THE FORMATION AND EDUCATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MIND
IN PAUL'S EARLIER LETTERS

by

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A Thesis in New Testament
Submitted to the Faculty of Divinity in New College
The University of Edinburgh
In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy
"We worship God in Spirit, and glory in Jesus Christ."

- Phil. 3:3
The following are abbreviations of books and reference works. The symbols for journals used will be found in the bibliography, section iii. Journals.

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<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>The Apostolic Age (McGiffert, Weizsaecker)</td>
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<td>DAC</td>
<td>Dictionary of the Apostolic Church (Hastings)</td>
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<td>DCG</td>
<td>Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels (Hastings)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia Biblica (Cheyne and Black)</td>
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<td>ERE</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (Hastings)</td>
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<tr>
<td>HDB</td>
<td>Dictionary of the Bible (Hastings)</td>
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<tr>
<td>HJP</td>
<td>History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ (Schuerer)</td>
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<tr>
<td>HNT</td>
<td>Handbuch zum Neuen Testament (Lietzmann)</td>
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<tr>
<td>HPX</td>
<td>History of Primitive Christianity (J. Weiss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IB</td>
<td>Interpreter's Bible (George Buttrick and others, eds.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Critical Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>Introduction to the New Testament (Bacon, Heard, McNeile, Zahn, etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IOT</td>
<td>Introduction to the Old Testament (Bentzen, Pfeiffer, etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISBE</td>
<td>International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia (Crr, general ed.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>JE</td>
<td>Jewish Encyclopedia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Judaism</td>
<td>Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era; the Age of the Tannaim (G. F. Moore)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kommentar</td>
<td>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck)</td>
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<td>Mission</td>
<td>Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries (Adolf von Harnack)</td>
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<td>N.T.</td>
<td>Das Neue Testament Deutsch (Paul Althaus and Johannes Behm, eds.)</td>
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<td>N.T.T.</td>
<td>New Testament Theology (Beyschlag)</td>
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<td>Prolegomena</td>
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<td>Realency-</td>
<td>Realencyclopaedie fuer protestantische Theologie und Kirche (Johann J. Herzog, founder)</td>
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<td>klopaedia</td>
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<td>St. Paul</td>
<td>St. Paul; a Study in Social and Religious History (Adolf Daissmann)</td>
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<td>Texte und</td>
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<td>Untersuchungen</td>
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<tr>
<td>TNT</td>
<td>Theology of the New Testament (Bultmann, Stevens, etc.)</td>
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<td>TNTN</td>
<td>Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament (Gerhard Kittel, ed.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>UJE</td>
<td>Universal Jewish Encyclopedia</td>
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All of Paul's extant letters are addressed to persons already Christian. What he said and did to pagan audiences for the purpose of making Christians of them can be known, therefore, only by inferences drawn after a careful first-hand study of these invaluable primary sources. Even the Acts of the Apostles, which purports to record on occasion how he spoke and acted in respect to prospective converts among Gentilic audiences does not furnish us all the help on this problem that might appear upon one's first examination of the work.Apparently Acts was written upon the assumption of a good deal of "Christian knowledge" on the part of its readers, consequently many statements are left completely or partially without explanation. Moreover, Acts was written after Paul had passed from the scene, and hence is further removed from the actual situations concurrently reported in the Pauline letters. Acts, therefore, is not a primary source, in the same way as the letters, for most of the period covered by the earlier Pauline epistles. Furthermore, even those relevant speeches and incidents in Acts, which are related as coming directly from the Apostle, are not verbatim and some are possibly not even eye-witness accounts. They are merely epitomized summaries of what he said and did on these occasions. This does not mean that these brief summaries are untrustworthy. It means only that they are selections and compressions of rather extensive Pauline addresses and activities (or narratives).

The basis of the present study is the earlier letters of Paul. These include the six epistles: Romans, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, and I and II Thessalonians. In addition to these, the relevant sections in the Acts of the Apostles have also been employed. The use of only the above six epistles is an arbitrary limitation made for the sake of (a) convenience, but much more because (b) they are possibly the earliest extant primary sources from within the ancient church. They therefore (c) mirror the earliest situations in the primitive Gentilic congregations and so reflect the methods and forms of evangelization and education before these "crystallized" into the settled modes of successful
Christian propaganda (such as our canonical gospels or even collections of Pauline epistles!) These conditions pose a problem which is both an important and a difficult one. With Gentiles who lacked the benefits of a Jewish background involving an acquaintance with the theory and practice of monotheism and morality, and who were devoid of any real knowledge of the source of Jewish thought and life, namely, the Old Testament—with such Gentiles, how did Paul proceed in eliciting and developing in them the Christian life and mind? There is finally the possibility that these six Pauline letters (d) furnish a valuable clue to the origin, effectiveness, and even validity of methods and practices reflected in the later parts of the NT and the subsequent literature of post-apostolic Christianity. Of these six Pauline letters five were written to communities which he himself had founded and in which he had worked and one—Romans—to a community which he knew only through others. In a few instances I have also cited (but not consistently so) from other letters of Paul (including Ephesians, which, if not Paul's, is so thoroughly Pauline that it may be regarded as the earliest commentary on his thought).

The methods of the present study consist of (a) a close, first-hand examination of the contents of the primary sources—the six selected Pauline documents—for traces and hints of Paul's missionary methodology, especially with Gentiles, and (b) a summarization of the results under great headings or divisions made both for convenience and for displaying the apostle's basic methods of procedure in creating and molding the Christian mind.

The scientific method of procedure, therefore, is that of historical and literary analysis. In the first two chapters the method of historical and literary comparison is also extensively used. Certain individual problems of historical and literary criticism have been considered, yet they are not the primary aim.

I think it ought to be added also that while some of the modern principles of psychological and sociological study and experience have been employed, they have not been allowed the chief pre-eminence—at least not consciously so.

In unfolding the thesis the development will move mainly within three major areas of interest: (a) a study of the Jewish and Gentile backgrounds for a detection of influences on Pauline methods and procedures with his Christian converts (chapters 1 and 2); (b) a study of major Pauline methods in creating the Christian mind (chapter 3); and (c) a study of the significant Pauline methods in educating the Christian mind (chapters 4-6). This is rather a difficult task to undertake, especially for a neophyte in Pauline studies. The breadth of subject tends everywhere toward a superficiality of coverage.

The thesis which I have sought to present and to prove is that, according to his earlier letters, the apostle Paul did consciously and intentionally form and educate a Christian mind in and among his Gentile converts, and that he employed motives, methods, processes, and other helps towards that aim. Thus the title page of the thesis might well have read "The Formation and Education of the Christian Mind in Paul's Earlier Letters, with Special Reference to Apostolic Missionary Method (or Methodology)."

Terminology, in regard to the concept and reality which I have designated "Christian mind," is not easy to handle. As we use the word mind in English, it varies all the way from "brain" through "attitude" to "understanding." I am not here primarily concerned with the "physical" possibilities attaching to the word ("brain," etc.), but more with all that is involved in the mental and spiritual connotations of the term—"thoughts," "judgments," "ideas," "attitudes," "outlook," "intentions," "aspirations," "insights," "understanding," etc. At the same time the expression "Christian mind" is not used as a synonym for abstractions and theoretical conceptions in the Christian's head, which may be held quite apart from the Christian's living and relationships. Rather our usage of the expression assumes a combination of the theoretical and practical, of thinking and living,
as everywhere endemic to life "in Christ."

This study is limited largely to Paul's Gentile converts, because as we saw above his converts from Judaism already had a strong background of monotheism, morality, worship, and proven teaching techniques. How he proceeded to create and develop a Christian mind in these persons is relatively clear. But how he proceeded with new recruits fresh from the rankest paganism with little or no background of high ethical teaching and moral practice is less obvious. This is our problem.

I may add that I have been unable to make a thorough revision of the original draft of the thesis, hence its excessive verbosity in parts and its needless repetitions. Also, I have had only limited access to the newer literature on Paul during 1955 (and 1956).

I wish to thank my two counselors, Prof. Emeritus William Manson and Prof. James S. Stewart, professors of New Testament in the Theological Faculty in the University of Edinburgh, for a session or two with each of them while reading for the thesis was in process. This does not imply, however, that either would endorse the ideas set forth in this study.

Chatham, Virginia, U. S. A.

1 September 1955
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a. God

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   (2) His will and promises
   (3) Respect for his person and reputation
   (4) His power to meet every command and need

b. Christ

   (1) His sacrificial death and love
   (2) His example and character
   (3) His pre-existence and incarnation
   (4) His lordship

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   (1) Their authority over the converts
   (2) Their example and that of other Christians
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   (b) Their experience and memory
   (c) Their individual and corporate ability and progress
   (d) Their respect for themselves as Christians

(2) Others
   (a) Fellow Christians
      1/ Respect for their welfare and reputation
      2/ Respect for their conscience
      3/ The suffering of other Christians
   (b) The heathen
      1/ The best in pagan morality as a level below which Christians dare not fall
      2/ The opinion of "outsiders"

e. The community and the common good
   (1) The peace of the larger community
   (2) The unity of the church
   (3) The obligation of mutual sharing
   (4) A sense of fair play and justice
   (5) The threat of excommunication

f. The parousia of Christ
   (1) The parousia itself
   (2) The end
   (3) The resurrection
   (4) The judgment
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**a. Internal standards**

1. The deity—God, Christ, or the Spirit
2. The holiness of the Christian life

**b. External standards**

1. God
   - The imitation of God
   - The will of God
2. Jesus and his works as an example
3. Other Christians
   - The apostle himself as an example
   - Others as examples
   1/ Individuals
   2/ Groups
4. The community
   - The useful or edifying
   - The universally Christian
5. The non-Christian community
   - The "natural"
   - The conscience

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PART I. THE SOURCES OF PAUL'S MISSIONARY METHODOLOGY

Chapter I. The Jewish Background - with Special Reference to the Tradition of "Religious Education" in Judaism.

Paul owed much to his background. In the following survey of his heritage our chief interest will lie in those factors which influenced or shaped his beliefs, techniques, and goals as he employed these latter in making men Christian.

I. The Racial Heritage

Paul was a native Jew (Phil. 3:5; cf. Rom. 4:1; 9:3; 11:1; II Cor. 11:22; Acts 21:39) like Jesus who became his Lord (Rom. 1:3; Matt. 1:1; etc). He bore the Hebrew name Saul (Acts 8:1; 9:1ff; 13:9) as had the first king of Israel before him (I Sam. 9:16). Like the same king he also stemmed from the tribe of Benjamin (I Sam. 9:1-2; Phil. 3:5). It may have been that his native tongue was Aramaic -- the probable meaning of his self-description in Phil. 3:5 as a "Hebrew of Hebrews" (II Cor. 11:22; Acts 6:1; cf. John 5:2; 19:13, 17, 20; 20:16; Acts 21:40; 22:2; 26:14).

Having been born a Jew, he consequently shared the Jewish temperament. This temperament was the sort that made them educators. They even considered their God the educator of the world (cf. Nedarim 38a; Abodah Zarah 3b). Paul shared the pedagogical aspects of this temperament as his writings everywhere testify (cf. I Cor. 4:17). A certain hardiness which the Jew possessed -- the power of resistance to overwhelming odds -- was also shared by Paul. There

1. Joseph Klausner supposes that books of genealogy for an insignificant family like Paul's would scarcely have existed, From Jesus to Paul, pp. 304-305.
2. Ernst Lohmeyer, Der Brief an die Philippier, p. 130.
3. For an exhaustive description of the Jewish temperament see Alfred Edersheim, Sketches of Jewish Social Life, p. 89.
was his "thorn in the flesh" (probably some disease); there was constant opposition from opponents in his churches both Jewish (II Cor. 11:22; Gal. 2:12; Acts 15:1ff; etc.) and Gentile (cf. II Cor. 11:26), as well as dangerous attempts on his life from both non-believing Jews and pagans (II Cor. 11:32-33; I Th. 2:15; Acts 9:24-35; 23:12-35). He had the physical and moral ability to endure when he could not resist or fight (cf. II Cor. 11:23-33; also 4:8-12; 6:4-10).

He shared also the Jewish mentality and outlook. The Jews of the first century A.D. possessed both an "inferiority" and a "superiority" feeling towards the outside world. They were a minority group and generally a despised people (cf. Cicero, Pro Flacco 28; Tacitus, Histories 5:2-5; Annals 15:44; Juvenal 6:160; 14:198ff; Persius 5; Horace, Satires 1:4:142ff; 5:100; Seneca, Epictae 95; Philo, Legatio ad Gaium 16); consequently membership in a small and rather "separatistic" religious group was no new experience for Paul when he entered the Christian church. His Jewish raciality engrained in him a type of clanishness which carried over into his Christian life and pedagogy and expressed itself in (1) a separatism that involved continuously restricted contacts with outsiders (cf. I Cor. 5:9, 12-13), in (2) an exclusiveness that regarded a "full life" as possible only inside the group (cf. I Cor. 12:12-13, 18-26) and saw the group as a "special" people (cf. I Cor. 5:10, 12; 6:1-6; I Pet. 1:9), and in (3) a patriotism that was fanatically intense (Paul remained a Jew to the last, Rom. 9:5; 11:1). In keeping with these three features of clanishness he thinks of the church as a third, separate order, neither Judaic

8. Such as malarial fever, ophthalmia, epilepsy, etc. See W. M. Ramsay, The Church in the Roman Empire, pp. 31ff; The Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day, section xlvii; C. H. Dodd, New Testament Studies, pp. 67-68.

nor Gentilic (I Cor. 10:32), and speaks of its members as "inside" and all others as "outside" (I Cor. 5:12-13; I Th. 4:12), even in the case of a Christian wife and a non-Christian husband or vice versa (I Cor. 7:12-16). Thus, too, outside of Christ and the church -- as formerly it had been for him with the law and Judaism -- there is no hope (I Th. 4:13; Eph. 2:12; Acts 24:15) and no salvation (Rom. 5:9-10; 10:1, 9; 11:14, 25-26; I Cor. 1:18, 21; II Cor. 2:15-16; I Th. 2:16; II Th. 2:10). This single notion shaped every method and motive of the apostle. It is his sense of the sufficiency of his faith and the deficiency or insufficiency of everything else (Rom. 8:32; I Cor. 3:21-22; Phil. 4:13). His loyalty to the Jews (seen, e.g., in his collection for the Jewish saints in Jerusalem, cf. Rom. 15:25-27, and in his designation of native Jews as "not Gentile sinners," Gal. 2:15) is equalled only by a patriotic devotion to his Gentilic converts -- note the savagery with which he fights to protect their freedom in Galatia and elsewhere (Gal. 5:1, 12), the daily anxiety and care he exercises on behalf of the young Gentilic Christians and churches (II Cor. 6:11-12, 11:28-29; I Th. 2:7), and his inhuman suffering to bring the gospel to Gentiles who had never heard it (II Cor. 6:4-5; 11:23-27; Acts 14:19; 16:22-24; etc.), all of which reflect an intensity of attachment to the church of the Gentiles that clearly matches that which he held for his former Jewish compatriots.

Paul also absorbed something of the Jews' sense of superiority, both religious (Rom. 3:1ff; 9:3-5) and nationalistic. The Jewish religion, as contrasted with paganism, concentrated on intellectual and spiritual interests.

11. A. S. Peake, Paul the Apostle, his Personality and Achievement, pp. 4-5.
The Jews also regarded themselves as a "special" people with a "special" mission, and these "specialties" made them a "called" people (Gen. 12:1ff, Hos. 1:10; 2:23; cf. Rom. 9:25-26). This sense of "specialty" and "call" was grilled into Paul, and he carried both over into the church and made them powerful motives to new thought and life in his converts.

He inherited also something of the Jewish genius for religion. He was endowed with the prophetic gift of spiritual insight and foresight (I Cor. 2:7-16; 15:2, 12). This was no mere fortune teller's flair for plausible guesses involving curious details of certain future and unforeseen events, but was the uncanny ability to discern the principles which determine individual conduct and society's over-all behavior. This gift involved the ability to understand the deficiencies, abilities, needs, and possibilities in men (cf. I Cor. 14:35). It operated on the premise that the beginning and end of life is God, and hence was able to deal with all religious and ethical situations and to discover their most suitable solutions — situations which might have seemed nearly insoluble to the Gentile world (Rom. 1:21-32; I Cor. 2:6-8; 9-11; etc.).

It seems superfluous to describe the personality of Paul, though this too is part of his personal legacy. His physique was probably not the most powerful, but the labors and hardships which he lists in II Cor. 6:4-10 and 11:

13. See Martin Schlunk, Gott und die Voelker, pp. 11-20.
15. The word "calling" became a Pauline terminus technicus in the N.T., K.L. Schmidt, Kittel's TWNT, 3:493.
17. On Paul's religious and ethical heritage see M.S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, chapter 1.
23-29 would have killed off the average man, so we must be careful not to overstate the case for his frailty. He was no weakling. His mental endowments were his real assets. He thought deeply and clearly. For example, when almost the entire leadership of the whole church failed to comprehend the far-reaching issues involved in the relation of the Mosaic law to the Christian gospel, it was Paul who grasped with singular clarity and incisiveness the meaning, the scope, and the consequences of the problem. He had to stand alone, at least temporarily, with his pioneering understanding of what was at stake (Gal. 2:4-9, 11; Acts 15:1ff). And he was not afraid to explore new areas of thought or to put his mind to the search for new solutions to old problems, as, e.g., his discussion on marriage in I Cor. 7 shows. His thinking was both sincere and balanced. There was a mystical streak in his mental habits but he is hardly a mystic. A great deal has been written about his temperament — his emotional heritage. He has been characterized as high-strung and melancholic, ascetic and sensual, tolerant and intolerant, subservient and

20. Olaf Moe estimates that in Asia Minor alone he covered over 1500 miles in less than two years — apparently afoot, The Apostle Paul, 1:567ff.
23. On two occasions this "balance" forsook him: in the riot at Ephesus (Acts 19:30-31) and in his insistence on going to Jerusalem at the end of his third missionary journey — against advice (Acts 21:10-14).
27. Heinrich Weinel, St. Paul the Man and his Work, pp. 177ff.
domineering, sadistic and masochistic, suspicious and confiding, intellectualistic and emotional, and otherwise. But whatever we may conclude about him, Paul did inherit a sensitive and emotional constitution which expressed itself in sudden alterations of mood — in shifts between indignation and affection, condemnation and commendation, fear and hope, or defeat and victory. He was keen to sense the needs of his fellows, sensitive and sympathetic at the same time (Rom. 1:11; 15:17; II Cor. 1:4-7; Phil. 2:27-28). He was excitable, though he maintained an apostle's composure (I Cor. 9; Gal. 2:5-9, 11). He was modest (Rom. 1:12; Gal 2:20; cf. II Cor. 11:30; 12:5, 7, 9), though he knew how to wield authority in cases of obstinate disobedience (I Cor. 4:21; II Cor. 13:2). He was sometimes impulsive (II Cor. 1:17-18; 12:20), though none of his opponents seem to have complained of excessive anger on his part. "His affections towards his converts were those of a mother or a lover, rather than of a pastor (Gal. 4:19; cf. II Cor. 11:29; I Th. 2:7-8)." The apostle needed an extensive emotional repertoire, and he possessed and used one, but he was certainly not a neurotic temperamentalist. His emotional nature had a profound impact on his evangelistic and educational work and methods.

36. T.R. Glover, Paul of Tarsus, p. 176; Glover notes that Paul never uses "friend" (φίλος) but always "beloved" (αγαπητός), op. cit., p. 178.
39. Joseph Klausner thinks that he suffered from an inferiority complex, From Jesus to Paul, pp. 314, 435; M.E. Andrews implies that his trouble was just the opposite, a superiority complex, Ethical Teaching of Paul, pp. 48ff, 58-59.
41. Heinrich Weinel notes, however, that even as a Christian he could "hate hotly, damn and curse passionately," St. Paul the Man and his Work, p. 356 — surely extravagant language!
II. The Domestic Heritage

1. Marriage and the Home

It is strange that Paul nowhere ever alludes to his early homelife. He merely mentions that he was born a Roman citizen (Acts 23:26) and was brought up a Pharisee (Acts 23:6; cf. 22:3; Gal. 1:14; Phil. 3:5). Thus nothing is known of his mother and little of his father. His early homelife, however, has left its indelible marks on his thought and character and helped to shape the principles and methodology underlying his Christian mission work. "One impression which certainly projected itself into Paul's pedagogical sense was the supreme importance of the home as an educational institution." It was in the home that he learned to speak Aramaic (Phil. 3:5; Acts 21:40; 22:2) and probably also Greek (cf. Acts 21:37). Here he imbibed his religion and received his earliest education (Phil. 3:5; Acts 23:6).

Paul held some very definite ideas about marriage, but their source is not always so easily determined. The question whether he himself was a bachelor or a widower has never been settled, but in any case many of his domestic and marital views and his means of communicating them doubtless derive from childhood experiences in his own parental home. To the Jew marriage was ordained of God (Gen. 2:21-24; 5:1). It was not merely the normal state, but a divine ordinance -- a viewpoint which Paul reflects in I Cor. 7:28, 36, when he asserts...

44. J.B. Mächler, The Origin of Paul's Religion, p. 45.
47. G.F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of the Tannaim, 2:119. The Jewish primary source materials cited in chapter I are mainly Philo and Josephus (both first century A.D. writers) and the Talmud and Midrash. Occasionally some of the inscriptions from within or near the first century A.D. have also been noted. On the problem of the origins and dating of Talmudic and Midrashic materials, see the work of Hermann L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash.
that it is not sinful for Christians to marry. Moreover, the Jew expected all to marry, and with few provisional exceptions (cf. Tosefta Bekoroth 6, 10), put pressure on young bachelors past the usual age, to do so -- the accepted age for marriage was about 18 years, or at latest 20 (cf. Kiddushin 29b, end). Paul grants the privilege of marriage to the young and also to widows (I Cor. 7:8-9) -- in spite of his own ascetic tendencies. He recognizes that marriage is better than restless passion, even when such passion is controlled (I Cor. 7:9). Marriage, he concedes, avoids immorality (I Th. 4:3-4; cf. I Cor. 7:2), a view that rises little higher than the negative, depreciatory view expressed by Rabbi Hyya the elder (last half of second century A.D.), "All that we can expect of them (wives) is that they bring up our children and keep us from sin" (Yebamoth 63a; cf. Wisdom 36:24-25).

For the Jew of the first century, monogamy was the marital rule (Gen. 2:24), a rule that Paul follows in I Cor. 7:3, "Each man should have his own wife and each woman her own husband" (cf. also 7:39; I Th. 4:4). Furthermore, mixed marriages (with Gentiles) had been forbidden to Jews since the days of Ezra (cf. Ezra 10:10). No doubt Paul had heard repeatedly from his devout Pharisaical parents throughout his youth the proscriptions against such unholy unions. He came to see the problems and dangers in such marriages, so that when the difficulty cropped up later among his Christian converts, he repeats this deeply ingrained bit of childhood instruction in the directive that a Christian may marry (or remarry) another Christian only (I Cor. 7:39).

48. See Moore, Judaism, 2:120.
50. Strack-Billerbeck say 18-24, Kommentar, 2:373.
51. Cf. Heinrich Weinel, St. Paul, the Man and his Work, p. 179, "He could only appreciate (marriage) from the sensual side."
52. Polygamy was rare apparently in Paul's time (cf. Moore, Judaism, 2:122). Louis Ginzberg can cite only one case of polygamy among the tannaim, namely, Abba, the brother of Gamaliel II, art. "Abba," J. E., 1:29. The nine wives of Herod, not all at once, seem to have been unique; cf. Josephus, Wars of the Jews 1:28:4.
53. Cf. John Short, I B on I Cor, 10:79.
But what of those Jews who insisted on marrying heathen partners (such as the mother of Timothy, Acts 16:1)? And what of their children? The non-Jewish partner was regarded as clean because the Jewish partner was the sanctifier of the home. Thus Paul applies the very process he may have seen through boyish eyes in the Jewish community in Tarsus — "the unbelieving husband is consecrated through his wife, and the unbelieving wife is consecrated through her husband" (I Cor. 7:14a). And the same logic applies to children of a mixed Jewish-Centilic union (cf. Semakoth 7; Yebamoth 11, 2; 42a); thus Paul, too, asserts in I Cor. 7:14b that likewise the children of Christian-heathen parentage are holy. It is possible that his suspicion if not abhorrence of mixed marriages makes Paul so proud, even as a Christian, to boast that no mixed, un-Hebraic blood coursed through his veins (Phil. 3:5).

On the relations of the sexes in the home, the boy Paul had learned sound lessons also — and didactic methodology. Jewish women of the first century A.D. were not generally held in very high esteem by their men folk (cf. Wisdom 35:17-19). They were regarded as instruments or utensils to check men from immorality (as noted above) — an opinion shared by Paul (I Cor. 7:2, 33; I Th. 4:4). In connection with husband-wife relations, he further asserts, "Man was not made from woman, but woman from man" (I Cor. 11:8), implying that a higher honor accords to man because of his priority in time and position at the creation of the world. The woman, accordingly, was subjected to her husband in the home and even in public gatherings. She was not allowed participation in any public office or assembly (apart from being present at the gathering in a separate "inferior" place generally marked "for women"). Even as a Christian, Paul still echoes this estimation of women as inferiors when he directs that the woman should

54. See Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, 3:374.
55. Cf.妆 as a synonym of θαυμάζω in Megilloth 12b; other passages cited in Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, 3:632.
keep silence in the churches and should be subordinate (I Cor. 14:33–34; cf. Eph. 5:22–24; Col. 3:18). He even appeals to the O.T. (cf. Gen. 3:16) to enforce his regulation (I Cor. 14:34), an appeal he doubtless had heard many times as a youth, perhaps from his own father. After all, man was not created for woman, but woman for man (I Cor. 11:9). Further, if a woman desired to ask a question for information, she must not do so at church, but only at home in private, and her instructor was to be her husband (I Cor. 14:35), an old orthodox custom that Paul had learned in his childhood home. Moreover, a wife's duty was largely domestic, except in the case of certain country peasant women who at times worked in the fields. She was a helper in the home, never its head. The husband alone was head of the house and the wife subject to him (cf. Kethubboth 7, 7f; Kiddushin 31a). Paul recommends that the same relations prevail in Christian homes (I Cor. 11:3; cf. Eph. 5:23). This subjection was carried over into the worship services in the synagogue. No woman ever conducted worship in a synagogue and often did not share at all actively in the service, though Hellenistic Judaism seems to have become more liberal at this point. For example, in some places a woman seems to have been permitted to read the scripture (see here Megillah 23a; Tosefta Megillah 4 (3), 11), and there is mention of a Jewish "priestess" in Asia Minor. Paul adopts this more liberal policy for he speaks of women praying and prophesying in church assemblies (I Cor. 11:5), and while the praying may have been silent, the prophesying could scarcely be so. Yet these very women are compelled by Paul to cover their heads because "any woman who prays or prophesies with her head unveiled dishonors her head" (I Cor. 11:5), and Paul says that

in this case the woman's "head" is her husband, in the same way that Christ is the head of the man and God is the head of Christ (I Cor. 11:3). Martin Dibelius says explicitly, "... He based the custom of the veil on the explanation that had been given him as a Jewish boy."

The childhood home of Paul was Tarsus in Cilicia, which means that he grew up in Diaspora Judaism, where Hellenism had infiltrated wide areas of Jewish thought and practice and tempered the strict orthodoxy that is supposed to have characterized the "purer" Judaism of Palestine. However, such laxity sometimes only heightens the zeal and fanaticism of persons who are sensitive to the dangers, inherent in such circumstances, of losing the vitals of their faith. At any rate Paul's zeal for the traditions of his fathers prompted him to outdo his youthful contemporaries in his advance in Judaism (Gal. 1:14). It is hardly probable that the late tradition which locates his boyhood home in Gishala of Galilee in Palestine is accurate. Whether the place was the ancient domicile of his family is likewise not verifiable, though it is quite probable that his parents still retained intimate links of connection with Palestinian Judaism.

