being driven about and dominated by the desires and inclinations of our fleshly natures; naturally, since no flesh is justified by the law, we were living under the condemnation of God's wrath.

Death. Paul's whole view of the life in the old aeon may be characterized generally by the single concept death. All the powers that attack the fleshly nature -- i.e., sin, law, cosmic powers, wrath -- are allied with death in separating the captive soul from God, and the result of this combined enslavement leads to the ultimate doom of death. "... the wages of sin is death." The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is

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1 Gal. 3:11.

2 Most authorities regard 'death' and 'sin' in Pauline thought as semi-personal powers, and some (e.g. Cave, The Gospel of St. Paul, pp. 122-162, and Nygren, op. cit., p. 266) add 'wrath' and 'law' as forces belonging to this category. Robinson (The Body, p. 22) considers 'flesh' to be a force rather than merely a sphere (Rom. 8:12,13,14; Gal. 5:13); Nygren (op. cit., p. 304ff.) points out the difficulty of attempting to draw a sharp line of demarcation between these powers. All of them constitute the kingdom of darkness, the ruling tyrant of which is death and death, in turn, is to be identified with Satan, the god of this age; see above p. 172.

3 Rom. 6:23.
the law." It is within the domain of death that sin (as a semi-
personal being), allied with the cosmic powers, operates as its
sphere of activity. Death is designated as the ruler of this
age, and Paul even calls the old covenant a 'dispensation of
death'; death is the last and greatest enemy to be overcome.
It is a present fact that the man enslaved to sin is already
spiritually dead; he is separated from God and the Divine wrath
is upon him, and his fate is the ultimate death, i.e. absolute
separation from God and the glory of his kingdom in the age to
come. Death is God's final word of condemnation upon the fallen
aeon, thus to live in it is to live in the dominion of God's
greatest enemy. Consequently, the humanity of Adam (the flesh and
blood creation) cannot please God; it is at enmity with God and is in need of redemption.

III. THE ATONEMENT

The incarnation. To the question of how it is that Christ
delivers believers from bondage in the aeon of death the epistles

1 I Cor. 15:56. Also Rom. 7:9-11. The relationship of sin and law to death is seen especially throughout Romans 5-8.
2 Eph. 2:2.
3 Rom. 5:21.
4 Rom. 5:14ff.
5 II Cor. 3:7.
6 I Cor. 15:26.
7 Eph. 2:1.
8 Rom. 1:18ff.
9 II. Thesa. 1:9.
10 Rom. 8:8.
11 Rom. 8:7.
provide neither a simple answer nor a definitive explanation; but the fundamental idea that underlies this whole teaching is the incarnation and death of the Lord.  

By taking upon himself flesh and coming into the world as a human being he made himself vulnerable to the attacks of the powers of the evil age thus sharing in the experience of man. He became a "οσιάι 2 with those in captivity. Jesus subjected himself to sin; 3 and though he did not yield to its power, he became identified with lost humanity's subjection to it: "For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin." 4 His human birth brought him under the law, 5 and he took upon himself its curse thereby experiencing vicariously God's wrath upon sinners. 6 He even suffered the ultimate consequence of sin -- death. 7 It can be said without reservation that Christ entered fully into the thraldom of the present evil age, but at the same time it is most significant to note that Paul never once says that Christ was a sinner. He carefully uses such expressions as "in the likeness (ἐν ὅμοιοιοι ) of sinful flesh," "the

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1 It is necessary here, for the sake of emphasis, to make note of the fact that in Pauline thought the death and resurrection of Christ go together in his conception of the atonement. To refer to his death at one time and his resurrection at another does not thereby imply separate acts in the work of atonement. See V. Taylor, The Atonement in the New Testament (London: Epworth Press, 1940), pp. 97-98.

2 Phil. 2:7; cf. Rom. 8:3.

3 Rom. 8:3.

4 II Cor. 5:21.

5 Gal. 4:4.


7 Phil. 2:8.
form (μορφή) of a servant," and "having become a curse for (διέσχε) us."¹ All the way through Christ successfully resisted the attacks of the evil one; he lived a life of victory in the flesh.²

Death on the cross. The crucial factor in redemption, however, is not Christ's life of victory in the flesh, but it is his death on the cross in which he died to the flesh. James Denney, commenting upon the expression 'condemned sin in the flesh', makes the following comment that goes to the heart of Paul's concept of the atonement:

It does not mean that Christ showed sin to be inexcusable, by Himself leading a sinless life; there is no salvation, no emancipation from sin in that. The condemnation is the act of God, and in sending His own Son in connection with sin -- which must mean in the one connection with it which St. Paul ever refers to, i.e. as a propitiation for it -- God condemned it in the flesh.³

Just as his incarnation was a voluntary putting on of the flesh, so his death was his putting off the flesh. It was in the latter act that the power of evil was broken. Death no longer has dominion over him⁴ because "the death he died he died to sin,"⁵

²Cf. Heb. 4:14ff.
³The Death of Christ (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902), p. 188.
⁴Rom. 6:9.
⁵Rom. 6:10. Cf. Rom. 4:25; I Cor. 15:3; Eph. 1:7.
and he did this on man's behalf. ¹ This is the cardinal principle upon which Paul's theology of redemption is built.

C.A.A. Scott finds the clue to the redeeming power of the death of Christ in Colossians 2:15. He translates the middle voice participle ἀνέκδοταμένος as 'he stripped off from himself' and interprets this to refer to Christ's own flesh. In his death he "divested Himself of that flesh, the medium through which He had become involved in the human experience of the hostility of evil Potentates and Powers, the spirit-forces which had usurped authority over men."² The powers of death were unable to kill Christ, and their attempt to do so exposed their impotence and signified his victory over them. Since then the forces of evil have been in a process of passing away.³ In the putting off of the flesh he rendered the law inoperative and effected

¹ E.g., Rom. 3:25; 5:8; II Cor. 5:14; Gal. 2:20; Eph. 5:2; I Thess. 5:9f.

² Op. cit., p. 35. Scott is following the view of the early Latin fathers. He supports his interpretation with the parallel expressions in Col. 2:11 which speaks of the "putting off (ἀνέκδοταμένος) the body of the flesh." This is described further as the "circumcision of Christ," and Scott maintains that this latter phrase can only refer to that which he underwent when, in the act of death, he stripped off from himself the body of flesh. Scott sees this same idea implied in Eph. 4:21f. Robinson (The Body, p. 40f.) follows Scott. Lightfoot (Colossians and Philemon, p. 189f.), however, objects to making "the flesh" the object of 'stripping off', and he follows the Greek fathers in translating the phrase "having stripped away the powers." In the end, however, as far as our immediate interest is concerned, the result of either interpretation is the same; in either case it is in the flesh that Christ engages in battle with the powers and it is on the cross that he wins the decisive victory. Lightfoot brings this out well in his excellent interpretation of this passage.

³ I Cor. 6:2; Robinson, The Body, pp. 40-41.
redemption from its curse.\textsuperscript{1} Thus in his death and resurrection Christ opened the way for complete deliverance from death and salvation became valid as a present possibility.

**The messianic significance of the atonement.** Gustaf Aulén points out that this idea of redemption in death on the cross is the Pauline view of the atonement: "It is precisely the work of salvation wherein Christ breaks the power of evil that constitutes the atonement between God and the world; for it is by it that He removes the enmity, takes away the judgment which rested on the human race, and reconciles the world to Himself ...\textsuperscript{2} This insight brings to light the messianic significance of the atonement. In order to deliver lost humanity from enslavement in the kingdom of darkness, God declared war upon the hostile forces and launched an attack by entering the sphere of the enemy and carrying the battle into his own territory. He did this through his Son whom he sent as Messiah to fight the messianic war with evil, and throughout the incarnation this war was fought in the flesh of Christ.\textsuperscript{3} Upon the cross there came the great crisis when the cosmic battle reached its climax, and through the death of his Messiah God defeated the enemy and won the victory. The powers of evil, which

\textsuperscript{1}Rom. 10:4; Eph. 2:15; Gal. 3:13.
had clung about the Lord's humanity like a robe, were torn off and cast aside forever. Through the death of Christ the dominion of the enemy was destroyed, and in his resurrection the new kingdom began, and thus the work of atonement was completed. It is the messianic victory of the atonement that validates Paul's proclamation of redemption in Jesus Christ: "He has delivered us from the dominion of darkness and transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son, in whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins." This is what underlines II Corinthians 5:19, the classic statement of atonement of all Christian literature: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not counting their trespasses against them." Thus, as E. Schweizer has pointedly remarked, "das entscheidende eschatologische Gotteshandeln ist das am Kreuze Christi."  

IV. ESCHATOLOGICAL DELIVERANCE

The concepts that Paul uses to set forth his view of the negative aspect of salvation are redemption, justification, and reconciliation. An examination of these will yield a clearer picture of his conception of deliverance in Christ as an eschatological phenomenon.

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1 Lightfoot, Colossians and Philemon, p. 190.

2 Col. 1:13. The idea of conflict and battle with evil in the incarnation has been stressed by Aulén (op. cit.), Stauffer (op. cit.) and Leivestad (op. cit.).

Redemption. The primary terms which Paul employs to set forth his view of redemption from the old aeon are: ἀπολύσις, ἐξαρπασμός, ἐκαταράσις, ἀπελευθέρωσις, ἐξαφανίσις. Bringing together the passages in which these terms are used we may summarize his concept of redemption as follows: in Christ there is full redemption from all the enslaving forces of the unredeemed existence -- from death, sin, law, cosmic powers, and from the wrath to come. In short, Christ is man's redemption complete and full, and those who have received him by faith are already redeemed; they are bought with a price and thus belong to God in their present state of existence. Believers are already delivered into the messianic kingdom, but as long as they are still in the flesh their redemption is not complete -- not even the redeemed in the flesh are prepared for entrance into the new spiritual creation that is yet to come. But at the final resurrection, when believers are given their 'spiritual bodies' and creation is delivered from its decay, then eschatological redemption reaches completion.

1Rom. 8:2.
2Rom. 6:2; 6:18; 7:24; Col. 1:14.
3Gal. 3:13; 4:5; Rom. 7:7ff.
4Col. 1:13.
5I Thess. 1:10.
6I Cor. 1:30.
7I Cor. 6:20.
8Col. 1:13.
9I Cor. 3:2, 3.
10Rom. 8:19f.
Justification. In the doctrine of justification Paul presents his conception of the new status of believers before God as a result of their redemption. This is another way in which he describes the eschatological situation that has broken into time through the atoning work of Christ.\(^1\) Justification is a concomitant of redemption;\(^2\) each describes the same thing but from different points of view; whereas the latter is expressed with imagery drawn from the experience of captivity and release, the former is derived from legal procedure.\(^3\) Justification is essentially the act by which in Christ God forgives man his sin and pronounces him righteous, thus accounting him worthy to enter into the new age of salvation. It is necessary at this point to stress the forensic element of this teaching; Paul is not describing the moral quality of the believer's character but rather the new status conferred upon him. Quell and Schrenk state that what the apostle has in mind is the absolution and acquittal of the wicked, when he becomes a believer, on the ground

\(^1\)C.A.A. Scott, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 54.

\(^2\)Justification is also a concomitant of reconciliation.

\(^3\)Anton Fridrichsen: "St. Paul is the interpreter of the significance of the eschatological situation after the resurrection from the aspect of righteousness. He thereby fulfills the intention of the message of Jesus concerning the Kingdom of God, and gives faithful expression to what was already implicit in the message of Jesus: 'Repent ye and believe the gospel!'" ("Jesus, St. John and St. Paul," \textit{NVEBT}, pp. 48-49).
of God's justifying action in the death and resurrection of Christ; it is the effectual pronouncement of absolution now by the Judge as Savior.  

As David Anderson points out in his article, "The Eschatological Aspect of Justification," this doctrine has both a 'now' and a 'not yet' reference. That justification is an eschatological phenomenon which has already become actualized in the present is clearly taught in Romans 3:21-26. The very first expression in this passage "but now" (νῦν δὲ) sounds the note that characterizes the eschatological tone of this doctrine. In the preceding chapters (1:18-3:20) the subject of discussion has been the old order in which the status of men before God was determined by the law and in which the Gentile in his uprighteousness and the Jew in his failure to keep the law stood condemned under Divine judgment. The "but now" signifies an abrupt change in which the apostle's thought shifts to the eschatological order which has come in Christ and the standard by which man's status before God is determined in this new situation: 'but now', says Paul, 'the righteousness of God has been revealed and man is no longer judged according to the law but on the basis of his faith in Christ.' The clue to this is the atonement because it is in

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1 Op. cit., p. 61. There are, as will be pointed out later, important ethical bearings in Paul's teaching of 'righteousness'.

2 The Churchman, LXVII, 3 (September, 1953), pp. 139-147.

3 This in light of verse 26 (δ ἕνυν Ἰατρωσ ) "but now" can only refer to the new eschatological age. See W. Kümmel, "Παραδευτικαι und ἐςδέξης : ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der paulinischen Rechtvertigungslehre," ZTK, XLI, (1952), p. 161.

4 Nygren, op. cit., p. 144.
the death of Christ that the Divine will has been fulfilled on
man's behalf and justification has become a present reality for all
believers. Christ was put forth as a *hilasterion*; this designates
the point at which God manifested his willingness to forgive man
his sins and to bring him into his kingdom, and it is by faith in
this divine act that its efficacy is appropriated by believers.

In the atonement Paul sees proof of the righteousness of
God. This is not to say that he sees here revealed an attribute
of the Divine character of which he had heretofore been unaware
or had doubted. The giving of the law was itself a revelation
to the Jews of the righteous character of God, and that he would
some day manifest this in a mighty act of salvation was at the
heart of their messianic faith. Paul sees this hope fulfilled in
Christ — in him God has performed his salvation act and thus he
has kept his promise and has proved himself righteous. The
crucial factor here is the act; God's righteousness has been
revealed in his activity of righteousness. It was his act (the

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2 Rom. 3:26.
3 *Kennedy, St. Paul's Conception of Last Things*, p. 228.
4 *Hunter, Interpreting Paul's Gospel*, p. 27. E.g. Isa. 56:4; 
Psa. 98:2.
5 *Kümmel, "ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΑ und Εὐαγγελία : ein Beitrag zum Verständnis
der paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre,"* p. 165f. Snaith, in his
study, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament* (London: Lutter-
worth Press, 1944) points out the fundamental idea of action in the
Old Testament idea of the righteousness of God (p. 77).
setting forth of Christ as the expiation) that ushered in the new order of salvation, and the term Paul used to express this incomprehensible deed was 'grace'.

Grace, as used in the epistles, has to do primarily with God's intervention in time through Christ and manifesting his unconditional love by saving men while they were yet sinners and without merit and creating the new situation in which they now stand before him. Believers "are justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus." Thus grace, in the objective sense, may be defined as "God's eschatological deed."

The remarkable factor about this justification which makes it radically new is the means whereby it is appropriated: God "justifies him who has faith in Jesus." This is the real significance of the 'but now': "For no human being will be justified in his sight by the works of the law ... but now the righteousness of God has been manifested apart from the law." By fulfilling the demands of the law in Christ God has not created a new faith

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which contradicts the old one; the new element is that God justifies through Christ.\(^1\) God has always been righteous and the way has always been by faith — the law and the prophets have testified to this,\(^2\) and now in Christ it has been revealed in its full and final form. Now the racial barriers have been transcended and salvation is extended to all -- Christ died for all and all who believe in him are justified -- thus bringing into the realm of possibility the universal extension of his kingdom anticipated by the prophets.\(^3\) It is faith that appropriates God's act of grace to the individual and justifies him ushering him immediately into the new life of the eschaton; therefore faith itself is an eschatological phenomenon. That Paul conceives of justification as a present fact is stated in Romans 5:1,2:

"... since we are justified by faith, we have [or "let us have"] peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Through him we have obtained access to this grace in which we stand."

Justification is an anticipation of the final judgment; it is God's verdict pronounced proleptically upon believers deeming them worthy to enter into the present messianic kingdom.


\(^2\)Rom. 3:21; cf. Rom. chapters 4 and 10.

\(^3\)Jer. 31:31; Ezek. 11:19f.
But the believer lives in hope, and, though he has the assurance he will be delivered from the wrath to come, his justification will not reach its consummation in acquittal until after the last judgment; in this sense, justification remains 'not yet'. "We wait the hope of righteousness." It is because of the cross that believers can look forward with confidence to the last judgment when they will be pronounced worthy to enter the perfected kingdom of God.

**Reconciliation.** Redemption and justification are descriptions of the new situation into which believing humanity has been placed as a result of the atonement, but these are not ends within themselves. Deliverance from bondage and the absolution of sins are in order that the believer might have fellowship with God. It is the alienation from God which the life in the old aeon produces that makes it as a sphere of death and that has evoked Divine condemnation upon it. The old situation is this: the man of the flesh, though loved by God, has alienated himself from him; he is an enemy of God.

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2. Gal. 5:5.
3. Quell and Schrenk, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Several times Paul uses the verb σκληροθήκαν with a future reference; e.g. Gal. 2:16; Rom. 5:10; 5:19.
6. Rom. 5:10; 11:28 (see C.A.A. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78); Col. 1:21.
doctrine of reconciliation, more so than any other, brings out most clearly the complete reversal of this situation that has come about through Christ: ¹ from hostility to peace, from enmity to fellowship. "... while we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son,"² and believers now have peace with God³ and fellowship in his Spirit.⁴

The atonement is reconciliation.⁵ The death of Christ, which stands central in the plan of salvation, is an event of the past, and consequently the fact of reconciliation has already been established as a present possibility for all. This brings out the heart of Paul's gospel; it is the conviction that provided the impetus for his mission to the Gentiles -- "... we are convinced that one has died for all."⁶ The ministry with which our apostle was entrusted was the proclamation of this message to the entire world: "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting to us the message of reconciliation. So we are ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us. We beseech you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God."⁷

²Rom. 5:10.
³Rom. 5:1.
⁴Rom. 5:11; Phil. 2:1; cf. I Cor. 1:9.
⁵Rom. 5:11 is translated 'atonement' in the A.V. and it is translated 'reconciliation' in the R.S.V. (also in the R.V.).
⁶II Cor. 5:14; cf. v.15.
⁷II Cor. 5:19-20.
Reconciliation is the message of eternal peace which originated in and pours forth from the heart of God, and which has been initiated into human experience through the cross. The atonement is the decisive event, and because of it Paul can speak of reconciliation as a present experience: “now that we are reconciled, we shall be saved.” Christians are already at peace with God and are living in his kingdom of peace, and through the world-wide missionary enterprise of the early apostles this peace of God is being spread to all nations. However, the “making peace by the blood of his cross” has reference to more than mankind alone; it is of cosmic significance. Therefore the κατὰ-αλλαγή of the cross will reach its eschatological completion in the ἀποκαταστάσις of the consummation. All things -- whether on earth or in heaven -- must be reconciled to God so that when the Lord of glory returns to establish the eternal kingdom perfect peace shall reign in it forever.

1 It is important to stress, as does Denney, that it is God who is the subject in the act of reconciliation: "Where reconciliation is spoken of in St. Paul, the subject is always God, and the object is always man. The work of reconciling is one in which the initiative is taken by God, and the cost borne by him; men are reconciled in the passive, or allow themselves to be reconciled, or receive the reconciliation. We never read that God has been reconciled" (op. cit., pp. 143-144).

2 Rom. 5:10.


4 Eph. 2:11-17; cf. Rom. 11.

5 Col. 1:20. See above p. 56.
V. CONCLUSION

Paul's conception of salvation as deliverance from the aeon of death presupposes a messianic view of the atonement. God was incarnate in his Messiah, who fought and died to destroy the power of the kingdom of evil and to deliver mankind from its clutches. The concepts which are employed to express the idea of deliverance, i.e. redemption, justification, and reconciliation, are thus descriptions of what the messianic work of Christ has effected for believers. These concepts also have a fundamental relation to the future stage of the eschatological program; each has its eschatological counterpart. Redemption looks to the final resurrection for its completion, justification as an anticipation of the last judgment cannot be a final pronouncement until after this event, and the reconciliation of the cross will reach its consummation in the final reconciliation of all things.

Salvation is really deliverance in two stages, and each stage is dependent upon the messianic work of Christ: first, initial deliverance into the messianic kingdom when the believer appropriates for himself the victory of the atonement, and finally, deliverance into the eternal kingdom when the victory of Christ is consummated at the parousia.
CHAPTER VI

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

Salvation, in its positive aspect, is deliverance into the new aeon of life. 1 "Everything that Paul associated with salvation," states Professor Stewart, "is gathered up in the one word he uses so constantly, 'life'." 2 Several of the fundamental aspects of Paul's conception of the new life have been dealt with above in the discussions of the doctrines of the resurrection and the new Adam. 3 The purpose of this chapter is to give further exposition to the eschatological significance of this teaching by examining (1) his use of the terms $\overset{\mathcal{L}}{\mathfrak{n}}$ and $\overset{\mathcal{L}}{\mathfrak{w}}$, (2) three of his most important descriptions of the new life 'adoption', 'in the Spirit,' and 'in Christ', and (3) his conception of mysticism and ethics.

I. A GENERAL VIEW OF PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF THE NEW LIFE: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS USE OF $\overset{\mathcal{L}}{\mathfrak{n}}$ AND $\overset{\mathcal{L}}{\mathfrak{w}}$

Life as eschatological expectation. In pre-Christian times 'life' was anticipated as one of the blessings of the coming age of salvation, and there are cases in Apocryphal literature when 'life' is used as a synonym for this salvation. 4 In Jewish thought 'salvation life', being identical with the age to come,

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1The purpose of reconciliation and redemption is 'life' (Rom. 5:10; 6:10).


3See above p. 65 ff., 126 ff.

4E.g. vivere is the equivalent of 'to be saved' in IV Ez. 7:21; 8:6; Ps. Sol. 14:3; 15:13; vivificari is used in the sense of salvari in IV Ez. 7:137; Bar. 85:15. C.A.A. Scott, op. cit., p. 136.
is always future, but in Christian thought, where the new age is
conceived of as having been projected into the present through the
resurrection of Christ, the redeemed man is transferred directly
into the new sphere and becomes a participant in its life. When
a believer becomes incorporated into Christ, he becomes a new
creation; for him the old aeon of death has passed away and he
has become alive in the new aeon where all the possibilities of
the eschaton are opened to him.¹

The resurrection life. The resurrection is the clue to
Paul's conception of the Christian life; he knows no "new life"
apart from this. The point was made above that in New Testament
soteriology no distinction is to be drawn between the death and
resurrection of Christ, and yet it would seem that C.A.A. Scott is
correct in pointing out that in Pauline thought the negative
aspect of salvation is connected more specifically with that
which takes place on the cross and the positive aspect with the
resurrection.² However, the negative and the positive aspects
of salvation are never separated, and both are two parts of a
single Divine act fulfilling the requirements for salvation.

¹ Volz (op. cit., p. 364): "Das 'ewige Leben' beginnt aber
nach den jüdischen Quellen immer erst in der Zukunft und ist mit
dem kommenden neuen Aon identisch; der Begriff ζωή (ζωή)
hat überall, wenn auch nicht immer bestimmt, eine eschatologische
Form, und bedeutet nirgends im Sinn der johanneischen (und paulinischen)
ζωή eine innerliche, zeitlose, mithin auch jetzt
schon gegenwärtige Qualität." Volz cites many examples: Ps. Sol.
14:10; Bar. 85:10, etc.

² II Cor. 5:17 (our own paraphrase).

³ op. cit., p. 141.
Christ had to die and rise again to make salvation possible, and the believer, in order to participate in this salvation, must have reproduced within himself this same eschatological process — death and resurrection. This is the genesis of the Christian life, as Paul can describe from his own experience: "I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me." The believer must be joined with Christ in the putting off the flesh in death and thus dying to the powers of death: to sin, law, cosmic powers, and, in short, to the whole order of the old existence. "... in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ ... the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world." 'You are dead to the old aeon' -- this brings out the finality of the believer's deliverance. This death, however, is only the negative aspect of the experience; it is the initial prerequisite to resurrection with Christ to the new life. "For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united

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1See Stewart, op. cit., p. 186ff., for an excellent discussion on this.

2Gal. 2:20. Paul, however, does not limit death and resurrection with Christ to the conversion experience. In II Cor. 4:16 this eschatological process has become generalized and applied to the whole course of life. See William E. Wilson, "The Development of Paul's Doctrine of Dying and Rising again with Christ," ET, XLII, pp. 562-565.

3Gal. 5:24.

4Rom. 6:6,7.

5Rom. 7:4.

6Col. 2:20.

7Gal. 6:14.

8Rom. 6:11; Col. 2:20; 3:3.
with him in a resurrection like his.¹ For the believer this means that through his union with Christ he has already been raised to life in the new age; he walks in the new life,² he possesses ἀνεφέσως.³ The locus classicus in the epistles for this idea is Romans 6, where the background idea is that of baptism, and this sacrament more than any other way brings out the eschatological setting of the believer's new life.⁴ In the symbolic rite there is actually reenacted the spiritual experience through which the believer must go to enter the new life: "Immersion is a sort of burial; emergence from the water is a sort of resurrection...The whole sacrament is an act by which the believer enters into all that Christ did as his Representative."⁵

**Life in the new aeon.** The new life of which Paul speaks is not the hypothesis of philosophical premises; it is the supernatural power of God at work in men, not simply bringing out the best that is in them but recreating them -- it is incorporation into the new humanity, the bearing of the image of Christ, the sharing of his glory.⁶ N.A. Dahl has well described the eschatological situation of the new life as follows:

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¹Rom. 6:5; cf. 6:6; Gal. 2:20.
²Rom. 6:4.
³Rom. 5:21; 6:23; Gal. 6:8.
⁴See Stewart, _op. cit._, p. 191f.
⁵Dodd, _Romans_, p. 87.
⁶See above p.15f.
...'the new man' is not simply the converted individual, but an eschatological entity, personal, corporate and pneumatic, nearly identical with Christ himself, whom the baptized have put on and ever again are to put on (Gal. 3:27; Rom. 13:14). By putting on this 'new man', men become what God at the creation intended that men should be; the new man is created 'after God' (Eph. 4:24) and is 'renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him' (Col. 3:10).

This life looks to a past event for its source, and it is a present reality through faith. It has all the qualities of genuine eternal life, and yet there is fundamental to its nature a 'beyond' character; it points to the final resurrection for its completion. It is possessed, yet not fully possessed— it is a condition, 'as dying we live'; it is a life now hid and yet to be revealed. Paul's full view of the Christian life is expressed in Philippians 3:9-21: the new life is something which he already possesses but has not yet obtained in perfection; its goal (i.e. full knowledge of Christ and the power of his resurrection) is something to be valued above all else and to be striven for with unreserved energy, but its achievement is entirely dependent upon the act of God, his final act in Christ—the transformation of believers at the last day into their glorified bodies.

1 "Christ, Creation and the Church," BNTIE, p. 436.
2 I Cor. 15:45. 3 Col. 2:20.
4 I Cor. 13:12; II Cor. 5:7. 5 Rom. 6:5.
6 I Cor. 7:29-31.
7 II Cor. 6:9. See Minear, op. cit., p. 350ff.
8 Col. 3:3-4. We are especially indebted to Bultmann, TWZNT, II, p. 868ff., in the above discussion.
II. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE NEW LIFE

In the epistles there occur several key ideas which are interrelated in thought and which provide a more detailed view of Paul's conception of the new life; they are: (1) the new relation to God expressed as 'sonship', (2) the conception of 'life in the Spirit', and (3) its corollary, 'life in Christ.' The objective here is to point out the basic eschatological reference of each of these concepts.

Adoption. The description of the relationship of men to God as 'sonship' begins early in Old Testament thought; it is closely related to Israel's liberation from Egyptian servitude and their subsequent birth as a nation: "out of Egypt I called my Son."¹ In the Wisdom of Solomon, sonship is combined with salvation and righteousness in an eschatological sense,² and the idea was used by Jesus in such a way (according to the Synoptic tradition) as to lend itself quite naturally to Paul as a ready-made analogy for the teaching of the kingdom of God. For example, in his teaching the Lord uses the idea of the family to express the highest relationship between God and man,³ and he refers to

³Matt. 7:9-11; 11:25f; Lk. 15:11, etc.
the redeemed eschatologically as 'sons of the kingdom.'¹ Daniel J. Theron, in his illuminating study of the concept 'adoption' in the Pauline epistles, states in order to understand Paul's concept in its proper perspective it must always be kept in mind that for him the kingdom of God was made up of God's family of sons and daughters.² 'Adoption into sonship' is another way of saying 'a citizen of the kingdom of God.' Thus in the Pauline vocabulary 'υἱὸς Θεοῦ' (and its equivalents³) is a highly significant eschatological term. This can be further demonstrated in two ways. First, adoption is positive side of justification, and its eschatological character is corroborated by its parallelism with justification.⁴ Those whose sins have been forgiven stand before God legally not only justified but also adopted into the family of God and as true sons and heirs of their Father.⁵ Those whom God has chosen to be his children he has


³Theron (op. cit., p. 6) lists the following as equivalents: (1) υἱοθεοῦ (of spiritual generation), Gal. 4:29; (2) Τέκνα Θεοῦ, Rom. 8:16, etc.; (3) Τέκνα Θεοῦ, Rom. 9:8; Gal. 4:28; (4) Υἱοθεοῦ, Rom. 8:14, Gal. 3:26, etc.; (5) Θεοῦ γινόμενοι, II Cor. 6:18.


⁵Though 'adoption' has no connection with the trial-court, as does justification, it gets its forensic meaning from the Old Testament practice of adopting legal heirs; see Theron, op. cit., p. 6ff.; Cave, The Gospel of St. Paul, p. 168.
justified.\textsuperscript{1} Theron shows the relation of justification (and redemption) to adoption as follows:

In redemption man stands before the Great Master as a slave in bondage. In justification he stands before the Judge as an accused person in need to be pronounced justified, and so righteous. In adoption he stands before a Father, as a prospective heir. To be justified, to become a subject of moral government, does not of necessity involve sonship and inheritance which constitute the ultimate purpose of God's choosing and of adoption. Thus to be adopted as a son is more than to be justified, and it can safely be said that justification is not a synonym of adoption, but serves to complete the process of adoption.\textsuperscript{2}

The parallelism of adoption with justification is clear. The salvation occurrence has taken place on the one side for our justification and on the other for our adoption as sons.\textsuperscript{3}

Adoption has the same double character as justification. On the one hand, it is a present status conferred upon believers on the basis of their relationship to Christ. Through union with him in resurrection they are made to be conformed to his image (to "the image of his Son"), and thus are adopted as his 'brethren'.\textsuperscript{4}

Hence, adoption and the doctrine of the Second Adam are closely related concepts; those who have been recreated as the new humanity are the true family of God. On the other hand, full sonship is a thing of the future, a longed-for goal: "we await adoption as

\begin{footnotes}
\item[^1] Rom. 8:29f.; Eph. 1:5-7.
\item[^2] Theron, op. cit., p. 11.
\item[^4] Rom. 8:29; Gal. 3:26; 4:5f.
\end{footnotes}
sons, the redemption of our bodies.\textsuperscript{1}

It is adoption with the promise of an inheritance,\textsuperscript{2} and this introduces our second demonstration: sonship designates the true heirs of the kingdom. This is illustrated in Paul's contrast of the 'sons according to the flesh' and the 'sons of promise.'\textsuperscript{3}

The argument runs as follows: the original sonship belongs to Israel whom God chose as his people through whom to execute his plan for the world.\textsuperscript{4} This dates back to the very beginning of their history, to the calling of their father Abraham,\textsuperscript{5} and from him there have come two lines of descent: the sons according to the flesh and the sons according to promise.\textsuperscript{6} The former are those who trust in their prerogatives of the flesh (i.e. their natural descent and the law\textsuperscript{7}); they are not the true sons.\textsuperscript{8} It is the latter who are the true sons. They, like their father Abraham, accept the promise of the inheritance on the basis of faith; they are the spiritual descendents, 'men of faith.'\textsuperscript{9} But now that Christ has come he is the basis of man's spiritual sonship because in him all who have faith -- Gentiles as well as Jews -- are sons of God; they are the true descendants of Abraham and the heirs of the promise.\textsuperscript{10} The real contrast is this:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Rom. 8:23.
\item \textsuperscript{2}Rom. 8:17.
\item \textsuperscript{3}This is as found primarily in Rom. 4; and Gal. 3-4.
\item \textsuperscript{4}Rom. 9:4.
\item \textsuperscript{5}Rom. 4:1ff.
\item \textsuperscript{6}Gal. 4:21ff.
\item \textsuperscript{7}Rom. 4:13-15.
\item \textsuperscript{8}Gal. 3:18.
\item \textsuperscript{9}Gal. 3:9; Rom. 4:16.
\item \textsuperscript{10}Gal. 3:26-29.
\end{itemize}
the sons of natural descent have confined their hope for the promised inheritance to the aeon of the flesh; they have looked to the past and trusted in what they have already inherited. Consequently, they belong to the old age that is passing away and are doomed to the ultimate fate of death. The sons of promise, however, look to the future and trust in what God is yet to do in the coming age. This is what Abraham himself had done, and this is why he was pronounced righteous by God; he had believed in the power of God to bring about the birth of Isaac and to create a new nation just as he had promised. For those living in the new sonship it means belief in a Creator who is able to create a new humanity (Romans 4:17; ἐκ τῶν ἐπήλθων ; cf. I Cor. 15:45) and thus to fulfil his promise of the new creation, which is the inheritance of the saints. To be adopted into the spiritual sonship through Christ, then, is to be granted life in the new aeon and to be guaranteed a share in the glorious inheritance yet to come.