2. Parents and Children

Even though we cannot be sure that Paul as an adult ever had a family and home of his own (I Cor. 7:7-8 and 9: 5 seem to imply that he did not), he

60. Johannes Weiss notes that I Cor. 11:3 is a "genuine Jewish-rabbinic inferior evaluation of woman," Der erste Korintherbrief, p. 270.
62. So contend Claude Montefiore, Judaism and St. Paul, and Joseph Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, and a few others.
63. Jerome reports that Paul himself came from Gishala, De viris illustribus 5, but this seems quite improbable. Cf. G.S. Findlay, art. "Paul the Apostle." NDB, 5:897b.
64. The tradition is preserved, also by Jerome (in his Commentary on Philemon 22), that Paul's parents had only recently migrated to Cilicia from Gishala.
66. See f.n. 45 above.
regards his present domestic status as part of his divine calling (I Cor. 7:7) and he makes considerable use of the home as a type of the kingdom of God, e.g., such relations as father, sons, children, brothers, sisters, etc., and such concepts as adoption, inheritance, heirs, co-heirs, etc., are extremely common in his letters. Thus the relation of Jewish parents and children is naturally reflected in his writings. He says little on the subject of children. He takes them for granted in I Cor. 7:14, apparently assuming that Christian parents, like Jewish, will possess a strong desire for children. He fails to mention his own parents, and allusion is made only once (and this not by Paul) that he had a sister and a nephew (her son, Acts 23:16ff). Such silence may be due to his ascetic attitude regarding family life, but it may also reflect his ostracism by his family following his conversion.


Yet, strict though Jewish parental discipline was, it was tempered with love. Jesus' parable of the lost sons depicts undoubtedly an affection of a father for his children that was typical of many Jewish fathers of the first century. The picture of Jehovah's pity for Israel was in terms of the affection of an earthly

67. W.M. Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, pp. 35-36. The help given him by his sister and nephew in Acts 23:16ff seems, however, to refute this latter suggestion.

68. On this subject see Philo, De decalogia 22-34; De specialibus legibus 2; cf. also Immanuel Benzinger, art. "Famile und Ehe bei den Hebraeern," Realen- cyclopädie (1897), 5:738-750; Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, 1:705ff; 3:614.

69. F.H. Swift, Education in Ancient Israel, p. 51.
father: "Like as a father piteth his children, so Jehovah piteth them that fear him" (Ps. 103:13). Thus, Rom. 8:33, "Who shall bring any charge against God's elect? It is God who justifies," may well echo such a saying as this, "Shall a father bear witness against his son?" (Abodah Zarah 3). Eph. 6:4a (cf. Heb. 12:7) may reflect the very kind of childish terror of parents and provocation by the stern father that made the writer's youth often miserable, and so he admonishes, because of scenes deeply embedded in his childhood's memory, "Fathers do not provoke your children to anger ..." Thus Paul expects also that the discipline which Christian parents give their offspring will be prompted and governed by a genuine affection and impartiality, as well as wise provision for them (II Cor. 12:14).

All early training given to Jewish children was done by parents in the home (cf. Kiddushin 29-30a). Indeed, the whole of the girls' training was done there from birth until marriage. The family, therefore, was the fundamental Jewish educational institution. The sons were taught a trade and the daughters domestic duties (Abot 2:2; 4:5; Kiddushin 29-30a). Children were taught to be industrious: "He who does not teach his son a craft ... it is as though he taught him brigandage" (Kiddushin 29a). In keeping with this practice Paul himself was taught the trade of tent making (Acts 18:3), and in his epistles he entertains a high estimate of work (both in theory and in fact), and further, he expects his converts to work as diligently as he himself before them (I Th. 2:9; II Th.

70. Cf. Swift, ibid., p. 53.
71. See W.M. Ramsey, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, pp. 36-37.
72. See Shabbath 10b on the impartial treatment of all one's sons.
74. F.H. Swift, op. cit., p. 50.
75. See on this Max Salomon, art. "Education," LII, 3: 630a-b.
He earned his own living by the labor of his own hands (I Cor. 4:12; 9:1-23; I Th. 2:9; II Th. 3:8) as he ministered to his converts, receiving aid only from the church at Philippi (II Cor. 11:8-9; Phil. 4:15-18).

In what has been said thus far about Paul's early upbringing we may note the following pedagogical principles as practiced in the average Jewish home: (1) the unquestioned authority and responsibility of parents for the earliest training of their children by "divine right" and the lack of real choice of the child in the matter, (2) the use of constant personal contact and supervision in teaching (Paul always prefers his presence with his converts to a letter to them, Rom. 1:10-15; I Cor. 4:21; 11:34; II Cor. 1:15; Phil. 1:8; 4:1; etc.), (3) the early presentation of mental and menial tasks for the child's attention and mastery (for Paul preaching, teaching, and example-imitating are the grounds for making Christians; I Cor. 15:1-2; I Th. 2:13-14), (4) the use of constant repetition of both theory and example until the lesson is thoroughly learned ... e.g., in the case of the child's learning a trade (compare Paul's expression, "As I have told you before," II Cor. 13:2; Gal. 5:21; Phil. 3:18; I Th. 3:4; II Th. 2:5), (5) the preference for objective example over mere oral statement in teaching children in the family (the apostle's use of personal example is probably indebted to this method of domestic pedagogy, I Cor. 4:16; 11:1; I Th. 1:6; II Th. 3:7, 9), (6) the assumption that parental-child relations and life were a series of object lessons which the child studied and imitated (Paul seems to have handled ethics, prayer, giving, etc. in this way), and (7) the sustaining of a congenial home atmosphere conducive to effective teaching and learning (compare Paul's more excellent way, I Cor. 12:31 — the way of order and decency, 14:40).

76. This does not necessarily mean, as Adolf Deissmann supposes, that Paul belonged to the artisan non-literary class of society, St. Paul, pp. 50-51. The motive in Eph. 4:28 for working was "that one might have something to give to the needy;" cf. John Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, p. 76. Paul Wendland denies outright that Paul belonged to "den unteren Schichten," Die hellenistisch-romische Kultur, p. 352.
3. The Religious Atmosphere in the Home

Orthodox Jewish adherence to the law regulated the early home life of Paul and atmospherated him in an aurora of piety and zeal for keeping its demands both biblical and traditional. He was brought up a Pharisee, a member of that large party which paid punctilious attention to the written legal enactments of the torah and to the numerous subsequent oral additions appended to it (Gal. 1:14; Phil. 3:5-6; Acts 23:6). The family was always the primary channel through which the Jewish religion expressed itself and was communicated to succeeding generations. To inculcate religion in the home, daily use was made of such symbols and customs as (1) the recitation of the shema (Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21; Num. 15:37-41), the creed of Israel which was recited twice every day, morning and evening, by every adult male Israelite (cf. Berakoth 1:1-2); (2) the gizith or tassels (fringes) of hyacinth blue or white wool, which every male Israelite, because of the prescription in Num. 15:37-40 and Deut. 22:12, wore at the four corners of his upper garment (cf. Menahoth 41b); (3) the mezuzah, an oblong box attached to the gate or door-post of the house (containing Deut. 6:4-9 and 11:13-21, and written in 22 lines) which the pious Jew touched and kissed upon every occasion of entrance or departure (cf. Josephus, Antiquities 4:8:13; J. Megillah 1:9; Shabbath 108a; Menahoth 28ff); and (4) the tephillin or phylacteries containing the four passages Ex. 13:1-10, 11:16; Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21), which every male Israelite had to put about his shoulders daily at morning prayer, except on sabbaths and holy days (cf. Menahoth 34b; Zebahim 37b; Sanhedrin 4b; etc). The

79. Acts 23:6 says he was "a son of Pharisees," which J.B. Lightfoot takes as referring to his teachers and not his parents, Commentary on Philippians ad 3:15; but see J.G. Machen, The Origin of Paul's Religion, p. 47.
82. In N.T. times the shema may have consisted of only part of these passages; originally it included only one verse, Deut. 6:4, J.D. Eisenstein, art. "Shema." *JE*, 11:266a.
children seem to have shared in all these customs and ceremonies at an early age. Such deeply ingrained habits may have their reflection in Paul's epistles, though not in these forms. He mentions the primitive Christian confession "Jesus is Lord" (Kyrios Iesous) repeatedly (cf. Rom. 10:9; I Cor. 8:6; 12:3; II Cor. 4:5; Phil. 2:11). Also, he constantly uses such expressions as "the Lord Jesus," "the Lord Jesus Christ," etc., which are echoes of this primitive Christian creed. It is not impossible, therefore, that these represent his daily "shemic" confessions of God (confessions which he had kept up since childhood). That is, as a Christian, he now adds this simple creed to or substitutes it for the shema of his pre-Christian days. Paul probably continued to practice the other Jewish customs connected with the mezuzah, mezuzah, and tephillin, though he doubtless refrained from imposing them on his Gentile converts (Gal. 2:7, 14; Acts 18:13; 21:20-27). These practices are of the same nature as circumcision (I Cor. 7:18-19; Gal. 5:6; 6:15; Col. 2:16-17). His regulations on the veiling of women are probably his nearest approach to such customs and casuistry. The detailed food laws, while wholly religious, were applied in the home where folk generally ate their meals. He had eaten and drunk according to these dietary regulations since birth. He knew their disciplinary value, but also their useless burdensomeness (Gal. 5:6; 6:15). It cut clear across his oldest childhood training and home life, therefore, when he wrote "nothing is unclean in itself" (Rom. 14:14) and "everything is indeed clean" (Rom. 14:20), and he doubtless wrote these words against the background of vivid youthful memories, if not childhood wonderment.

85. Schmerer, HJP, 4:49.
about why at mealtimes in the home one sort of flesh was eaten and another was not (Deut. 14:3ff), or why a garment of one type of texture was worn and that of another type was not (Lev. 19:19).

Many were the ceremonies and festivals sanctimoniously observed in the Jewish home, especially in the Diaspora far removed from Jerusalem the national religious center. Eight days after birth, the male child was circumcised (Gen. 17:12; Lev. 12:3) evidently usually in the synagogue, and then named (by the father? Lk. 1:59, 63; 2:21). Forty days after birth the mother was purified (Lev. 12:2-8; Lk. 2:22-24). It had been an ancient custom to observe a child’s weaning with feast or sacrifice (Gen. 21:9; I Sam. 1:22-25). Paul never forgets that circumcision (a symbolic threat to life) marks the subject’s entrance into covenant relations with God. In a somewhat similar way baptism, which also signifies a death and to which new conditions are joined, marks also the subject’s entrance into a new covenant (Rom. 6:3; I Cor. 12:13; Gal. 3:28; cf. Jer. 31:31ff; II Cor. 3:6). With this act of baptism goes also the assuming of a new (family) name — “Christian” — that is, the name of the family’s head and of the baptized new lord, namely, the Christ (cf. Acts 15:14, 17).

There were other domestic ceremonies in Judaism. On the eve of every sabbath one must ask, “Have ye separated the tithe? Have ye prepared the

89. Grey, Ibid.
92. See discussions on the Sabbath in L.N. Dembitz, Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home; Alfred Edersheim, Sketches of Jewish Social Life in the Days of Christ; Solomon Schechter, Studies in Judaism (First Series); W.O.E. Oesterley and G.H. Box, The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue; Samuel Krass, Synagogale Altartuemer; Ismar Elbogen, Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung. 
sabbatical mixture?" The sabbatical lamp was lit by the woman of the house (cf. Shabbath 2:1; 35b, 31a), who also spread the table with a clean cloth and set two loaves on it in memory of the manna in the wilderness (cf. Baba Kamma 82a). When the family returned from the sabbath synagogue service, the parents blessed the children, and then sat down to eat the "kiddushin" or sanctification of the sabbath (cf. Berakoth 6:1), a day on which no work was done and a day of festal character (Neh. 8:9-12; Jubilees 2:31; 50:9f; Lk. 14:1-24). "It may be taken for granted that any Jew mentioned in the New Testament would have known the Sabbath ritual from infancy." It is probable that the Pauline exhortation in I Cor. 16:1 for the Corinthians to lay aside their gifts on the first day of the week sprang partly from the apostle's long-standing custom to contribute his gift (the tithe) on Friday or on the sabbath. He probably expected them, like himself, to prepare their gift at home ahead of time before meeting the collectors or before coming to the worship service, as he had done for years as a Jew. I Cor. 16:1 surely implies a preliminary "getting ready" for the Christian Sunday services, for which Paul's Jewish childhood had set a pattern for him.

Another group of religious acts centering in the home involved, especially in the Diaspora, the festivals of "passover" and "tabernacles". "Even during the days of the temple when pilgrimages are made, the household character of the Passover was not lost." There was much to impress the mind of a child about passover: the search throughout the house for the old leaven, which could not be used in the new firstfruits, the slaying of the paschal lamb, the passover meal

93. L.J. Sherrill, op. cit., p. 27.
94. The Jews seem to have given alms both in the market place or street and in the synagogue, Matt. 6:2; cf. Baba Bathra 8b.
95. The educational impact of visits to Jerusalem by the Jewish males for participation in festivals there was of great importance also; cf. Foakes-Jackson and Lake, Beginnings of Christianity, 1:163.
96. L.J. Sherrill, op. cit., p. 27.
itself with unleavened bread, bitter herbs, the cups of wine, the blessings, the singing of the psalms, and the detailed explanations of the festival's origin to the young. (The essential features of the rite are described in Pesahim 10).

Some of these ritual features are clearly referred to when Paul commands the Corinthians to "cleanse out the old leaven" that they might be "fresh dough" (I Cor. 5:7a) and "to celebrate the festival" not with old leaven (malice and evil) but with "unleavened bread" (sincerity and truth) (I Cor. 5:8), for Christ, "our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed" (I Cor. 5:7b).

The feast of tabernacles with the removal of the family to a tent was also mainly a "home" celebration. Every seventh year it was an occasion when the law was taught to all (Deut. 31:9-13), and Josephus remarks that this period of instruction was vital to the acquisition of a knowledge of the law by old and young (Antiquities 4:8:12). A festival known as "The Joy of the Law" came to be observed on the eighth day of the feast. Other festivals, such as the feast of "dedication" with its illumination of home and synagogue (John 10:22; cf. Josephus, Antiquities 12:7; I Macc. 4:52-59; II Macc. 10:6-8), and "purim" with its boisterous merriment and sending of presents to commemorate the Jews' deliverance by Esther (9:20-28), were times for childish questions and curiosity.

Whether these ceremonies greatly influenced Paul or not, they seem to have done so for a later N.T. writer.

The daily prayers of the father of the home at morning, noon, and evening (cf. Berakoth 21a, 31a), the thanksgiving to God expressed before and after every meal (cf. Deut. 8:10; Berakoth 40), together with the prayers uttered by the head of the house on entering, when he touched and kissed the mezuzah: "May God keep

98. Moore, Judaism, 2:49; Sherrill, op. cit., p. 28.
99. T.W. Manson thinks that traces of the Jewish yearly festival calendar are to be found in I and II Cor. and especially in Rom. 3:21-25, "HILASTERION," JTS (1945), 46:1-10, esp. 6-10. If so, this shows a genuine influence of the Jewish festivals upon Paul's mind.
going out and my coming in from now on and ever more” (Menahot 28a) — all

these drew a mantle of piety about the shoulders of the youthful Paul which he
never cast off. His exhortation to "pray without ceasing" (I Th. 5:17; cf. Eph.
6:18) is the fruitage of such early habits of daily and hourly devotion. Compare
his saying of thanks over the bread and breaking it like a Jew even amid a severe

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危机 at sea (Acts 27:35).

With prayer went also the study and learning of scripture. This task fell
especially to the father of the family. It was also a daily requirement. Paul's
earliest knowledge of the O.T. was probably gained from his father (or father and
mother) largely by memorization and recounting of its stories and institutions
informally (cf. II Tim. 3:15).

All of the domestic problems in Paul's early home were solved with reference
to a religious standard. Faithfulness between husband and wife was a divine

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obligation (Ex. 20:14; Lev. 20:10; etc.). Marriage was so sacred that it
became the figure to illustrate Jehovah's bond with Israel, and was adopted by
Paul to symbolize the union of Christ and the church (Eph. 5:33-32). Relations
between parents and children and between slaves or servants and the rest of the
family were regulated by divine revelation (Ex. 20:10, 12, 17, 21:2-11, 17, 20-21;

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equal) Paul's Christian exhortations to these problematic groups echo Jewish
formal and informal home training (Col. 3:18-4:1; cf. 5:21-6:9).

Even daily work was permeated by religious ideals and customs. Work was
always regarded by the Jews as necessary and right (cf. Gen. 2:12; 3:17-19; Aboth
1:10). Even the rabbis were expected to learn and perform some trade (cf. Keddu-
shin 29b-30a; 61a). Work was treated as a sure ally of doing good (Aboth 2:2),

103. Cf. Moore, Judaism, 1:466f., on Jewish shunning of sexual sins.
104. See M.S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, pp. 8-9.
and industry was everywhere cherished (Aboth 1:10; 2:2; Berakoth 35b). Paul himself plied his own trade (I Cor. 9:6; Acts 18:3), and he is careful to see that his converts work in order to help others (I Th. 4:11-12; II Th. 3:10-13).

The aims of family life were entirely religious. Foremost among them were the glorification of God and the perpetuation of the covenant with him (cf. Deut. 5:2-3; 7:12; etc.). For this reason children were welcomed and diligently nurtured (Ps. 127:5; Prov. 22:6; 23:13-14). Harmony and peaceableness among members of the family were sought after.

Inculcation of the torah was a prime function of the home (cf. Deut. 6:4-9; 9:19; 11:13-21). It was first introduced to children by teachers whom they loved and revered — their own parents, and they learned it in the naturalness and privacy of their own homes. At the same time the parents confirmed and increased their own knowledge of torah by this experience of teaching their offspring. The value Paul knew from experience and he adopts the method for his purpose by suggesting that the husband and father of the Christian household should teach his family at home (I Cor. 14:35; Eph. 6:4).

III. THE ACADEMIC AND SCHOLASTIC JEWISH HERITAGE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SCHOOLS

1. The Intellectual Atmosphere of Paul's Day

One can rightly speak of an "intellectual atmosphere" in first century (A.D.) Judaism. Education was a Jewish specialty. It was the handmaid of the Jewish religion (Aboth 2:5). Indeed, religion and education among the Jews can only with great difficulty be separated (cf. Aboth 3:6; 4:12; Kiddushin 30a). The whole of life for a Jew was intended to advance one's knowledge and practice of law or

107. Note the maxim, "The school is more sacred than the house of worship," Sanhedrin 71a.
torah (cf. Abot 1:1-2; Peah 1:1; Sifre Debarim 34), and the essence and chief end of torah were religion. Education and law thus largely comprised religion; hence every man must be educated (cf. Ecclus 38:24f). Even God himself was characterized as a student of the torah (Abodah Zarah 3b) and a teacher of the same to Israel (Baba Mezia 85b, 86a).

Formal Jewish education in the days of Paul was confined strictly to boys; there were almost no girls in the entire school system (cf. Sotah 3:4). Girls (cf. Cant. 8:5) and women learned at home, except what tidbits they could acquire in public assemblies, such as the synagogue and temple worship services, during certain festivals, etc. (cf. Rosh Ha-shanah 26b; Megillah 18a; Nazir 3a; Yoma 66b). But among the men it was asserted that no male should reach adulthood without considerable training in the fundamentals of Jewish learning — the scriptures, certain basic items in the traditions, the liturgy of worship, and certain more practical matters. "The Hebrew Scriptures had become a spelling-book; every Jewish community supported a school; religion itself was considered a matter of teaching and learning." It is no accident, therefore, that Paul was so diligent and persistent in teaching his converts from the start. In doing so he was exercising a habit formed since his earliest days.

Teachers were held in extraordinarily high esteem within Judaism (Matt. 23:6f; Abot 4:12; Hullin 18a). They were probably exempt from taxation (even in the first century A.D., cf. Ketuboth 62a; Nedarim 62). Regard for them is reflected

110. To be religious was "to study the law, discuss it, teach it, keep it." John Bright, The Kingdom of God, p. 175. Jacob Mann says that the reason for the reading and exposition of scripture in the synagogue was educational, The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue, 1:4.
111. F.H. Swift, Education in Ancient Israel, p. 79; Moore, Judaism, 2:128.
in their titles: "lights of Israel," "princes of the people" (Gittin 62a), and "pillars of Israel." They were revered and honored above parents (Horayoth 13a); indeed, even as God himself (Aboth 4:12). It was said that if one's teacher and father had need of one's assistance, "help your teacher before helping your father" (cf. Keritoth 6:9; Baba Mezia 2:11; Horayoth 13a). The usual form of address to a teacher was rabbi ("my master" or "great one"). Jesus was so addressed, but no record survives showing Paul to have received this title. Other titles were melamed tinoketh ("the teacher who 'goads' the children by strict discipline," Baba Bathra 21a; cf. Ps. 119:99; Prov. 5:13), the hazzan ("he who 'oversees' the training of children," Sotah 9:15), moreh ("the 'guide' who points the way," cf. Isa. 3:20), and melah ("the 'trainer', cf. Targum Prov. 11:26). Cf. also mebin, I Chron. 15:32.

Basic to the intellectual air of Paul's time was the compulsion placed behind the need for and the securing of educational training. From Lk. 5:17 there seems to have been teachers in every village in Palestine, a fact that would infer the near universality of schools there. Schools for Diaspora Jews were even more necessary. Elementary education may have been compulsory (and universal) at least in Palestine during the century before Christ, if the tradition regarding Simon ben Shetach's order to that effect (J. Kethuboth 8:11, 32b) is really true. At least by A.D. 64 the edict of Josia ben Gamala, high priest, made boys' elementary education compulsory (Baba Bathra 21a).

116. See above terms in Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature; cf. Kuist, op. cit., p. 36.
118. See Moore, Judaism, 1:316 and 3:104, n.92; cf. F.H. Swift, op. cit., p. 60.
2. The Elementary School

Generally speaking there were two major levels in the Jewish "public" educational system of the first century — elementary and advanced. Most boys ceased attending school when twelve or thirteen years old and took up their life's trade or vocation. The elementary schools were for them. Some few boys moved on to the higher schools which were designed to prepare scribes and rabbis.

Swift has conveniently summarized the Jewish boys' education after the rise of the elementary schools; his outline is worth reproducing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Periods</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Subjects and Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>Infancy</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Parents and other members of the family</td>
<td>Shema or national creed, Bible verses and proverbs, Prayers, hymns, and Bible stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-12</td>
<td>Childhood</td>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>Hazzan (elementary teacher)</td>
<td>Memorized portions of the O.T., especially the Pentateuch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12+</td>
<td>Adolescence</td>
<td>Scribes' school</td>
<td>Soferim (scribes)</td>
<td>Advanced religious and theological literature, written and oral.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The elementary school came to be designated Beth has-Sefer (or Sofer), and the advanced school, Beth ham-Midrash (first mentioned in Ecclus 51:23 about 190 B.C.). The boys' schools were maintained by the community (cf. Baba Bathra 21a), though sometimes private schools existed in some of the teachers' houses (cf. Aboth 1:4; Baba Bathra 21a). This "community" school was generally held in the synagogue or in some room attached to the synagogue (cf. Berakoth 17a; Taanith 23b; Kiddushin 72a). See also J. Israelstam's translation in I. Epstein (ed.), The Babylonian Talmud; cf. Charles Taylor, Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, 1:111, where the above is given as addenda.
30a), much as the mosque is used in Moslem lands.

Its organization was rather simple. Only boys were students and only men were teachers (cf. Kiddushin 4:13). Ordinances were passed about the middle of the first century A.D. that whenever there were more than 25 pupils, two teachers must be engaged (Baba Bathra 21a). The salaries apparently were very small; indeed some teachers seem to have taught gratuitously (cf. Aboth 4:5b; Nedarim 33a; Pesahim 49b), so that Paul had a precedent in foregoing his right to maintenance from those to whom he preached (1 Cor. 9:3-18; etc.). Students sat on the floor for their instruction in a semicircle about the teacher who often stood, though in the first century A.D. generally he sat on a raised platform (cf. Megillah 21a). Books and libraries were severely limited in these schools.

Jewish teachers of the first century appear to have been well equipped for their task — the instruction of torah. They had to be acquainted with a vast range of learning. The teacher was to be married (cf. Kiddushin 4:13), not too young or too old (Aboth 4:20, 26), patient (Aboth 2:5), methodical (Taanith 3a), and entirely devoted to the needs of his pupils, who were to be regarded as his own children (cf. Ps. 34:12; Prov. 1:8; Eddlus 2:1; 3:1, 17; Didache 3:1, 3, 4, 5, 6; 4:1; etc.) — precisely as the apostle Paul treated his own converts (II Cor. 6:13; Gal. 4:19; I Th. 2:7; etc.). All teachers could and often did follow some trade (Aboth 2:2). The teacher frequently functioned also as both the janitor of the school and the reader (hazzan) in the synagogue, but where

121. Moore, Judaism, 1:318.
122. Cf. Swift, op. cit., p. 95, n.55.
123. Moore, Judaism, 1:317.
126. Cf. Hermann Gollancz, Pedagogics of the Talmud, pp. 82-83.
127. Kandel and Grossmann, op. cit., 3:544b; yet contrast Esclus 38:25, "How shall he become wise who follows the plow, etc.?"
possible he was freed from such menial tasks as the former.

The schedule followed in the school required pupils to attend morning and afternoon sessions, and possibly evening ones too (cf. Taanith 23b; Nedarim 37a; Shabbath 1:3). The sabbath and festivals were used for review and examinations (cf. Shabbath 1:3; note 116b), thus vacations were practically unknown (cf. Betzah 21a; Sukkah 53a). On sabbath afternoons the school was often used for shorter sessions in which instruction was given in scripture and in the rules of the unwritten law to the whole community (cf. Nedarim 37a; Shabbath 1:3).

The curriculum offered was a quite limited one. First and foremost was learning to read (cf. Acts 15:21) and to write (cf. Josephus, Contra Apion 1:12; 2:18, 25) sections from the torah. This means that the subjects taught in elementary schools were reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic. But learning to read and write were not easy tasks, for the language used in the schools was ancient Hebrew, a tongue almost unknown to most children, who spoke Aramaic or Greek at home. "The work of the elementary school centered about memorizing the law in its threefold aspect, ceremonial, civil, and criminal" (cf. Josephus, Contra Apion 1:12; Antiquities 4:8:12). This means that Jewish education was largely religious and scriptural almost to the exclusion of the teachings of nature and history. Yet this learning, bookish as it was, was not so remote from life as may seem, for many of the scriptural and traditional laws learned were merely descriptions and regulations of what the youths had seen and heard daily from their infancy. When one reflects further on the varied nature

129. Moore, Judaism, 1:314.
of the scriptures (the only textbook, hence the name of the school: Beth-has-Sefer — "the house of the book"), it will be seen that in addition to merely a study of the three R's the elementary schools furnished instruction also in religion, morality, personal manners and discipline, history, law, and literature. The passages of scripture most used and with which a boy usually began were the following: (1) Lev. 1-8 (sacrifice, priesthood, and purification), (2) Gen. 1-5 (creation, etc.), (3) Deut. 6:4-9 (God's unity), (4) Num. 1-11 (levitical regulations), (5) certain Psalms (especially the hallel psalms, 113-118), and (6) passages from Prov., besides other brief sections such as (7) the decalogue, etc. Foreign language (other than classical Hebrew) played no part in the ordinary Jewish education (according to Josephus, Antiquities 20:12:1), though many Jewish lads doubtless learned Greek and Aramaic (cf. Sanhedrin 17a; Sotah 49a; J. Megillah 1:8; Baba Kamma 83a; Gittin 49b). Paul apparently knew both tongues from birth. Neither did such subjects as physical culture or the literature of other nations (even in translation) or even the science so highly prized by Greek intellectualism occupy any place in the curriculum of the Jewish elementary school. Allusions made to these by Paul must have been garnered from later sources or outside contacts in his life. Much here of course would depend upon the teacher. While such subjects were not stated parts of the curriculum, still even a Jewish teacher who was attracted by Hellenism would pass on something of its non-Jewish spirit if not ideas to his pupils.

134. Since the Lachish ostraca and Elephantine papyri reveal a high literary form of classical Hebrew and Aramaic, one is justified in assuming that grammar and composition were taught to children in the schools. See Nathan Drazin, History of Jewish Education, p. 86.


The aims of Jewish education in this period have been variously defined by modern students of the subject: "to give the child a knowledge of good and evil, with the ability to choose the good;" "moral and religious training;" "holiness;" or "the study and observance of the laws of Jehovah." Swift summarizes the goal of the primary Jewish school as follows, "The aim of the elementary school was to give every boy a complete mastery of the Law and thus prepare him for assuming upon reaching his majority, responsibility for the Law." Cf. Josephus, Contra Apion 1:12; Antiquities 4:8:12. Paul experienced the full impact of this aim upon himself, for from his youth he had outstripped all his contemporaries in the zeal with which he studied and practiced the law and traditions of his fathers (Gal. 1:14; Phil. 3:5).

The techniques used in teaching in the elementary Jewish schools are very important to our study, for their hallmarks have been left on those adopted by Paul. Students were lumped into classifications according to their ability to learn, and described by the rabbis as: a sponge, a funnel, a strainer, or a bolt-sieve, according to their ability to retain what their teachers had passed on to them (Aboth 5:21). In somewhat similar vein Paul classifies those whom he has instructed as "babes" (1 Cor. 3:1) and "mature" (2:6), as those who must be fed with milk and those who can digest solid food (3:2; cf. Heb. 5:13-14), and as "fleshy" (carnal) and "spiritual" (3:1).

All methods used in Jewish elementary schools aimed at fixing knowledge (of the torah) accurately and permanently in the memory. All instruction was oral (cf. Ecclus 4:24b) — a method widely used by Paul (1 Cor. 4:17; 14:19; 139. Max Salomon, art. "Education," UJE, 3:629a.
144. See Daniel Benham, Hebrew Education, p. 27.
appeal was made to all the senses through reading, pronunciation, writing, hearing, observing, and singing. Additional aids to memory were always used: e.g., mnemonic devices (such as acrostics, catch-words, rimes, and rhythm, cf. Menahoth 11:4) and summaries of the material, the latter to acquaint one with the ideas in the matter as well as to facilitate memorization (cf. e.g., Yeabemoth 9:1). As to the methods used in Jewish schools, we may note the following devices: (1) association (such as telling some tale of childish fancy connected with each letter of the alphabet when beginners were learning their letters in order to stamp them on the memory, cf. M. Shekalim 5; Shabbath 104a), (2) repetition, (reviews were frequent, Erubin 54b; Hagith 9:6, occurring even on the sabbath and festival days, Taanith 7a), and (3) memorization (learning by rote memory was the chief method used, Aboth 3:10; Shabbath 63a; Yoma 71a; any Jewish youth could quote sizeable portions of the O.T., a fact well attested by the numerous citations out of Paul's memory in his letters). Accuracy in memorizing was imperative because of the lack of books and the absence of vowel points in what books there were. All learning by pupils was done aloud by chanting (cf. Megillah 32a) so that a babel of childish voices characterized every Jewish elementary schoolroom (Aboth 6:6; Erubin 54a). Further, the idiosyncrasy of the pupil was always considered (Prov. 22:6).

Instruction was given methodically and suited to the age and past achievements.

147. See Samuel Krauss, JQR (1896) 5:231f for references. Even the genealogies from Adam to Zerubbabel were memorized, Jerome, Commentary on Titus, ad 3:9.
149. See Kennedy, op. cit., 1:651a.
of the students concerned (Aboth 3:11; Perashim 3a; Exodus Rabbah 20). Punctuality of pupils (Kethuboth 111b) and impartiality of teachers (Taanith 24a; Shabbath 10) were insisted upon. Perhaps other methods were employed, but knowledge of others cannot be affirmed for the first century A.D., except the incentive resorted to as an extreme measure, namely, corporal punishment (cf. Ecclus 30:1-3, 8-13; Baba Bathra 21a). In Proverbs, an early pedagogic manual, the use of the "rod" is frequently recommended (13:24; 22:15; 23:13f; 29:15,17), though the correction is not to be too severe (19:18), for to an intelligent child a rebuke is of greater value than many stripes (17:10). The use of rewards for merit (Shabbath 10) and the chastening effect of the opinion of classmates (Baba Bathra 21a) were also employed. Governing the usage of all methods of teaching is the development of a child's character, which the teacher must study carefully (Prov. 20:11). Paul knew well the background of each of his converts (I Cor. 6:11) and in teaching them considered their individual endowments and capacities (Rom. 14:1ff; I Cor. 7:7, 17; 8:7ff) and used methods suited to their various levels and needs (I Cor. 3:21; 9:19-22; 12:31; II Cor. 1:12-14; I Th. 1:6; 2:14; etc.)—like his boyhood teachers had done with him.

The vocations open to the Jews were regulated partly by their religious life and partly by the attitudes of the surrounding Gentile society towards them. The latter was true especially of Jews of the Diaspora. Any trade or craft connected with heathen worship, particularly idolatry, was prohibited, which apparently excluded Jews from working on most pieces of art, both painting and

152. See James Parkes, The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue, pp. 12f.
sculpture. The theatrical stage seems to have been open to them, though few appear to have followed it. The service of Jews in the army seems to have been unsatisfactory because of their sabbath and other observances. The teaching profession, outside of the Jewish school system, was not actively engaged in. How many Jews outside of Palestine were engaged in agriculture cannot be accurately known, but apparently (apart from Egypt) the number was not large. Except where prejudice prevented, they seem to have done well in administrative posts, though the practice of the Roman state religion seriously hindered their advancement to many high-ranking imperial positions. Most of the professions seem to have been well supplied by them. The commercial and industrial world seems to have provided most of the Diaspora Jews with a livelihood. Paul belonged to this last category, for his trade was tent-making, and his training for it was received during his youth (evidently from his father). For his converts many of the pagan professions were also closed, such as those related to idol-making, sensuality, etc. (Rom. 1:23ff; I Cor. 6:15-18; II Cor. 6:15-16; I Th. 1:9; etc.). The professions open both to Jews and Christians vitally affected their training for them.

3. The Higher School

Only a few boys passed beyond the elementary school (Beth has-Sefer), which they finished at about 12 or 13 years of age (some say 10, others 12 to 15). But the way was open for those qualified to advance to higher studies in Judaica. These schools for higher learning (Beth ham-Midrash or Beth Talmud) were actually designed to impart special professional training, and seem to have originated

154. See Max Schoen, The Man Jesus Was, pp. 150, 157; Moore, Judaism, 1:320.
156. Some scholars doubt that the schools related to synagogues were professional; cf. Moore, Judaism, 1:314.
in private homes of advanced scholars of the law who gathered a few students about them for higher instruction (Aboth 1:4). These higher schools were for training scribes (soferim), men who were expert in the scriptures and the religious traditions, history, language, and other learning of their people (cf. 157
Ecclesiastes, Prologue).

As we have seen already, students entering the higher schools were required to possess a working knowledge of classical Hebrew, having learned to read and write it in earlier years. Also an accurate knowledge of several parts of the scriptures was required (a "graduate" of the elementary schools would be able to read from the pentateuch, prophets, and hagiographa, Kiddushin 49a), as well as a modicum of information about the traditional civil and ceremonial laws of Israel. All of the students who began studies on this higher level by no means always completed them, for the final end of advanced study was a status somewhat analogous to the doctor's degree (cf. Ecclesiastes Rabbah 7:28). This means that eligible students in these "scribal colleges" were mainly candidates for law and the rabbinate (teachers of the law). The most famous of these "scribal colleges" in the earlier half of the first century A.D. seem to have been situated in Jerusalem. Paul, therefore, came to Jerusalem when probably not more than 14 or 15 years of age (perhaps even earlier) to begin his studies in law and theology at Gamaliel's "Rabbinical College." If his married sister lived there at that time (Acts 23:16), he may have lived in her home.

157. See Moore, Judaism, 1:310.
158. Moore, Judaism, 1:320.
159. Ernst von Dobschuetz suggests that Paul went to Jerusalem to study in the higher school there soon after becoming a "son of the law," Ἰ.Ἰαφ., when he was about 14 years of age, Der Apostel Paulus, 1:2. Acts 22:3 says that he was "brought up" at the feet of Gamaliel, an expression that probably implies an early age for his arrival in Jerusalem for schooling. Cf. R.J. Knowling, Expositor's Greek Testament on Acts, ad 22:3. 2:457a.
Teachers in the higher schools were the best qualified of all those in the whole teaching profession. Again, only men were admitted to the teaching guild and only boys were pupils. These instructors knew the whole of scripture, traditional comments, and legal deductions based thereon, and possessed generally a wide range of learning, which in the first century (unlike in the elementary schools) seems to have included acquaintance even with Greek institutions and science.

These masters of the law were not only theologians but legislators who decided disputed points relating to the legal regulations and at times filled the office of judge, because of their extensive legal knowledge (cf. Bekoroth 4:6; Ketimboth 105a). They were men with quick and retentive memories (Aboth 2:3b; like "a plastered cistern that loses not a drop") and patient and well-balanced dispositions (Aboth 2:6; Taanith 7a, 8a; Nedarim 62a), and generally supported themselves (at least partially) by some trade or craft (cf. Aboth 4:9), though the study of the law was supreme in their lives (Ecclus 38:24-39:11; Aboth 2:6; 4:14). They were the living repositories of the unwritten torah and sought to preserve and transmit it precisely as they had received it. Many of these lecturers came later to regard this "oral" torah as superior to the bible itself (cf. Baba Mezia 33a). Among these teachers were the greatest scholars of the nation. They occupied the highest and most important position of any group in national life. There were actually two groups of these teachers in the higher schools, the sages or "the wise" (א ר כ מ), who were the greatest scholars and all of whom did not teach, and the scribes (א ר כ מ), some of whom also

161. Gamaliel was said to have taught Greek subjects (cf. Baba Kamma 33a; Gittin 49b).
163. Note the list of famous rabbis and their trades in Franz Delitzsch, Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of Jesus, pp. 78-80.
164. See M.J. Lagrange, Le Judaisme avant Jesus-Christ, pp. 295-301.
165. Moore, Judaism, 1:262; Schurer, EJP, 4:9-10; Sherrill, op. cit., p. 62f.
performed other tasks than study.

The curriculum of the secondary school entered in study of the scripture and of the "mishnah" or oral torah. Of course with the mishnah went also some form of explanation, interpretation, discussion, and comment on the oral law. Some knowledge of scripture was assumed before the student began, and it seems likely that lads of 12 or 13 had already had a bit of introduction to the mishnah, beginning about 10 years of age, according to the later evidence preserved in Aboth (5:21; Josephus says that at 14 he already had rabbinical learning, Vita 2:12:12). The teaching at the more advanced level was probably done in Hebrew, for the unwritten law was always taught and the discussions conducted in the ancient classical tongue. In later times the mishnah, i.e., teaching and learning of tradition, as distinct from mikra, "bible study," included three branches: midrash ("the higher exegesis of scripture, especially the derivation from it, or confirmation by it, of the rules of the unwritten law"), halakah ("the precisely formulated rule itself"), and haggadah ("the non-juristic teachings of scripture as brought out in the profounder study of its religious, moral, and historical teachings"). The halakah is almost exclusively religious laws, while the haggadah consists of a literature of considerable range and

166. That is, in N.T. times the written law stood next to the unwritten tradition (\[\sum\Delta\beta\delta\sigma\sigma\iota\si\nu\]), see Wilhelm Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im speochellenistischen Zeitalter, pp. 156-157; Moore, Judaism, 3:77ff. The term for "tradition" in the N.T. is \[\pi\phi\delta\sigma\sigma\iota\si\nu\si\iota\], and is used by Paul in the same technical sense of traditional material passed on to his convert-pupils from their apostle-teacher (I Cor. 11:23; 15:3; etc.) cf. J.H. Thayer, Lexicon of the Greek New Testament, sub paradigms.


169. The evidence for this assertion is that the mishnah (2nd century A.D.) and most of the gemara (3rd to 5th centuries) were still in Hebrew. See Moore, Judaism, 1:516; Schmerer, HJP, 3:10; Herbert Danby, The Mishnah, pp. xxivf; M.H. Segal, A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew, p. 10.

170. Moore, Judaism, 1:519. Emanuel Deutsch characterizes halakah as springing from the brain, and haggadah from the heart, Foreword to Baba Kamma, I. Epstein (ed.), The Babylonian Talmud, p. xviii.

variety. Thus not only ethics, exegesis, law, and homiletics were subjects of study, but history, tradition, literature (proverbs, fables, etc.), and science were also included.

Some idea of the scribes' curriculum of study may be culled also from his later functions and positions: he could become a theologian, a scholar, a teacher of the law (even the head of a school), a jurist (perhaps an arbitrator in family litigations, cf. Lk. 12:14), a member of the sanhedrin, or even a transcriber (copying the law and the prophets for use in synagogues, or tephillin for use of the devout), or a notary (writing out contracts of sale, agreements of espousals, bills of divorcement, etc.). Of the parts of the curriculum, law and theology seem to have influenced Paul the strongest. His thought has a marked legal tendency which only his sweeping theological concepts were able to rectify and utilize. For example, his doctrine of justification from sin, which God pardons only when it has been atoned for by some objective satisfaction, is founded on law no less than on theology (cf. Rom. 3:24-26). In II Cor. 1:22 God has "sealed" us and given us the "earnest-money" of the spirit, that is, on calling us has given us a "payment on account," has "sealed the contract." To Paul election is an "inheritance" (Gal. 3:18; 4:1) or "covenant" confirmed by both parties (Gal. 3:17). Christ's death is, in regard to law, an "end of tutelage," when old claims cease (Gal. 1:2). On the legal principle that a contract cannot be altered by one party to it only, he denies the obligatory claim of the law, which was added to the covenant between Abraham and God some 450 years later (Gal. 3:15). In accord with eastern legal regulations he speaks of the heir under age as being devoid of rights like a slave (Gal. 4:1). Rom. 7:2ff notes that a woman is legally bound during the life time of her husband. Significant

it is that the only sentence of condemnation in his letters is an ancient formula from the days of the sanhedrin, cited by him in the customary form of rabbinical law, "Put away from among yourselves that wicked person" (Deut. 17:7; cited in I Cor. 5:13). Something of the academic curriculum of his student days is surely reflected in these instances of legal and theological thought.

The teaching methods used in the higher schools are of the greatest importance for our consideration, for many of these permanently affected the apostle, even where he seems totally unconscious of their influence. Many of the pedagogical techniques were the same as in elementary education, such as association, frequent repetition, and rote memorization -- all widely used because most of the material assimilated was unwritten and learned from the lectures of the teachers (Aboth 5:32). In addition there was wide use of the catechetical (i.e., question and answer) method, but at a more advanced level than with younger students. "Questions, asked and answered by teacher and disciple alike, counter-questions, parables, allegories, riddles, stories -- such were the methods employed." This approach of questions and answers has left its mark even on the style of the mishnah. The parable and apophthegm became an art, especially later, and some users achieved a remarkable mastery of them. The use of epigrammatic sayings and striking, concentrated aphorisms (such as those in the Pirke Aboth) were features of homiletic discourse and academic lecture highly esteemed in the schoolroom. In the rabbinic school, training in discussion and argumentation was energetically pursued (cf. Erubin 54a-b; Shabbath 55b; see esp. Sanhedrin 23a). Both

176. M.J. Lagrange, Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ, p. 292; Box, Ibid.
177. Moore, Judaism, I:310.
were learned first hand from professors who used these methods constantly in
their lectures (cf. Erubin 13b, 53a). "Here all was life, movement, debate;
question was met by counter-question, answers were given wrapped up in allegories
or parables, the inquirer was led to deduce the questionable point for himself
by analogy ..." Some have gone so far as to see two stages followed in
the learning of oral torah. The first was the plain memorization of the mish-
naic "codes" or legal decisions (there was a conviction that oral torah should
not be reduced to writing, Gittin 60b), which eventually were grouped into
treatises. There was little room for argument and debate here, though explana-
tions by the teacher of these unwritten "codes" would be constant and furnished
continuous occasion for question and debate (cf. Lk. 2:46; Aboth 6:5f; Shabbath
3b; etc.). The second stage marked the advancement to the non-legal elements
in the scripture and the unsolved legal problems in oral tradition, both of which
demanded plenty of interpretation, questions, and discussions (cf. Lk. 2:46; see
the examples of questions and discussions in J. Berakoth 63; B. Berakoth 27b).
Sometimes these discussions took place between different scribes and whole schools
and were held publicly (cf. Erubin 13b). Biblical texts and legal cases and
precedents were expounded and compared. Acquaintance with logic and its use in
interpreting scripture was here begun by the student. "The teacher proposed
explanations of the Bible and the Mishnah, and students contested them, hunting
for flaws in the argument or carrying the reasoning out to still further points."

179. T. Perlow, L'éducation et l'enseignement chez les Juifs à l'époque talmudique,
p. 37. Perlow even talks of a class in mishnah and one in gemara, but this
probably refers to a later period.
180. See Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, 2:150-151.
181. Erubin 13b notes that Hillel's and Shammai's schools were reported to have
disputed for three and a half years on the speculative question: Would it
not have been better if man had not been created? Cf. Swift, op. cit., p.102.
Whether or not these two stages were so clearly marked in Paul's day cannot be assuredly ascertained, though some sort of gradual advancement must have marked the teachers' presentation of the subject matter. Another technique employed was the citing of cases, real or imaginary, in order to train the students in the application of legal principles (cf. any of the tractates of the talmud, e.g., Sanhedrin 4a; Yoma 49a; etc.), much as Paul does in Rom. 4:1:7:2-3; Gal. 3:15; etc. The method of recitation by the students was oral (Erubin 54a), and it seems likely that the same system of chanting used in the elementary schools was still employed occasionally by advanced students as an aid to memory both in learning and retaining (cf. Megillah 32a). Repetition of material was constant (cf. Erubin 54a; Sanhedrin 99a; Hagigah 9b).

The mode of lecturing by the teachers in these higher schools has probably also left its traces on Paul. Some of their didactic techniques call for observation. Their lectures even on legal subjects were interspersed with (1) midrashic illustrations and comments (cf. Maaser Shenit 5:10-14; Yebamoth 12:6; Sotah 8:1-5; 9:1-6; Sanhedrin 2:4-5; Negaim 12:5-7). Such midrashic additions at times were added to or substituted for the very written words of scripture (cf. Aboth 6:1), and the influence is seen more than once on Paul. For example, in Rom. 10:6-7 he adds the words to the LXX, "that is to bring Christ down (up)."

184. See comments of H. Freedman in I. Epstein (ed.) The Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin, 2:673, n.3.
185. An example of a midrashic, haggadic interpretation of an O.T. work, (extant already in Paul's day) is the Book of Jubilees, a "broad transcription and expansion of Genesis," cf. R.H. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, 2:1.
186. See William Sanday and A.C. Headlam, ICG on Rom., p. 287f.
with (2) parable and allegory applied without regard to the original and historical meaning of a text (cf. Sukkah 2:9; Sotah 9:15; Middah 2:5; 5:7). Paul follows suit here also, though very sparingly and with characteristic self-restraint, as in Gal. 4:21ff he treats Hagar and Sarah, Ishmael and Isaac as an allegory, yet never divorces them from history and regards them actually as types. That is, he is predominantly Jewish in his use of allegory and not Greek or even Hellenistic, for his aim is homiletical, not philosophical and speculative. cf. Olaf Moe, The Apostle Paul, 2:76.


193. Klausner cites five examples (in four major epistles) of Paul's adoption of rabbinical principles of exegesis in order to show how rabbinic the apostle's exegesis really was, From Jesus to Paul, pp. 454-457.


what its author thought and wrote (cf. Rom. 10:6ff; I Cor. 9:9) — but all deliberately done to help the argument, as is clearly demonstrated, e.g., in Sanhedrin 23a and Megillah 25b. Citations from both scripture and tradition were so treated. Indeed, (5) scripture and tradition at times were blended so closely in this loose handling of citations that they appear almost as one (cf. Erubin 21a). Paul reflects this habit too (cf. I Cor. 10:1-3; II Cor. 11:3). Examples of the practice of (6) mixing traditional materials with scriptural (which goes beyond the matter of mere quotations) may be seen in the treatment of the concept of creation, especially in Philo, who avers that the Adam of the creation account in Gen. 1 was a different personality from the Adam in the second account in Gen. 2 (De opificio mundi; Legum allegoria 49), and some see Paul agreeing with Philo in Rom. 5:12ff; I Cor. 15:21ff, 200 47f; Phil. 2:6. Or again, the writer of Gen. 3 undoubtedly attempts to explain why man tills soil that is so cluttered with thorns and thistles, why women must bear children in pain and sorrow, and why man and woman are subject to death. In rabbinic fashion, however, Paul (somewhat like Enoch 69:11ff; 98:4-5 and the Wisdom of Solomon 1:13-14; 2:23-24) sees in this narrative (also?) "the explanation why a double law rules our members, and the law of death rules our inner man" (see Rom. 5:12ff; compare Rom. 7:7-25 with the story in Gen. 3; cf. II Cor. 11:3). Likewise with reference to Paul's use of certain anecdotes regarding Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and especially Moses, as well as his use of certain theological concepts like heaven, demonology, angelology, eschatology, etc., the

196. See Franklin Johnson, Quotations of the New Testament from the Old, for a discussion of the whole problem.
201. See esp. Thackeray, op. cit., chapters 2-8; Hausrath, op. cit. 3:22-25.
imprint of rabbinical traditional lore and methodology has been traced on the apostle. Compare, e.g., Rabbi Meir's argument about the resurrection from a kernel of sown grain in Sanhedrin 90b with Paul's similar argumentative approach in I Cor. 15:35-37. Other methods were used by the lecturers of the scribal colleges in their instruction which stuck with Paul. The very (a) formulas with which Paul identifies his quotations from the Q.T. betray his Jewish scholastic training, such as (a) the impersonal identification of passages ("just as it is written," "it says," etc., Rom. 3:4, 9; 10:8; etc.), (b) the personification of scripture (e.g., Gal. 3:8, 22, "And the scripture, foreseeing ..., preached ..., saying ...;" cf. the rabbinic \( \text{Q} \text{Q} \text{Q} \text{Q} \text{Q} \text{Q} \) or \( \text{Q} \text{Q} \text{Q} \text{Q} \text{Q} \text{Q} \)), or (c) the representation of God as the speaker (II Cor. 6:16).

The favorite rabbinic practice of (g) stringing together a considerable number of passages from various parts of the Q.T. to support an argument (cf. Aboth 3:6; 4:1; 6:10; etc.) is seen in several instances in Paul (cf. Rom. 10ff, where five separate extracts from Ps. and one from Isa. are brought together to establish the universality of sin; or II Cor. 6:16, where a series is constructed of citations from Lev., Isa., Ezek., and II Sam. to show that Christians are the temple of God; cf. Rom. 10:5-9; 15:10-12). The very (g) dialectic of Paul has been traced to the Jewish school (cf. the seven rules of reasoning laid down by Hillel for use in interpreting both scripture and oral tradition.


203. Cf. W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 305; Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, 3:475, for other references.

204. See Adolf Deissmann, Bible Studies, pp. 112ff, 249f; St. Paul, p. 104.


The seven rules are: (1) *Kal Wa-homer*, inference a minori ad maius, and vice versa. (2) *Gezerah Shewah*, inference by analogy. (3) *Binyan ab mik-kethub ehad*, grouping like passages into a family but calling the whole from a specific regulation found in only one of them. (4) *Binyan ab mish-shene Kethubim*, same as (3) except the specific regulation occurs in two of the passages. (5) *Kelal u-ferat u-ferat u-Kelal*, detailed determination of the general by the particular, and vice versa. (6) *Kerose bo besamkom aber*, exposition by means of another similar passage. (7) *Dabar ha-lamed meinyano*, something deduced from the context. These rules are stated in Hermann L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, p. 94; cf. notes on pp. 235-237. The 13 rules of Rabbi Ishmael are given, Ibid, p. 95, and the 32 rules of Rabbi Eliezer ben Jose ha-Gelili, Ibid, pp. 95-98. Cf. Gillet, *Communion in the Messiah*, pp. 222-223, n. H. See Olaf Moe, *The Apostle Paul*, 1:52-53, on Paul's use of Hillel's seven rules.

208. *Tosefta Sanhedrin* 7 end; introduction to the Sifra; note Sanhedrin 45b.

209. For example, it has been noted that his view that similar causes produce similar phenomena, gives rise to his drawing some rather unexpected parallels (e.g., in I Th. 2:14 the hostility of the Jews against the Christians in their midst is a parallel to the heathen persecution of the Gentile Christians). Weizsaecker holds that in Paul's thinking, human history falls into great sections, and in the sequence of these sections runs a uniform law of similarity and dissimilarity (as in the parallel which Paul draws in Rom. 5:12-21 and I Cor. 15:45ff between Adam and Christ and between the results streaming from both. Again, much of Paul's (6) polemic derived from his rabbinic training. (The bulk of the mishnah and gemara consists of the defense of stated propositions). He seizes quickly upon any kind of error or misconception of his opponents and often does not bother to refute the objection or error with a slow, deliberate, point-by-point rebuttal, but ventures to brush it aside (cf. Hagigah 15a; Sanhedrin 90a). An example of this is Rom. 3:8 where the Jews charged that his teaching encouraged its advocates to flagrant sin; Paul replies that whoever dares to hold such a
thought at once pronounces his own condemnation. Of course he does answer paramount objections, but at times "he often (seeks) in his arguments with his opponents not so much to convince them by indisputable reasons, as to overpower and crush them by the force of his own conviction," i.e., by both reason and emotion. Other features of his polemic have been noted already in other connections, namely, his use of overwhelming scriptural proofs, his employment of analogies (from customs, institutions, human affairs), and so forth. He also marshals his ideas effectively in a sequence so that a powerful unity of thought is the result, yet he is no real logician nor systematic theoretician. Perhaps this is a "natural" by-product of the high monotheistic thinking practiced in Judaism — a unity of origin, aim, and end — which expresses itself even in the mode of thought adopted by the learned Jew. Still other methodological influences of the Judaic schoolmen on Paul reveal themselves, such as the use of certain (10) Semitic literary types and figures of speech, seen for example in his daring personifications (cf. the personification of the torah in Sanhedrin 101a). Famous among these is his personification of sin in Rom. 7, where he describes sin as acting like a self-responsible agent, "Sin deceived me," "sin killed me" (v.11), "sin dwells within me" (v.20), etc.

Such were some of the more significant educational techniques and methods which Paul derived from his most advanced academic trainers and training.

212. Weizsaecker, AA, 1:139.
215. See Weizsaecker, AA, 1:140.
216. For further details, see Wilhelm Bousett, Die Religion des Judentums im spastellenistischen Zeitalter, pp. 160-161.
But, important though each of these techniques may have been, none of them can be properly understood or evaluated without knowing just what the aims of secondary Jewish education actually were. Specifically, the higher range of Jewish schooling was intended to instill in the student an exhaustive knowledge of torah, written and unwritten, biblical and traditional. (cf. the expression "to stuff one's son like an ox" — with torah, Ketuboth 50a; note Aboth 2:7). It aimed at furnishing an acquaintance with the meaning and tools of scriptural exegesis (cf. the seven rules of Hillel above, Tosefta Sanhedrin 7 end).

It intended to transmit and hedge about the torah (Aboth 1:1; 5:8) and to enable students to meet the multiple and intricate situations created by its observance in practical life. In short, elementary education merely introduced the student to the scriptures and a few traditional laws and certain fundamental practical matters; secondary education completed the introduction and furnished a fair mastery of the whole complicated range of rabbinical learning. It did not expect the student to alter the doctrinal content passed to him, but to accept and transmit it verbally in the name and the very words of the teachers who gave it to him precisely as they had learned it from their instructors before them (cf. Sanhedrin 99b; Aboth 6:6). Originality was ruled out from the start.

The ultimate aim of all this discipline was ever the same — to be (or become) religious by obedience to the law. This study (and meticulous observance) was religion. God himself studied the torah (so later tradition asserts, Abodah Zarah 3b). The law in every letter is as eternal as God himself (cf. Shabbath).