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1 See Paul S. Minear, "The Time of Hope in the New Testament," SJT, VI (1953), p. 246f. Minear’s idea is that the directional movement of time in the old aeon is from the past into the present and in the new aeon it is from the future into the present. Thus the two lines of descent from Abraham are temporally parallel but they move in reverse directions. This means that the descent according to the flesh moves from the past to present depending upon biological and cultural continuity. But for the sons of promise, their "present status seems to spring by adoption out of the future, not by inheritance out of the past." The promise that produces the spiritual sons is God’s intention to give life to the dead and to call into existence things that do not exist (Rom. 4:17; it is a promise based on God’s creating activity, thus "the existence of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, and of all their future descendents is thus grounded in this promise of a new creation, and in this new creation via the promise.

2 Rom. 4:17; Sanday and Headlam, ad loc.

3 Col. 1:12; Eph. 1:18.
'In the Spirit.' Organically related to Paul's teaching of adoption is his doctrine of the Spirit. It is the Spirit that validates sonship as an experience: "For all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God." The Spirit not only attests to the present possession of sonship but it is also the believer's assurance of his future inheritance; it is a first fruit, an absolute guarantee (\(\alpha\rho\rho\alpha\beta\omega\nu\)) that the work begun in him will be completed on the last day. The relation of adoption and the Spirit is seen in yet another way. The chief characteristic of the life of a 'son' is freedom: the sons of promise are free, and those who are in Christ are redeemed for freedom; the goal toward which creation is moving is to "be set free from its bondage to decay and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God." The source of this freedom is the Spirit: "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom." It is the true sons of God living in the Spirit who are enjoying the eschatological freedom anticipated by the prophets.

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1Rom. 3:14; cf. 8:16, Gal. 4:6.
2Rom. 8:23. See above p. 65 for discussion of 'first fruit.'
3John Marsh, op. cit., p. 181: "Our possession of the Spirit is not a 'foretaste' simply; it is actual possession of part of our inheritance. An 'arrabon' in the New Testament is not a loan made on the expectation of an inheritance, but part of the inheritance itself ... The sign is a part of what it signifies."
4Eph. 1:14; cf. I Cor. 1:22; 5:5; II Tim. 1:12.
5Gal. 4:21-5:1. Cf. Rom. 8:15 where 'sonship', by its contrast with 'spirit of slavery', is synonymous for 'freedom.'
6Rom. 8:21.
7II. Cor. 3:17.
8Isa. 61:1-2; cf. Lk. 4:18-19.
In Pauline thought the spirit is directly related to the life of the new age. To the early apostles the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost and subsequent manifestations of the Spirit were indisputable proof that the eschaton had begun, and Paul must have shared this conviction; but to him the Spirit, as an eschatological sign, is something more than sporadic demonstrations of miraculous power. It is the source and the principle of the life of the redeemed. It is an ever present witness that life in the new age has begun, and the freedom which it engenders is liberation for the redeemed to live in the eschatological order. In other words, the man whom Christ has set free is freed only to live in the Spirit. This places the Christian life in a paradoxical setting. Crucifixion and resurrection with Christ, in its initial stage, is only a partial deliverance. The believer is a new spiritual creation but as long as he is in the body of the flesh


2 I Cor. 15:45; II Cor. 3:6.


5 Rom. 7:6.
his ties with the aeon are not entirely severed, and, at the same time, he cannot experience the full power of his new life until he receives his spiritual body. "...the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith." The Christian lives in both aeons, and he experiences the tension that exists between them -- both tug at his freedom. The Tempter is still the enemy of the redeemed, and Paul counsels his readers to stand firm lest they fall and above all not to betray their freedom by using it as an opportunity for the flesh. They are faced with two possibilities which are diametrically opposed to each other: to live according to the flesh or to live according to the Spirit. The Spirit is source of their freedom of choice (prior to their 'spiritual resurrection' they had no choice but to yield to the servitude to sin), therefore they are debtors to live according to the Spirit. Thus the life of the Spirit is really a paradoxical freedom; it does not mean release from all binding norms, but rather a new servitude -- it is the 'slave of Christ' who is the 'freedom of Christ.'

The Spirit frees a man from the bondage of sin, but at the same

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2 Gal. 2:20.
3 I Cor. 7:5; II Cor. 2:11; etc.
4 Eph. 6:10ff.; cf. I Cor. 10:13.
5 Gal. 5:13.
6 Gal. 5:17; Rom. 8:2ff.
7 Rom. 8:12.
8 I Cor. 7:22; cf. Rom. 14:18; 16:18.
time it makes him a slave of righteousness. The new servitude is to the "law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus," and Dr. Minear has well stated the meaning of this as follows:

The origin and destiny of this law [i.e. "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus"] is God's coming Kingdom. The Spirit is the power of that Kingdom, proleptically operating among men. Colliding with the law of sin on Calvary, this law of the Spirit triumphed. In the resurrection this Spirit became a life-giving Spirit, coming to men who were dead because of sin and bringing them to new birth as sons of God, and promising ultimate redemption for their bodies. The Spirit provided a new object on which to set the mind, a new strength by which to walk, a whole range of eschatological joys.

The people who live according to this rule are the true Israel of God, the saints who are to inherit the kingdom. This is seen in the following way. The Spirit is the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα ἅγιον), and the life it creates is a life of holiness (or sanctification, ἅγιασμός). Paul refers to all believers as 'saints' (ἁγιάσμα, ἁγιασμένος), and there is salient eschatological significance in this designation. The sanctification of believers by the Spirit is the historical fulfilment of God's eternal plan to call into a unique relationship with himself a people through whom to execute his plan of the salvation.

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4 Gal. 6:15-16; Dodd, Apostolic Preaching and Its Development, p. 140.
5 II Thess. 2:13; cf. Eph. 1:4; Rom. 8:29f. See Neil and Milligan, ad loc.
election of Israel at Sinai was with this end in view: "...if you will obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my own possession among all peoples; for all the earth is mine, and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." With this calling came the categorical imperative to live according to the Divine commandments; the chosen people must be like God in holiness, and their failure to live up to this calling lead to the recasting of this calling into an eschatological form. 'In the latter days' Yahweh will vindicate his holiness by creating a people with a new heart and putting his Holy Spirit within them. In the prophecy of Daniel it is the 'saints of the Most High' who are to receive and possess the eternal kingdom. This is what Paul sees fulfilled in Christ -- 'he is our sanctification.' Through him the power of the Holy Spirit has been released, creating life in believers and building them up as a people (or a temple) in whom God dwells.

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2 "You shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy." Lev. 19:2.

3 Ezek. 36:22ff.; 38:16; Jer. 31:31ff; etc. Cf. Isa. 7 and 11 where the messianic figure is described as the remnant out of which the new people are to spring; he is the new rod of the stem of Jesse, the branch of its roots (11:1), the 'holy seed' (7:13) which symbolizes the remnant. Darnell, op. cit., p. 32.

4 Dan. 7:18.

5 1 Cor. 1:30; cf. 1:2.

6 For a discussion of the corporate aspect of the Christian life see below p. 230 ff.
Sanctification is the outgrowth of justification, and it "translates the soul from the domain of the flesh and all evil spirits into the control of the Spirit of Christ." It is the working of the Spirit from within, conforming the believer to the likeness of Christ, and consecrating him to God and his service. Sanctification carries with it the obligation to live a life of holiness; this is the demand placed upon believers by their servitude to God, and it has for its end eternal life. Thus sanctification is a gradual process continually growing in the believer preparing him for his final state. The glorious reward of sanctification is yet to come, and its goal points to the parousia when the Lord shall come "on that day to be glorified in his saints." Here the Christian life reaches its eschatological fulfilment. The saints, with the receiving of the spiritual bodies, will share in the glory of the Lord, and their glory will be fully manifest to all in their participation in the

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1 Rom. 6:19; I Cor. 6:11. Stewart aptly remarks, "It is God's justifying verdict itself which sanctifies, for it makes a new creature, with a new heart, in a new world" (op. cit. p. 258).

2 Ibid.

3 II Cor. 3:18.

4 I Thess. 1:9; 4:3f.

5 Eph. 5:3f.

6 Rom. 6:22.

7 Neil, op. cit., p. 78.

8 II Thess. 1:10; cf. I Thess. 3:13; 5:23.

9 II Thess. 2:14.
administration of judgment upon men and angels.¹ Their full possession of their inheritance in the heavenly kingdom² will usher them into eternal joy.³

'In Christ.' In Paul's teaching of sanctification there is illustrated the parallel way in which he uses the phrases 'in the Spirit' and 'in Christ.' He can say "sanctified by the Holy Spirit" or "sanctified in Christ Jesus," and, in both cases, mean the same thing.⁴ This fact, among others, linked with such references as II Corinthians 3:17 and Romans 8:9f., has lead some New Testament scholars to conclude that in Pauline thought Christ and the Spirit are identical.⁵ However, most authorities maintain that they are never identified by Paul but that Christ and the Spirit are inseparably related and are often referred to interchangeably.⁶ In a practical and experiential sense they act

¹I Cor. 6:2f.
²I Thess. 2:12.
⁵E.S. Weiss, History of Primitive Christianity, p. 464; Deissmann, Paul, p. 138ff.
⁶Stewart, op. cit., p. 156; Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, p. 119; Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 155f. See Sanday and Headlam on Rom. 8:9f. and E.F. Scott (The Spirit in the New Testament, p. 181f.) on II Cor. 3:17. E.F. Scott states, "It cannot be made out ... that Paul anywhere identifies the Spirit and Christ. His aim, on the contrary, is to keep them distinct, and his very phrase 'the Spirit of Christ' which brings them so closely together implies an effort to distinguish, ...probably it never occurred to him that they could be thought of as identical" (pp. 182, 183).
as one; Christ works through the Spirit, and the Spirit operates only in the terms of Christ. Professor Hunter states the case when he says:

For Paul, the Holy Spirit is the divine dynamic of the new life (see I Thess. 1:5 and Rom. 13:13): it is God's gracious power operating on and in man, yet never apart from Christ. This is why he can speak indifferently of "the Spirit of God" "the Spirit of Christ" and "Christ in you" (Rom. 8:9f.), meaning the self-same power.

"In Christ", then, is a corollary to 'in the Spirit', and its eschatological significance can best be demonstrated by appealing to Professor Stewart's dictum that the latter may naturally and legitimately be used to elucidate the former. The organic relation of the Spirit to the life of the new age has already been pointed out, and it is of paramount importance that it always be kept in view that the source and quickening power of this spiritual life is the risen Lord, the 'life-giving Spirit', and that the end toward which the work of the Spirit moves is the believer's complete sharing of the life of Christ at the final resurrection. Christ is the source, the means, and the end of the eschatological life, and all the ideas and analogies used by Paul in his teaching of this life can be seen to converge in the expression 'in Christ.' He is the resurrection, the life, the

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2Rom. 15:18-19.
3I Cor. 12:3; cf. John 16:12f.
6See above p. 128f.
redemption, the righteousness, the reconciliation, the sanctification; adoption into the family of God means conformity to the image of the Son, and life in the new humanity is incorporation by faith into the new Adam. Thus the expression 'in Christ' is Paul's highest, fullest, profoundest, and most inclusive description of the eschatological life. To be in Christ is an eschatological fact; it means, for Paul, to share in the experiences of Christ which were eschatologically interpreted: to die with him, to rise with him, and to enter once and for all and forever the new situation created by the Christ event.⁴ "If any one is in Christ, he is a new creation."² The present life 'in Christ' though only a partial reality known through faith, is genuine eschatological life -- it is hidden with the Messiah who is concealed in heaven -- but when the Lord returns the life 'in Christ' will reach its completion in life with Christ in the kingdom beyond.³

The above discussion has laid the foundation for this assertion: in Pauline theology the kingdom of God is virtually merged into the person of Christ.⁴ Paul, from his post-resurrection perspective, sees that all that Jesus' teaching of the kingdom

1 C.K. Barrett, op. cit., 149; E. Schweizer, op. cit., p. 505.

2 II Cor. 5:17. Eschatological significance is seen further in the corporate meaning of 'in Christ'; this will be dealt with in the following chapter.

3 See above p. 51/55.

⁴ See Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 54. K.L. Schmidt (TNTSNT, I, pp. 590-591) points out many examples in the Synoptics and in Acts where the person of Christ becomes virtually identified with the Kingdom of God: e.g. Mk. 1:10 (cf. Mt. 21:9 and Lk. 19:38); cf. Mk. 10:29 and Mt. 19:29 with Lk. 18:29; Acts 8:12; 28:31.
stood for has now been fulfilled in the person of the risen Lord and glorified Son of Man. Whereas Jesus preached the gospel of the kingdom, the apostle preached the gospel of Christ; and whereas Jesus called men to enter into the kingdom to be saved, the apostle proclaimed salvation in Christ. Furthermore, within the Pauline teaching there is exact correspondence between his view of the kingdom as partially present and yet to be fulfilled and his conception of present life in Christ and the future life with him. Thus the expression 'in Christ' characterizes Paul's conception of eschatological fulfilment in its purest Christian sense.

III. MYSTICISM AND ETHICS

Mysticism. To designate the expression 'in Christ' as a technical eschatological term by no means exhausts its eschatological possibilities. The idea of being in Christ meant far more to the apostle than the description of a new status or condition. It is the expression he uses to represent the profoundest aspect of the new life, namely, the believer's intimate relation, even mystical union, with the Messiah. Professor Stewart, in his

1 See above p. 140.

2 Kennedy, Theology of the Epistles, p. 120f.; Deissmann, Paul, p. 140. Surely Bultmann (TWzNT, II, p. 689) stops short when he excludes a 'Christ mysticism' by stating that 'life in Christ' means nothing more than that there is no eschatological life apart from God's salvation deed in the 'Christ-event.' See Hunter, Interpreting Paul's Gospel, p. 99.
important work *A Man in Christ*, has well demonstrated the fundamental place of the conception of union with Christ in Pauline thought. "The heart of Paul's religion is union with Christ. This, more than any other conception — more than justification, more than sanctification, more even than reconciliation — is the key which unlocks the secrets of his soul."¹ Paul's conception of mystical union with Christ is seen in such great statements as these: "It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me."² "There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus."³ "He who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit with him."⁴

That mysticism is a fundamental constituent of Pauline religion is amply evident, but precisely what this means is a subject of wide discussion.⁵ To define Pauline mysticism in technical hellenistic terms (i.e. absorption of the individual into the Divine being) would be to deprive his conception of its distinctive Christian characteristic and to do extreme violence to

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¹ *Op. cit.*., p. 147. Our indebtedness to Professor Stewart in this discussion is evident throughout.