217. Heinrich Weinel classifies Paul's exegetical methods learned in the Jewish schools as (1) prophecy, (2) type, and (3) allegory, St. Paul the Man and his Work, pp. 57ff.
God recognizes only him who knows and does the demands of the Torah; all others are sinners (Sifre Deut. 84b; Aboth 2:5).

A few words must be said about Paul's teachers, though relatively little is known of them. His parents were his first. It is known that they were "Hebrews" (Phil. 3:5; II Cor. 11:22), probably meaning that they spoke Aramaic and preserved in their lives and home in Tarsus the essential character of the Jewish religion, probably of a Palestinian variety. One of the features implanted in their son was an ardent zeal for Judaism and the Jewish traditions (Gal. 1:14). Indeed, it is only in connection with his ardor for these Jewish traditions that he ever alludes to his forefathers (Gal. 1:14; Phil. 3:5; Acts 22:3), so that the two must have been closely related for him from the days of his boyhood homelife. Strictness, loyalty, sincerity, and affection were therefore probably his parents' chief characteristics, each of which was emulated by their son. The Pharisees were perhaps the Jews' greatest thinkers and teachers. Paul was trained by this influential group and took his place among their ranks (Phil. 3:5; Acts 23:6; 26:5).

It seems to have been in vogue among Jews for a student to hear more than one teacher and to attend more than one school (Abodah Zarah 19a-b). It was also common for a student to adopt the general attitude, as well as legal and theological position, of some one of the more eminent scholars and schools of the day.

See Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, 1:244ff, for references.
E.G., Rabbi Meir, whose mishnah served the patriarch Judah as a basis for its codification, drew his knowledge and arrangement of mishnah from at least three different teachers; see Moore, Judaism, 1:94-95. Of the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai and their student followings, Soferim 16:9.
Paul was apparently a typical student in this respect, for prominent in his time was his teacher, Gamaliel I, named in Acts (5:34; 22:3), a Pharisee, and famous as a teacher of Jewish law (cf. Hagigah 2:2; 77d; Aboth 1:15). It was under this man that Paul was "brought up" and studied in Jerusalem (Acts 22:3). Some contend that from this very scholar Paul acquired his dialectic, antithetic and piquant style of instruction, and characteristic brevity (which necessitates the reader's supplying many missing items); that in this strenuous catchetical situation he was trained in presenting cases and proposing questions of an ethical ("What is the greatest commandment?")**, socratic** ("What can or cannot one do on the sabbath?"), or ceremonial ("What does or does not make one unclean?") nature; and that here he became well versed in the stories and allegories of mystical interpretation, which he employed in answering the difficult questions put to him -- precisely as Gamaliel I, his school master, had done. Gamaliel, the grandson of Hillel (Shabbath 15a), the same Hillel who was the founder and head of the more liberal-minded school known by his name and opposed to that of Shammai (Soferim 16:9), was distinguished for his learning, character, and self-denial (Sotah 9:6, 15). He was a student of Greek literature, a fact that testifies to his liberal spirit, and was a member of the Sanhedrin (Acts 5:34). His advice recorded in Acts (5:35-39) reflects a moderation of thought and spirit, which harmonizes with what is known of him elsewhere. A tribute to his rabbinic scholarship lies in the fact that he

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223. Paul Feine says that he went as a "youth" to Jerusalem, Der Apostel Paul, pp. 416ff; M.S. and J.L. Miller assert categorically that he was 20 years old at the time, art. "Paul," Harper's Bible Dictionary, p. 530a.

224. See the excursus on "Paul's Tutelage under Gamaliel in Jerusalem" appended at the end of this chapter.

225. Kuist, op. cit., p. 40 and the literature which he cites.


227. He was sensitive to the needs of his time and hence lenient in legal matters (Orlah 2:12), being especially solicitous for the rights of women (Tebamoth 16:7; Kethimboth 10b; Baba Mezila 5:8; Gittin 4:2-3; Robert Gordis, art. "Gamaliel I," UFE 4:506a.
was the first of the seven Jewish doctors to be honored with the title "Rabban" (our rabbi or master). He appears to have been a legal-religious authority of the first order, who on one occasion gave counsel to Agrippa I and his wife (Pesahim 88b). He was greatly influenced by the idea that law must be construed in such a manner as to promote the common good (cf. especially Gittin 4:2f). It matters of ritual purity, however, when it was not a question of human rights, he was very strict (Bekoroth 38a). One of his oft quoted sayings reflects the kind of teacher it was who shaped the mind and thought habits of the apostle Paul, "Appoint a teacher for thyself and avoid doubt and make not a habit of tithing by guesswork" (Aboth 1:16). The legalistic mind of the Pharisee is here clearly revealed and was the thing against which Paul later battled so fiercely. Of him the mishnah says, "When Rabban Gamaliel the elder died, the glory of the torah ceased, and purity and abnegation perished" (Sotah 9:6).

As to Gamaliel's educational work, his standards appear to have been exceedingly high. Berakoth 28a shows of Gamaliel I what sincerity and high moral standards he expected of his pupils, "For Rabban Gamaliel had issued a proclamation, 'No disciple whose character does not correspond to his exterior may enter the Beth ham-Midrash.'" Later tradition preserves his interest in education in his remarkable classification of students in four groups corresponding to four

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229. Some say Agrippa II and his wife Berenice; see I. Epstein (ed.), The Babylonian Talmud, Pesahim, pp. 469-470, note.
231. Wilhelm Bacher suggests that many sayings of Gamaliel I may be erroneously ascribed by tradition to his grandson, Gamaliel II, art. "Gamaliel II," JEx, 5:560.
233. But it may be, judging from the context in the mishnah, that this was Gamaliel II, not Gamaliel I. The two are often confused even in scholarly Jewish writings, cf. art. "Gamaliel I," UJE, 4:506a-b, for such mistakes.
varieties of fishes: (1) one (ritually) unclean, (2) one clean (edible), (3) one from the Jordan (provincial), and (4) one from the ocean (cultured) (Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan 40). The methods he uses in his teaching are difficult to discern. In addition to oral repetition and rote memory by way of the ear he added the important appeal to the eye. Hanging on the wall of his schoolroom was a diagram of various phases of the moon on a tablet, used to instruct his students in the changes of the moon, so significant to the use of the Jewish lunar calendar (Rosh Hashanah 24a). It is probable that like other rabbinical teachers Gamaliel used constantly the question-and-answer type of teaching with his pupils -- he asking them questions and they in turn quizzing him on matters not clear to them. Whenever the teacher did lecture, little was written down by the students. Instead every doctrinal sentence was repeated at least four times (according to Erubin 54b; Menahoth 16a), while the students sought to commit to memory what was said. He seems to have infused a greater spirit of practicality and life into the Jewish law (cf. his legal enactments in Gittin 4:1-3). His son Simeon (possibly a classmate of Paul!) aptly summarized his father's outlook and pedagogical method when he said, "Study is not the most important thing but deed" (Aboth 1:17). The content of what he taught is as important as his methods. He taught torah above all else, being a master of Jewish law (Sotah 49a), but he also taught Greek -- not merely the language but Greek wisdom. In the gemara to Sotah 9:6 (49b), Simeon, the son of Gamaliel I, says, "There were a thousand pupils in my father's house; five hundred studied torah and five hundred studied Greek wisdom" -- and this in spite of contemporary traditional Jewish antipathy.

234. It is possible that Gamaliel II may be meant.
to and legislation against Hellenistic culture! Apparently this training included some knowledge of Greek language, history, literature, and philosophy. Whether or not Paul actually studied Greek subjects in Jerusalem under Gamaliel cannot be determined, and if so, to what extent is likewise unknown. His writings reflect a very meager usage of classical Hellenic culture, though that does not necessarily imply total ignorance on his part. At any rate, the Jewish educational materials and techniques were apparently primary in his debt to Gamaliel.

Why did Paul choose to train in the school of Gamaliel? Again, a sure answer is not forthcoming, but there are some suggestions: (1) the mastery of the torah for which Gamaliel was noted; (2) the vastness of the whole range of his learning; (3) the fact that he was a Pharisee; (4) the prominence of the man in the national life of his day (a member of the Sanhedrin, perhaps even its president (Shabbath 15a), and so renowned among the people); (5) even the fact that he was of Paul's own tribe, the tribe of Benjamin (Kilayim 39b) — all may have had their influence on Paul's decision (and that of Paul's family) to study under this great tanna.

Whether or not Paul's parents knew Gamaliel personally (being of the same tribe) cannot be known.


238. It may be that his own choice in the matter was small; he may have been sent to Gamaliel in Jerusalem by his father.
IV. Paul's Religious Heritage with Special Reference to the Synagogue and Pharisaism

1. Origin and Status of the Synagogue in the Community

The role of the Jewish synagogue in Paul's life and work was tremendous. 

Hausrath, who denies Paul's tutelage under Gamaliel in Jerusalem, thinks that the synagogue alone accounts for all of Paul's "rabbinical" training. This is obviously an exaggerated estimate of the synagogue but does point to its significance in Paul's career. This was because the synagogue became the center of Jewish community life, even before the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem in A.D. 70. The origins of the synagogue are shrouded in mystery. The theories regarding its rise are legion, but it seems fairly well agreed that it came out of the needs of the imprisoned Israelites in Babylonian exile (following the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.) to hear the scriptures read and expounded, and was later reared and nurtured in Palestine, especially by the fathers of the rabbinic tradition. The founding of a synagogue was neither very complicated nor very expensive, consequently they sprang up in almost every Jewish community. Ten males could begin a synagogue (Sanhedrin 1:6). It was usually led by a council of elders, either "co-opted or elected." This "administrative council," under the directions of either one or three officials (the archisynagogoi of the N.T.), "maintained order and regulated the finances of the synagogue, collecting subscriptions, authorizing expenditure, and agreeing on the best use to be made of

242. So Kaufmann Kohler, Origins of the Synagogue and the Church, pp. 25-35.
such offerings as were received." An official, the hazzan (חותם), a kind of beadle and schoolmaster, kept order at the public gatherings, arranged for the systematic reading of the scriptures (several different readers read each sabbath), and taught the youth reading and writing and a fundamental knowledge of the written (and some unwritten) torah. The basic function of the synagogue in the religious life of the community was twofold: educational and religious. I.J. Peritz asserts that the primary function of the synagogue assemblies was popular instruction in the law. Worship in the narrower sense was secondary. Children were instructed in the daily synagogue 'school' and technical rabbinical training was provided in the 'college'; but the synagogue assemblies were for the religious instruction of the people. This was probably true in the time of Jesus and Paul. "To teach" was the chief function of the synagogue (Matt. 4:23; Mk. 1:21; 6:2; Lk. 4:15, 31; 6:6; 13:10; Jn. 6:59; 18:20; Acts 13:14ff; 17:2f; 18:4; etc.), a fact that both Josephus (Contra Apion 2:17; Antiquities 16:2:4) and Philo (De septemario 6) confirm; indeed, Philo even calls the synagogues "houses of instruction" (didaskaleia, De vita Mosis 3:27). On the other hand, it seems quite clear that the synagogue served also as the focus of community worship, especially in Diaspora Judaism, long before A.D. 70, for even within the temple precincts in Jerusalem was a synagogue staffed by the priests themselves in which they used the synagogal prayers, scripture readings, and benedictions in their services (Tamid 5:1). It is probably correct, therefore, to conclude that "in the synagogue teaching became an act of worship," and to see in the synagogue "a marriage between worship and education." At any

244. Guignebert, op. cit., p. 76 (based apparently on Baba Bathra 3b); cf. Matt.6:2.


247. On all this see Moore, Judaism, 2:12.

248. Sherrill, op. cit., p. 45.
rate the synagogue worship service was one which did not center in initiation into mysteries or in propitiation by means of sacrifice, but in teaching.

2. **Uses of the Synagogue**

The usages made of the synagogue gave it its importance. Apparently there was a meeting in the synagogue every evening (if not also every morning), but the whole community was not obliged to assemble there except on the sabbath or special religious occasions (cf. Berakoth 1:3). Some four major usages of the synagogue in Paul's day seem to summarize its functions. It was the site of the community judicial court. The synagogal governing body (consisting of seven members in small towns or twenty-three members in large ones; so Josephus, Antiquities 4:8:14; Wars of the Jews 2:20:5) governed the Jewish community. They tried and sentenced refractory members of the group to discipline and punishment (Matt. 5:22; 10:17; Mk. 13:9; Josephus, Wars of the Jews 2:14:1; Bekoroth 5:5). Both trial and passing of sentence were done in the synagogue. Chief methods of punishment were scourging, excommunication and death. The first two of these were carried out inside the synagogue (Matt. 10:17; 23:34; Mk. 13:9; Acts 22:19; 26:11; II Cor. 11:24; Makkoth 3:12). The scourging was administered by the hazzan, the synagogue official. The excommunication apparently was executed by the governing officials (rulers) of the synagogue (?) before the assembled community (cf. Taanith 3:8; Moed Katan 3:1f, 14a, 16b; Edyoth 5:6; Middoth 2:2). That Paul knew all three of these legal forms of punishment and associated each with the synagogal center is clear from the N.T. He himself

several times received the forty (save one, cf. Deut. 25:3; Makkoth 3:10) lashes at the hand of the hezkan in Jewish synagogues at the instigation of irate Jews who anathematized his preaching (II Cor. 11:24 -- five times he was so scourged; cf. Acts 18:17). He was also excommunicated and literally "cast out of the synagogue" (the Jewish community, Acts 13:50). At least once he was stoned at the hands of the Jews (II Cor. 11:25; Acts 14:19), the Jewish method of capital punishment according to the O.T. (Lev. 20:27; Deut. 13:10; 22:21, 24; cf. Matt. 5:22, "the penalty of the council;" Sanhedrin 1:4). The sentence was doubtless passed on him more than once, but never successfully carried out, due to the intervention of the Roman governmental authorities (cf. Acts 21:31; 23:12-15). Even in his own oversight of his churches, these three forms of synagogal legal punishment appear in his thinking. In I Cor. 5:4-5 the Corinthian Christians were requested when assembled to deliver an incestuous member "to Satan." I Cor. 5:2, 11 shows clearly that a special ostracism is meant, much like that of an excommunicated Jew who was "cast out of the synagogue," though II Cor. 2:6:11; 7:13 (if the same case is in mind) indicates that the exclusion from the Christian fellowship in this case was not permanent. Paul himself repeatedly pronounced the curse ("anathema") which probably accompanied (permanent) expulsions (Rom. 9:3; I Cor. 12:3; 16:22; Gal. 1:8-9; Acts 23:12) Whether or not scourging was used in any of the apostle's churches cannot be said for sure, but as a threat to the Corinthians he uses the expression to "come to you with a rod" (I Cor. 4:21), which is language definitely reminiscent of this form of severe synagogal discipline. And doubtless Paul nowhere actually contemplates practising forms of

252. W.A. Brown, HDB, 1:301a-b.
254. Though the "rod" (ῥαξ) was probably more of a Roman than a Jewish instrument of torture (cf. II Cor. 11:25; Acts 16:22; E. Hicks, Roman Law in the New Testament, p. 182), yet it was the older form of Jewish punishment (Lev. 19:20; Deut. 22:15ff; 25:1-3) and may still have been employed in the first century A.D. (cf. Matt. 10:17; Josephus, Antiquities 13:10:6).
capital punishment on Christians, such as that of stoning among the Jews, but
some have seen in the instance of turning over "to Satan" cited above from I Cor.
5:4-5, a resigning of the person involved to destruction by death perhaps in some miraculous way. The fatal consequences of the same kind of "excomni-
cation" (i.e., death) are also supposed by some to underlie the difficult words in I Cor. 11:30.

A second use made of the synagogue was as a community assembly-hall. Whether political meetings were customarily held there or in the market-place cannot be fully decided, though probably in the latter. However, Josephus (Vita 54) says that at the time of the war against Rome in A.D. 66 a political assembly was held in the great synagogue at Tiberias on the sabbath (7) and the day following. Two centuries later (third century) it was permitted to deliberate on public affairs in the synagogues and schools on the sabbath (Ketuboth 5a). Mourning (including a sermon oration) for a man whom the entire community lamented was held in the synagogue (Megillah 28b). The tannaitic rules forbade eating and drinking in synagogues (Megillah 28a), though Kohler says that common meals were held in them. In later times teachers were sometimes quar
tered in the synagogue building (probably in adjoining rooms), as well as travel-
ers and destitute persons (apparently Jews) who otherwise had no place to sojourn (cf. J. Megillah 74a; Pesahim 101a). Some such customs were possibly practiced in N.T. times, especially in the Diaspora. These usages of the synagogue

255. James Moffatt, Commentary on I Cor., p. 56; J. Massie, New Century Bible on I Cor., P. 166; W.A. Brown, HDB, 1:801b.
258. See Moore, Judaism, 5:89.
for community assemblies and "mundane" purposes are clearly reflected in the early name for the synagogue יִדְנֵה יִדְנֶר, "the assembly of the common people," a title strongly objected to by later rabbinical students (Shabbath 32a).

A third usage of the synagogue has been reckoned by some as its major function, namely, as a house of instruction. It is true the synagogue school was usually the only one in the community. Philo says that on Monday, Thursday, and the sabbath expositions of the law were given (De septenario 6). These sabbath expositions were public and it is probable that many of those on Mondays and Thursdays were also (see Gittin 38b; J. Sotah 1:4). Public orations, commemorative or otherwise (cf. Megillah 28b), and even public announcements or instructions on a matter of community concern were given out there (cf. Kethuboth 5a; Yebamoth 63b; Leviticus Rabbah 6 and 32). Public discussions also were a common place there. The Jews revelled in this kind of intellectual warfare and began arguments in the synagogue on every possible occasion, becoming more and more addicted to subtle and ingenious interpretations.

Again and again, Paul repeated this procedure in his missionary contacts with Jews in the synagogues and thereby stimulated both lasting interest and animosity in his hearers — at Damascus (Acts 9:20, 22), Jerusalem (9:28-29), Antioch of Pisidia (13:46-47), Iconium (14:1ff), Thessalonica (17:2ff), Berea (17:11), Corinth (18:4), and Ephesus (19:8). Indeed, he used the same process of intense debate (which he had seen and practiced in the synagogue since childhood) with fellow Jewish Christians in the Jerusalem council (Gal. 2:2, 11ff; 261). I. J. Peritz says, "The primary function of the synagogue assemblies was the popular instruction in the law.... The synagogue assemblies were for the religious instruction of the people," op. cit., 4:4836.

262. Charles Guignebert, The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus, p. 76. It is probable that on these occasions the "ruler of the synagogue" worked the hardest to fulfil his function of keeping order!
Acts 15:2ff). Actually the entire record of the council’s proceedings reads like an animated “debate” session in a Jewish synagogue! The whole proceeding is a typical and model product of the Jewish synagogal custom of discussion of vital themes and issues. And most of Paul’s letters reflect the same approach, even at times naming his opponents and stating their actual or anticipated objections. This is especially true of Rom., I and II Cor., and Gal. (cf. Rom. 2:1, 3, 17; 7:1; 10:1; I Cor. 6:12-13; 8:1; 10:23; 15:12; II Cor. 10:1, 10; Gal. 1:11; 3:1; etc.). After all, these letters were to be read in his absence to an assembled congregation; it was as near as he could come under the circumstances of the moment to sharing in the “didactic” debate which he had known all his life in the synagogue and now reproduced in the assemblies of his churches. His efforts to get the Corinthian Christians to do all things “decently and in order” in their assemblies was also no novel effort on his part. He doubtless had sought to do so in the midst of heated synagogal discussions among Jews on many previous occasions.

But regardless of what is said about the synagogue’s claim to be a center of instruction, it had by the first century A.D. become the real religious focus — at least in the Dispersion. It was a place of creedal confession (the shema, Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21; Num. 15:37-41), of prayer (Acts 16:13, 15; Juvenal, Satires 3:296), of scripture reading (Acts 13:15; 15:21; etc.), of “preaching” (Acts 13:15ff, 44; 14:1; 15:21; 16:13; 17:2-3, 10-11; 18:4-5;

264. Perhaps it is better to say with G.F. Moore that instruction in religion had taken its place by N.T. times as an organic part of worship and thus gave the synagogue a “double character,” Judaism, 1:234. On the religious character of the synagogue see M.J. Lagrange, Le Judaisme avant Jesus-Christ, pp. 283f.
cf. 19:9), and of blessings or benedictions (cf. Neh. 8:6). The synagogue building was used for prayer at three different hours of the day. These times of prayer represented to the Jews of the Dispersion the three daily sacrifices in the temple at Jerusalem (cf. Acts 3:1). Thus young Paul from the beginning linked the synagogue with worship of the most elaborate sort in the national capital and saw in this house of devotion a real substitute, if not a reproduction, of the "holy place" in Jerusalem.

3. Order of the Sabbath Morning Synagogue Worship Service

The synagogue made a lasting impression on the Gentilic missionary. For example, the pattern of the worship service adopted in Paul's congregations (as will be seen later in greater detail) is much nearer that of the Jewish synagogue than that of the Roman state religion, or even that of the mystery religions. The major elements of the synagogue worship service have been noted in the last paragraph. They were: confession of faith and blessing, prayer, the reading of lessons from the scripture, followed (if a competent person were in attendance) by an exposition or homily. The following outline of the sabbath morning service is adapted from G.H. Swift and will give an understanding at a glimpse of the order of worship:

265. See W.O.E. Oesterley and G.H. Box, The Religion and Worship of the synagogue, pp. 335ff on benedictions.
Part A —— Liturgical or Devotional

I. Lectern devotions
1. Two "benedictions"
2. The shema — recited by all adult males
3. One "benediction"

II. Devotions before the "ark"
4. Various "benedictions" or prayers (Probably not 18 (or 19) before A.D. 70)
5. The priestly benediction (Num. 6:23-24 — to be recited by a descendant of Aaron if any such were present, otherwise by the leader of the devotions.

Part B —— Instructional

I. The scripture lessons
1. "Benediction" by the first reader
2. Reading and translation of selections from the law
3. Reading and translation of selections from the prophets
4. "Benedictions" by the last reader

II. The exposition or der-ashash.

It is difficult to say exactly what the details of the synagogue worship service in the early first century A.D. were, for before the destruction of the temple it was a much simpler service than in later centuries. The service opened with the repetition of the fundamental Jewish creed adopted from Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21; and Num. 15:37-41, the so-called "shema" (cf. Matt. 22:37; Mk. 12:29; Lk. 10:27; I Cor. 8:6; Eph. 4:6). This was followed by certain prayers, which may not have been rigidly fixed in the first century, though they later were crystallized into 18 (actually 19) formulated petitions.

These prayers were followed by the reading of scripture selections from both the pentateuch and the prophets, which probably did not follow a set cycle of readings in the first century. This was done by members of the congregation.

272. The fact that Jesus' disciples could ask him to teach them to pray (Lk. 11:1) has been taken by some to indicate that a fixed form of prayer was at that time not in vogue; so Peritz, op. cit., 4:4838.
273. The original text of both the Palestinian and Babylonian recensions of the "18 petitions" edited by Solomon Schechter in JQR (1893), 10:654-659; also in Gustaf Dalman, Die Worte Jesu, pp. 292-304.
274. So Adolf Buechler, "The Reading of the Law and the Prophets in a Triennial Cycle," JQR (1893), 5:420ff; (1894) 6:1ff; Moore, Judaism, 1:233-299. But see Jacob Mann, who thinks that such cycles were early employed in relation to homiletics, The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue, 1:4.
(in later times their number was fixed at seven, Megillah 4:1-3). The first and last readers respectively opened and closed the lections with a brief prayer or benediction (see Megillah 4:5; cf. Soferim 13, which says that the benediction before and after was always the same: "Blessed art thou, Lord, who hast given the law"). The reading of the scripture was done in Hebrew and coupled with a translation into the language of the people. In the Dispersion in Paul's day, however, the public reading of the scripture was probably done in Greek from the Septuagint version. The lecture that followed was either a translation and commentary on the Hebrew text or simply an exposition of the ideas suggested in the text, i.e., it was a sort of sermon based on all or part of the scripture that had just been read (cf. Lk. 4:16f; Acts 13:15, 27; 15:21; II Cor. 3:15; Josephus, Contra Apion 2:13; Philo, De septennario 5; Quod omnis probus liber 12). Any qualified person, even a stranger, might be asked to deliver the comments or address on the scripture (Acts 13:15) — a practice which gave a ready opening to the earliest Christian missionary propaganda to the Jews. The whole of the worship service was probably closed by reciting the "priestly" benediction from Num. 6:22-26, to which the people answered "amen," much like the temple worship service in Jerusalem was concluded (cf. Sotah 7:6; 275. Cf. Elbogen, op. cit., pp. 92ff.
276. So think Schmerer, EJP, 4:283ff; Moore, Judaism, 1:303, n.3; G.H. Box, art. "Worship (Hebrew)," ERE, 12:795; Macgregor and Purdy, Jew and Greek, Tutors unto Christ, p. 84. H.B. Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, pp. 29ff, thinks that the Greek Septuagint was read universally in Diaspora synagogues and possibly even in those of Judea and Galilee; so likewise A.T. Robertson, Grammar, p. 199. Theodor Zahn says that both the scripture and the prayers were in Greek, NTI, I:57: But all of this was strongly contested by John Lightfoot, Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae, in Epistolae I ad Corinthios, addenda ad I Cor. 14, pp. 286ff, esp. 302-314.
277. See Jacob Mann, op. cit., 1:11ff, 28; Moore, Judaism, 1:306 and notes 83 and 84; Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, 4:171-183.
278. This translating and commenting on the scripture may in part account both for the wide use of the LXX and for its targumic modifications in the N.T.; so Alfred Edersheim, Life and Times of Jesus, the Messiah, 1:445.
Megillah 18a). The sabbath afternoon "service" was really a continuation of the reading, teaching, and discussion begun in the morning (cf. Megillah 75a). As will be seen later, Paul appropriated freely from the synagogal service of worship in his mission churches.

4. Preaching in the Jewish Synagogues

The translations or paraphrases and expositions or sermons delivered in the Jewish synagogue are very significant in any background study of Paul for the light they throw on the work of his ministry as an apostolic missionary in the earliest church. In these discourses and discussions were some of the earliest influences on his methods of thinking, speaking, and approach to the practical problems in his naissant mission churches. He had heard such discourses from infancy and continued to do so throughout his life. Later he himself regularly delivered such discourses. His first communication of the Christian revelation to newly encountered persons was very often through his speeches in Jewish synagogues. And he continued to practice this oral form of communication in his neophyte congregations. Further, his speaking vitally affected the written expression of his thoughts (his extant writings are letters, apparently dictated in most instances). It is important, therefore to pause for a look at the Jewish preaching in the synagogue.

It has been asserted that the sermon is peculiarly a Jewish phenomenon, but a prominent Jewish scholar has convincingly demonstrated that it is a form of communication to be found in nearly every faith or philosophy that has.

279. This was the certain synagogal custom at the end of the second century A.D., and perhaps in the Dispersion even before the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.


281. Jacob Freudenthal, Die Flavius Josephus beigelegte Schrift über die Herrschaft der Verkunft, pp. 4ff; also Israel Bettan, Studies in Jewish Preaching, p. 3, does the same.

282. Leo Baeck, The Pharisees and Other Essays, pp. 100ff.
ever been able to set forth its views in a coherent manner. Within Judaism, the sermon was a product of the scribe and not of the prophet. The prophet gave the truth as an original pronouncement and only then could the scribe come forth with a discourse whose aim was to interpret and apply established truth — according to Betten. It may be, however, that the two elements were combined in one person, both in the synagogue (Lk. 4:21ff) and in the early church (cf. Rom. 9:11). The sermon or discourse was generally a standard feature of the synagogue service in N.T. times (cf. the kind of model sermon in Prov. 1:20-23; see Philo's fragments in Eusebius' Preparation for the Gospel 8:7; Philo, De septemario 6; Matt. 4:23; 9:33; 13:54; Mk. 1:21, 39; 6:2; Lk. 4:15, 17ff, 31, 44; 6:6; 13:10; John 6:59; 18:20; Acts 13:5, 14ff, 44ff; etc.). In both the Jerusalem and Babylonian talmuds several passages identify "sabbath-observance" with "sabbath-sermon," so common was synagogue preaching.

As to the nature of the synagogue sermon, a word will be said about its character and style, its length and its purpose. Often it was only a running commentary on each successive sentence (or part of each) in the scripture lesson which had just been read from the law or the prophets (cf. Sotah 8:1). Or the speaker sometimes referred to the admonition, threats, and consolations contained in the lessons (cf. Megillah 17b). Or, again, the speaker explained the lesson by means of a parable or story followed perhaps by some form of direct application or exhortation (cf. Sotah 8:1, 30b, 40a; Ketuboth 3a; Hagigah 3a). A later form of discourse was characterized by the use of a (1) foreword or preface (petiha) which was based on the previously read scripture and began, "This is that

284. See Alfred Edersheim, Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, 1:446.
which the scripture said" (אֲשֶׁר יֵרֵא ה' וַיֵּרְא ה') or "This is that which stands written" (אֲשֶׁר יֵרֵא ה' וַיֵּרְא ה'). Some think that the earliest introductory formula was [scripture verse], "Let our master teach us," with which discussion of some question of the halakah was prefaced. The actual connection between the speaker's idea and the scripture was often left to the very last before being presented, thereby sustaining interest to the end. (This latter treatment, however, flourished in the third century A.D.; whether it was practiced earlier cannot be said). In addition to the preface there was the main discussion or (2) body (derush) and (3) close of the address, both of which will be observed elsewhere. The manner of synagogal preaching was either a simple or a profound intellectual exercise of a rather spontaneous or studied nature, depending upon the ability and desire of the speaker. There was sufficient room for the play of imagination, emotion, and appeal to will power, as a reading of some of the above references reveals.

The address was usually delivered without notes (later talmudic regulations forbade the use of notes or even the use of a written translation of the scripture passage which was quoted in a sermon, lest one give the idea that any other writing could be on a par with the scriptures, J. Megillah 74d). Even for prodigious oriental memories, so much memory work would make for increased spontaneity in sermons, thus leading to a wider introduction of extraneous haggadic and even haladic materials into the translations and paraphrases of the scriptures.

288. See our chapter 3; also Roland Allen, Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or Ours?, p. 82-84; Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, p. 15; Morton Smith, op. cit., pp. 101-109, who calls attention to the eschatological element in the body and especially the conclusion of Jewish synagogal sermons; cf. David Philipson, op. cit., 6:455a.
and the sermons based on these. This custom of "noteless" delivery thus aided the excesses of rabbinic exegesis, some of which influenced the exegetical methods employed by Paul in his preaching and writing. Instances of such "homiletical translation" and haggadic expansion are preserved in the targum of Onkelos on Gen. 49:3-4, 10 and on Deut. 32:5f, and are probably good specimens of what many of the synagogue "sermons" of the first century were like. These passages contain expressions of comfort, hope of speedy delivery, and admonitions to observe the law and study torah. Fragments of sermons in which mid-rashic materials have been used may be seen also in the talmud (e.g., Berakoth 54a). More extensive and numerous are the "sermons" (or proems) at the beginning of the midrash on Lamentations. These are all rather late but may afford some idea of the method of taking a text or passage and preaching on some idea(s) therein. There is also the midrash Tanchuma, which emanated from the late fourth century Rabbi Tanchuma of Palestine, though in its extant form it is of a still later date. Its "sermonic" form, however, is much like that of earlier homiletic works.

We may pause long enough at this point to cite from a synagogal sermon or two which date from around Paul's time and which may well represent the type of homiletic creations to which he so often listened and which served him as sermonic patterns.

From the Pesikta de-Rab Kahana, a Palestinian work, we cite a homily based on Isa. 61:10, "He hath clothed me with garments of salvation." The homily

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290. Cf. Hartwig Hirschfeld, art. "Preaching (Jewish)," ERE, 10:220b. G.F. Moore says that the Jewish sermonic form is most nearly represented perhaps in the (sixth century, so Benjamin Bernfeld, art. "Pesikta," JWE, 8:469b) Pesikta, Judaism, 1:305; cf. 1:118ff.


292. Text edited by Solomon Buber, Lyck, Mekize Nirdamim, 1868; German translation of Buber's text by August Wunsche, Bibliotheca Rabbinica (ein-und zwiunddreiissigste Lieferung), Leipzig, Otto Schulze, 1885.
probably dates from the first century A.D.

Seven garments the holy one — blessed be he — has put on, and will put on from the time the world was created until the hour when he will punish the wicked Edom (Rome?). When he created the world, he clothed himself in honor and majesty, as it is said, "Thou art clothed in honor and majesty" (Ps. 104:1). Whenever he forgave Israel's sins, he clothed himself in white, for we read, "His garment was white as snow" (Dan. 7:9). When he punishes the people of the world, he puts on the garment of vengeance, as it is said, "He put on the garments of vengeance for clothing and was clad with zeal as a cloak" (Isa. 59:17). The sixth garment he will put on when the Messiah comes; then he will clothe himself in a garment of righteousness, for it is said, "And he puts on righteousness as a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation upon his head" (Idem.). The seventh garment he will put on when he punishes Edom; then he will clothe himself in Adom, i.e., red, for it is said, "Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel?" (Isa. 63:2). But the garment which he will put upon the Messiah, this will shine far, from one end of the earth to the other; for it is said, "As a bridegroom decketh himself with a garland" (Isa. 61:10). And the Israelites will partake of his light, and will speak:

"Blessed is the hour when the Messiah shall come!
Blessed the womb out of which he shall come!
Blessed his contemporaries who are witnesses!
Blessed the eye that is honored with a sight of him!
For the opening of his lips is blessing and peace;
His speech is a moving of the spirits;
The thoughts of his heart are confidence and cheerfulness;
The speech of his tongue is pardon and forgiveness.
His prayer is the sweet incense of offerings;
His petitions are holiness and purity.
Oh, how blessed is Israel for whom such has been prepared!"

— For it is said, "How great is thy goodness which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee!"

Perhaps even more pertinent is the homily on wisdom (written in ancient poetic style) preserved in I Baruch 3:9-4:4, which Thackeray suggests was penned as a sermon for the Jewish fast falling on the ninth of Ab, a fast commemorating the burning of the temple in Jerusalem. The sermon, in its present


H. St. J. Thackeray, The Septuagint and Jewish Worship, pp. 95ff.
form dating perhaps from the seventies A.D., may be based on the synagogal lesson (haftorah) for this particular sabbath from Jer. 8:13-9:24(23). If so, the text of the sermon is the last two verses of the lesson (Jer. 9:23-24), "Thus says the Lord, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glories glory in this, that he has understanding, and knows me, that I am Jehovah...." The three types of the vain-glorious in these verses provide the framework of the sermon. The preacher traces the pitiful conditions of Israel to her desertion of God, the source of wisdom, and then in the central part of the homily he singles out three specific classes of persons who have missed the true wisdom: the rich (3:16-20), the wise (21-23), and the mighty (24-27). The whole compares strikingly with the discourse on false and true wisdom in I Cor. 1:18-2:16(or --- 3:23), where Paul notes much the same vain-glorious groups in I Cor. 1:26 -- the wise, the mighty, and the well born (comparable to the "rulers" and "rich" of I Baruch). Paul even quotes the text of the Baruchian sermon in I Cor. 1:51 and reaches a conclusion somewhat similar to that in I Baruch 4:4b, i.e., the people of God possess knowledge of his mind and will (I Cor. 2:16). Thackeray says, "I cannot but think of sermons to which Saul the Pharisee must often have listened on the 9th Ab."

A study of the "sermons" ascribed to Philo probably furnish an even more accurate picture of the synagogue preaching of the first century. There are two

296. Ibid., p. 95. Cf. the sermonic examples cited by David Philipson, op. cit., 6:455.
of these and part of a third, and Freudenthal regards Philo's allegorical writings as public lectures which were actually delivered. Allegory is their distinguishing hallmark. Our purpose forbids further analysis. Homiletic parallels between Philo and Paul reveal more contrasts, however, than similarities.

From what we have observed already it may be said that the Jewish sermons of the first century A.D. were generally of two kinds: the "passage"-sermon and the "text"-sermon, the former a sort of commentary on a whole section of scripture (and by far the predominant type in this period), the latter a development of one or a few sentences or even clauses, phrases, words, or syllables (1), which served only to introduce the address or to provide its key idea (a method widely exploited in subsequent centuries). The address of Stephen in Acts 7 or the kind of preaching suggested by Acts 13:16ff (a historical survey of "the history of salvation") and perhaps by Gal. 3:1 ("Before whose eyes Jesus Christ was publicly portrayed as crucified") may well represent the "passage"-sermon or "commentary-on-narrative"-sermon type with its graphic verbal picture or concrete story and the lesson drawn from these by the preacher. The address in Acts 17:22ff, where Paul begins with a simple idea or statement (the altar inscription "To (an) unknown god," which he quotes to his audience in beginning, 17:23) from which are developed certain abstract and universalistic concepts about God, man, and the world, or the passage in Rom. 1:17ff, seem to give an idea of the "text"-sermon (adapted of course to a Gentile audience).

297. Edited by J.B. Ancher, Philonis Judaei Paralipomena Armena, etc., Venice, 1826. The sermon titles are: "De Sampson", "De Jona", "De tribus angelis Abraamo apparentibus." Schmerer, HJP, 5:350; R.A. Wolfson, Philo, 1:87, n.1, and others regard these works as spurious. Apparently, however, they do derive from about Philo's time.


299. Philo's homilies appear to be the oldest evidence of the newer manner of exegesis in which one practically abandons the scripture lesson as he proceeds; cf. Paul in Acts 9:20, 22; 13: 16; cf. Elbogen, op. cit., p. 196.
This raises the difficult question, To what extent did Paul’s sermons fit the Jewish homiletic categories? Did he make use of the intellectual and emotional, historical and imaginative, as well as volitional approaches? Mary E. Andrews characterizes Paul’s sermons as being, not of a rationalistic type, but of an emotional sort, because the apostle rejected the approach of “natural” theology and preached “only Jesus Christ and him crucified” — an approach akin to the mystery religions, purely esthetic and emotional. But Leo Baeck (a non-Christian) seems to comprehend more clearly the dimensions of this problem when he notes that “the sermon is alien to the mystery cult ... Thus the sermon could find a place only in a philosophical religion.” Neither Judaism nor Christianity is strictly speaking a “philosophical” religion, but both are more nearly so than, for example, the Roman state cult or the purely sacramental and emotion-arousing mystery religions. The early Jewish sermon — simple, concrete, practical, displaying “an almost studied indifference to artistic form,” in short, a sort of running historical commentary, but capable of treating “philosophical” themes in a “down-to-earth” manner — was the pattern or style of preaching to which Paul was most often exposed in the Jewish worship service. The canonical books of Exodus and Deuteronomy, as well as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, reflect perhaps the earliest trend in literary treatment toward such a type or method of communication. How Paul and the early church reacted to it was vitally important.

301. The Pharisees, p. 112.
304. In chapter 3 we shall examine more closely the nature and style of Paul’s preaching and that of his predecessors and contemporaries. See Morton Smith, Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels, pp. 101-109; George Friedrich, TNT, 3:704, n.2; Sherrill, op. cit., pp. 141-142; Rudolf Bultmann, TNT, 1:63ff, 292ff; 2:119ff.
The length of the sermon varied with the passage of scripture treated or with the scope of the subject laid out to be covered by the speaker. Apparently lengthy discourses and discussions were not uncommon in the Jewish sabbath worship service (cf. Gittin 38b; J. Sotah 1:4). If there was not enough time to cover the subject at the morning assembly it might be continued, or held over in its entirety, until the afternoon period of instruction and discussion on each sabbath (Eusebius, Preparation for the Gospel 8:7). Some of Paul's discourses were clearly of great length; cf. Acts 20:7, 9, and the size of such letters as Rom. and I and II Cor.

The purpose behind the Jewish sermon was to convey a message on the basis of some biblical passage or idea. The message was generally assumed to be of primary importance, the biblical text (providing only a point of departure, or illustrative material, or means of adaptation, etc.) was really a "pretext." Though Paul sometimes uses scripture in this manner (the "pulling-it-in-by-the-hair" method, see Rom. 3:4; 8:36; 9:29; I Cor. 2:16; etc.), he seems to hold a slightly different concept about the relation of his message and the scriptures. For example, in I Cor. 15:3-4 he is careful to point out (without citing any actual passage of the O.T.) that his gospel message is in harmony with the scriptures. That is, for him message and text are equally important, perhaps one can say, because he felt the two to be synonymous. Thus, most of Rom. is really an exposition of what he feels to be the historic content and genuine meaning of Hab. 2:4, which serves as his "text" in Rom. 1:17. This particular verse, however, is no mere sermon "text" for the whole of the O.T. is in harmony with it, indeed, is

epitomized in it. That is, the "text" in Rom. 1:17 is no mere trick for gaining attention or for tying his thoughts to the O.T.; instead, the verse contains all that the apostle set out to demonstrate. This was not always, so far as contemporary Jewish sermonic sources allow comparison, the usual Jewish method.

Serious study of early Jewish homiletics and of its impact on Paul and other Jewish-Christian preachers in the early church has been rather limited. Better, from an analysis of early Jewish homiletical exegesis (though based largely on material compiled much later than the N.T. period, i.e., on the midrash, etc.), draws several conclusions, about the Jewish preaching of this period. We shall note what he says about the texts and illustrations used in synagogal sermons.

Jewish preachers employed some five different types of texts. There was (1) the "transparent" text, which was clear enough in thought but was capable of wider application and stronger emphasis. For example, from Gen. 34:1 where Dinah "went out to see the daughters of the land," the preacher expounded the idea that the place of the worthy woman is at home and "that gadding about is frequently woman's undoing" (Tanchuma [7], section 6). Further, there was (2) the "obscure" text, which, bristling with difficulties, presented a challenge to the interpreter. These difficulties might be of a linguistic, logical, theological or ethical nature, and the preacher's concern was not with the problem that puzzled but with the answer that would uplift. An example of a text containing a linguistic difficulty is Ex. 19:3 which says, "Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob and tell to the house of Israel." Obviously the "house of Jacob" and the "house of Israel" are the same, but there is the possibility that "h. of Jacob" refers to the women and "h. of Israel" to the men (1), and the women are addressed first because they are more
susceptible to the religious appeal and because theirs is the duty to educate the young (Exodus Rabbah 26:2). A third type was (3) the "allegorical" text, such as Prov. 11:30, "The fruit of the righteous is a tree of life." This verse was made to convey the idea that the "fruit" is the offspring of the righteous and the "tree of life" is emblematic of torah; so then, the righteous man who dies childless is not barren of progeny: the torah which he mastered and lived is his offspring (Tanchuma [7], section 2). The fourth kind of text was (4) the "relative" text, in which the homiletical significance fully appears only when viewed in relation to a verse preceding it. Thus the text (Ex. 17:8), "Then came Amalek and fought with Israel in Rephidim," says little until set against the preceding verse, "And the name of the place is called Massah, and Meribah, because of the striving of the children of Israel, and because they tried the Lord, saying, 'Is the Lord among us or not?'" That is, when Israel ceases to trust in God, he falls a prey (without God's protection) to the attacks of the enemy (Exodus Rabbah 26:2). Finally, there is (5) the "pictorial" text, which revolves around some graphic word or phrase. Hence, the text, "A good name is better than precious oil" (Eccl. 7:1), paints an apt and vivid picture, for all other extracts, like wine and honey, lose their identity when mixed with water, but oil refuses to mingle and be absorbed but rises to the top and retains its identity; so a good name lifts a man to great merit and distinctiveness (Tanchuma [7], section 1).

Paul's use of the O.T. in preaching probably shows some indebtedness to the rabbi's choice of texts from it, as an examination of passages like Rom. 1:17; 9:6, 15; I Cor. 2:16; 15:54-55 and their contexts seems to confirm. He is not, however, a "stickler" for the use of texts as the sermon in Acts 13:16ff makes abundantly clear. His prime interest is in communicating his message; immediate O.T. textual references are incidental, for his entire gospel is grounded throughout
on the historic foundation of the O.T. It is practically impossible to talk of classifying his "texts," therefore, because of his freedom in using or disregarding texts altogether. The result is that in his speeches and letters there are almost none to classify.

As to sermonic illustrations, a study of the early homiletic sources in Judaism reveals a classification of at least seven different species, namely, (1) the example, (2) the analogy, (3) the proverb, (4) the parable, (5) the allegory, (6) the fable, and (7) the legend. These are drawn not merely from scripture, but from the common experiences of life. As an (1) example for elucidating Isa. 43:22, "Yet thou hast not called upon me, O Jacob, neither hast thou wearied thyself about me, O Israel," the author cites a man who would stand all day idly waiting and not feel weary, but no sooner was he invited to join in a service of worship than fatigue overcame him and he felt constrained to decline the invitation (Lamentations Rabbah, Proem 10)! The use of (2) analogy is seen in the attempt to reconcile God's omnipresence with the declaration that "the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle" (Ex. 40:34). The Preacher in Pesikta Rabbati (chapter 5) alludes to a cave by the seashore and notes that though the waves of the sea fill the cave to overflowing yet the sea itself remains practically undiminished. The other five methods of illustration were used with considerable frequency, but space forbids further citations to demonstrate their nature. The use of illustrations in a midrashic type of exegesis may be studied in documents even older than Paul, such as the Book of Jubilees. In order to show the abhorrence of Jews against idolatry since the days of Abraham their founding patriarch, the writer of Jubilees (12:1-14) uses an apocryphal story (the legend type

of illustration) relating how Abraham burned the shrine where the images of his family were kept (thereby proving his hatred of idolatry), while his brother Haran, in an effort to rescue the images, was consumed by the flames (thereby proving the futility and danger of idolatry). Compare Paul's use of legendary illustrative material in I Cor. 10:1ff and II Cor. 11:3.

The subjects most commonly treated in synagogue sermons were three: God, the torah, and Israel, though almost every theological doctrine, ethical duty, and practical relationship was either treated or alluded to. These three subjects constitute also the bulk of Paul's extant writings and recorded speeches, with the exception that the place occupied by the torah in Jewish sermons was supplanted by Christ in the preaching of Paul.

5. The Jewish Synagogue and Paul's Christian Life and Work

To sum up some of the indebtedness of Paul's christianizing techniques to Jewish synagogue influences, the following items ought to be noticed: (1) Paul continued to worship and to teach there wherever and whenever possible for the rest of his life (cf. Acts 9:20; 13:5, 14ff; 14:1; 17:1ff, 10; 18:4, 19; 19:8). (2) He even submitted to its judicial infliction of corporal punishment on a number of occasions (in II Cor. 11:24 he says specifically that five times he was thus beaten in Jewish synagogues), though this may have been due merely to the fact that he was out-numbered and over-powered! (3) He adopted a number of its institutions and customs in the life and structure of his churches. Among these seem to have been the "kiss of peace" which became the "holy kiss" of the early church (cf. I Th.

310. See further on Paul's homiletic illustrations in our chapter 3.
5:26; I Cor. 16:20; II Cor. 13:12; Rom. 16:16; also I Pet. 5:14); the use of veils by women and the bare head of men at worship to show their respective places of "subjection" and "lordship" in the order of creation (I Cor. 11:3-15; cf. Aboth de Rabbi Nathan 6:3, which quotes Rabbi Nicodemus of ca. A.D. 70, at worship without head covering); and the practice of excommunication of unrepentant serious violaters of the (moral) "law" (I Cor. 5:1-5, 11-13; cf. "to cast out of the synagogue" in John 9:22; 12:42; 16:2; Lk. 6:22; see the regulations for excommunication in Berakoth 19a and Moed Katan 3:1 and 16a; also the note to Sanhedrin 11:4 in I.Epstein (ed.), The Babylonian Talmud). Now it is possible that all of these were practiced in the church before Paul and that he simply continued their use, but even so, they were in his background from the start.

The same may be said for (4) the organization and functioning of the congregations under Paul's leadership. The adoption of the techniques of "elders"

314. That the "kiss of peace" was a synagogue practice rests on two passages in Philo's Questiones in Exodum 2:78 and 118, preserved in Armenian. F.C. Conybeare felt confident from these references that the practice as "a formal institution of the Jewish synagogue" was to be implied, art. "New Testament Notes," section 5: "The Kiss of Peace," The Expositor (1894a), pp. 460-462. See the English translation by Ralph Marcus in the Loeb Classical Library, Philo, Supplement, vol. 2. The present writer must admit that Conybeare's evidence does look somewhat feeble. Ps. 85:10 would seem to be an equally reliable piece of evidence for the existence of the custom. Cf. also T.K. Cheyne, art. "Salutations," II, 4:4254.

315. So Hans Lietzmann, An die Korinther I-II (HNT), p. 58. But see Martin Dibelius, Paul, pp. 38-39. The bare head of males in the synagogue was possibly not Jewish even at this date; but see note 316 below.

316. Strack-Billerbeck show from Jewish sources that in N.T. times it was the custom for men to pray bareheaded but women with veiled head, Kommentar, 3:423-426.

317. See H.A. Redpath, art. "Delivering to Satan," The Expositor (1896b), pp. 323-326. Redpath sees a connection between I Cor. 5 and the delivery of Job to Satan by the heavenly court (Job 1).

318. For a fuller discussion of this question from rabbinic sources, see Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, Exkurs 13, "Der Synagogenbann," 4:293ff, esp. 4:327ff; also Jean Juster, Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain, 1:402; 2:159, n.6.
(πρεσβύτερον) to supervise the affairs, including the functions of teaching, in a Christian congregation (Phil. 1:1; cf. I Th. 5:12; Acts 14:33; 20:17, 28; etc.) is surely a carry-over from Judaism. That the Jewish Christians had made the change before Paul is probable, judging from Acts 11:30. At any rate, like the synagogues, his churches were "democratic in character and apparently autonomous" — they raised their own funds (Rom. 15:26-27; I Cor. 16:1; II Cor. 8:1-5; 9:1-5; Gal. 6:6; Phil. 4:14-17); disciplined their own members, even to the point of excommunication (I Cor. 5:1-13; II Cor. 2:5-11; 7:11-12); taught and admonished one another (Col. 3:16; cf. Gal. 6:1-2); had their own "overseers" (I Th. 5:12), who taught (Gal. 6:6) as well as admonished (I Th. 5:12) the particular congregation which they "supervised"; and if Paul followed the example of Christian predecessors, his congregations also ordained their own "candidates" to the ministry and mission field (Acts 13:1-3) and held these persons responsible to the congregations for their ministering (Acts 14:27; note that Paul and Barnabas report to the church and not to individuals). All of this was in accord with synagogue procedure.

It ought to be noticed also that some things were lacking in his churches the same as in the synagogue: a priestly ministry, a high sacramentalism, and the offering of sacrifices as the center of worship (as was the case in the temple in Jerusalem). Thus the emphasis on liturgy with Paul was far less than in the temple, precisely as was the case with synagogue worship.

321. Wilhelm Bousset thinks that his "sacramentalism" derived from the Essenes, from books like II Enoch (cf. 22:6; 56:2; etc.), and from the Hellenistic mystery religions, Die Religion des Judentums im spaethellenistischen Zeitalter, pp. 200-201.
Much also is adopted by the apostle from (5) the synagogue worship service. Such elements as hymn singing (I Cor. 14:15, 26), prayer (I Cor. 11:4-5, 13; 14:14-17), reading from the scriptures (II Cor. 3:15-16?), preaching of a homily in the vernacular (I Cor. 14:26), and perhaps even a concluding blessing (I Cor. 14:16 RSV, eπαλαύγνας) can be traced back directly to the Jewish synagogue and its order of worship. Naturally, too, Paul used (6) the Bible of the Jews -- the Old Testament -- in its Greek translation (Septuagint). This Greek version supplied the historical background of all his teaching to his converts. His numerous references to the LXX in Rom., Cor., and Gal. are sufficient evidence of the value of this heritage from Judaism, which, as written Torah, was the prime factor in the synagogue and its worship.

Moreover, the apostle adopts many of (7) the teaching and preaching methods employed in the synagogue: the discourse procedure, either in the form of a commentary on the biblical lesson read for the sabbath, or a homily delivered from some shorter scriptural text (cf. Rom. 9:11); the discussion approach which often followed the discourse, or on occasion may even have supplanted it (cf. Rom. 1-8; Acts 17:2-3; 18:4; 19:8); and the various literary and rhetorical techniques used by synagogal speakers and teachers, such as question-and-answer, deductive reasoning, variegated illustrations, quotation of scriptural or

323. "There are many threads of evidence showing that the Church simply took over the synagogue custom of reading from the Old Testament ...," A.B. Macdonald, Christian Worship in the Primitive Church, p. 78.
325. See on the whole subject W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, chapters 2, 3, and 5.
327. Paul, specifically quotes the O.T. 72 times in Rom., 31 in I Cor., 17 in II Cor., and 13 in Gal. (there are no express citations in I and II Th.). 123 times in all in his six earlier letters. See C.H. Toy, Quotations in the New Testament, pp. 125-202.
traditional authorities for support, etc. The synagogue was less accomplished and polished in these matters as a science and art than Hellenistic rhetorical circles, but more direct, realistic, and personal.

Paul is further indebted to the synagogue (and rabbinical schools) for many of (8) the religious ideas which he had heard expressed and expounded there since his infancy. Monotheism, the torah, Israel, the Messiah, conceptions of man, the demonic and angelic worlds, the universe, the covenants, the divine promises, the hopes of his people (cf. Rom. 9-11) — all were old, oft-repeated ideas to him. And the encouragement and freedom granted to their public discussion in the synagogue assemblies had embedded them in the depths of his mind. Here, too, his debt to Pharisaism is enormous.

It ought further to be noted that from (9) the zeal for proselyting found in the Jewish synagogue (and among the Pharisees, Matt. 23:15; cf. Acts 2:10; 6:5; 13:43) may have sprung some of Paul's keen missionary interest and enthusiasm. Nock warns against supposing enormous success for Judaic proselyting efforts, but even so the zeal and earnest effort were large (add Acts 10:2 to references above). In this connection Paul clearly adopts certain (10) elements of Jewish propaganda most of which were directly or indirectly connected with the synagogue. The work of individuals to bring outsiders

328. A.D. Nock, Conversion, p. 283. But Theodore Reinach, art. "Judaie," Daremberg and Saglio (eds.), Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 619-632, says proselytes were "numerous"; cf. Seneca, De superstitionis, a lost treatise quoted in Augustine's City of God 6:11, where Seneca says that proselytes were to be found among all the Jewish settlements of the Graeco-Roman world.


to synagogue services into which they were welcomed (Acts 10:2; cf. I Cor. 14:23), the use of literary media (some of which were possibly composed as treatises to be read before synagogue audiences, especially where visiting non-Jews were present, cf. Wisdom of Solomon, IV Maccabees; most of Paul's letters are such media), and the offering of instruction during the synagogue service, couched especially for prospective proselytes (cf. Rom. 1:18-4:25; all the missionary addresses in Acts) are all utilized by the apostle to the Gentiles who took them over from Jewish sources. Paul, furthermore, used the synagogue as (11) a source of contact and point of beginning in new communities with both Jew and Jewish proselytes. Here generally, his first prospects for a new congregation in a new location were found and won (Acts 13:5, 14; 14:1; 17:1, 10; 13:4; 19:8). This means that the synagogue itself became the center in which his initial missionary efforts in a new community were expended.

Finally (12) the demand for the practice of a high morality in life, individually and socially, was appropriated from the Book (OT) and worship which constituted the soul of the synagogue. The implications of faith in the one moral God professed at the opening of every synagogue worship service, the requirements of the moral law in personal life, and the practice of preaching such morality constantly in synagogal sermons were adopted, transformed, and advanced in the churches founded by the apostle. Paul's debt to the Jewish synagogue is large no matter from what angle it is viewed but especially from that of the methods and means which he borrowed and adapted to his task of creating and educating a Christian mind in his converts.