³ *Rom.* 8:1.

⁴ I Cor. 6:17; cf. *Rom.* 8:10; *Col.* 1:27; *Phil.* 3:9; etc.

his teaching of the Christian life as an eschatological phenomenon. The apostle does record an experience in which he was carried directly into the presence of God — he was given "the beatific vision." But this is not the level on which he habitually lived, and it does not provide the clue to his conception of 'being in Christ.' The true mysticism upon which Paul thrived was a daily, ever-renewed communion with the living Christ that carried him not above the realities and imperatives of life but that brought him to grips with them. This is a mystical union that motivates and empowers the conduct of life, and one which the apostle could hold up as the norm for all believers in their daily living. Life in Christ, then, is a life of genuine historical existence lived by faith in him and empowered by his Spirit. It is dependence upon the Messiah, the Author of life, and communion with him in a growing intimacy and fellowship. Christ is the atmosphere in which the believer lives.

Since Pauline mysticism is a communion with the Messiah it

1 Schmidt points out that eschatology and hellenistic mysticism stand at a polarity. The contrast is as follows. Eschatology: transcendence, activity, heroism, ethics, social piety, religion, dualism, Judaism. Mysticism: immanence, passiveness, quietism, aesthetic, individual piety, theology, monism, Hellenism (ibid, p. 286). Also see Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul, pp. 1-11; Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 88ff.

2 II Cor. 12:1ff.

3 Stewart, op. cit., p. 161.

4 Ibid., p. 162.

5 Gal. 2:20; Eph. 3:17; See C.A.A. Scott, op. cit., pp. 108-114.

6 Phil. 4:13; II Cor. 12:9; Rom. 8:14.

7 I Cor. 1:9; II Cor. 13:14.

8 Phil. 1:21.
follows that the whole idea has a fundamental eschatological setting, and this can be demonstrated more particularly in several ways. First, this is a mysticism in which God takes the initiative, and it is an initiative taken in terms of his eschatological act. This can be seen in Paul's own life. The Damascus Road experience is the foundation of his mysticism, and in his description of this event he emphatically says that it is God's action that holds the priority: "It pleased God to reveal his Son in me."¹ We have already drawn attention to the significance of the word 'reveal' in this connection.² Here 'reveal' does not mean simply the illumination of his mind or the imparting to him a gnosis of which he had heretofore been ignorant. This was an unexpected meeting with the Messiah in which his soul was shaken from its foundation; he was lifted from the old order of alienation from God and transferred into the new one where his presence was a living reality. In other words, Paul's union with Christ was not a human achievement in which he lifted himself into God's presence by his own efforts or according to his own design. He was placed in an order of human -Divine fellowship (reconciliation) which was already created and of which he was made a participant by faith. The eschatological significance of this mystical union is brought out further by the fact that the present experience is not an end within itself and that its fulfilment is dependent upon

²See above p. 20f.
the completion of the eschatological drama. The present experience of being 'in Christ' is at the same time a being 'in God'; Paul draws no distinction between the two. But this present experience is partial; it is communion with the Father through the Holy Spirit by faith in the Son, and the fulfilment of the mystical union will be reached only at the consummation when the Father himself is "everything to everyone." This hope gives intensity as well as full meaning to Pauline mysticism; the apostle's fervent desire for full fellowship with the Lord, to see him face to face, towers as the crowning joy of his forward looking faith. Present communion with Christ is still an 'absence from the Lord,' and all its many joys would become "downright misery"

1 Schmidt, "Eschatologie und Mystik im Ürchristentum," p. 287.
2 Stewart, op. cit., p. 170f.; e.g. Rom. 8:11; II Cor. 5:17; Col. 2:12. Schweitzer (The Mysticism of Paul, p. 12) states that mystical relation with God is entirely denied the present. He bases this statement on the assumption that the elect share the fate of the world ('world' defined as 'a supernatural historical process') which is now alienated from God and which will not return to him until the consummation. It is difficult to see how Schweitzer arrives at this position, because, as pointed out above (see p. 142f.) Paul's conception of the 'world' consists of both 'aeon' and 'cosmos'. The elect are already redeemed from the aeon and do not share its fate. Neither do they share the fate of the cosmos, rather, it shares in their fate (see above p. 144f.). Professor Stewart provides us with the appropriate answer to Schweitzer: "[Paul] knows nothing of a mysticism which stops short of faith's final goal. Behind every expression of his intense intimacy with Jesus stand the great ultimate fact of God Himself" (p. 170). See A.A. Fulton, "Schweitzer on the Mysticism of Paul: a Criticism," EQ, XX, 3 (July, 1943), p. 175, on Schweitzer's view of Acts 17:28.

3 I Cor. 13:21a.
4 Rom. 8:26-27.
5 I Cor. 13:12b; II Cor. 5:8; Phil. 1:23.
6 II Cor. 5:6.
if the resurrection hope were taken away. Paul's mysticism, it is important to note, is not a purely individualistic matter, and the eschatological conditioning of his religious thought brings this out well. The believer is incorporated into Christ, and the communion he enjoys with the Messiah is a fellowship he shares with other believers; they grow up together as 'one new man' in Christ, and, at the last day, they experience all together the fruition of their spiritual union.

Since in Pauline thought the kingdom of God is virtually merged into the person of Christ, then it is permissible to assert that 'being in Christ' is an equivalent of 'living in the kingdom.' The making of such an equation as this does not reduce the teaching of the intimate relation with Christ to a technical eschatological idea, but, rather, it elevates to its loftiest spiritual heights the conception of the eschatological life. It is at this point that the fundamental relation between eschatology and the new life comes into focus. One of the basic facts of Pauline eschatology that has been established in this thesis is that in the person of Christ the kingdom of God has become proleptically actualized in history, and this provides the support for the placing of the mystical life within the context of the kingdom. If, on the other hand, as alleged by some, the kingdom in Pauline teaching were an entirely 'beyond history'

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1Titius, Der Paulinismus, p. 21 (quoted by Stewart, op. cit., p. 200).

2Eph. 2:15f. See below p. 231 for fuller exposition on this point.

3See Robinson, The Body, p. 78f.
concept, then the Christian life would be necessarily divorced from the kingdom and the mystical relation with Christ would become a prelude to or a preparation for the future life in the kingdom. This view is well illustrated in Dr. Schweitzer's great volume The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle.\textsuperscript{1} Schweitzer makes no recognition of the possibility of a partially and spiritually inaugurated kingdom of God within the historical process. He sees in the death and resurrection of Christ not the commencement of the actual eschaton but rather a cosmic event through which the powers of the supernatural world are released into the present world.\textsuperscript{2} Paul's Jewish eschatological background, according to Schweitzer, obliges him to maintain that those who participate in the power of the resurrection (i.e. those who have been baptized into Christ) constitute the corporeity of the elect who are to inherit the messianic kingdom. The problem which Paul faces lies in this period between the resurrection and the parousia when the saints are experiencing proleptically the eschatological powers. This is a paradoxical situation unforeseen in Jewish eschatology, and its occurrence demanded of the early Christians a recasting of their eschatological views. Schweitzer holds that Paul took the initiative in this by utilizing the Jewish concept of a union of the elect with one another

\textsuperscript{1}See above p. 110 ff.

\textsuperscript{2}Thus Schweitzer refers to the period of the overlapping aeons as "a time when the natural and the supernatural world are intermingled." The Mysticism of Paul, p. 99.
and with the Messiah that was predestined for the messianic age. In this concept Paul was able to bring both worlds into connection: the union of the messianic age receives anticipatory realization in the communion of the redeemed with Christ, and this relation begun in this world is to continue in the next. Here, according to the conditions laid down by Schweitzer for the creation of a mysticism, lie the premises upon which Paul is able to spiritualize eschatology into a 'Christ-Mysticism':

Thus it comes about that, in an eschatology which has to reckon with the coming of Jesus into the world, the concept of the predestined union of the Elect with one another and with the Messiah necessarily gave rise to a Christ-Mysticism, that is to say, to the concept of a fellowship with the Messiah, which realises itself already in this natural world.

The theological consequences of Schweitzer's interpretation are far reaching, and he has been severely attacked by his critics on many accounts. The aspect of his view with which we are particularly concerned here is its separation of the mystical life from the kingdom. This is a cleavage necessarily evolving from the thorough-going futurist eschatology which is presumed to have dominated the mind of Paul. It must be conceded that if this were the case, then the problems which Schweitzer recognizes would be valid and the solution that he offers in the 'Christ-Mysticism' would stand on

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1Ibid., p. 37f.  
2Ibid., p. 105.  
3In addition to the undue stress on Jewish eschatology as the background für Pauline thought (see above p. 64) it seems that Schweitzer is also guilty of extreme exaggeration in his assumption that Paul "is a logical thinker and his mysticism is a complete system" (Ibid., 139). See Fulton, op. cit., p. 176f.; James Moffatt, "Schweitzer on Paul's Mysticism," MT, XLIII, p. 566f.
logical grounds. The true genius of Schweitzer's work is generally recognized, but the weight of modern scholarship proves to be decidedly against his eschatological views. Therefore, his interpretation of Pauline mysticism can be dismissed, and the view that 'being in Christ' means, for Paul, a life of communion with the Messiah in the kingdom reaffirmed as valid.

Ethics. Because of the nature of Paul's mysticism the ethical concern is of supreme importance in his teachings of the Christian life. This is seen first of all in the apostle's own life. While his greatest earthly joy was found in his mystical relation to Christ and the deepest longing of his heart was to depart and be with him, he could, at the same time, point to his own life as living example of Christian conduct. "Paul himself is, indeed, the grandest examplar of his own ethic." The expression 'a new creature in Christ' is not just a theological description of a Christian convert, but it is also the characterization of a new ethical man. The man who has 'put on Christ', who has been conformed to his image, is under obligation to live worthy of his Lord and Master.

1Stewart, op. cit., p. 194f.; Deissmann, The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul, p. 245ff.
2I Cor. 4:6; 11:1; I Thess. 1:6; II Thess. 3:7, 9.
A full analysis of the ethical principles taught in the epistles would be extraneous to the primary concern of this thesis. The objective is to point out the conditioning and the motivation which Paul's conception of 'last things' has upon his teaching of the believer's moral duties and obligations in the world in which he lives.

(1) The paradoxical setting of the Christian life has already been indicated above. The believer is already spiritually redeemed from the present aeon and his real citizenship belongs in the kingdom yet to come, therefore the moral and social action of his historical life is determined by the ethic of his new citizenship. Paul's realized eschatology, then, is a fundamental conditioning factor in his teaching of Christian conduct. The messianic kingdom into which the believer is transferred is one of moral qualities, and the bindings of its demands upon its citizens are absolute.

A summary of Paul's instruction in Christian conduct may be presented as follows. First, he unreservedly condemns the way of life in the aeon of fallen humanity, and teaches that it is

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1 For full treatments on this subject see Alexander, op. cit.; C. A. A. Scott, New Testament Ethics (Cambridge: University Press, 1930), chapters 4 and 5; Weiss, History of Primitive Christianity, p. 549 ff.; et al.

2 Phil. 3:20; II Cor. 10:3ff. See Leivstadi, op. cit., p. 275 ff.

3 Schweitzer's consistent futurist eschatology leads him to assert that Paul's ethic is of an 'unwordly' character (The Mysticism of Paul, p. 293 ff.).

4 Rom. 14:17; I Cor. 4:20. 

5 Gal. 5:21, etc.

6 The following discussion is based primarily upon the references in which the verb προειρημένος occurs.

7 Rom. 1:18, etc.
absurdly incongruous for the Christian to adhere to its standards and norms.\(^1\) They have been redeemed from its mode of existence and therefore are commanded to live above it.\(^2\) The 'new man' must live according to the new life to which he has been raised.\(^3\) Sons of light are obliged to walk in the light (i.e. citizens of the kingdom must live according to the ethic of the kingdom): "Let us cast off the works of darkness and put on the armour of light; let us conduct ourselves as becomingly as in the day... Put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provisions for the flesh."\(^4\) The calling to live according to the Spirit\(^5\) means the bearing of the fruits of the Spirit in everyday living.\(^6\) "If we live by the Spirit, let us also walk by the Spirit.\(^7\) The new status and condition of the Christian must be expressed in actions. Christ forms the atmosphere in which he lives, therefore he is under this rule of conduct:

\(^{1}\) I Cor. 3:3; Eph. 2:2-16; Col. 3:1-17.
\(^{2}\) Rom. 12:2.
\(^{3}\) Col. 3:17; Rom. 6:4.
\(^{4}\) Rom. 13:12-14; cf. Eph. 5:8ff.
\(^{5}\) Eph. 4:1; Rom. 8:4.
\(^{6}\) Gal. 5:16, 22-23.
\(^{7}\) Gal. 5:25. In Gal. 5:25 there occurs the following combination; "walk (περιπατεῖτε) by the Spirit" (v. 16), "led by the Spirit" (v. 18), "live by the Spirit" (v. 25), and "walk (συνεκκεκυβίστε) by the Spirit" (v. 25). According to Burton (Galatians, p. 322), the first expression emphasizes conduct, the second the conformity of the will to the Spirit's leading, the third the spiritual mystical union, and the last one re-emphasizes that those who live by the Spirit must give evidence of the fact by conduct controlled by the Spirit.
"whatever you do, in word or deed, do everything in the name of the Lord Jesus." Justification and sanctification are to issue forth in moral works of righteousness and holiness, and reconciliation must produce peaceful relations. In short, the 'new creature' is created for good works: "For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand, that we should walk in them." Christian conduct is a witness to those outside that the eschatological order has begun.

The dominating principle in the Pauline ethic is love, and this serves to illustrate more fully his conception of the ethical nature of the eschatological life. First, it was God's act of love exhibited in Christ that ushered in the new order of forgiveness and redemption. Believers stand before Christ in a relationship of love, and it is the Divine love poured into their hearts by the Holy Spirit that motivates their lives. Love creates the 'new man' and becomes the dominating quality that

1Col. 3:17. 2Eph. 4:23; Rom. 6:18-22.
3Col. 3:15. 4Eph. 2:10.
5Col. 4:5; I Thess. 4:12.
8Ex. Rom. 8:35; cf. I Cor. 8:3.
9Rom. 5:5.
10II Cor. 5:14.
characterizes his life. Having been freed from the law, he now lives according to love, and thus fulfils the demands of the law.\(^1\) This, according to the teaching of the epistle to the Galatians, is the goal for which God has worked from the beginning -- a people free from the dominion of the law; and this is what has been realized through the work of the Spirit.\(^2\) The Spirit is the spirit of love, and the fruit of its work in the individual is love; love is the criterion and goal of eschatological freedom.\(^3\) "There can be no doubt that in this liberation to love, the law is fulfilled, surpassed and left behind, and a new order of life created, which brooks no lapse or violation."\(^4\) The purpose of divine love is that those who receive it might love one another,\(^5\) and thus it forms the Christian norm of behavior. Stauffer very aptly states the essential idea as follows:

The decisive importance of brotherly love is seen in relation to the unique moment in cosmic history (\(\kappa\alpha\chi\rho\sigma\)s, Gal. 6:10; Rom. 13:11) which makes it imperative. During the whole of this age of decision between the Cross and the 'End', brotherly love is the only relevant behavior -- the only principle that is sure of the future. Its sign is the sign of the Cross. It is willingness to serve and sacrifice, to forgive and make allowances, to share and sympathise, to lift up the fallen and restore the erring\(^6\) in a community which owes its whole existence to the mercy of God and the sacrificial death of his Christ.\(^7\)