Other religious institutions such as the temple at Jerusalem ("the pride and focal point of world Jewry"), the sabbath (an exclusive religious

possession of Israel alone), redemption of the first-born, circumcision, the
great national festivals requiring the presence of the males in Jerusalem
thrice yearly (Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles), the half-shekel annual
tax on every male, certain vows, etc., claimed the devotion of Paul and left
their mark on him, but beyond his use of these as illustrations or as means and
helps for clarifying his concepts of Christian truths, they seem to have been
of relatively little value to him in forming a Christian mind in his converts.
Indeed his success as a Christian propagandist and trainer may have been due
greatly to his having recognized the inadequacies of these institutions and
customs as helpful media in developing Christian lives and minds.

Excursus: "Paul's Tutelage under Gamaliel in Jerusalem."

Whether Paul could have been the pupil of Gamaliel has been extensively
deleted. Many have denied it. Not only Jewish scholars like Montefiore,
but Christian ones like Hausrath, Parkes, Loisy, and Enslin,
on the primary ground that Paul never mentions the fact in his letters!

338. M.S. Enslin, "Paul and Gamaliel," JR (1937), 7:369-375; The Ethics of
Paul, p. 11.
339. So neither does he ever quote Gen. 49:10 (Shiloh) or Num. 24:17 (Balaam's
star of Jacob) messianically as does, e.g., Onkelos. Could he have been
a rabbinical student and not known of the messianic application of these
great passages? And does his silence regarding Isa. 53 have a bearing on
the problem of his rabbinical training? Can it be that his silence in
regard to all these passages is purely accidental?
On the other hand the Jewish scholar, Joseph Klausner, cites evidence which, though not conclusive, is strong that Paul was one of Gamaliel's pupils, and the German scholar, Wilhelm Bousset, who denied in the first edition (1913) of his book *Krios Christos*, Paul's tutelage under Gamaliel, retracted this judgment in his subsequently published work (1916), *Jesus der Herr*. Other scholars have provided overwhelming evidence for maintaining the genuineness of the statement in Acts 22:3 about Paul and Gamaliel.

340. From Jesus to Paul, pp. 309-311. Klausner contends that the talmud contains reminiscence of Paul's tutelage under Gamaliel in the veiled references to "that disciple" (Shabbath 30b).

341. Cf. e.g., pp. 92ff.

342. p. 31.

Though Paul was a Jew and spent most of his pre-Christian life in Jewish communities, still he lived and passed to and fro in a larger community that was very un-Jewish. This larger community was Gentilic; it was the eastern end of the Roman empire, originally a Semitic stronghold, but in the apostle's day saturated (or at least well veneered) with the culture called Hellenism. According to Acts 9:11; 21:39; 22:3 Paul was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia. He was, therefore, a Jew of the Diaspora, that is, a Hellenistic Jew. Now the exact nature of his Hellenistic Judaism is a much debated question, yet in order to form an adequate notion of the apostle Paul and his methods of Christian work one must know something of the Hellenism and Hellenistic Judaism which he everywhere encountered — even in Palestine.

The primary interest in this chapter does not lie in a rapid survey of Paul's heritage foremost in terms of Roman citizenship and Grecian language, literature, and science, nor in such great items as a unique system of well-knit roads and bridges, orderly government (more or less), codified civil law, and serious and wide-spread interest in philosophy — important as all these were for him. Nor

1. Adolf von Harnack holds that Paul can be comprehended by approaching him solely from the Hebraic side, see for example, his History of Dogma, 1:94-95.
2. The term "Hellenism" was coined only in 1836 by the historian Johann Gustav Droysen "to designate the tendency and the practical action of the fusion of Greek and original culture, which took place in the period from Alexander the Great to the early Roman Empire" (approximately 300 B.C. to A.D. 100). Arthur B. Posner, art. "Hellenism," UJE, 5:305a.
3. J.G. Machen, The Origin of Paul's Religion, pp. 43ff, notes the forthright denial of Paul's birth in Tarsus by Max Krenkel, Beiträge zur Aufhellung der Geschichte und der Briefe des Apostels Paulus, pp. 1-17; but few scholars since Krenkel have sought very seriously to discredit the Acts at this point. Theodor Zahn proposes the plausible idea that Jerome's rather confused traditions (De viris illustribus 5; Commentary on Philo 2) about the birthplace of Paul may really mean that Paul's parents were born in Gischala in Galilee, but that Paul himself was born in Tarsus, INT, 1:68-70.
is the main interest in such general features of Hellenism as universalism, syncretism, incipient monotheism, etc., in themselves. What is sought is something more difficult to discover; indeed, it may be unobtainable. The aim is to learn to what extent and in what ways Hellenistic thought, life, institutions, and specifically its "means of communication" affected the methods used by the apostle Paul in his efforts to produce and develop Christians (or the Christian mind).

The master work on Hellenistic Judaism has not yet appeared in any language. G.F. Moore proposed it, but never realized it. Years before Moore, Wilhelm Bousset wrote on the Jewish religion in N.T. times, a work revised by Hugo Gressmann who changed its title to Jewish religion in the late Hellenistic period (coming nearer to the need and the reality). When the first edition of Bousset's work appeared, Felix Perles cited several serious defects in the whole plan and content of the book. Perhaps the most serious flaw was that Bousset regarded and so treated the religion of the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha as "normative" for both Palestinian and non-Palestinian Judaism as over against the religion of the talmud (because he regarded the religion portrayed in the apocalypses as that of the common people, and the views of rabbinical Judaism preserved in the talmud as reflecting merely the small scholarly circles) --- and thus impaired his work by a one-sided use of sources. Gressmann, who revised the work, did not appreciably alter this defective approach. Moore asserts that "normative" Judaism of this period is best seen in the mishnah and the tannaitic (halakic) midrash (mechilta, sifra, sifre; see Judaism, 1:135ff; 2:80); yet Moore

4. See note 7 below.
in only one of the seven principal divisions of his work deals chiefly with what is specifically mishnah and "mishmaic," i.e., halakah (Part IV on "Observances"), and in the last section (Part VII, "The Hereafter") he draws heavily upon the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha (despite the latter's "non-normativeness").

More recent works on Judaism have failed to fill this much needed gap (i.e., a masterly treatment of Hellenistic Judaism), and older ones have not been enlarged or revised in that direction.

I. **INFLUENCE OF HELLENISTIC EDUCATION ON PAUL**

1. Impact of Hellenistic Language and Literature on Paul
   a. Greek a Native Tongue of the Bilingual Paul

   The Greek language was a native tongue of the bilingual apostle --- as it was of much of the populace around him. His letters are not translation Greek. Greek was spoken even in Palestine by a large number of people, as is shown (1) by Josephus' use of Greek as his medium of literary expression (though his pronunciation was poor [Antiquities 20:11]) and he had to enlist some aid on grammatical problems from Greek scholars in his literary compositions (Contra Apion 1:9),


10. For example, Emil Schurer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, 3te and 4te Aufl., 1901-1911.


(2) by the use of spoken Greek even in the more prominent rabbinic families in Palestine (cf. the statements about Gamaliel --- presumably Gamaliel I --- that he taught Greek (wisdom) to 500 of his pupils, Sotah 9:6), (3) by the adoption of Greek names by many Jewish families (cf. Saul-Paul), (4) by the use of Greek for writing notices published in the temple in Jerusalem, (5) by the use of Greek names for purely Jewish institutions (such as "synagogue," "sanhedrin," and over 1100 other Greek terms in the Jerusalem Talmud), and (6) by the composing of several Palestinian apocryphal writings in Greek (e.g., IV Ezra).

It is not strange, therefore, that the Jews of the Dispersion should have spoken Greek to the exclusion of their own native Hebrew or Aramaic, nor that they should have translated the scriptures into Greek and hellenized their religious thought as well (cf. Philo's logos for memra). Nor is it strange that Paul should have used Greek in all his extant writings. That he knew much about the Greek language is clear from those writings. It is the koiné Greek of the average man that he

14. Ibid.
16. In harmony with all this Josephus has been interpreted as saying (cf. Antiquities 20:11) that Palestine was bilingual, and perhaps it was. See W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 5.
17. How little Hebrew actually was current among Jews of the Diaspora is shown by the fact that not a single instance has been discovered of its use upon a tombstone, according to Schurer, EJP, 4:283.
18. George Johnston, The Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament, p. 15. The polish shown in the preface prefixed by the writer's grandson to the proverbial Wisdom of Sirach (in the Greek translation) indicates the kind of Greek which some (Egyptian) Jews could write; cf. Zahn, INT, 1:46.
19. This alone is sufficient to refute the assertion of Auguste Sabatier that there is nothing in Paul to show that he was familiar with Greek culture. Cf. William Fairweather, Jesus and the Greeks, p. 387.
uses, not the literary form of the (even in his day) defunct classicist, though
passages in his letters show good style and even some polish (cf. Rom. 8:28-39;
I Cor. 13; etc.).

b. Paucity of Direct Quotations in Paul from Pagan Sources.

The question also rises to what extent Paul knew the literature of Hellenism.
This is harder to answer because of the scarcity of direct quotations from pagan
sources in his extant writings. Further, the nature of such quotations as he does
cite furnishes only the poorest clues about his customary usages of and the extent
of his acquaintance with such literature. There are only three such known or
identifiable quotations in the traditional Pauline writings, namely, the Attic
comic poet in I Cor. 15:33, Epimenides in Tit. 1:12, and a line from Aratus and
Cleanthes (both poets of the Stoic school) in Acts 17:28. We shall consider these
later.

c. The General Forms of Expression.

Of more immediate importance is the problem of the generally used Greek forms
of personal expression and Paul's relation to them. The chief subject pursued in
Hellenistic schools of the first century A.D. was (1) rhetoric, the study of the
principles, sources, and techniques of public speaking including both composition
and delivery. (Rhetoric concerned "prose" literature, whether written or spoken).
No one was considered an educated person who did not know how and was able to
"practice" rhetoric. Yet Paul was no rhetorician or orator in the real Greek
sense. He himself says that he was "unlearned in speaking" (Ἰσιδωτες τον λόγον,
II Cor. 11:6). Many of the rhetorical devices are altogether lacking in his letters

20. J.H. Moulton, Prolegomena, p. 10, 17; Eduard Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa,
21. John Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, pp. 92-93; A.T. Robertson; Grammar,
pp. 1195f.
and speeches, such as elaborate descriptions (of the surrounding landscape scenery, battles, etc. — he fails to include even a passing reference to this favorite orator's trick), or the putting of sayings or speeches into the mouths of renowned ancient worthies (as Josephus and Philo do with Abraham, Moses, etc.). Sometimes he flagrantly violates the cardinal rules of Greek eloquence, such as the repetition of the same verbs (cf. *oida* and *oiden*, II Cor. 12:2-3), the use of subjects with their cognate verbs (cf. Rom. 3:3; I Cor. 1:31), the piling up of synonyms where one word instead of two or three would satisfy (e.g., II Cor. 1:3-3; 7:6-7; I Th. 2:3, 5-6, 10). Quite often Paul's temperament determines his choice of language, reflecting moods of joy, sorrow, anger, etc.; consequently his expressions do not always follow the precision and punctilious refinements of the Greek science of speech. Yet he seems to have known something of the art of speaking and writing, especially of writing. He lived in an age of talkers and moved among people who were veritable slaves of cultivated expression. Though he offends against scholastic rhetoric, his letters show a natural eloquence all their own. Rhetoric centered attention on style and the niceties with which one expressed his thoughts. Paul's style is unhellenic in its arrangement, but sometimes, as in Rom. 8 and I Cor. 13, he reaches the elevation and dignity of Plato.


25. See Johannes Weiss, *Beiträge zur paulinischen Rhetorik*, p. 188.

26. This does not mean that Friedrich Blass is correct in his attempt to prove that Paul was a close student of the current rhetoricians, see his *Die Rhythmen der asiatischen und romischen Kunstprosa*, 1902; but neither should one say with E.C. Dorgan that there is no influence of Greek oratory on Paul and his epistles, *History of Preaching*, 1:25.

27. Edwin Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, p. 27.
and often he possesses the cyclonic power of Demosthenes. His style displays many of the figures of thought and speech found in the best Greek rhetoric, such as antitheses, parallelisms, word-plays, alliteration, etc. Some thirty kinds of these figures being found in his writings in some fifty different specimens. F.W. Farrar and others list and classify these figures of speech, so that they need not be repeated here. They surely reveal a capacity, if not a training, for clear, and even somewhat polished, stylistic expression of thought.

A Greek form of expression that may have had effect on Paul was (2) the debate. This form of communication usually involved actual opponents, though often only imaginary ones were employed. The latter was a device especially cherished by the Stoics, but both types were everywhere prevalent in Hellenistic civilization because of the intellectual prowess and exhilaration they called forth. Also, to all philosophical thinking which proceeded from some thesis that must itself be proved and objections against it refuted, the debate readily commended itself. Paul engaged in open debate with real opponents in nearly every one of his mission fields (Acts 13:45ff; 14:2ff, 19; 15:2; 16:19ff; 17:2, 13; 18:4-6, 19; 19:8-10; etc.; his epistles furnish the same testimony). He also employed the device of debating with an imaginary opponent in order to state and refute objections which he could foresee or knew were already troubling his readers (cf. Rom. 2:1, 3, 21-23; 3:1ff; 4:1ff; 6:1ff; 7:1, 7, 13; 9:19; 11:19; I Cor. 6:16; 10:29b-30; 15:35; II Cor. 10:10; 11:31; 12:1, 3; 14:26-28; etc.

29. See Blass-Debrunner, Grammatik des neustamentlichen Griechisch, sections 468-496.
30. According to A.T. Robertson, Grammar, p. 130.
32. Ibid., 1:17-21, 623-629.
33. A.T. Robertson, Grammar, pp. 1194ff; Blass-Debrunner, op. cit., sections 486-496.
Gal. 3:19-20, etc.). He used arguments that "call for educated minds of a high order." Had he himself learned the debate-process from the Greeks? It was practiced in the Greek schools (cf. Seneca, Controversia 1:5; 2:14; Quintilian, Declaration 1). It was part of public life wherever keen minds met and encountered opposing themes (cf. Paul in Athens, Acts 17). It was part of the armory of the wandering Cynic-stoic preachers, themselves so integral a part of the current Hellenistic scene. But are his techniques of debate the same as these or do his belong to another system which he learned as a young student in candidacy for the Jewish rabbinate? The Greek system of debating tested a selected premise (in the first century A.D. usually a foolish and ridiculous one) by the touchstone of its self-consistency. The debaters proceeded by use of (abstract) logic. The Jewish system did the same so far as proceeding with logic was concerned (though Jewish logic was not sheer abstraction but more concrete and pragmatic, allowing for the personal element), but the Jewish canon was not a theme's inner self-consistency but consistency of the theme with the truth of scripture. The touchstone (especially with philosophical and theological theses) for the Jew was his bible. So it is also with Paul; his polemic is rabbinic.

Another favorite subject and technique in Hellenistic education was (3) exegesis, or the interpretation and elucidation of some piece of literature. As Greek civilization aged, it became increasingly necessary to explain, interpret, and re-interpret the meaning of such "ancient" masterpieces as Homer's poems. Here was a pretext that provided the widest scope for display of the most creative and ingenious literary and scholarly talents. As will be seen later, exegesis was part of the standard Greek school curriculum. It was as necessary to the "social" and

37. See the several examples cited by Friedlaender, op. cit., 3:14-16.
"philosophical" sciences, as were observation and induction to the "physical" ones. Paul made use of exegesis in every speech and letter, for he had to interpret the meaning of the gospel to his hearers (Christian and non-Christian alike). Proclamation was not enough; men always asked how and why.

Whence did Paul acquire his exegetical methods? If mainly at Gamaliel's rabbinical college in Jerusalem, still did he adopt something also from the Greek methods of exegesis used around him? It has been thought so by some. For example, the stronger semitic anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms of the O.T. had already been toned down or modified in the direction of more abstract concepts when translated into the Greek of the septuagint, and it has been surmised that when Paul quoted the septuagint, he readily adopted these and even drew out further a few of their hellenizing refinements and elaborations. That is, in certain instances he has placed an interpretation on certain O.T. passages which is even more Hellenistic than what he read in the septuagint. Thus in his citation of Hab. 2:4 in Rom. 1:17 (repeated in Gal. 3:11) the original Hebrew reads, "The righteous (man?) will live by his faithfulness" (),$^\text{38}$ which the LXX renders, "... will live by my faithfulness" (,$^\text{39}$). Paul has made this fit his own idea that the righteous man will live, not because of his own efforts at being faithful (as the Hebrew seems to say), nor because of God's own faithfulness or dependability.

38. Paul Wendland notes the presence of Hellenistic influences in the talmud and raises the question of their presence in the haggadah, which immediately poses the problem of their bearing on haggadic methods of exegesis (particularly allegory) and so on Paul's exegetical methods. See Die hellenistisch-romische Kultur, p. 201, n.2.


40. Over half of his O.T. quotations, however, are taken from the LXX "without material change," H.B. Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, p. 400 --- even in cases where the Greek text varies essentially from the Hebrew, B. Weiss, ETHR, 1:362. The extent of Hellenistic culture in the LXX itself is a matter of dispute; see R.H. Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times, pp. 182f.
(as the LXX seems to say), but simply because of plain trust — without either human or divine qualification, as though this trust were something almost impersonal, theoretical, or abstract (ὁ δὲ διὰ κατὰ πίστεως Ἀστήρ).

It is true that Paul’s idea was probably not the original idea behind either Habakkuk’s Hebrew or the LXX translation, and undercuts the legalistically self-merited righteousness of the Jew (יְהוָה פִּסְתִּים) (though it also hammers at the fatalism and inexorability of universal (divine) dependability sought for by the Grecian intellectual, some of whose tenets had influenced the LXX translators). It is also true that the apostle inserts these words in a passage in conjunction with an appeal to Gentile readers in which Hellenistic terms and modes of reasoning abound (Rom. 1:18–32), possibly more so than in any other single passage in Paul. It is true, further, that the apostle here seems to conceive of "trust" more as an attitude than as an emotion (cf. Rom. 10:9–10) or action (ποιήσεις, though cf. Acts 16:30–31), which is possibly a less Hebraic conception of faith. Yet it ought to be observed that in his usage of this quotation Paul is really not less anthropomorphic, but more so than either the Hebrew or Greek O.T. before him, for he uses the passage to show that man lives not out of his own efforts nor out of God’s self-consistency, but out of trust in the gospel (Rom. 1:16), i.e., in what God has done for him in Christ, God’s power and action on his behalf (Rom. 1:1–4, 16). This is a thorough-going anthropomorphic concept of God.

Or again, a bit of hellenizing exegesis of a slightly different type is said to underlie Paul’s usage of Hab. 3:18, "Yet will I rejoice in the Lord" (ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἄγιον ἀλλαγματικόν). The formula "in the Lord" —

41 T.W. Manson thinks that the LXX has made the passage messianic and that its usage in the N.T. is even more messianic than in the LXX. "The Argument from Prophecy," JTS (1945), 46:133–136.
cf. also the formula "in God" especially frequent in the LXX Psalms --- is said to be used by him in a mystical or quasi-mystical sense, and thus is "an important Hellenisation" of the original Hebrew (אִנָּלַי יִתְנָהוּ). Paul has picked up this semi-mystical lingo from the LXX and carried it still further in his full Christ-mysticism in such passages as Phil. 3:1; 4:4. "Rejoice in the Lord" (χαίρετε ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ) and in his frequent phrases "in Christ" and "in God" (cf. both in I Th. 1:1; II Th. 1:1). His use of these formulas, so it is alleged, must be read in the light of Greek mysticism in which the inspired persons are filled with and empowered in the god.

In most cases, however, Paul is not more Hellenistic and anti-anthropomorphic than the LXX, and in at least one instance reverts to the anthropomorphisms of the Hebrew bible. Thus in Rom. 9:17 he quotes Ex. 9:16, not according to the LXX (except in one minor point, εὐσεβῶν ἔν σοί, where Heb. has כְּמַלְכוּת) but according to the Hebrew:

Heb.: קָדָם אֶעֱכֵא אָמַּרְתָּ לְבָדָה יָנְקָרֶנֶּה אֶנֶּרָרֶנֶּה אָבָרֶנֶּה לָבָדָה
LXX: καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦτο διηθησάνθη ἵνα εὐσεβῶν ἔν σοί τὴν ἱσχύν μου....

Rom. 9:17: εἰς τοῦτο τοῦτο ἐξῆγεῖραι σε, εἰτοὺς εὐσεβῶν ἔν σοί τὴν ὑπαρχέν μου....

The change of the first three words in the Greek may have been made to gain emphasis, but the change of διηθησάνθης of the LXX back to ἐξῆγεῖραι σε (of the Hebrew) seems intentional. At this point the LXX translators

42. Adolf Deissmann, St. Paul, p. 131. Deissmann earlier remarks, "The Septuagint translation represents not only in form but also (in several main points, indeed, very considerably) in substance a Hellenisation of Jewish monotheism," p. 89. Cf. his Die Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus.
43. Deissmann, St. Paul, p. 132.
44. See Deissmann, St. Paul, p. 132; Richard Reitzenstein, Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, pp. 50, 60, 185f.
46. Even if the change may have been derived from "an accurate Aramaic version," as Toy holds, op. cit., p. 139.
had "tried to remove the idea that God participates in the affairs of this world," and Paul seems to have seen this and so resorts to the more anthropomorphic expression of the original (i.e., not "thou wast watched," passive and impersonal; but "I --- God --- raised thee up," God actively and personally operates on man) --- in spite of the hellenistically conditioned readers to whom these words were directed. Of course it ought to be added that such a reverting to the original Hebrew behind the LXX is not unique with Paul in the N.T., but is observed also in other writers.

The Greek forms of expression produced a considerable literature in the Hellenistic Judaism of the Diaspora. With how much of it Paul was acquainted is difficult if not impossible to determine. Alexandria seems to have been the main center of this literary productivity, offering such writings as the Letter of Aristeas, the Greek translation of the Hebrew O.T., the works of the philosopher Philo, and Greek translations of certain Hebrew "classics" such as I Maccabees, Sirach, and the Psalms of Solomon, all made there in the second and first centuries B.C. There were several classes of literature that sprang up among the Jews of the Dispersion patterned after, or at least influenced by, the literary forms of the surrounding pagan world. Among these were histories, such as I Esdras and II and III Maccabees, as well as the historical works

49. Thus a peculiar kind of outlook or set-of-mind is observed in Paul that reveals his genuine inner "Jewishness" which here came to the fore despite all the Hellenistic influences and experiences to which his mind may have been subjected. This point needs to be emphasized, especially for those who see him as a Jew, but only as a thorough-going Hellenistic one, e.g., Klauser, Montefiore, Reitzenstein, etc. See here D.W. Riddle, "The Jewishness of Paul," Journal of Religion (1943), 23:240-244.
50. See the instances cited by Franklin Johnson, op. cit., pp. 25-27.
51. The LXX is still the major witness to the influence of Hellenism on Judaism, cf. Adolf Deissmann, The Philology of the Greek Bible, p. 15. This is true even in light of the researches of E.R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, and others. Goodenough summarizes the evidence from archaeology.
53. For date and place of origin see R.H. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, 1:5, 128, 131, 156-158.
of Philo and Josephus. In addition to these were other Jewish historians, perhaps less well known, such as Demetrius (ca. 215 B.C.), whose works seem to have been mainly on O.T. history; Pseudo-Hecataeus (ca. 200-150 B.C.), whose work On the Jews (or On Abraham) is quoted in the Letter of Aristeas, section 31; Eupolemus (ca. 150 B.C.), who wrote on Hebrew royal chronology; Artapanus (ca. 100 B.C.), who addressed himself to the historic origins of Hebrew culture; Aristeas (ca. 100 B.C.), who wrote a book On the Jews; Cleodemus or Malchus (ca. 100 B.C.), who wrote a Jewish history; and Thallus (14-37 A.D.), who wrote a universal history. An apologetic and polemic purpose pervaded the Diaspora writings far more than the Palestinian ones, as a comparison of I Maccabees (Palestinian) and II Maccabees (Alexandrian) makes clear. Pfeiffer says, "Hellenistic-Jewish historical writing was embellished with fiction to stress the superiority of the Jews over the Gentiles (II Maccabees), or consisted of fiction pure and simple with the same purpose (III Maccabees and partly preserved books)." A few Jews also wrote biographies, as Josephus' Life shows.

There were also literary productions in the Diaspora which gave Jewish materials the form of Greek epic poetry and drama. Philo the elder (ca. 100 B.C.) wrote (in rhetorical Homeric hexameter) an epic poem On Jerusalem. Theodotus (ca. 100 B.C.) wrote a similar epic poem On Shechem and in it connects the city of Samaria with Greek mythology --- a procedure used in earlier Jewish-Hellenistic writers. In the moral literature of the Sibylline Oracles (written in the same meter as Philo the elder's On Jerusalem) the poetic effort was made to present the story of the creation in such a way as to make Judaism understandable to Hellenism.


55. Ibid., p. 200.
Pseudo-Hecateus used forged Greek verses to exalt the fidelity of the Jews to their faith; while the didactic poem of pseudo-Phocylides strongly reflects Hellenistic thought. There is only one Jew known to have written tragedies in Greek, namely, Ezekiel of about 100 B.C., and only one of these, The Exodus, is partly preserved. Written in iambic trimeter, it adds haggadic embellishments freely to the biblical account. That the poetic spirit was adopted by the Diaspora Jews is comprehensible enough. Much of the O.T. (and N.T.) is of a poetic quality, and the Greeks around them had long before passed on their passion and flair for self-expression in a poetic vein.

Finally, there were the more technical Hellenistic literary media adopted by the Diaspora Jews, embracing such areas of learning as the physical and natural sciences, and especially philosophy and religion. Jewish interest and contributions to the physical and natural sciences has left the scantiest marks in this period. Almost nothing can be said of their work in this area, though surely at least in Alexandria the more learned Jews must have picked up considerable knowledge of these sciences and possibly even worked with their concepts and principles. Philo shows considerable understanding of the scientific ideas of his time. On the other hand, the science of metaphysics was seriously treated by Jewish minds. The concepts of the universe held by Aristotelians, Stoics, Epicureans, Cynics, and Sceptics, and even by dualistic Platonists had to be met, thought through, and answered. Greek philosophical influences were at work in the formation of the LXX, though some scholars consider these mere echoes, not conscious adaptations. Three Jewish writers in philosophy in the Hellenistic

55. Cf. A.B. Posner, op. cit., 5:307b; also Pfeiffer, op. cit., p. 211
56. See Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Die griechische Literatur des Altertums (Die Kultur der Gegenwart). Yet some contend that "the most striking feature in the Greek literature of this period (first century A.D.) is the almost total absence of poetry," F.A. Wright, A History of Later Greek Literature, p. 166.
57. Jacob Freudenthal, "Are there Traces of Greek Philosophy in the Septuagint?" JQR (1890), 2:205-222.
Age were Aristobulus (ca. 150 B.C., an Alexandrian to whom is attributed the
work entitled *An Explanation of the Mosaic Law*), Philo (another Alexandrian,
who wrote voluminously on philosophy and even attempted to harmonize Platonic
and Stoic ideas with the O.T.), and Josephus (who made far lesser effort at meet-
ing the claims of Greek philosophy). The Alexandrian Jewish writer of IV Mac-
cabees made a valiant effort to discuss a pet Stoic thesis: the supremacy of
reason over the passions.

These philosophic writings, like the Jewish poetic works, were subservient
to propaganda purposes, and this aim of the writers was not always skillfully
camouflaged. Indeed, to these historical, poetic, and technical writings must
be added certain purely Jewish propaganda works put out by Diaspora Jews (for
added effectiveness) under Gentilic names. Of such Hellenistic works under Jew-
ish nomenclature are Wisdom of Solomon, Epistle of Jeremiah, the Letter of
Aristeas by an Alexandrian Jew about 100 B.C. (its details are generally de-
clared wholly fictitious and its many apologetic passages skillfully employ the
devices of Greek philosophical literature), the didactic poem already men-
tioned, attributed to Phocylides (but probably by some unknown Jewish Alexandrian
poet), the Sibylline Oracles (which at least in part is the work of Hellenistic
Jews), and the semi-historical work of pseudo-Hecatos (written ca. 200-150 B.C.).
In the first century A.D. (ca. 95) Josephus' work Against Apion appeared, but it
was published too late for effect on the apostle.