\(^1\)Rom. 11: 8-10.
\(^3\)Gal. 5:2-6:10.
\(^4\)Stauffer, Love, p. 57.
\(^5\)Gal. 5:13ff. Stauffer points out that Paul very rarely speaks of man's love to God (ibid., p. 57 n. 1).
\(^7\)Love, p. 58.
Love linked with its correlatives faith and hope forms a triad that gives a full picture of the present life of the redeemed, but there is an important difference between the latter two and love. Faith and hope are anticipatory; their perspective is from the present into the future; they are under the sign of this passing age.¹ Love, however, is eternal,² and its perspective is from the future into the present: "love is the power of the coming age already breaking into this world."³ In the idea of love there is, in addition to a theological description of the new status, a concrete illustration of the ethical impact of the eschatological life. It is in light of this that Paul's practical application of the Christian ethic must be seen. For example, in Ephesians 5:2 the apostle categorically states, "walk in love, as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us," and then ensues his discussion (5:3-6:20) of personal conduct and the social relationships of marriage, family, and the slave and his master. Throughout the discussion love permeates as the controlling dynamic. Likewise, the parallel discourse on moral and social matters in Colossians 3:18-4:5 is preceded by a poignant exposition (verses 1-17) on the Christian life in which love is elevated as the guiding principle: "above all these put on love, which binds everything together in perfect harmony."⁴ Similarly, the chapter on the Christian attitude toward government (Romans 13) is preceded by an appeal for

¹Ibid., p. 59.
²I Cor. 13:8.
³Love, p. 59.
⁴Col. 3:14.
genuine love, \(^1\) and the chapter itself includes one of the cardinal passages of the Pauline ethic in which love is established as the fulfilment of law (verses 8-10). And above all, love must prevail within the Christian community as the regulating power of all their actions and relationships with one another. \(^2\) In Pauline thought love is the absolute ethic of the kingdom, and it will be perfectly realized as an ethical ideal in the kingdom that lies beyond. \(^3\)

(2) Paul's futurist eschatology serves as a motivation and a stimulus undergirding his view of the Christian life. The paradoxical character of the time places the believer in a state of eschatological tension; he lives a historical life determined in conduct by his allegiance to his citizenship in the supernatural world, and he lives knowing that history is soon to end. In view of this, it is remarkable, as C.A.A. Scott points out, to note that Paul's prevailing conviction of the imminence of the 'end' had such little effect on his specific ethical teachings. \(^4\) There is one place, however, where it does pierce through as vitally affecting his view. This is in the exhortations of I Corinthians \(^7\) where an attitude of ethical detachment (\(\omega \sigma \mu \nu\)) from the world prevails, but, as A.N. Wilder forcefully argues, \(^5\)

\(^1\)Rom. 12:9.
\(^2\)I Cor. 13, etc.
\(^3\)I Cor. 13:10.
\(^5\)Wilder, "Kerygma, Eschatology, and Social Ethics," BNTIE, p. 524f. It seems that Dinkler in his article, "Zum Problem der Ethik bei Paulus," (ZTK, XLIX, 2 [1952], pp. 167-200) unduly stresses the 'detachment ethic' as the Pauline view, and Wilder takes him to task on this point.
this cannot be taken as representative of the apostle's full attitude toward the world. In this passage Paul's mind is governed by the special situation of the young and struggling church as it seeks to define itself in an alien and doomed culture, and, in view of the present crisis, Paul is presenting what Wilder calls 'an emergency ethic.' This consideration, especially when balanced against other social teachings such as in the Philemon Epistle, prohibits any indictment against Paul that his future eschatology forces him to negate this life and to revel only in the glories yet to come. He writes to the Thessalonians Christians that their fervent, enthusiastic expectation of the Lord's return is the ground for a general attitude of soberness,

1 I.e. "the impending distress" (7:26). See Robertson and Plummer, ad loc.

2 See Théo Preiss' essay, "Life in Christ and Social Ethics in the Epistle to Philemon," in Life in Christ E.T. by Harold Knight (London: SCM, 1954), pp. 32-42. Preiss states that the "positive and concrete richness and fulness of Paul's social ethics are in large measure concealed by the necessity in which he found himself to suppress abuses and to be somewhat negative" (p. 41). Preiss regards the Philemon epistle as an illustration of the fact that I Cor. 7 does not give Paul's full thought and practice.

3 Wilder (op. cit., pp. 535-536) concludes that three different ethical attitudes toward the world can be detected in the Pauline epistles: (1) separation from the world's vices (I Cor. 6:13ff.), (2) detachment in respect to basic social patterns of the world (i.e. social hierarchy, marriage, political authority, etc.). These, in their formal aspect, are not regarded as evil, but they belong to the fashion of this world that is passing away (I Cor. 7:31). (3) Resistance against the "structural elements of unregenerate society" (i.e. Satan, world rulers, etc.); this is a spiritual battle, the victory of which is deferred to the final consummation.
self-discipline, and seriousness in life.¹

It can be demonstrated that throughout the epistles Paul appeals, in one way or another, to every aspect of the awaited eschatological fulfilment as a motive for alertness and uprightness in the world. Hope is an incentive which gives intensity to faith and love.² Weiss suggests that the mainspring of the ethical motivation is Paul's constantly recurring admonition to walk worthy of the kingdom of God.³ Christian ethics have the nature of the eternal in them, and they point to the eternal kingdom for their fulfilment;⁴ therefore Paul writes as a reminder many times that only those who have evinced the appropriate conduct will be permitted entrance into the heavenly kingdom.⁵ The only moral condition of believers that would be thinkable for the day of their meeting with the Lord at his parousia is that of purity and blamelessness, and the apostle instructs his converts to be so prepared at every moment.⁶ Believers are already justified before God, but they are spurred on to higher moral attainment by the reminder of God's final wrath that is to come upon the sinful life;⁷ and the fact they are to participate in the execution of

¹I Thess. 5:4-7; Scott, New Testament Ethics, p. 91.
²Col. 1:5; I Thess. 1:3.
³History of Primitive Christianity, p. 562.
⁵I Cor. 6:9,10; Gal. 5:21; Eph. 5:5; I Thess. 2:12; II Thess. 1:5.
⁶Phil. 4:10; 2:16; 3:20; Col. 3:4; I Thess. 3:13; 5:23; II Thess. 1:10-11.
⁷Rom. 13:5; Col. 3:6; Eph. 5:6.
the last judgment obligates them to transcend the smallness and pettiness of human conduct.\(^1\) Nowhere in the epistles is there the slightest trace of a doubt about the certainty of the believers' final resurrection, yet Paul designates it as the supreme goal for which he is striving.\(^2\) He finds in this a constant source of encouragement, and he closes his great discourse on the resurrection (I Corinthians 15) with this exhortation: "Therefore, my beloved brethren, be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, knowing that in the Lord your labor is not in vain."\(^3\)

Conclusion. In his mysticism and ethical teachings Paul makes practical and dynamic application of the new eschatological situation to the believer's personal life in both his vertical and horizontal relationships. It is here that the Pauline eschatology is seen to be more than a theological abstraction or a philosophy of history; it is the conception of a supernatural power that sets the sinner free and produces in him life and power, which is that life and power of the eschaton. "For the kingdom of God does not consist in talk but in power."\(^4\)

Eschatologically considered, mysticism and ethics are correlative ideas. The believer is dependent upon communion with the Messiah for strength and fortitude to perform the duties and

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\(^1\) I Cor. 6:21. See Dinkler, \emph{op. cit.}, p. 170ff.

\(^2\) Phil. 3:10-11.

\(^3\) I Cor. 15:58.

\(^4\) I Cor. 4:20.
obligations of the new life in the historical situation in which he lives. Mysticism and ethics will reach fulfillment when the Christian ideal of love is fully realized in the kingdom where God is 'all in all'. It is the eschatological reference of these two teachings that gives them their distinctive Christian meaning.

IV. CONCLUSION

In Pauline thought the Christian life is an eschatological life. Its origin lies in the resurrection of Christ, and its setting is the new age of salvation into which the believer becomes incorporated by faith-union with Christ in his death and resurrection. Thus the Christian life is life in the messianic kingdom. Paul's great conceptions, adoption, sanctification, and 'being in Christ' give full support to this assertion. Each of these conceptions has the double reference of present partial realization in Christ and future completion at his coming, and this gives further confirmation to the claim that an eschatology of fulfillment in two stages underlies the theological thinking of Paul.

The epistles present no pictures or vivid descriptions of the believer's future life, but the eschatological reference that underlies his teaching of the Christian life clearly indicates the essential nature of his view. The present life is a foretaste of that which is come; the future is conceived of as being of the same nature and quality as the present except that the fleshly limitations of historical existence are removed and that which is
partially known now will be fully realized then.

The Pauline conception of life is summed up in the name Christ. Christ is the life. Present experience in the messianic kingdom is life in Christ, and that which is to follow in the eternal kingdom is life with Christ. In a single statement, Paul's conception of salvation, both in its positive and negative aspects, is the believer's existential release from the powers of death and dynamic recreation in the new age of life by the messianic Redeemer.
Throughout this thesis so far the 'hiddenness' of the present stage of the eschaton has been emphasised. The reigning Messiah is hidden in heaven with the Father; his kingdom is 'not of this world', the resurrection of the believer is a spiritual experience, and the Divine judgment revealed in Christ is seen only with eyes of faith. There is, however, one incontestable historical result of the 'Christ event', and that is the Christian church. The purpose of this chapter is to present the eschatological reference of Paul's conception of the church and its sacraments. This will bring out the empirically observable and historical aspect of the apostle's conception of 'last things'.

I. THE CHURCH

N.A. Dahl, in his article "Christ, Creation, and the Church," states that one of the most important results of the modern rediscovery of eschatology has been a new understanding of the church. There seems almost universal agreement among modern New Testament authorities that the church of apostolic times regarded itself as an 'eschatological community' which owed its very existence to 'realized eschatology' and to which was committed a unique position

2BNTIE, p. 422.
in God's eternal plan for the consummation of the ages. The objective here is to point out the essential eschatological reference of Paul's doctrine of the church by discussing his conception of the church as the fulfilment of the people of God and as the 'body of Christ'.

The church as the fulfilment of the true people of God. In the preceding chapter our primary concern was with the life of the individual believer in reference to the new eschatological situation. In Paul's full view of the new life, however, there is still another aspect of fundamental importance to be considered, namely, the corporate Christian life. The new humanity consists of believing individuals, but Paul does not conceive of each as a pilgrim making his own way and bearing his own burdens. Rather he sees them as a community of believers who have received the Spirit and are ipso facto united into a sacred society. The unity of the believers is seen in Paul's designation of this society as a 'fellowship' (κοινωνία). They are united in the sharing of a common

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1 Most of the conceptions which underlie the Pauline ecclesiology have already been dealt with above (especially in the chapter on "The Christian Life"). In a large measure, this discussion will consist of bringing together the aspects of these concepts as they have to bear directly on Paul's teaching of the church. For full treatments on this subject see: K.L. Schmidt, The Church E.T. by J.R. Coates from Kittel's TWNT (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1950), p. 9ff.; George Johnson, The Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament (Cambridge: University Press, 1943); R.N. Flew, Jesus and His Church (London: Epworth Press, 1938), especially p. 209ff.; C.A.A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, p. 151ff.; et al.

2 C.A.A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, p. 158.

3 The designation of the church as a 'fellowship' is pre-Pauline; e.g. Acts 2:42. Ibid., p. 160.
faith. They are "called into the fellowship of his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord" in the sense that it was Christ who called them into being and that they belong to him. And in this same sense Paul defines them as a 'fellowship of the Spirit.' Thus the church is first a spiritual corporate unity of believers held together by their common relation to Christ and a common experience of the Spirit.

C.A.A. Scott points out that it is from this perspective of the corporate life that Paul's conception of the church must be studied. Therefore, the eschatological reference of this conception can be demonstrated first of all by pointing out that the examples we have already used to illustrate the eschatological reference of the individual life are also of corporate significance. (1) Adoption into Christ means that all believers are conformed to his image and grow up as one man 'in Christ.' "You are all one in Christ Jesus." This unity takes place in the 'body of Christ', and, consequently, the new 'corporate man' that has come

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1 Philemon 6.  
2 I Cor. 1:9.  
3 Ibid., p. 160.  
4 E.g. II Cor. 13:14; Phil. 2:1.  
5 Ibid., p. 161.  
6 Ibid., p. 159. Scott also points out that the three phrases 'in Christ', 'in the Spirit', 'in the fellowship, body, or Church' represent an identical experience under different aspects and that they mutually interpret one another (p. 158).  
8 Gal. 3:28.  
9 I Cor. 12:12, 27.
into being is the church. Christ is being formed within believers, and thus they are being continually transformed into his image; but it is not until the parousia when, all together, they are incorporated fully into his 'body of glory' that this transformation is complete. Corporately, Paul expresses this same idea when he teaches that the church must continually grow up 'in every way into Christ' and that this growth will reach its maturity (i.e. the church becomes the ἄνωθεν θεοῦ) when the 'body' grows up into the 'head'. And this goal of the church, as we will point out later, is a part of the 'summing up of all things in Christ' at the consummation. (2) The individual Christian lives 'in the Spirit', and his body is a temple of the Holy Spirit. Collectively, all believers together constitute a structure which is a 'holy temple in the Lord', a dwelling place of the Spirit of God. Christ is the chief corner stone of this building, and the prophets and apostles are its foundation. Carrying this analogy further we may designate the church as the fulfilment of the Jewish hope for a new temple in the coming kingdom. This temple is the true eschatological temple because it has no wall partitioning the Jews

1 Weiss, History of Primitive Christianity, p. 622.
2 Gal. 4:19.
3 II Cor. 3:18.
4 Eph. 4:13-16.
5 I Cor. 3:16ff.; 6:19.
from the Gentiles. (3) One of the Pauline designations for the church is the expression 'in Christ' (or the genitive equivalent 'of Christ'). The most perfect example of this is II Thessalonians 2:14 which makes reference to "churches of God in Christ Jesus which are in Judea." The idea of 'putting on Christ' is also used corporately in the epistles to refer to the church: "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ." The church, then, is God's 'gathering in Christ.' Thus just as the individual 'in Christ' is an 'eschatological person' so the corporate man is an 'eschatological community.'

(4) We have already pointed out the corporate aspect of the Pauline mysticism, but there yet remains to be added a word concerning the ethic of the church. The absolute binding norm for the church in all its contacts, both from within and from without, is love: it builds itself up in love. The ethical goal of the church, just as in the case of the individual, is to be presented holy and blameless to the Lord at his coming. The church is the 'bride' of the

1 Eph. 2:14f. The 'dividing wall' is most likely an allusion to the wall which separated the inner part of the temple territory from the court of the Gentiles. It most assuredly is a metaphor for the Jewish law (E.F. Scott, ad loc.). Dahl ("Christ, Creation and the Church," p. 436f.) sees the Jewish proselytism reflected in the background of this passage.


4 Schmidt, The Church, p. 11.

5 See above p. 213.

6 I Cor. 13, etc.

7 Eph. 4:16.
Lord, and she must always be pure and spotless in preparation for the great wedding to follow.¹

The eschatological nature of the Christian community is seen further in the fact that Paul regards it as the fulfilment of the Old Testament and Jewish anticipation of the true people of God.² The first thing that characterizes the church as such is its universality. The universality of the ultimate people of God was an integral part of the final denouement of such prophecies as II Isaiah and Zechariah,³ and the principal teaching of Ephesians 2 is that this prophecy has been fulfilled in the church which is the 'one man' consisting of both Jews and Gentiles. All believers, regardless of racial distinctions, are 'made alive together', and thus as 'one man' are incorporated into the commonwealth of the new Israel.⁴ It is this reconciliation of the Jews and the Gentiles that indicates the church as the eschatological community: "The creation of the church as 'one new man' in Christ means at the same time the incorporation of Gentiles in the people of God and the coming of the new age of the Spirit."⁵ This new common citizenship of those who are 'in Christ' marks them off as a community in which national barriers are transcended and peace

¹ Eph. 5:25-27; cf. Rev. 21:2,9.
² For the Jewish concept of 'the people of God', see above p. 202f.
³ Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 112.
⁴ Eph. 2:5,12.
prevails. It is also a citizenship in heaven which designates them as the people of God: "you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God." The church as eschatological fulfilment can be illustrated in the technical name which was applied to it: the ἐκκλησία. The history of this term is rooted in Old Testament thought. It occurs in the LXX as a translation for the Hebrew מִצְוֹת, and was used to refer to Israel as the assembly or congregation of God. Thus the Christian community as the ecclesia of God means that, in view of the official Jewish attitude towards the 'Christ event,' it has replaced the nation Israel as God's chosen people. The new

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1 Eph. 2:15.
2 Phil. 3:20.
3 Eph. 2:19. Abbott (op. cit., p. 69): "The clear reference to the πολιτεία of Israel shows decisively that the ἄγιοι are those who constitute the people of God."

4 See Schmidt (The Church, p. 9f.) and Johnston (op. cit., p. 72f.) for the variant ways in which this term is used in the epistles. The application of ecclesia to the Christian community is not original with Paul; he is giving development to an idea in the kerygma (cf. Acts 2:23f). Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 111f.; Flew, op. cit., p. 210. On Matt. 16:18 and 18:17 see Schmidt, The Church, chapter 5.

5 Schmidt, The Church, p. 51f. The term ἐκκλησία alone means 'gathering' and is first used to designate the 'people of God' when used in connection with 'Lord' or 'Israel', etc. In this way ἐκκλησία comes to serve as a technical term. Schmidt offers many examples of all its uses. See also G. Johnston, op. cit., p. 36f.

6 Dodd: "...the rise of the Church is for the New Testament writers an inseparable element in the eschatological complex. It is the fulfilment of prophetic hopes of a new people of God. It is the Israel of the last days; Isaiah's Remnant; Jeremiah's people of the New Covenant; Ezekiel's renovated Israel, raised from the dead by the breath of the Lord; Daniel's people of the saints of the Most High; Enoch's congregation of the Elect. For in the death/
ecclesia considered itself as succeeding the old ecclesia not as a novel creation of God but in the sense that in it the eschatological purposes of God, which in the old Israel were not achieved, were being fulfilled. Thus in the term ἐκκλησία Paul brings together the newness, the universality, and the historical foundation of the church.¹

The early church’s understanding of itself is traceable to three observable historical facts: (1) the Jews had repudiated their Messiah by crucifying him, (2) the church had become universal by the admission of the Gentiles, and (3) both the Jews and the Gentiles in the church were looking forward to the glorious future inheritance that had been promised the saints.² Paul confirms this historical phenomenon of the church as the plan of God by appealing to scriptural evidence. A spiritual Israel consisting of both Jews and Gentiles, he says, is in accordance with what the prophets had written regarding God’s designs. That the historical Israel as a whole should be rejected and only a few to form a part of the chosen people is distinctly taught in Isaiah’s doctrine of the ‘remnant’ (Isaiah 10:22-23).³ And Hosea had declared that Gentiles would be included in the chosen people.⁴

death and resurrection of Jesus Christ the people of God has passed through death into newness of life” (History and the Gospel, p. 150). Also Bright, op. cit., p. 232f.

¹Johnston, op. cit., p. 84.
²Flew, op. cit., p. 211. ³Rom. 9:27.
⁴Hos. 2:23 and 1:10 quoted in Rom. 9:25 and 26 respectively. For a full discussion on this see Dodd (Romans), and Nygren and Sanday and Headlam on Rom. 9-11; also Erich Dinkler, “The Historical and the Eschatological Israel in Romans Chapters 9-11: a Contribution to the Problem of Predestination and Individual Responsibility," JR, XXXVI, 2 (April 1956), pp. 109-127.
Paul further illustrates the church as 'eschatological Israel' with his allegory of the olive tree. The tree itself, with its broken branches, is the 'Israel of God'. The native branches are the Jews, the natural descendents of Israel; the wild grafts are the Gentiles who are incorporated into the ecclesia. This illustration serves to show how complete, in Pauline thought, was the continuity between the historical and eschatological people of God. The church is of the stock of Abraham, the fruition of his seed. Circumcision, the mark of the true people of God, is fulfilled as a spiritual sign in the body of Christians who trust in Christ and worship God in the Spirit.

We may conclude, then, that the epistles make it unmistakably clear in manifold ways that for Paul the church, related to its past in history, is 'the true Israel of God' in its final eschatological manifestation.

The body of Christ. Paul's most characteristic and original name for the church is the 'body of Christ.' In this metaphor

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1 Rom. 11:17-24; Dodd and Nygren ad loc.


4 Phil. 3:3 (Michael ad loc.); cf. Rom.3:28-29.


6 Hunter, Interpreting Paul's Gospel, p. 42. The idea of 'body' as a social organism composed of heterogeneous members was used in classical literature prior to Paul (see Lietzmann, HBNT, an die Korinther I, p. 135, for examples), but he is probably the first Greek writer to use it in the sense of a 'body corporate' (Dodd, Romans/
we have his view of the relationship of the Christian community to the Messiah, and an examination of it will serve to bring into clearer view the eschatological reference of the Pauline ecclesiology. The teaching of the church as the 'body' consists of two related ideas. (1) In Romans 12 and I Corinthians 12, Christ and the body are identical. In these passages Paul's primary concern is with the unity of the church as an earthly society, and he teaches that its members, consisting of those who are 'in Christ', are corporately joined together forming the 'body of Christ'. He is the whole body uniting the members and making them an organic whole.¹

The church is the extension of the personality of Christ and the organ of his activity in the world.² They have been baptized by one Spirit into one body.³ "We, though many, are one body in Christ, and individually members one of another."⁴ (2) In Ephesians and

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¹Romans, p. 194). Several suggestions are offered by authorities as to the source from which Paul drew in his teaching of the church as the 'body of Christ': Stoic (e.g. W.L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, p. 160f.), Gnostic (e.g. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, p. 178), Old Testament concept of the corporate personality (e.g. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul, p. 116ff.), the Christian Eucharist (e.g. Rawlinson, 'Corpus Christi', Mysterium Christi, ed. by G. Bell and A. Deissman [London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930], p. 225ff.), and rabbinic speculation on the body of Adam (e.g. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 53ff.). J.A.T. Robinson (The Body, pp. 55-56) points out that these various suggestions are not mutually exclusive and states that Paul may well have been influenced by several or all of them.


³1 Cor. 12:13.

⁴Rom. 12:5.
Colossians the analogy is changed so that Christ is presented as the 'head' of the body rather than as the body itself. As 'head' he is the origin, the source of strength and growth, the ruler, and the eschatological goal of the body. Here the church is the concrete and visible representation of the invisible 'head'.

These two ideas together form a conception of Christ both as the body and as above the body. He is the heavenly head ruling over his earthly body. This view of the relation of Christ and the church immediately suggests the conception of the solidarity of the Messiah with his people which, we have already pointed out above, is the fundamental idea of the New Testament teaching of the 'Son of Man'. Thus it may be asserted that Paul's teaching of the church as the body of Christ is rooted in his 'Son of Man eschatology'. The church as the body of the Messiah is the messianic community, the earthly society of believers in which the


2 C.A.A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, p. 162.

3 Schlier, TWzNT, III, p. 679. The fact that Christ is above the church is evidence that he cannot be entirely identified with it (Johnston, op. cit., p. 89). Paul's ecclesiology is a branch of his christology, but it is not safe to say that he regards the church as the extension of the incarnation (Hunter, Interpreting Paul's Gospel, p. 43).

4 See above p. 138f.

heavenly reign of Christ, now hidden from the world at large, is historically realized. In the church the messianic ministry of Jesus is continued in the world. The church, called to be the missionary people of the kingdom of God, is committed to the task of spreading the reign of God to the ends of the earth. This is an eschatological mission, a continuing of the messianic war with the powers of evil which, though decisively defeated, still continue to struggle against the power of God. The inevitable triumph of the kingdom of God is assured, and the final messianic act of Christ will bring this about, but in the meantime the war of the kingdom is carried on in the missionary advances of the church. Leivestad well brings out the messianic nature of the church's mission as follows:

The Kingdom of Christ is an expansive power that spreads throughout the world, making ever new territories and people subject to his reign, for salvation and for judgment. That is how Christ is putting all enemies under his feet (I Cor. 15:25). When the Gospel, through the witness of the apostles,

exhaust the idea of the 'body of Christ' (Johnston, op. cit., p. 89f.) but it does serve to bring out the eschatological reference of this teaching.

1 Though Paul never actually designates Christ as 'King' the idea is obviously implied in the conception of him as the presently reigning Messiah. Schmidt (TzwNT, I, p. 591) sees this clearly taught in I Cor. 15:24f. It is as 'head' of the church that the kingship of Christ is most fully expressed in the New Testament; see Cullmann, "The Kingship of Christ and the Church in the New Testament," EC, p. 105ff.


3 James S. Stewart, Thine is the Kingdom (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1956), especially chapters 5 and 6; Bright, op. cit., p. 237.

4 See above p. 22 ff.
destroys all human wisdom - behind which stand also metaphysical powers, the elemental spirits, the rules of this age (I Cor. 2:6; Col. 2:8) - when it delivers men from the present evil age, from the dominion of sin and death, making them turn from darkness to light, then it is Christ who is overcoming the world and destroying every rule and authority and power.

Thus the age of the militant church coincides with the age of the messianic reign of Christ. 2

This is a world-wide missionary enterprise that involves actual persecution and suffering of the missionaries, 3 and in view of Paul's conception of 'corporate suffering' this designates the church as the 'suffering body of Christ'. Christ suffered for the church, and the overflow of Christ's afflictions is ever pouring into the church. 4 The solidarity of those who constitute the Christian community is such that when one suffers it affects them all. 5 Thus when one member suffers for Christ, 6 it is the

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1 Op. cit., p. 148. Leivestad points out the elements in Paul's conception of the church's ministry that are parallel to the ideas of war and battle (pp. 145-148).

2 Ibid., pp. 248, 283. Cullmann states concerning the temporal relation of the kingdom of God, the kingdom of Christ, and the church: "...the Regnum Christi, the Church and the Kingdom of God all belong to the end of time, but the Regnum Christi and the Church of Christ coincide with a chronologically limited phase of this time, namely, the phase which has already begun and in which we are living, the beginning of which is behind and the end of which is before us, whereas the Kingdom of God is a purely future quantity." ("The Kingship of Christ and the Church in the New Testament," EC, p. 109.) See also Schmidt, TWzNT, I, p. 591f.; Flew, op. cit., chapter 1; Bright, op. cit., chapter 8.

3 II Cor. 11:16-31; Acts, passim.

4 Eph. 5:25.

5 II Cor. 1:5; Robinson, The Body, p. 70.

6 I Cor. 12:26.

7 Col. 1:24; Phil. 1:29.
whole church suffering for him. In Colossians 1:24 Paul brings together the ideas of missions and suffering. He states that the sufferings which he has endured in the execution of his divinely appointed ministry are vicarious for the church which, during its present period of struggle and persecution, is fulfilling its role as the suffering body of Christ. Leivestad states that this may be taken as a reference to the 'messianic tribulations' and that Paul thus considers his sufferings as hastening the day of the Lord and saving the church some of its suffering.

The militant church consists of those who have been redeemed but who still live in the flesh, and, consequently, it is an imperfect society. According to worldly standards, they are a weak and foolish people; even Paul refers to them as 'babes'. The body is torn within with moral imperfections, contentions, and divisions. But in spite of its imperfections and sufferings it fulfils its divine functions and rejoices because of the goal

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1 Leivestad, op. cit., p. 143.
3 Cf. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul, p. 81f., et passim
4 Leivestad, op. cit., p. 143.
5 I Cor. 1:26f.
6 I Cor. 3:1; Eph. 4:14; I Thess. 2:7.
7 I Cor. 5.
8 I Cor. 6.
9 I Cor. 1:10ff.
that lies ahead. It is of cardinal importance for our present concern to underscore the fact that the goal of the church is its eschatological completion. Its unity, maturity, perfection, and completion of its mission is entirely an act of God, his final act in Christ. Paul brings this out in several ways. In Ephesians 5 he states that the ultimate union of Christ with his church will come at the parousia when, as his bride, she will be presented to him cleansed and sanctified. In Ephesians 4 we have a parallel idea: the full unity and maturity of the church will be reached only as the 'body' grows completely into (or is attached to) its 'head'. This growth is the work of Christ himself, and its maturity means at the same time the 'summing up', or 'restoration' of all things under the 'head'. The 'oneness' of all men 'in Christ' is presently only sacramentally and spiritually realized; social and racial distinctions are no longer of any essential relevance, but they do still exist.

1Rom. 5:2f.; 8:17; II Cor. 4:16ff.; 6:8ff.; Col. 1:24; etc.

2Professor W. Manson ("Church and Intercommunion," SJT, IV [1951] p. 31f.) states that the unity of the church "will have to be wrought out eschatologically by reference to the final purpose of God. The Church stands under the sign not only of the Beginning but of the End...It looks not only to the First Advent but to the Second...We have got to turn towards the End, towards the ultimate Fulness of the Church, toward the return of the Lord...The radical life of the Church has to do with its eschatological vision." Also C.T. Craig, The One Church (London: Epworth Press, 1952), p. 20f.

35:21-32; cf. II Cor. 11:2.

41:10; 4:12-16; Schlier, TWzNT, III, p. 679f.

5In this sense the 'restoration of all things' is already being spiritually realized in the church. Dahl, "Christ, Creation, and the Church," BNTIE, p. 438.

61 Cor. 7:17-26.
There is a sense in which Paul considers that the eschatological fulfilment of the church is essential to the universal recognition of the lordship of Christ. This is not to infer that, as a person, Christ is not complete within himself. He is the eternal Son of the Father who was on equality with God before his incarnation.\(^1\) In his incarnation 'the whole fulness of the deity dwelt bodily' in him,\(^2\) and his exaltation finds completion in his self-surrender to the Father and the sharing of his eternal glory.\(^3\) Eschatologically speaking, however, just as the Father cannot be complete without a universe in which his reign is supreme (i.e. the 'new creation'),\(^4\) neither is the Messiah complete without his people; and his messianic reign will not be complete until they are fully united with him. Christ finished his messianic work on earth and ascended to his exalted position "that he might fill all things."\(^5\) He is already filling the church,\(^6\) and the goal of the church is to be completely filled by him.\(^7\) Through the church he is filling the universe.\(^8\) When God fulfils his plan for the ages by 'summing all things up' under Christ,\(^9\) then Christ will be 'all

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4. Goguel, op. cit., p. 326. See above p. 164.\(^f\)
5. Eph. 4:10.
6. Eph. 3:19; Col. 3:11.
in all' throughout his kingdom; and when he subjects himself to the Father and he becomes 'all in all,' the eschatological plan is completely fulfilled. Thus when Paul refers to the church as the 'fulness of Christ' he means that, as the body of the Messiah and the organ of his activity, it is essential to the universal, eschatological fulfilment of the lordship of Christ. The church completes Christ in the sense that through it he brings to fulfillment the messianic office to which he was appointed from before the foundation of the world.

Conclusion. The church is the earthly society of Christian believers in whom is fulfilled the prophetic anticipation of the true people of God. As such the church has replaced the nation Israel as God's chosen people and has become heir to the eschatological promises which he had made to them. The Christian community is corporately related to Christ; it is his 'body' through which, as its 'head', he continues his messianic ministry in the world. The church constitutes not only the sphere within history in which the reign of Christ is visibly represented, but it is the center through which he works, ever expanding the boundaries of the kingdom not only in history but throughout the universe.

\[1\] Eph. 1:23.  
\[2\] I Cor. 15:28.


\[4\] The eschatological significance of the church is seen further in its kerygma. See above p. 274.
completion of the church (i.e. its unity and perfection) and the full accomplishment of its mission (i.e. the reconciliation of all things to God) are goals entirely dependent upon God's final act in Christ at the consummation. Also, because of the organic relation of Christ with his body, his messianic office will reach finality only in the complete fulfilment of the church. Therefore, we may conclude, in Pauline thought ecclesiology and eschatology (due basically to their mutual fundamental dependence upon christology) are organically related. This is seen, on the one hand, by the fact that the church if considered apart from its eschatological reference would lose its real meaning as the 'people of God', and its mission would be impoverished of its full significance as God's plan for history. On the other hand, it is in the church that eschatology is seen as a visible acualization of the Divine power of redemption.