The great question at this point is, Was Paul personally acquainted with

59. Scholarly opinion is divided as to whether the author of IV Maccabees really
came out with Stoic philosophic notions or not. H.W. Wolfson, *Philo*, 2:271ff,
thinks not. C.L.W. Grimm, *Commentary on IV Maccabees*, thinks that the writer
does; see Pfeiffer, op. cit., p. 219, n.23.
60. On these two works see J. Weiss, *HfX*, 1:237, n.20.
any of the Hellenistic literature of his time, whether with that of the Greeks or with that of the Hellenistic Jews of the Diaspora who had copied or at least adapted some of the learning of their pagan neighbors? There are two ways to discern the answer: first, from the ideas he treats, and secondly, from the quotations he employs. As to the first, our primary interest at this point is not in a comparison of his ideas with the pagan concepts of his heathen environment, for some of these will be alluded to elsewhere. To anticipate later conclusions, the content and source of his ideas are not pagan, though the literary expression given some of them may reflect expressions found in pagan literature. Secondly, his quotations from pagan sources are few indeed. There are only three quotations of pagan origin in works traditionally attributed to Paul. In I Cor. 15:33 he cites from the work Thais by the Attic comic poet Menander (died 291 B.C.), "Bad company ruins good morals," without stating that he was quoting from another author, from which some have concluded that he here flung out a winged expression that had become a popular proverbial saying. This, however, cannot be substantiated, since no evidence remains that these words were a popular saying. Johannes Weiss concludes from this quotation that Paul had perused some of Menander's comedies along with other products of Greek literature, and that here is partial evidence that the apostle had had some training in Hellenistic educational matters. Of the line cited in Tit. 1:12 by the Cretan

62. See the surveys of literature, e.g., Franz Altheim, Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter, 2:137ff.
63. Henry Gough attributes the words also to an uncertain work by Euripides, The New Testament Quotations Collated with the Scriptures in the Old Testament, p. 298.
64. A. Robertson and A. Plummer say that it is uncertain whether Menander adopted a popular proverb or the saying passed from the Thais into popular use, ICC on I Cor., p. 363.
65. The strongest evidence that he is not quoting the original is his omission of (chrest homiliai — χρηστὸς ἁμιλαί — instead of χρηστὸς ἁμιλαί), thereby not indicating that the line is a verse. But see Zahn, INT, 1:71.
66. Der erste Korintherbrief, p. 387; BFX, 1:184.
poet Epimenides (from the work entitled About Minos and Radamantys) it has been observed that the way the citation is inserted, as coming from a "prophet," shows that the writer of Tit. was familiar with the tradition concerning him. As to the words in Acts 17:28 concerning God's omnipresence, "In him we live and move and have our being," and "For we are indeed his offspring," it has been noted (1) that the plural of the word "poets" is correct here because the second citation appears in the widely read Phainomena (5:5) of Aratus of Soloi in Cilicia, a Stoic philosopher and fellow-countryman of Paul, and also in the Hymn to Zeus (5:4) by Cleanthes, the Athenian Stoic and contemporary of Aratus (died ca. 270 B.C.). Further, (2) the thought sequence in Acts 17:25-27 reflects an acquaintance with the context of the line from Aratus, so that a proper connection in thought is made, i.e., a reference to God's omnipresence is followed in both by the idea of human offspring or origin from God. It is possible that Paul derived his knowledge of Aratus' words from the Alexandrian Jew, Aristobulus, who quoted this line from the Phainomena, but more likely they were gleaned from the original.

This leads to the further consideration that Paul had had the opportunity to read not only the writings of pagan Greeks but those writings done in Greek by hellenistically minded Jews, such as Aristobulus. Among such works was the Wisdom of Solomon, echoes and phrases of which some have sought to identify in Paul's writings (cf. Rom. 1:25-31 with Wisdom 14:23-28; Rom. 9:21 ... Wisd. 15:7; 67. Olaf Moe, The Apostle Paul, 1:138; see Zahn, INT, 2:52, n.l. Callimachus, in his Hymn to Zeus, quotes part of these original words of Epimenides.
68. See Theodor Zahn, Die Apostelgeschichte, 2:618f.
70. Henry Gough, op. cit., p. 298, notes a further verbal identity (if not quotation) between Gal. 5:23 and Aristotle's Politics 3:8:2, ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ πόρου. The ἄλλος does not occur in Gals, though the other words do, precisely in the same forms and order.
I Cor. 15:45 ... Wisd 15:11; and Acts 17:27 ... Wisd 13:6). Edward Grafe and others think it very probable that Paul had read this book of Wisdom; the parallels in words, doctrine, and arrangement seem rather convincing. The writings of Philo, a Jew of Alexandria, may also have been known to Paul, since Philo’s life extended from about 20 B.C. to A.D. 40. The parallels, however, between Paul and Philo as to O.T. interpretation, subject-matter, and language are not very exact and often seem more apparent and superficial than real.

Some scholars have sought to identify other quotations in Paul from Jewish writings (hellenistically tinged) supposedly extant no longer, such as I Cor. 2:9; Gal. 6:15; and Eph. 5:14. The first passage, however, may be merely a composite quotation of O.T. phrases (or possibly taken from an anthology of O.T. texts). The second recurs in very similar form in Gal. 5:6 and I Cor. 7:19 without the slightest hint in either place of its being a quotation; and the third may possibly derive from an early Christian hymn. Traces of Hellenism in these verses (even in Eph. 5:14 with its "enlightenment" idea) seem negligible compared with their Hebraic concepts and emphases.

71. J.S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 55, n.3; cf. also II Cor. 5:1 ... Wisd 9:15 and 3:1ff; see N.P. Williams, "Romans" in Charles Gore (ed.), Commentary on Holy Scripture, Part II, p. 453.


76. Cf. the discussion of this and other possibilities in Robertson and Plummer, ICC on I Cor., pp. 41-42.

77. See Heinrich Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater, pp. 208-209; E.D. Burton, ICC on Gal., p. 356, n.

In summarizing Paul's quotations from Hellenistic literary sources, we may note that they are few in number, that they do seem to show some (however small) first-hand acquaintance on his part with Hellenistic literature, and that they (especially the Hellenistic Jewish writings) show a definite influence in places on his literary style (arrangement of thoughts, vocabulary, polemical and propagandistic aims in writing, and even in adapting his ideas to the mental outlook of his readers). But on the other hand, his mental set, his overall style, his central concepts, and his ultimate aims remain Hebraic, i.e., "his literary allegiance and tradition were elsewhere." Furthermore, nearly all of his quotations — direct and indirect — are not from Greek pagan writings, nor even from Jewish ones that were heavily indebted to Hellenistic form and content, but from the Septuagint; and even these LXX quotations have not determined the basic content of his concepts, for while the LXX was a Greek book his quotations from it reflect only the Palestinian (Hebrew) canon, and not the additions appended in the Greek LXX. That is, ultimately his quotations reflect a strong loyalty to his thorough Jewish training. What this meant to his own efforts at shaping the Christian mind in his converts will be discussed later.

d. Influence of the Septuagint on Paul.

It is vitally important, therefore, to consider briefly the influence of the LXX on Paul. The presence of certain Hellenistic elements in its pages has been noticed already, such as the toning down of anthropomorphisms and the shift in psychological emphases, e.g., from heart (πνευμάτων) to mind (διά νοοῦ). Other Hellenistic elements may be seen in the Greek poetic literature in the book of Job, in the presence of mythological terms (cf. "Sirens," "Titans," in Job 42:14)

and other more or less Greek technical words ("cemetery" in Jer. 2:23; "didrachmon" for Hebrew "skelkel", etc.), and in reference to Greek places and institutions (such as the wool trade of Miletus in Ezek. 27:18). Further, some students have thought that traces of Greek philosophy, mystery cults, and other elements of Hellenistic culture also mark the pages of the LXX, but "their conclusions have not been generally accepted." Recent studies of the Jewish and Greek elements in the LXX have concluded that "the Greek elements of the LXX are merely superficial and decorative while the Jewish elements are deep-lying, central, and dominant." This Greek version of the O.T. was Paul's Bible, so much so that some have denied his acquaintance with Hebrew altogether. It has left its mark on his vocabulary, style of writing, the content of his ideas, and even on the mechanics by which he expressed his thoughts (not only words, but orthography, accidence, and syntax). Consider the following examples.

82. So concludes Ralph Marcus, "Jewish and Greek Elements in the Septuagint" in Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume, pp. 227-245. The quotation cited above is on p. 244.
83. See Otto Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel; H. Gilbert, Jesus and his Bible, pp. 127-152, Appendix I, "Paul and his Bible;" Krister Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, pp. 159f.
84. See Zahn, INT, 1:52 and 70, n.17.
85. See H.B. Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, pp. 452-457. One must make such a statement with extreme caution, for while the words of the LXX and the N.T. may be the same, still their σημεία and the very meaning of the words often differ, e.g., such terms as ἐκκλησία, ἔννοια, ἐννοιακός, etc. A glance at these words in Kittel's TWNT will make this fully clear; see also Swete, op. cit., p. 456; A.T. Robertson, Grammar, p. 100.
a term used almost wholly of human messengers in classical and Hellenistic Greek, but in the LXX it is used almost exclusively for a heavenly messenger. In the LXX, ἄγγελος was adopted as a translation for ענ או, and Paul’s language and thought in this case has followed the LXX, not that of the surrounding world. Or notice an example where the infrequency of usage makes its mark. The term ἐυλαβεία (and its adjectival cognate ἐυλαβής) seemed destined by current Hellenistic usage to become the expression employed by early Christians for "religion," but the noun occurs but twice and the adjectives but four times in the whole N.T., and never in Paul’s writings (though it does occur once in a speech attributed to him in Acts, 22:12). Although these terms were used constantly around Paul in the daily conversation and literature of his time, he chose instead other expressions to express the concept behind ἐυλαβεία, such as φόβος (τὸ Κυρίου), etc. Here he again was following the lead of the LXX where the noun ἐνλαβεία and adjective ἐνλαβής occur only three times each (though the verb form occurs some forty times in the LXX; yet only twice in the N.T.).

Further, Paul’s style of writing owes much to the Greek O.T. His extensive quotation of its language shows how closely his own is allied with it. He uses its thought-patterns, as is seen for example in his treatment of "universal concepts" (cf. I Cor. 15:22; Rom. 5:11-20), and in his personalizing of sin (Rom. 7:11) much like Genesis 3 does with the serpent.

Again, even more convincing of the LXX’s influence on the apostle is his use of words and ideas which had been re-created, as it were, by the LXX, and so had

90. See Liddell-Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, see sub angelos; in Homer the word was used of a messenger of the gods, apparently reflecting an ancient usage in Indo-Germanic. Cf. also Moulton-Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, sub angelos.
91. Gerhard Kittel, art. Angelos, TWNT, 1:76.
92. Rudolf Bultmann, art. Eulabes, TWNT, 2:751. Bultmann concludes that eulabes was not often used in the N.T. because of its negative meaning, but phobos is just as negative, cf. Trench, Synonyms, p. 35.
become new words. The most important meaning of \( \delta \varepsilon \alpha \) in classical Greek was "opinion," but this meaning of the word vanished when the LXX used it as equivalent to the Hebrew \( \text{ת"} \). \( \Delta \varepsilon \alpha \) henceforth no longer stands for 'the personal opinion of an individual,' the most subjective thing there is; but, in complete contrast, it now stands for God's Glory, God's own Essence, the most objective thing there is." This idea is the sole sense given to \( \text{doxa} \) by Paul throughout his writings — in conformity with the usage of the LXX. The same is true of other terms and concepts, such as \( \text{στάσις, εγγύς, εἰδωλον} \), and particularly the change in usage of such words as \( \text{μάρτυς} \) (not any human affliction, but the afflictions that will come upon the people of God and upon all the faithful) and \( \text{πίστις} \) (not a human hope for a happy future but trust in God's promises which surpass all human doubt). Perhaps the most debated point of influence exercised by the LXX on Paul centers in the term \( \text{κύριος} \). The debate has been long and arduous and still continues intermittently. Without reviewing the highlights of that debate, we must note that while the term \( \text{κύριος} \) was widely used of cultic deities in the Hellenistic world, it is seriously doubtful just how much contact Paul ever had with any of these "lords many."

Bultmann, who concludes against the probability of the LXX as Paul's source of the term, is forced to admit on the other hand that "the fact that \( \text{κύριος} \) occurs so often in the New Testament without the added personal name is probably due not simply to the obviousness of the implied addition but also to the influence of the LXX at just that point." He further must confess that "it comes from the LXX-usage also that Christ is not only the lord of all his worshipers (or of the church)...

94. Liddell-Scott, \textit{op. cit.}, see sub \text{doxa}; also Kittel, \textit{Lexicographa Sacra}, p. 22.
95. See Gerhard von Rad, art. \text{Doxa}, \textit{TNT}, 2:240f.
but is "Lord of all" (Rom. 10:13), Lord, indeed, of all the cosmic powers (Phil. 2:10f) ...; likewise from the LXX comes such an expression as "the Lord of glory" (I Cor. 2:8)." If, therefore, the term *kyrios* was not derived from the LXX, his use and meaning for it probably was.

On the other side of the question it might well be noted that very often ideas of Paul which do not derive from the LXX, likewise do not derive from Hellenism. For example, the expression "to believe (or belief) in" (or "believe" alone, and "belief" plus an objective genitive) is foreign both to Greek diction and thought and to the LXX. That is, probably most of what does not derive from the LXX is original with himself or with the Christian tradition which he repeats.

Finally, the influence of the LXX on the orthography, accidence, and syntax of Paul is unmistakable. The first two can be clearly seen from such matters as ω for τ (Paul has *κρείττων* only in I Cor. 7:9, while *κρείττων* is found in I Cor. 7:38; 11:17; Phil. 1:23), movable ν before consonants, disappearance of —/— verbs, etc., most of which occur frequently in Paul. The syntax of the LXX is generally more Hebraic than that of the N.T., including that of Paul. Still the apostle shows repeated traces of the syntactical influence of the LXX.

The influence of the LXX on Paul's quotations has been noticed already. More than half of his O.T. citations are adapted unchanged from the Greek version. Only occasionally does he cite the Hebrew original and only rarely does he alter the Greek toward the Hebrew. Numerous allusions and other reminders of the LXX

98. TNT, 1:125.
100. δωρ appears, however, in the papyri and even in Thucydides and the tragic poets; cf. Robertson, Grammar, p. 213; Moulton, Prolegomena, p. 45.
101. Consult Thackeray, Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek, 1:16–25. It may well be, however, that Paul derived all these from daily speech and not at all from the LXX.
102. Robertson, Grammar, p. 97.
104. See Edwin Hatch, Essays in Biblical Greek, pp. 131ff.
reveal Paul's familiarity and use of the Greek bible (much like Revelation which never quotes the LXX but interweaves its language on every page). That is, Paul was so saturated with the phraseology of the LXX that he adopted it, even unconsciously, as his own. Its very idioms reappear on his pages, for example, \textit{pros ti, eisemai ti}, and such expressions as the following: \textit{Σεξάν Σίδηρα\( (\text{Rom. 4:20}), \varepsilonπι καρδίν\( ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη (I\text{Cor. 2:9}), \ανοιγεὶν τὸ στόμα (II\text{Cor. 6:11}), etc.\(\text{108}

It ought to be observed further that Paul's use of the LXX is not that of a day laborer, nor of a learned scholar, though generally his usage is saner and nearer its original and historical intention than that of a Jewish writer like, say, Philo. However, he utilized the LXX as a propaganda agent, sometimes doing violence to the "natural" meaning of the original sense of the context and/or words involved (e.g., the famous battle over the play on \textit{spe\(rma\( in Gal. 3:15). The LXX became the chief weapon in his arsenal to support the historical backgrounds and reasonableness of his gospel claims to the Greek and to defend them against the bitter attacks of fellow Jews. Paul had doubtless read and witnessed frequent propagandistic usage of the LXX in Jewish encounters with the heathen --- in the synagogue, in conversation, and in literature. Every extant piece of Jewish writing from this period, intended for non-Jewish perusal, is indebted to the LXX for expressions and idioms, ideas, history, and philosophy. For some writers, their sole aim was to make its contents known and acceptable to

108. See Naegeli, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 63-64.
110. Though Paul Wendland thinks that the LXX was not intended originally for propaganda purposes, \textit{Die hellenistisch-romische Kultur}, p. 196.
unacquainted audiences. Paul, in using the LXX as a propaganda medium, thus utilized
the leads offered from life-long experiences as a Jew.

e. Influence of Hellenistic Jewish Preaching on Paul

The kind of preaching heard by Paul during his boyhood from Jewish preachers
in the synagogue at Tarsus must have left a distinct and permanent impression on
the boy's mind. No trace of such Tarsian sermons is known to exist. A citation
or two was made in the last chapter from some Palestinian Jewish sermons extant
from the time of Paul. A further word is in order here relative to such sermons
from the Diaspora. If comparative investigations in Palestinian and Diaspora
preaching existed, perhaps certain similarities and dissimilarities might emerge,
but at the present stage of such studies only questions and shallow generalizations
can be offered. Was Palestinian preaching more (or less) concerned with the torah
and its legal details? Was it more apocalyptic? Was it less broad-minded or com-
promising in spirit and tone? Was Hellenistic preaching more literary in style,
being embellished with more flourishes of Greek rhetoric? Was it more imbued with
philosophical speculations or perhaps "scientific" principles? Were both equally
dogmatic on things "Jewish"? The study necessary to answer these and related
questions has not yet been done --- Leopold Zunz, Israel Bettan, and others to the
contrary. We can only observe that Diaspora sermons were almost surely preached
in Greek, and that they probably displayed something of the style of Hellenistic
elocution. It seems likely, too, that Paul probably owed something in his style
of composition and manner of delivery, if not also arrangement and content of
thoughts, to these Diaspora Jewish sermons heard early in his life.

A comparison of such a passage as chapters 13-15 in the Wisdom of Solomon
with Rom. 1:18ff does seem to confirm that Paul had heard or read (or both) such
pieces of Jewish homiletic production. The Wisdom passage is a treatment of
the origin, nature, and effects of idolatry — a favorite topic apparently with
Diaspora Jews. These chapters read much like a synagogue sermon and may be
part of one preached in a synagogue in Alexandria. Not only are there echoes of
phraseology in Paul which sound like this "sermon", but the thoughts are likewise
similar (even to their arrangement). Of course he may have read the book of
Wisdom itself, but he had also probably heard just such language and ideas many
times in his "home" synagogue in Tarsus. Clear traces of such Diaspora influ-
ences on Paul's writings argue strongly that his preaching likewise was colored
by Hellenistic homiletic impressions received during his youth.

Another example of a sermon (or lecture) probably delivered to a syna-
gogue audience of the Diaspora (again, probably in Alexandria) sometime around
the beginning of the Christian era is IV Maccabees. The work is directed against
the deification of the Roman emperors, and hence treats in a very dramatic manner
the old theme of idolatry. There is no evidence, however, that Paul had had
any direct contact with this homiletic work.

2. The Impact of Hellenistic Educational Techniques on Paul

a. The Hellenistic Schools and Paul's Formal Education

"From the Epistles, from the narratives in Acts, and from the discourses which
the latter puts into Paul's mouth, we get uniformly the impression that Paul was a
finely cultured man, thoroughly acquainted with the usages of Greek educated so-
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 ciety" — so observes a learned N.T. scholar on Paul's relation to the school

112. H. St. J. Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought,
pp. 223, 231; and many other scholars.
113. See J. Weiss, _HFX_, 1:237; W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem,
P. 129.
114. Headlam and Sanday, _ICC_ on Rom., p. 52.
115. Jacob Freudenthal designates it a synagogue sermon, while Heinrich Ewald
calls it a lecture; cf. R. B. Townsend on "IV Maccabees," _Apocrypha and
Psuedoepigrapha_, 2:653.
system of Hellenistic society. Greek schools were located everywhere throughout
the Hellenistic world. Greek education had penetrated even into Palestine, and Gamaliel, Paul's own instructor in Jerusalem, seem to have given some instruc-
tion in Greek literature and thought. Indeed, a number of the most famous of
the earlier rabbis (such as Judah the Prince, who completed the mishnah, died A.D.
219) had received a Greek education. While relatively little is known about the
details of the Hellenistic system of education, especially in smaller places, yet
a partial picture of its aims, subject matter, and methods can be obtained.
It is important to study these briefly in relation to Paul and his later "education-
al" work among his churches.

(1) The Aim of Greek Education

The aim of Greek education in the first century A.D. was to inform and to train
the student to appreciate and if possible to perform the art of gymnastics, politics
and government, the fine arts, rhetoric, and philosophy. There were of course,
specialized courses for training for the professions, but the above entered even
into professional training. Lectures were heard and recitations were made "as an
introduction either to practical life or that higher calling known as philosophy."

118. M.I. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,
2:1047, 1059ff; Edwin Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the
Christian Church, p. 35.

119. Relatively few treatises on education in antiquity have survived. The prime
sources are Plato's Republic and the fifth book of Aristotle's Politics, the first
two books of Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria, and the treatise \( \pi \varepsilon \rho \iota \varsigma \omega \nu \varsigma \) (The Education of Children), which is bound up with Plutarch's

120. W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 6.

121. See the gemara to Sotah 91a (39b).

122. See Alfred Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah.

123. Original sources, especially inscriptions from Miletus, Ephesus, Priene,
Pergamum, Rhodes, Teos, and Delphi, giving information about the schools of
the Hellenistic period are collected by Wilhelm Dittenberger, Sylloge, 306,
525; see also references in Paul Wendland, Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur.
p. 75, n.1.

The "ethical" side (in a broad sense) of things still received considerable stress, as is clearly evidenced in a tract like that of Plutarch, The Education of Children (Περὶ γυμνῆς παιδείας) preserved in his Moralia 1a-14c.

(2) The Subject Matter of Hellenistic Education

Much of the same curriculum of academic learning in the classical period of Grecian history continued into the Hellenistic age. The program of studies in a typical Hellenistic "elementary" school of the first century A.D. began when students were five to seven years of age and consisted of two sides, the physical and the mental. The mental probably began first, though it is possible that the two proceeded together from the start (cf. Plutarch, Moralia 1:3e). The athletic part of the curriculum was conducted in the palaistra (a sort of open-air gymnasium) under a special instructor. The training program was that of physical development. The chief exercises were classified as wrestling and dancing exercises of strength and grace respectively. Other athletic exercises involved were running, jumping, throwing the dart or javelin, and throwing the discus (cf. Aristotle, Politics 8:4; Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria 1:11:15ff). The participating boy students trained naked—a purely Hellenistic practice.

The mental side of Hellenistic elementary schooling was carried out in the didascasia (the place of teaching) and was distinct from the palaistra. The

125. Cf. G.H.C. Macgregor and A.C. Purdy, who say, "The teaching of every (Hellenistic) school had become centrally moral and religious," Jew and Greek, Tutors unto Christ, p. 257.

126. Aristotle, Politics 4:17; Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria 1:1:15. Philo thought that children should be much older, De congressu eruditionis gratia 15, etc.

127. J.P. Mahaffy, art. "Education in Ancient Greece," Cyclopaedia of Education 3:157b. Others, however, have supposed that physical training was begun first, Ibid.

128. Most of the lifetime of Quintilian fell within the first century A.D., so that he reflects the mind of the age—-at least in the West, particularly Rome, cf. William Smith, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, sub "M. Fabius Quintilianus," pp. 634ff.

129. D.J. Freedman, Schools of Hellas, p. 127; cf. the numerous plates with illustrations from school life which he reproduces throughout his book.
Subjects were taught by a schoolmaster, and consisted of reading, writing, speech, and basic arithmetic (cf. Quintilian 1:1:15, 18, 24; 1:4:1; 1:10:35). To read rhythmically and to speak accurately were strongly emphasized. In addition to these, other subjects were taught which were described by the general term "music." These included learning to play some instrument (lyre, flute, and trigonon or triangular harp), to sing (either to instrumental accompaniment or without it), to dance rather solemn and sometimes complicated group dances, and probably to draw and paint (not landscapes) but figures and household articles (cf. Quintilian 1:10:3, 4, 13). The purposes of these "music" subjects was to add a certain rhythm and co-ordination to one's person and living.

To all this was added quite early in a boy's life (fewer girls than boys were schooled publicly or privately) a knowledge of ancient Greek literature, especially poetry (Quintilian 9:4:55; Horace, Carmen 4:35). Homer's Iliad and Odyssey were everywhere studied even by very young boys and were esteemed as "containing all the morals a child should know" (Horace, Epistles 2:2, 42; Pliny, Epistles 2:14). Other works and authors used were the fables of Aesop, (Quintilian 1:9:2), Hesiod (Cicero, Epistles 6:18:5), and Menander (Statius, Silvae 2:1:114). The study of foreign languages and literatures was rarely undertaken, though many Roman youths studied Greek (cf. Polybius 32:10:6; Plutarch, Pyrrhus 14).

By the time students had well begun their teens, they were introduced to other studies also. Boxing and the panкратиум (involving wrestling and boxing) were...
added to the gymnastic training. On the mental side, students were introduced to advanced grammar and rhetoric (Quintilian 2:1:7; 2:2:3; Apuleius, Florida 20), as well as to the simplest rudiments of philosophical learning. The knowledge and study of grammar owed their rise and spread to the Stoics, but grammar soon became a universal subject of academic study (for older students). Geometry and arithmetic (beyond the stage of simple reckoning) also belonged to study in "secondary" schools (cf. Quintilian 1:10:3ff, 34). The equivalent of military training (the so-called ephebic training of Hellenic days) which rounded out a youth's "high school" studies was deleted from the Greek curriculum under the Romans (cf. Cicero, De republica 4:4; Seneca, Epistles 15). It is significant that little or no formal, i.e., systematic, instruction in either religion or history was offered; though school youth participated regularly in the religious festivals of the community and sang publicly in boy and girl choruses (cf. Horace's Carmen Saeculare). Secondary school students, i.e., those in their middle teens, learned to write both poetry and prose and to recite what they or others had written (Quintilian 2:7:1). Such learning at this young age, however, constituted only a very elementary form of rhetoric. This curriculum worked itself into the "seven liberal arts" of later days (the trivium: grammar, dialectic (logic), and rhetoric; the quadrivium: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music; the place of honor belonged to the first three). Compare the list of cultural subjects in Varro's Disciplinarum Libri 9.

137. Paul Wendland, Die hellenistisch-roemische Kultur, p. 73.
138. Full discussion of these matters with references to the sources will be found in M.P. Nilsson, Die hellenistische Schule, pp. 61-75; cf. also A.S. Wilkins, Roman Education, p. 35.
140. See A.S. Wilkins, Roman Education, p. 36.
The subjects of study at the "university" level continued those of the secondary schools for teenagers, though the professions naturally demanded more concentration in their own provinces at this stage. Philosophy was the climax of most student endeavors. Learning from the teens onward actually developed into two major classifications: grammar (the study of literature — divided into the technical, the historical, and the exegetical elements) and rhetoric ("the study of literature by the study of literary expression and quasi-forensic argument"). And these, together with dialectic, were the handmaids of philosophy, "the highest element in the education of the average Greek of the period."

(3) The Methods Employed in Hellenistic Educational Processes

(a) Formal Methods of Communication in the Schools

How did the teachers perform their functions in the "grammar" schools and "universities" of the Hellenistic world? Specifically, what methods did they use? It must be said that it is not the present aim to analyze or evaluate these methods, but merely to list some of the more significant among them. The method varied of course with the subject. Because of their important place in the general educational system, grammar and rhetoric will receive the fullest observation in what follows. These were taught by precept, by example, and by practice. The teacher sometimes dictated rules or sometimes gave out lists of selected passages from ancient and/or modern authors, or again read such passages with comments on the authors' style

141. Plutarch, Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat 7 (25b, c); De liberis educandis 10d-f; Philo, De congressu eruditionis gratia 4; Legum allegoriaenum 3:87; De migratione Abrahami 32; De gigantibus 1:4; De cherubim 101; etc.; Seneca, Epistles 88. See also F.H. Colson, "Philo on Education," JTS (1917), 18:15ff, from whom these references are culled.