II. THE SACRAMENTS

The eschatological significance of the church is seen further in its sacraments. There is a wide variety of opinions among leading theologians as to the doctrinal and theological interpretations of baptisms and the Lord's supper,¹ but modern scholarship is generally agreed upon the Hebraic background of both these ordinances, and, consequently, their fundamental eschatological character is

commonly recognized. The setting of the sacraments is in the present stage of realized eschatology; they belong to the period of eschatological tension between the resurrection of Christ and his parousia, and they point to the completion of all things in the eternal kingdom. The victory of the cross is presently shown forth under the guise of defeat and the coming of the Lord in glory yet tarries, therefore, states Neville Clark, "the sacraments not only 'may be' but 'must be'. As eschatological signs they give outward, empirical manifestation within history of the new age of messianic salvation during its present stage of hiddenness from the world. Professor Torrance well states the essential eschatological nature of the sacraments as follows:

These two sacraments correspond to the two fold tension of Christian eschatology. The doubleness of the eschatological tension of the Parousia as both a presence and a coming, as something once for all and yet as the showing forth of that until the Lord comes, is enshrined in both of them, but the emphasis upon the once-and-for-all union of God and man, of the eternal and the temporal, falls most heavily upon the sacrament of baptism, while in the sacrament of communion we have most the emphasis upon the continuation of that in the contradictions and abstractions of fallen time. If in the sacrament of baptism there is enshrined the faith that once for all we have been put in the right with God through Jesus Christ, in the sacrament of holy communion we have the unshakable conviction that in the presence of Christ we are in the wrong and we need to receive constantly communion in His body and blood... If at baptism we think of our having died and risen with Christ, new creatures, so that old things are passed away and all things are become new, at holy communion we think of that creation not only as datum but as dandum which must ever be given from moment to moment in the conditions

1 Kennedy (St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, chapters 6 and 7) completely invalidates the argument that Paul drew upon the mystery religions as a source for his understanding and teaching of the sacraments. See also C.A.A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, pp. 122-133; Cave, The Gospel of St. Paul, pp. 272-276.

of our passing and sinful world so that every time we communicate is eschatological time (kairos) until we drink it new in the Kingdom. Unquestionably, therefore, the two sacraments are given to us to enshrine the double consciousness of the New Testament eschatological faith and hope, to enable us to hold in the grasp of our faith and hope in the Parousia as both a real presence here and now and yet as an advent presence still to come. At the same time both sacraments make it quite clear that the Kingdom of God is amongst us not in word only with suspended action, not as Spirit only, but in deed and in power, as real act in time, as word-deed enacted in our flesh and blood and inserted into history. But precisely because it is both, it is both an abiding reality and also an eschatologically repeated event until Christ come.

Current biblical studies are now revealing the fundamental place of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper in early Christian thought and practice, and the New Testament concern with them is far more integral to its whole message than its relatively exiguous direct references to them would indicate. In order to point out the basic eschatological reference to the Pauline teaching, however, it will be possible to confine our discussion to the passages in the epistles that bear directly upon baptism and the Lord's supper. We shall consider them separately, and our primary concern is with them as they outwardly portray the

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presently hidden eschaton. Since all of Paul's technical eschatological concepts (i.e. the coming of the Messiah, kingdom of God, resurrection, judgment, and parousia) are involved in his teaching of the sacraments, this discussion will serve to summarize his conception of 'last things'.

**Baptism.** It has already been pointed out above, in connection with our discussions of the resurrection and the Christian life, that the act of baptism is a dramatic representation symbolizing the believer's spiritual experience with Christ. Though the New Testament gives no explicit information as to the mode of baptism practiced by the early Christians, it would seem almost beyond doubt that, at least as far as the first generation of believers is concerned, it was normally adult baptism by immersion. This is the picture that is reflected in Paul's key passage on baptism in Romans 6. Faith union with Christ involves the believer's union

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1See above pp. 66f.; 192.

2Barth, *The Teaching of the Church Regarding Baptism*, p. 9; Kennedy, St. Paul's *Conception of Last Things*, p. 151; Hunter, *Interpreting Paul's Gospel*, p. 34, et al. /βαπτίζειν (meaning essentially to 'dip' or 'immerge') in the LXX is the translation of the Hebrew נָחַל (also meaning to 'dip' or 'plunge'), e.g. Jos. 3:15; Ruth 2:14; Oepke, *TWNT*, I, p. 32.

3Nygren and Dodd ad loc. Cf. also E.F. Scott and Abbott on Col. 2:12. To refer to baptism as a 'picture' or 'representation' is by no means to infer that, to the first Christian, this sacrament was a 'hollow' symbol. (The above mentioned commentators make this clear in their interpretations of the respective passages.) German Baptist Prof. Lic. Dr. Johannes Schneider (op. cit., p. 77) states: "Alle Aussagen des Neuen Testaments sind sich darin einig, dass die Taufe nicht ein bloss äusseres, sichtbares Zeichen für einen inneren Vorgang ist. In der Taufe geschiet etwas von Gott her an dem Täufling. Darauf weist schon die Tatsache hin, dass die Taufe auf den Namen des Herrn Jesus Christus erfolgt. "Im Namen/
with him in his death, burial, and resurrection, and baptism by immersion portrays this whole process. Thus the outward rite, which it seems that Paul has in mind, consists of the two separate acts of immersion and emergence which represent the two basic ideas of baptism, death and resurrection. We shall consider these two ideas separately. (1) In biblical thought death and judgment are related ideas, so the first technical eschatological idea that we note in baptism is that of judgment. This is seen first in the New Testament in the message and work of John the Baptist who appears on the scene at the very beginning of Christian history as the divinely appointed fore-runner prophet who is to prepare the way for the coming Messiah. His message was essentially a solemn warning of the coming messianic judgment and a proclamation that only by repentance of sin and turning to God could the people prepare for this judgment and thus share in the coming kingdom of God. Following in the prophetic tradition, John visibly portrays his message with a symbolic act; he baptizes those who have repented as:

Namen Jesu heisst aber nicht "unter Berufung auf seinen Namen" oder "unter Berufung auf den Taufbefehl des Auferstandenen", sondern "unter Anrufung des Namens Jesu". Wo aber sein Name genannt wird, da ist er selber gegenwärtig und da ist seine Heilskraft wirksam. Da sind nicht nur Zeichen und Symbole." However, our primary concern here is with the outward aspect of baptism as it visibly portrays an eschatological sign.

3Ibid., p. 20f.
a symbolic cleansing. The basic idea of judgment in John's baptism is carried over into the Christian conception. John's water baptism of repentance was not an end within itself; it was pre-messianic and was with a view toward the messianic baptism of the Spirit. John's baptism was fulfilled in the baptism of Jesus. The Lord's baptism at the hands of John was accompanied by the coming of the Holy Spirit upon him, and thus it inaugurated his messianic ministry. Jesus' baptism, which was for the express purpose "to fulfill all righteousness", was fulfilled on the cross. He referred to his own death, in which he vicariously took upon himself the ultimate consequences of God's judgment upon sin, as his baptism. Thus Christ's baptism at the hands of John is fulfilled upon the cross where, in what Cullmann calls a 'general baptism,' the Divine righteousness is fulfilled and salvation is made available for all. We have already shown the connection in Pauline thought of the death of Christ and the removal of the sinner's guilt, and

3 Matt. 3:15.
5 Lk. 12:50; Mk. 10:38; Matt. 20:22.
8 See above the discussion of the atonement p. 17.
Paul clearly links together the believer's baptism and the Lord's death: "Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death..."¹ "...Christ loved the church and gave himself for her, that he might sanctify her, having cleansed her by the washing of water with the word."² C.F.D. Moule, in his article "The Judgment Theme in the Sacraments," states, "...it is dying, it is rising again; so that by baptism an individual, or indeed the whole Church corporately, is (in a sense) brought past the great assize, past the final judgment of the last day, into the life of the new age."³ From his watery grave the believer rises justified. Thus baptism into Christ's death visibly portrays at once the sinner's plea of guilty to God's condemnation upon him and his submission to Christ's bearing of his guilt.⁴ Moule sees further in the 'once and for allness' of baptism an anticipation of the ultimate finality of God's sovereign judgment, and he also points out that in the Lord's supper this judgment is continued sacramentally in the redeemed life.⁵

¹Rom. 6:3,4.
²Eph. 5:25,26. See Abbott ad loc.
³BNTIR, p. 467.
⁴I Cor. 6:11. Quell and Schrenk, Righteousness, pp.47,63 n. 3.
⁵Cf. the connection of forgiveness of sins and baptism in early Christian preaching; e.g. Acts 2:38.
(2) The believer's emergence from the water in the second act of the rite of baptism depicts his spiritual resurrection to life in the messianic kingdom. Here is seen the distinctive element of Christian baptism. Unlike that of John's, which is pre-messianic, Christian baptism symbolizes not only repentance and justification in preparation for the kingdom, but it follows through the full eschatological process of death and resurrection and places the believer within the completed salvation act of Christ.¹ In Romans 6, Paul states, "We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in the newness of life";² and this 'newness of life' means life in the new age of the kingdom.³ The crucial idea of the Romans 6 passage is the union with Christ that the act of baptism visibly represents,⁴ and the source and power behind this faith union is the work of the Holy Spirit. The Pauline epistles do not teach that the rite of baptism involves the 'reception of the Spirit',⁵ but they do indicate that, in the mind of Paul, the work of the Spirit is linked with baptism. "But you were washed...in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit."⁶ "For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one

¹Schneider, op. cit., p. 43; Cullmann, Baptism in the New Testament, p. 10.
²Rom. 6:4.
³See above p. 67.
⁴Schneider, op. cit., p. 45.
Cf. Acts 2:38; 8:16ff.; 10:44ff.; etc.
⁶I Cor. 6:11.
body."^1 Paul's view of the relation of the Spirit and baptism is illustrated in his description of the rite of baptism as a 'seal'. This is indicated first in I Corinthians 1:13f., where the dominant idea is that of baptism 'in the name'. "Baptism 'in the name of Christ'" states C.A.A. Scott, "placed a seal upon the fact that the person baptized belonged to Christ; he belonged to Him by faith."^2 Circumcision was the sign and seal of God's covenant relationship with his people Israel,^3 and in Colossians 2:11-12 it is evident that Paul regards Christian baptism as the fulfilment, and thus the repeal, of this Jewish rite. Therefore, baptism, as the fulfilment of circumcision, is the sign and seal of the new Israel.^4 That which serves to make baptism the seal of one's entrance into the new creation and the sign of his belonging to God as a 'new creation' is the work of the Holy Spirit. This means that baptism as Christian 'circumcision' actually accomplishes what the true Jewish rite only signified, namely, the putting off the body of flesh ruled over by sin.^5 It is the work

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^1 I Cor. 12:13.

^2 Christianity According to St. Paul, p. 117.

^3 Rom. 4:11f.

^4 "In him also you were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of flesh in the circumcision of Christ; and you were buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead."


of the Spirit that effects what baptism represents; it puts away the old man* and creates the new: "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ."² This is confirmed at baptism by the sealing of the Spirit.³ Dr. Barth well presents Paul's essential view of the work of the Holy Spirit in baptism in these words:

As the Holy Spirit is the agent of this union of man with Jesus Christ, therefore the work of the Holy Spirit belongs inseparably to the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and to the happening portrayed in baptism. As the Holy Spirit is the agent of this union, what happens is 'baptism with the Holy Spirit'... What befalls a man in that participation in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ through the work of the Holy Spirit, which is set forth in baptism, is indeed his rebirth to new life in the Age to Come.⁴

The sealing of the Holy Spirit is not only a confirmation of the decisive, once for all entrance of the believer into the kingdom, but it is also his guarantee of his future possession.⁵ He is sealed by the Spirit 'for the day of redemption',⁶ i.e. the final resurrection.⁷ Thus the act of baptism as well as symbolizing the present spiritual resurrection into the messianic age also anticipates the final bodily resurrection into the eternal kingdom of God.

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The rite of baptism is an ordinance of the church, and therefore 'baptism into Christ' not only symbolizes the believers entrance into the invisible kingdom but it is also his actual initiation into the historical community of Christ. One of the primary purposes for which Paul discusses the subject of baptism is to present it as a symbol of unity of the fellowship. The individual believer is baptized into the 'one baptism' (i.e. the general baptism of Christ) and is thus incorporated into the one body of Christ. Therefore, we may assert, the eschatological goal of the unity of the church remains not entirely a future expectation, but it receives a spiritual realization in the historical church through the sacrament of baptism.

The Lord's Supper. In the New Testament, baptism and the Lord's supper are thought of together, and, as Professor Torrance points out, they may be regarded as two parts of a single sacrament. Both have to do with incorporation into Christ, and the 'once and for allness', the eternal finality of baptism is continued in the historical life of the believer through participation in the communal meal of the Lord. There are many critical and theological problems involved in New Testament accounts of the Lord's final supper with his disciples in the upper room before the crucifixion, but the essential and indisputably clear

\[1\] I Cor. 1:10ff.; 12:13; Gal. 3:27; Eph. 4:5.


meaning of it is that Christ, by his words and actions, intended to institute the supper as a means whereby his followers might share in the blessings of his sacrifice and in his anticipation of the joys of the perfected kingdom. 1 The two primary sources for the New Testament accounts of the last supper are the Markan (14:22-25) and the Pauline (I Corinthians 11:23-26) records, and the consensus of opinion of most modern authorities reveals that these two accounts are in basic agreement, and some even prefer the Pauline account as the most primitive and historically accurate. 2

Bringing together all the direct references that Paul makes to the Lord's supper, 3 we may present the eschatological reference of this teaching with three observations. (1) The commemoration of the Lord's supper is a communion with the Messiah. Paul regards the event of the upper room as originally intended by the Lord as the institution of an ordinance that would be carried on after his death and that would be a special means whereby the spiritual benefits of his death and resurrection should be shared by all believers as well as by the first disciples. Paul quotes the Lord as saying, as a part of the words over the elements in the


2 E.g. Clark, op. cit., p. 36f.; Flew, Jesus and His Church, p. 99; J. Behm, TWzNT, II, p. 136f.

3 I Cor. 10:1-4, 15ff.; 11:20ff.
supper, 'Do this [as often as you do it] in remembrance of me.'

And Behm points out further that the very words spoken over the elements (i.e. "This is my body which is for you" and "This cup is the new covenant in my blood") are a promise that Christ himself will be there when the meal is eaten. In I Corinthians 10:16 there is this statement: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a participation in the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ?" The context of this passage clearly indicates that what Paul has in mind is an actual fellowship (κοινωνία) that takes place between the Messiah and those who form his body when the eucharist is performed. It is a sharing in the redemptive benefits of his death and in the fellowship of his body, the church. Vincent Taylor states that Christ "not only intended His disciples to share in the power of His self-offering on the night of the Arrest; He meant them to continue so to do. In breaking bread and in drinking

1 I Cor. 11:24,25. Taylor (Jesus and His Sacrifice, pp. 206-208) maintains that in these words Paul has preserved an original element in the tradition not mentioned by the Synoptics. Davies (Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 242-253) holds that here Paul is making explicit what was implicit in the Synoptic record of Jesus' teaching. This is seen especially in view of the correspondence of the Jewish passover and the Lord's supper (see below). Higgins points out the connection between 'remembrance' and the passover in the Old Testament (op. cit., p. 34ff.).

2 I Cor. 11:24,25.

3 TWNT, III, p. 738.

4 Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, p. 159.
the cup they were to bring Him and His Messianic work powerfully to mind until He should come with power and great glory."  

Thus we may assert that for Paul the Lord's supper is first and foremost a communion with the Messiah in which Christian believers, as his body, experience in a special way the spiritual reality of their faith union with him. The emphasis here is upon the Lord's supper as the sacrament of the church. This is the special significance of the loaf: "Because there is one loaf, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the same loaf." The proleptic realization of the eschatological unity and maturity of the church symbolized in the 'one baptism' is given further symbolic representation and realization in the one loaf of the communion table. As a symbol of the unity of the body and of communion of the body with the head, the Lord's supper portrays the life of the kingdom in its deepest spiritual sense.

(2) In I Corinthians 10:1ff. Paul brings together both baptism and the Lord's supper and interprets their combined symbolism as a portrayal of Christianity as a 'new exodus of salvation.' In this passage Paul has reference to what in the Old Testament thought was considered the high point in the history of Israel, namely, God's supernatural act of delivering his people from their bondage in Egypt. He lead them miraculously through the Red Sea

1Jesus and His Sacrifice, p. 208.

2I Cor. 10:17. Cf. the references in Acts concerning the 'breaking of bread' (e.g. 2:42; 20:7). C.A.A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, p. 181f.

3In this discussion we are following primarily Harold Sahlin in his article "The New Exodus of Salvation according to St. Paul," RVET, pp. 81-95.
and commanded the institution of the passover as a feast to be observed by the people in commemoration of this mighty act of deliverance. There followed later, at Sinai, God's covenant with Israel and his giving of the law to Moses, and, consequently, the deliverance out of Egypt became looked upon by the Jews of Old Testament times as God's act of election whereby he chose them to be his peculiar people. Sahlin points out that, consciously or unconsciously, the Jews came to shape their anticipation of eschatological salvation according to the historical exodus under Moses. The Messiah was to be a prophet like Moses, and he was to perform a similar act of deliverance, except, of course, upon a much larger scale; Sahlin states:

Early Judaism increasingly understood eschatological salvation as a repetition, on a large scale, of the historical Exodus. The form that the ritual of the Jewish Passover, or Pesach, had come to assume unquestionably assisted this result. The Pesach festival, which had originally had a manifold significance, became in time simply an historical memorial of the Exodus from Egypt. This historical event was recalled in detail at every celebration of the Pesach; the feast was observed not only as an act of commemoration but still more as something which pointed forward to a new and still greater deliverance.

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1 Ex. 12. 2 Ex. 19.
3 Sahlin, op. cit., p. 81.
4 Ibid.
5 Deut. 18:15,18. Sahlin states as a standing formula in Rabbinic literature: "As the first delivered (i.e. Moses), so the last deliverer (i.e. the Messiah)." (Ibid., p. 82.)
6 Ibid., p. 81. Sahlin holds that this exodus typology was of a dogmatic character in the theological thinking of the first century and that its parallelism between the historical exodus and the messianic deliverance is fundamental in the New Testament as a whole (p. 89).
In order to see how Paul could apply the exodus typology to the Christian situation it is necessary to mention another aspect of the Jewish paschal feast. A salient feature of this festival was the centrality of the idea of remembrance; it was a commemoration which was understood to imply that those who took part in it became one with the 'exodus' generation itself.

Every generation, according to a passage in the passover ritual, through its celebration of the feast was to experience in itself the deliverance out of Egypt. It would have been natural for Paul, especially in view of his devoutly religious Jewish background, to feel that the exodus applied to his own generation. "But as a Christian he must have had this feeling still more strongly. He knew that he belonged to the new eschatological Exodus under Jesus, the Messiah; and, in his opinion, the New Exodus was a complete typological counterpart of the ancient, historical Exodus, only on a larger scale and in a more profound sense." It would seem that on the basis of such passages as I Corinthians 5:6-8 and 11:23-26, which indicate beyond question that Paul's conception of the eucharist is dominated by paschal

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1 E.g. Ex. 12:14; Deut. 16:3. See Higgins, op. cit., p. 35f.
2 Sahlin, op. cit., p. 82.
3 "In every generation it is the duty of a man to imagine that he himself has come forth out of Egypt. It is written (in Exodus 13:8): 'This is done because of that which the Lord did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt.' God has not only delivered our fathers, he has also delivered us. It is written (in Deuteronomy 6:23): 'And he brought us out from thence, that he might bring us in, to give us the land which he swore unto our fathers.' Therefore it is our duty to thank, praise, magnify and glorify Him who has done all these wonders for us and brought us out of bondage ..." (Quoted by Sahlin, op. cit., p. 84).
4 Ibid.
ideas, that Sahlin has firm grounds for his assertion. In the celebration of the Lord's supper which Paul regards as a commemoration pointing back to the sacrificial death on the cross, the cosmic event of eschatological deliverance from the old aeon of death to the new aeon of life, the apostle saw fulfilled all that to which the Jewish passover had witnessed. Thus he was able to interpret the aspects of Israel's experience of deliverance as prototypes to the Christian sacraments. The crossing of the Red Sea was for Israel a baptism "into Moses" (i.e. joined to him in allegiance and trust in him as their divinely appointed leader and mediator) and participation in the deliverance which God wrought through him. Typologically, a Christian's baptism

1Cf. also I Cor. 15:20 ('first fruits'), II Cor. 3:1-11. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 105f., 250. In this connection the words "Do this in remembrance of me" (I Cor. 11:25) are especially significant (Higgins, op. cit., p. 34ff.). There is evidence that chronologically Paul may be following the Fourth Gospel in placing the last supper on the 14th. of Nisan instead of the 15th. as in the Synoptic tradition, but it is clear that, theologically speaking, it is the paschal meal he has in mind. On this problem see Preiss' article "Was the Last Supper a Paschal Meal?" (Life in Christ, especially p. 67ff.). The I Cor. 5:6-8 reference is an echo of the Paschal rite, but there is not sufficient evidence to regard it as a direct reference to the eucharist as the Christian equivalent of the Jewish passover. What Paul seems to have in mind here is a description of the redeemed life as a true and everlasting paschal feast; Higgins, op. cit., p. 64f.; Moffatt, ad loc.

2I Cor. 10:1-2. Moffatt; Robertson and Plummer, ad loc.

3Sahlin (op. cit., p. 89) sees proselyte baptism in the background of this passage. He traces the origin of proselyte baptism to the exodus typology: "As regards proselyte baptism, its background was Exodus typology. It was not enough that the non-Jew had received circumcision; he also had to be associated symbolically and sacramentally with the historical acts through which the election of the Jewish people took place. Like Israel he had to depart from Egypt and march through the Red Sea to be received into the Covenant of God in the desert. Proselyte baptism is held to represent the passage through the Red Sea before the covenant at Sinai."
into Christ (i.e. into his death and resurrection) signifies his incorporation into Christ's body and his participation in the eschatological deliverance effected through the Lord's sacrifice. Also, as Israel was nourished upon the supernatural food (i.e. manna and the water from the rock) during the days of her wandering, so Christians are nourished upon the supernatural food of the eucharist which comes from the same Rock, the pre-existent Messiah. Thus it is the sacrificial death of Christ that is the central content in the Lord's supper, and the 'new exodus of salvation' which it effects, referred to at the eucharistic celebration as the 'new covenant', is symbolized most vividly in the cup: "This cup is the new covenant in my blood." We may affirm, then, that Paul regards the Christian eucharist as a 'new passover' commemorating the 'new exodus' of salvation in the eschatological age effected through the death of Christ. Paul carries his Jewish/Christian passover analogy further by pointing out that the Christian sacraments, no more so than were their Jewish prototypes, are not to be regarded as rites efficacious within themselves. His primary concern in the I Corinthians 10 passage is with that which the Christian ordinances represent. They are held up as sacramental signs visibly portraying the true historical significance of the 'Christ event'.

1 I Cor. 10:3-4.
2 I Cor. 11:25. Bahm, TWNT, III, p. 738. This is a fulfilment of Jer. 31:31ff.; Higgins, op. cit., p. 33.
3 Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 252.
4 I Cor. 10:6ff.
The Lord's supper is the sacrament that is continually repeated as a commemoration - "in remembrance of me" - taking the Christian back once more to share in the death of the Lord. "The Lord's supper," writes John Marsh, "displays the connection of the believer's experience with the historical events which constitute his redemption... The past event is itself manifested in the present at the Eucharist." ¹

(3) The Christian paschal feast commemorates the death of the Messiah both by looking back to it as the summit of redemptive history and looking forward to the great final deliverance into the perfected kingdom that it is yet to accomplish, and this brings us to our final observation: the celebration of the Lord's supper is a witness to the parousia of the Lord: "For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes."² These words may obviously be regarded as a Pauline analogy of the Synoptic record of the dominical saying at the last supper that the Lord would not eat this meal with them again until it was fulfilled in the kingdom of the Father.³

Paul, then, regards the Lord's supper as an anticipation of the great messianic feast which the Messiah, after the completion of all his redemptive work, will celebrate with his people in the

¹ The Fulness of Time, p. 149.

² I Cor. 11:26.

perfected kingdom. The relationship of the Lord's supper and the parousia is brought out still further by the fact that the Aramaic expression μαρανθα όα ("Our Lord, come!") which we have already shown to be a "watch word" of the primitive church expressing their hope of victory in the return of the Lord, was most certainly first used by the Christians as a prayer in connection with their celebration of the Lord's supper.

This reveals not only that in the primitive Christian thought the Lord's supper and the parousia were bound together but also their belief in the real presence of Christ at the meal. Thus in the commemoration of the Lord's supper we have the idea of the proleptic realization of the final parousia; Moffatt states, "The Church crying Maranatha testifies to the living, victorious Lord; it not only waits on him but waits for him." At the Lord's supper the early Christians prayed for and expected the coming of the Lord, and their experience of his presence was a pledge of their fellowship with him, in spite of the temporary separation, and it was a foretaste of their final union with him in glory.

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1 Higgins, op. cit., p. 60; Dodd, Apostolic Preaching and Its Development, p. 232.


3 Didache 6:10 (here it is used at the communion in reference to the unholy as a warning to repent) cf. 1 Cor. 11:27-30; Kuhn, TWZNT, IV, p. 474. Higgins (op. cit., p. 60) sees a direct reminiscence of the Marana tha in 1 Cor. 11:26 (i.e. 'until he comes'). Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul, p. 252.

4 See Kuhn, TWZNT, IV, p. 475. W. Robinson, in his article "The Sacraments and Eschatology," (Theology, LV, 380 [February, 1952], pp. 56-57), points out that the presence of Christ in the sacrament is something personal and ethical rather than metaphysical (cf. Roman Catholic Mass); eschatologically speaking "this is better described in terms of 'Real Action', rather than in terms of 'Real Presence'." See Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 169.

5 Moffatt, op. cit., p. 169.

6 Behm, TWZNT, III, p. 737.
In I Corinthians 11:26 Paul says that the commemoration of the Lord's supper is a proclaiming (καταγγέλλω) of the Lord's death until he comes. Paul here does not mean merely the publishing of the fact of the death, but he means the making known of what it is, namely, a work of reconciliation. Thus in the eating of the bread and the drinking of the cup the church visibly portrays the very meaning of its existence: that in it God is accomplishing his eternal purpose in Christ of reconciling all things unto himself and that this universal reconciliation, presently hidden from the world, will come into full reality when the Lord returns in glory. The Lord's supper belongs to the historical, militant church, and it is a witness to the fact that its mission is not simply the work of human beings for a Divine cause but that it is the action of Christ himself working in history for the realization of the eschatological plan of God. Professor Torrance brings this out clearly in this statement:

'Till he come'...reminds us that participation in His substitutionary oblation is essentially eschatological. At last the eucharistic rite, with all its wonderful liturgy, will pass away with the passing form of this world, for it will be displaced by the Marriage-Supper of the Lamb. But in so far as that real presence of Christ in the Eucharist is the real presence of the Eschatos, that future Supper in the Kingdom of God interpenetrates the present action of the Church, so that here and now the Eucharist enshrines an essential displacement of the action of the Church by the action of Christ."

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1. W. Robinson (op. cit., p. 57): "The word katangello (translated 'show' in the A.V. and 'proclaim' in the R.V.) is the word so often used in the New Testament for the kerygma, which centered in the sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross."

2. Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, p. 212.

Conclusion. All of Paul's major eschatological concepts - the coming of the Messiah, death to the old aeon, life in the kingdom, resurrection, judgment, and the reconciliation of all things in the perfected kingdom - are symbolized and summarized in his conception of baptism and the Lord's supper. Because these sacraments are outward symbols they give visible representation to the world of the presently hidden eschaton, and because, to the believer, they are more than symbols, the administration of baptism and the commemoration of the eucharist are a spiritual realization of the powers and blessings of the 'last things' in the life of the church.

III. CONCLUSION

In the teaching of the epistles, the church and the sacraments are vitally related to Paul's conception of 'last things'. Both, as belonging to history, are witnesses of the supernatural power of God at work fulfilling in history through his Messiah his eternal plan for the ages. Both belong to the present stage of partial eschatological fulfilment and point to the stage of completion that lies beyond history. It is through the church and its sacraments that Paul relates his eschatology to history, not only as signs or witnesses of that which is hidden but as Divine action working in the world to bring all men and creation into his plan of eschatological redemption. The unredeemed world, through its observation of the church at work in its preaching, mission, and administering its sacraments, is able to perceive this eschatological power of God at work in its midst. The redeemed, by their incorporation into the body of Christ and participation in its
sacraments, are able to experience in this life of tension and struggle a spiritual foretaste of the life in the heavenly kingdom.
I. SUMMARY

The apostle Paul's cardinal theological concepts have been discussed here under the headings of 'christology', 'salvation', the 'Christian life', and the 'church and the sacraments', and it has been demonstrated that each of them has a fundamental eschatological reference. The universal significance of Christ is seen in his full role as messianic Redeemer; it is as such that he holds the position of preëminence throughout the universe and that all things are seen to have their ultimate meaning and goal in him. His universal lordship, though presently unrealized in the universe and unrecognized by the world, is a present spiritual reality known and experienced in his body, the church; and at the 'end', when Christ's final messianic act is executed and all things are reconciled to him, his kingship will be universally recognized and his reign will be supreme in all things. Paul's doctrine of salvation is essentially a teaching of the Divine deliverance of the world and humanity from the enslaving powers of sin and death. This is a deliverance effected through the messianic victory on the cross and accomplished in two stages: present partial, spiritual deliverance from the defeated yet continuing kingdom of evil and future complete deliverance of the redeemed humanity and of the cosmos to their full redeemed state when Christ returns to reconcile all things to God. The apostle
teaches that the 'saved' are transferred, by their faith union with the Messiah in his death and resurrection, to participate in the proleptically inaugurated messianic kingdom and that this present life of faith, because it is the work of the Holy Spirit, is a foretaste and an arrabon of their final resurrection to life in the heavenly kingdom. The epistles teach that the church, as the messianic community, the body of the Messiah, is the center in history through which Christ works extending his reign in the universe and thus accomplishing God's eternal plan for the ages. The sacraments belong to the present stage of realized eschatology and give visible manifestation of the presently hidden eschaton, and, at the same time, they point to the final union of Christians with their Savior and the complete reconciliation of all things in the kingdom that lies beyond.

II. CONCLUSION

From this study the following conclusions may be drawn.

(1) Each of Paul's cardinal theological concepts has the two-fold character of present partial, spiritual realization within the historical process and future completion of fulfilment at a point beyond history, and thus each corresponds fully with the essential character of the Pauline eschatology in both its stages of fulfilment. This means that throughout the epistles there runs a basic pattern of 'eschatological reference' that underlies the apostle's theological thinking and sets it within the general framework of his conception of 'last things'. In Pauline thought
it is not a matter of each theological concept singularly having reference to some particular aspect of his eschatology, but it is his theology as a whole having, in its very essence, a fundamental reference to his full eschatological view.

(2) In the teaching of Paul eschatology and theology are organically related; they are mutually dependent upon each other for their true and full Christian sense. On the other hand, eschatology forms a basic structure, an underlying frame of reference that undergirds his theological thinking. It relates the theological concepts to their roots in Old Testament thought, and it provides the explanation to the otherwise enigmatic sense of 'present incompleteness/future completion' that prevails throughout his theological teachings. On the other hand, Paul's theological concepts are essential in determining the true character of his eschatology. This is made necessary by his unsystematic treatment of his technical eschatological terminology, and it is only by relating his eschatological ideas with his great theological doctrines that the true nature of his conception of 'last things' can be determined and verified. The basic pattern of correspondence between eschatology and theology further confirms the fact of their organic relationship.

(3) That which binds eschatology and theology together into an organic relationship is the single foundation upon which both are dependent, namely, christology. One of the primary conclusions arrived at in part I of this thesis was that in Pauline thought
eschatology is made plastic to Jesus Christ; it is the Son of God who has come and who is yet to come that is the final determining factor giving shape to Paul's conception of 'last things'.

Likewise, Christ stands central in each of his theological concepts: Christ is the One through whom God is effecting the new creation, he is the Savior, the Life; the church is his body, the bread at the Lord's table his flesh and the cup his blood. Thus it is 'in Christ' that eschatology and theology converge into organically related teachings. Because of the christological foundation of his eschatology, we are able to assert that the basic pattern of 'eschatological reference' that runs throughout the teachings of the epistles is a fundamental framework that gives to Paul's cardinal theological concepts their distinctive Christian characteristic.
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