143. Edwin Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church, p. 32.
(cf. the Bousiris and Helen of Isocrates; Quintilian 2:5:4-6). At other times, the teacher delivered model speeches of his own before his students (cf. Plato, Phaidros 227-228), occasionally giving two speeches on opposite sides of a question (the extant work of Antiphon and the lost work of Gorgias were of this type). Sometimes the pupil composed a speech in reply to the one of his teacher (Quintilian 2:5:4f).

The "precept" method produced the many hand-books on grammar and rhetoric which are still extant from this period, and which are called Progymnasmata, i.e., "Books of Preliminary Training." The "example" procedure eventuated in the university "lecture." The "practice" technique was the nearest approach to the modern "beginner's laboratory experience;" in this case it meant the written or oral treatment of rather abstract themes by the students themselves (cf. Quintilian 3:5:5; 10:5:11ff). Every student followed each of these three methods. He began (1) by committing to memory both the grammatical rules copied from the professor's notes or textbook and also certain chosen passages from the best authors; these latter were recited before the class and professor with appropriate gestures and modulations (Quintilian 1:8:1-21; 1:9:1-49). In the next stage, (2) the student began to make his own comments on these model literary selections; and shortly thereafter proceeded to compositions of his own, imitating the style of these selected authors (or that of his teacher or favorite.

144. An anthology of "sentences" from Menander's comedies seems to have been widely used in the Hellenistic age as a text-book serving just such a purpose, A.E.J. Bawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ, p. 99, n.3. It is possible that the schoolboy tag from Menander quoted in I Cor. 15:33 may be an echo in Paul's memory from just such school day experiences, or at least from contact with such a book in his student days.


146. Such as those by Theon (dated in the first, possibly the second century A.D.) or by Hermogenes (in the second century A.D.) in Greek, and that preserved in Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria in Latin. Cf. also Plutarch's De liberis educandis. On these manuals of grammar and rhetoric see R.O.P. Taylor, The Groundwork of the Gospels, p. 76.

147. The lecture was very important because of the scarcity of books, J.P. Mahaffy, art. "Education in Ancient Greece," Encyclopedia of Education, 3:159a.
orator, cf. Quintilian 10:5:4-5). Finally, (3) he was gradually led to assert individuality in his own style of composition, and in case of rhetoric, to do so not only in writing but in extemporaneous speaking (Quintilian 10:7:1). But whether written or spoken, the speech was expected to display an "artificiality of structure" and "pedantry of diction" --- filled with antitheses, balancing of clauses, strange expressions, and other learned forms of speech, all of which were especially loved by every orator and audience of the day.

Grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics were especially important to the study of philosophy in the first century A.D., for the literary expression or form of one's philosophical position had come to assume greater importance than heretofore had been the case. To this extent philosophy had degenerated, and was no longer primarily an evolving of one's own thoughts, but an absorbing and repeating of the recorded thoughts of others. The methods by which this was done were lectures and disputations. As in the case of rhetoric, so was it with philosophy: "sometimes the professor read a paper from a philosopher, and gave his interpretation of it; sometimes he gave a discourse of his own. Sometimes a student read an essay of his own, or interpreted a passage of a philosopher in the presence of the professor, and the professor afterwards pronounced his opinion upon the correctness of the reasoning or the interpretation."

Thus the very literary style in which one expressed his philosophy received almost as much attention as the content of that philosophy. This emphasis on style may have been due to the serious attempts made by certain schools of philosophy (notably the Cynics and Stoics) to popularize and spread their ideas in

148. Selections from Homer were always used, and Quintilian added Virgil for his students, 1:8:5. Both tragedies and comedies were read by students (Quintilian 1:8:5; cf. 2:5:1, 23). Quintilian says that the teacher had three types of narrative from which to choose selections as models: fictitious, realistic (semi-fictitious), and historical (2:4:2).

149. Edwin Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church, p. 33. Several of the statements in the above paragraph are derived from Hatch.
popular dress among the masses (cf. Cicero, De oratore 3:15;56ff). In order to do so a correct and technical form of language had to be used, but as far as possible a composition also had to be clear, appealing, and persuasive. For this reason, the serious study of grammar (and the renewed interest in rhetoric) had its rise in Greece with the Stoics.

(b). Popular Methods of Communication to the Public

The Cynics and Stoics were the dominant popular educationalists of the era. They went almost everywhere within the limits of civilization, teaching and preaching wherever they could gain an audience. In their addresses to the populace of every town and city in the Hellenistic world they employed and thus popularized two ways of communication which had long been used before them in the schools, namely, (1) the lecture and (2) the discussion (or disputation). And, in time, these discourses and discussions took on certain aspects or features relative to vocabulary, form, emphasis, and content, which became characteristic of Cynic-stoic addresses and teaching, and thus were everywhere recognized as typical of the Cynic-stoic communicational forms (a sort of "identification tag" of their spoken and written educational efforts).

The Cynic-stoic (1) discourse or lecture was known technically as the diatribe. From studies made of the Cynic-stoic diatribe, several characteristic features of its style have been distinguished. Some of the more

150. The term ἔπος means "conversation" and denotes "a species of written causerie in colloquial and pointed style." It is said to have been invented by Bion the Bosruthenite in the first half of the third century B.C., cf. A.D. Nock, in Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation, p. 145; Paul Wendland, Die hellenistisch-roemische Kultur, pp. 77ff.


(Continued on the next page)
significant ones are the following: preference for short disconnected sentences, rhetorical questions, use of the device of a dialogue with an imaginary objecter, flinging back and forth of challenge and rejoinder, use of concrete illustrations from life, the half-ironical apostrophe, direct personal appeals, wide use of figures of speech for both "sound" effects and "sense" effects, repetition of phrases and clauses and slogans or catch-words, wide use of paradox, careful use of pungent questions and imperatives, and arrangement of material for striking effect. These rhetorical refinements were defined, classified, and formulated into rules and were taught in the classrooms of the schools. They were practiced daily by Cynic and Stoic philosophers in their "lectures" to students and to the public on the streets of the towns and cities. A large portion of the populace, therefore, was at least acquainted with these stylistic features of philosophical rhetoric.

The second form of Cynic-stoic address, namely, (2) the question-and-answer or discussion-disputation type of communication, was also widely used by the same group of preaching-philosophers and thus was also known to a wide circle of auditors. Now the art of question-and-answer in a sort of disputational type of address had been taught and practiced since the days of Socrates.


152. These first seven are noted by J.S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, pp. 57-58.
154. See Bultmann, Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt, pp. 97-103.
155. Probably the best and most familiar example of the diatribe (philosophical conversation) style is the Diatribae or Discourses of Epictetus from the second century A.D., which were actually taken down from oral delivery by his pupil Arrian. See M.S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, pp. 41-42.
There were rules and methods of procedure for such disputational discussions set down in the manuals used by students, and these rules gave the speeches of those who followed them a certain typical style readily recognizable to their hearers. The Cynic-stoic diatribe often combined the "lecture" and the "disputation" styles of communication together in one address. In fact, the Cynic-stoic diatribe was a popularized form of the art of speaking taught in the schools, and so its practitioners felt free to overstep the rules of academic rhetoric, if need arose, and invent, delete, enlarge, or otherwise modify the more set canons of formal speech in order to meet the popular mind in disseminating their philosophical and ethical ideas.

(4). Paul's Contacts with the Hellenistic Educational "System"

(a) Judged from his Literary Style

The extremely difficult problem that rises at this point is that of Paul's contact with the Hellenistic educational "system" prevalent in his time and its possible influences upon him. It is quite likely that sufficiently penetrating and sympathetic study has not yet been done (or perhaps can never be done) to provide a satisfactory solution to this problem, though there have been plenty of conclusions set forth in relation to it. For example, F.W. Farrar in an excursus on the rhetoric of Paul, concludes that "...as a boy in Tarsus he had attended some elementary class in Greek rhetoric, perhaps as a part of his education in the grammatical knowledge of the language." Elsewhere Farrar writes, "... After reading the subjoined list of specimens from the syntaxis

156. Cf. Ludwig Friedlaender, Roman Life and Manners, 3:13ff.
157. The Life and Work of St. Paul, 1:630. This conclusion is in the form of a question in the original.
159. (The following note belongs on the next page); J. Weiss, HPX, L:184; Friedrich Blass, Die Rhythmen der asianischen und roemischen Kunstprosa, pp. 43, 55, 73ff; W.M. Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, pp. 237ff; Cities of St. Paul, pp. 6, 10, 34.
ornate of ... Paul, few, I think, will be able to resist the conviction that he had attended, while at Tarsus, some elementary class of Greek rhetoric." And this conclusion has been given support by the findings of certain other able students of Paul's language and style. On the other hand, other equally competent scholars have been less certain of finding unmistakable traces of formal Greek schooling echoed in both the more polished and the less skillful turns of expression in Paul's writings.

If it is true that Paul's literary form and methods reflect something of his education, then the facts regarding both form and method need to be reviewed. A study by Rudolf Bultmann of Paul's speech, as its forms relate to the forms of the Cynic-stoic diatribe, points to numerous similarities in the areas of artistic techniques of rhetoric, thought order, and even in tone and temper. Paul's use of (1) the artistic techniques of rhetoric includes the following two categories: (a) the sound-effect figures of speech and (b) the sense-effect figures. Of (a) the sound-effect figures, two examples may be noted. The first is word-plays: 1/ words that sound alike: Rom. 1:25, ῥα γνωρίσεις τοῦ γνωρίσων (cf. Epictetus, Discourses 3:24:66); 2/ words having a common root or stem: Rom. 1:23, ἀδίκητα ... ἄδικον (cf. Epictetus 1:1:1); 3/ words having the first and other syllables changed: Rom. 5:16, ἱκνία ... κατάκνια (cf. Epictetus 2:5:17); 4/ antithetical words: Rom. 1:23, ἀφίκησαν ... ἀφίκασα (cf. Epictetus 2:1:31); 5/ similar prepositions with different objects: II Cor. 6:7, ἀνά (cf. Epictetus

159. (This note is on previous page).
160. For example, Martin Dibelius, Paul, p. 31; Olaf Moe, The Apostle Paul, 1:41:42. Alfred Loisy contends that Paul's literary acquaintance was confined to the scriptures which was probably the only book that he ever studied, Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien, p. 311.
162. For the influence of the Cynic-stoic diatribe on some of the less impassioned Pauline passages, see Paul Wendland, Die urchristlichen Literaturformen, pp. 356f.
163. Epictetuss Discourses are generally taken to be a standard example of the Cynic-stoic diatribe. For an example of an early bit of Christian literature written (Continued on the next page)
or different prepositions before the same object: Rom. 11:36, ἐν τῷ καί ἐν τῷ καί εἰς τῷ (cf. Epictetus 3:10:1); or similar sounding prepositions as parts of different words: Rom. 6:5-6, σύμφωνον ... συνεσταυρώθη (cf. Epictetus 2:14:19); or different prepositions as parts of words with similar sounding stems: II Cor. 10:6, παρακολουθούν ... ἡπακολούθον (cf. Epictetus 3:22:84). The second example of sound-effect figures of speech which we shall notice is parallelism: 1/ of synonymous members (Rom. 12:4-15; cf. Epictetus 2:8:11); of antithetical members (Rom. 2:21-23; I Cor. 9:19-22; cf. Epictetus 4:3:9; 4:1:165); 3/ of questions (I Cor. 9:1; cf. Epictetus 1:18:22); 4/ of questions and answers (I Cor. 7:18ff; cf. Epictetus 3:1:26); 5/ of imperatives (Phil. 3:2; cf. Epictetus 1:18:14); 6/ of anaphora (I Cor. 3:9; cf. Epictetus 3:22:39); 7/ of epiphora (I Cor. 7:12ff; cf. Epictetus 3:22:21).

As to (b) the sense-effect figures of speech, the following occur both in Paul and the Cynic-stoic diatribe: 1/ rhetorical questions used a/ to arouse reflection among the audience (I Cor. 4:7; cf. Epictetus 3:10:10), b/ to express the speaker's own thinking (Rom. 8:31-35; cf. Epictetus 1:24:17), and c/ to elicit the hearer's assent and agreement (I Cor. 9:7; cf. Epictetus 4:6:7-10); 2/ imperatives, such as a/ ironical (I Cor. 11:6; cf. Epictetus 3:12:17), and b/ rhetorical (i.e., similar imperatives with different objects (Phil. 3:2) or different imperatives with like objects (Phil. 4:8f); 3/ exclamations, such as rejection or prohibition (Rom. 3:4; cf. Epictetus 1:1:13), etc.; 4/ personifications of objects and ideas (sin in Paul, Rom. 7:8-11; the appetites in Epictetus 3:26:1ff); 5/ comparisons drawn largely from daily life (Rom. 12:4f; I Cor. 12:12ff, the body; cf. Epictetus 163. (Continued) in the style of the Cynic-stoic diatribe, see Hermes, Similitudes 1; cf. Martin Dibelius, Hermes (HNT). Note also the epistle of James; cf. J.H. Ropes, ICC on James, pp. 10ff. For parallels of Paul and Epictetus, see Adolf Bonhoeffer, Epiktet und das Neue Testament, and Paul Wendland, Die hellenistisch-romische Kultur, pp. 91ff.

164. See Bultmann for full Pauline references and discussion, Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt, pp. 74-36. The references to Epictetus are not supplied by Bultmann; the same is true of the references below.
2:6:11-14, grain). In the use of all these, however, certain figures of speech so characteristic of the diatribe are missing (pathetical imperatives, lamentations concluding descriptions of calamities, etc.). Likewise missing in Paul are certain standard comparisons of the diatribe (the sea, animal life, child's play, etc.).

As to (2) the thought order of Paul and the diatribe, we may note a custom common to both of using (a) units of highly concentrated materials scattered throughout a single speech (Rom. 8:31-39; I Cor. 15; cf. Epictetus 2:19:1-4), (b) the careless organization of sections (II Cor. 1-9; cf. Epictetus 3:9:1-22), (c) the advance of thought to some sort of conclusion (Rom. 8:31ff; cf. Epictetus 2:10:1-30), and (d) the use of illustrations (I Cor. 15:35ff; cf. Epictetus 2:1:8).

The differences here between Paul's letters and the diatribe, however, are tremendous. Paul's letters follow a single theme (as in Romans), or take up questions put to him (I and II Cor.), or tackle a problem (Gal., I and II Th.); this is hardly typical of the diatribe. Paul lacks the dialectical progress of the diatribe, and his comparisons are not merely illustrations but proofs (Rom. 4:1-15; I Cor. 12:12ff; 15:35ff) — quite unlike the diatribe. His methods of argumentation are rabbinic.

As to (3) the tone and temper of his speeches, Paul's liveliness and positive hortatory approach agree with the diatribe form, but there is absent in the apostle the alternation between jesting and earnestness and between calmness and enthusiasm which fill the diatribe. Also missing in Paul are the negative scoldings and blamings of the diatribe. Then, too, he never employs "vituperative abuse which often characterized the Cynic diatribe, (nor) the coarseness, vulgarity, and desire to arouse a laugh at the expense of the one attacked."

168. Bultmann, Ibid., p. 99; see our chapter 3.
169. Bultmann, Ibid., p. 100.
170. As Bultmann admits, Ibid., p. 102; cf. J. Weiss, Paul and Jesus, pp. 37ff.
From the foregoing brief consideration of Paul's literary style and method and its bearing on his relation to Hellenistic education, there follows no irrefutable proof that he had imbibed the fundamentals of such a system out of first hand acquaintance with it in Greek schools. Many of his literary characteristics are, in spite of all apparent parallels to the Cynic-stoic diatribe, more nearly akin to those of the Greek O.T. and rabbinic speeches and writings. For example, it is asserted by some that antithesis is the most distinctive characteristic of his style. The problem is, where did he derive this characteristic?

Edward Norden thinks that it came from the Greeks who, as early as the fifth century B.C. in Heraclitus, questioned all natural phenomena, and subsequently this revolution of ideas was hypostatized in an antithetical manner of speech which lived on through the centuries. This was an early form of the "Two Ways" manner of presenting ethical truths. But J. Weiss concludes that Paul's "preference for antithesis is not to be explained only by reference to the general period of Hellenism," but to the "dualism" that is apparent in late Judaism itself with its belief in Satan (II Cor. 4:4), the doctrine of the two ages and the new creation (II Cor. 5:17), and the gulf between the supernatural God and man (cf. I Cor. 15:50). Moreover Paul's own experience and nature made the antithetical mode of expression easy for him --- his life fell into two parts sharply separated one from the other by his conversion. Finally, his natural disposition seems to have inclined him

172. See J. Weiss, Beiträge zur paulinischen Rhetorik, pp. 7ff, for some of these "Hebraic" parallels in Paul.
175. This "Two Ways" device achieved a notable popularity. In an ethical connection it occurs in Xenophon, Hesiod, Theognis, Virgil, and Plutarch --- see references and literature in K.E. Kirk, The Vision of God, p. 119, n.4. But these are not older than the "Two Ways" idea and format in the O.T., cf. Kirk, op. cit., pp. 122-123.
176. HPX, 1:411. Weiss calls attention to the antithetical thought and language

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to observe things in their sharpest polarial aspects. But an even more probable source of his oft used antithesis was the O.T. itself. The usage of antithesis is so widespread in O.T. poetry that it has left its name on modern classifications of Hebrew poetic productions, i.e., "antithetic parallelism." And whole O.T. books of prose are filled with an antithetical type of thinking; for example, Deuteronomy's major theme is the choice of obedience to God or of disobedience and consequently of life or death --- and all of Paul's eight quotations from Deuteronomy are from the last chapters of the book where this antithesis is the strongest of any part of the work. And besides all this, it has been shown that antithesis is an important feature in the thought, preaching, and teaching of Jesus himself. Morton Smith in his important study of Jesus' sermons says in his conclusion, "There is no doubt that antithesis is one of the basic elements of the rhetoric of the Gospels, and, in particular, it is found everywhere throughout the sermons." Hardly all of the antithetical elements attributed to Jesus in the gospels can be assigned to the literary editing of the evangelists. Suffice is to say, then, that if the master could use antithesis so constantly, why could not the disciple occasionally?

We ought to note, too, that what applies to Paul's use of antithesis applies also to other features of his literary forms and mental habits; that is, the O.T.

176. (Continued): of the time, HPX, 1:412; cf. the Stobaeus Hermetica 1:41:1.
should first be considered as their probable source, and only then ought one turn to the other possibilities. After all, Paul was first a Jew, even though a Hellenistic one.

And beyond the question of the impact of the O.T. and Jewish practice on Paul's style and thought is another problem that still has not been adequately examined. Since it is the diatribes of the Cynics and Stoics which furnish some fairly close parallels to Paul, (specifically as these are preserved in the works of men like Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, etc.—most of whom considerably post-date the apostle), the question needs exploring whether or not such philosophers had ever had contact with the Greek O.T. and absorbed anything from its form and spirit. In other words, what Adolf Bonhoeffer did for Epictetus and the N.T. needs to be attempted also for Epictetus and the O.T! Such a study might open the way to a more balanced consideration of the whole problem of Greek educational influences on Paul. Instead of concluding that he owed most of his educational methods to the Greeks, it may yet be possible to show instead that certain Hebraic techniques had influenced some of his important Hellenistic contemporary educationalists and philosophers — or, if one please, his own early Hellenistic teachers (assuming there were such).

(b) Judged from his Thoughts

Into this complicated maze of problems of the greatest magnitude we can not here enter. Volumes containing some of the most learned research in N.T. studies of the present time have been written on the Hellenistic (and Jewish) roots and

182. Adolf Bonhoeffer, Epiktet und das Neue Testament (1911).


184. A.D. Nock recognizes that while the Pauline method of argument by question and answer may be explained from Cynic-stoic models, "it can also be brought into relation with Rabbinic practice," "Early Gentile Christianity," A.E.J. Rawlinson (ed.), Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation, p. 145, n.2.
background of Paul's thoughts. The bulk of scientific study on Pauline backgrounds
has been directed towards the content of his conceptions, rather than towards the
methods (and their sources) which he employed to communicate these conceptions. It
does seem rather generally agreed, however, that certain philosophic doctrines
current at the time can be traced in briefest allusion in Paul, such, e.g., as the
stoic concept of the imminence of God in physical nature (Rom. 1:19-20) and in
human nature (Rom. 3:14), or the idea of natural morality (Phil. 4:8). It
seems also to be widely recognized that he used certain philosophic terms such as
nature, duty, conscience, virtue, the becoming, the fitting, etc. These and
other philosophical ideas and influences will be noted later. Almost no scholar has
seriously contended that Paul studied these extensively or intensively in the schools
as a youth. His treatment of philosophic themes is popular and extremely super-
ficial and is more in form than content. In brief, he seems to have used the words
and ideas mainly as means of contact and interest on behalf of his listeners and
readers. Almost all of these expressions, especially the ethical ones belonged to
the daily speech of the period, precisely as nearly everyone at the present
day uses terms and ideas such as "evolution," "relativity," and "atomic fission,"
but not everyone can formulate a scientific definition of each of these! What may
be gathered from Paul's Hellenistic concepts as these reveal his schooling and the
methods by which these concepts were transmitted to him is rather indefinite, though
little or no first hand acquaintance with them on his part in Hellenistic schools
would seem to be implied.

188. See Martin Dibelius and W.G. Kueimmel, Paul, p. 31.
189. Cf. Albert Schweitzer, "Paulinism and Hellenism have in common their religious
terminology, but in respect of ideas, nothing," Paul and his Interpreters,
P. 238.
190. M.S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, p. 45.
And what light does not only the content of his thoughts but the processes of his thinking throw on Paul's methods of communication? Is there any trace of the Greek "scientific method" in Paul's thinking? So far as he shared the "scientific method" of the Greeks, it was in his dialectics. In this connection his use of (1) logic, both deductive and inductive, stands foremost. We shall examine the apostle's use of both in chapter 4. There were two deficiencies in the Hellenistic employment of logic which he did not share: (a) an almost wholly speculative rather than experimental character (e.g., the common Grecian view of history under the aspect of an idea (cycles) rather than that of action (an act or acts, such as the redemptive work of the creator to save the universe), and (b) the total failure of Greek education to apply Greek logic to learning and studying religion (the evolution of Greek "theology" had surprisingly little impact on Greek "religion," and none on the means of communicating it). In addition to logic, Paul encountered the ways of "scientific method" in the use of (2) observation of existent phenomena. He is generally regarded as a poor observer of nature. On the other hand, he was keen on the study and understanding of people, ideas, and religion and theology. Some have seen here certain influences of Alexandrian methods on the apostle after his contact with Apollos of that city (Acts 18:24ff; I Cor. 1:13; etc.). Yet what he draws from observation are primarily neither abstract principles nor graphic illustrations, but religious concepts and proofs respectively (cf. his "observation" that the church is "Christ's body," I Cor. 12:12ff, 27, and his use of Abraham to prove that all men are justified by faith, Rom. 4:1ff).

191. See Jane Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion.
In Hellenism the application of the "scientific method" to the art of communicating ideas produced the techniques known as "propaganda." In the last chapter we noted the impact of this technique on Jewish missionary procedure, literary and otherwise, e.g., on Philo (cf. De vita Mosis and the treatises appended to it on Bravery, Humanity, and Repentance). We cannot enter this matter again, and so simply observe that Paul learned something of the art of propaganda, but not from Greek schools nor probably even from those of Diaspora Judaism. His training in this art reflects more the ways of Jerusalem than of Alexandria.

J. Weiss has pointed out that Paul's Greek "is related to no school and follows no model .... and yet is still just Greek, not a translated Aramaic (like the sayings of Jesus); this makes him one of the classicists of Hellenism." How then account for his Hellenistic literary forms, thoughts, and methods? Again, the words of Weiss may prove suggestive, "Very probably it was a Jewish rhetorician with a Hellenistic education who was his instructor." And so it may well have been. The "Jewish rhetorician with a Hellenistic education" may have taught him privately or in the Jewish school at Tarsus. It may just as likely have been Gamaliel at Jerusalem.

b. General Influences of the Hellenistic Cultural "Atmosphere" on Paul and his Educational Methods

As we have just seen, Paul in his youth was probably no avid student of Hellenism in Greek schools. But what of that casual, even unintentional absorption of Greek terminology and ideas from the Hellenistic world around him? May not pagan teachings, not only Greek, but even Oriental, unconsciously have exercised

196. J. Weiss, HPX, 1:182.
197. HPX, 1:1399.
198. HPX, 1:1184.
their influence over him? And may not the methods of transferring thoughts to
others, which he daily saw employed by the advocates of pagan ideas, have left
their imprint on his mind? Thus in spite of himself, would Hellenism exert its
impact on the apostle and his churches. So reasons the Jewish scholar, Klausner.
This may well be true. Through the general "atmosphere" (the travelling Cynico-
stoic philosophers were both creators and dispensers of much in the "climate")
and through daily personal encounter and association (work, conversation, travel,
etc.) Paul may have imbibed more of the communicative ideas and methods of Hel-
lenism than he himself was able to recognize. But though he was unaware of such
transactions, later historians, educationalists, psychologists, etc. should be
able to recognize their presence in his mind and work — but to date such de-
monstrable "recognitions" have been somewhat meager.

To sum up the discussion thus far, we may observe that Paul's adoption of
the Socratic and Stoic method of free discussion in Athens (Acts 17:22ff) and
elsewhere, is not necessarily evidence that he had at least in part the same edu-
cation as his Stoic and Epicurean hearers. On the other hand, he may well have
had more contact with Hellenism than simply its "atmosphere," for Tarsus was
a "university" center of Greek learning and contacts with students of Hellenism
were easy, and he had surely read some Greek books (Hellenistic Jewish ones at
least). His affinities with Hellenistic literary style and thought, however,
may possibly be accounted for by: (1) the nature of speech and thought in general,
(2) the occasional passion and originality of the writer, (3) the play of his

201. As William Ramsay supposes, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, pp. 237ff.
   See Francois J. Picavet, Essais sur l'histoire generale et comparee des
   theologies et philosophies medievales (1913), who presents Paul's affini-
   ties with Stoicism, from which he argues Paul's Stoic education!
fancy, (4) unconscious expression of genius, (5) mere accident, (6) the influence of what he had observed in Greek public speakers, and (7) of what he had read in the Greek O.T. All of this applies also to the methods which he used to communicate the Christian gospel. What he gathered from observation of teachers and teaching in the Hellenistic world seems to have been rather limited. A trace or two of Hellenistic teaching methods specifically certain techniques relating to the diatribe (such as the device of addressing an imaginary opponent in disputation, public pleading for ethical reformation, etc.,) and the use of an occasional citation from a Greek writing at the beginning or within a speech (as in Acts 17 and I Cor. 15) may represent the extent of Pauline indebtedness to Hellenistic educational methodology.

II. INFLUENCE OF HELLENISTIC RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY ON PAUL

1. The Situation in Religious Education in Hellenism of the First Century A.D.

The study of theology was not taken seriously by Hellenistic students. Religious education in the schools was thus characterized by its absence. In fact, the weakness of the Roman state, which exercised governmental control over nearly every other area of life, was that it neglected education and especially religious education.

Further, both religious thought and religious education were each within themselves contradictory and confused. Especially was this true of the latter, for there was no system of instruction whatsoever in pagan religion. The scientific study of theology and ethics did not keep pace in Greek thought with progress.

204. A.T. Robertson notices these first five, Grammar, p. 1197.
206. See Paul Wendland, Die hellenistisch-romische Kultur, pp. 96ff.
207. W.M. Ramsay, A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, p. 457.
in philosophy and the social sciences. Consequently special instruction in reli-
gen was never known to either the Greeks or Romans of antiquity. Religion
in so far as it was considered a possible and worthwhile object of study was re-
garded as philosophy. Even Judaism was regarded by Hellenists as a philosophy
(or at least as a mystery religion), and Philo made a deliberate attempt so
to represent it (De posteritate: Caini 30; De vita Mosis 3:27). The Hellenistic
traditions in the area of religious education, therefore, provided relatively
little precedent for Paul's guidance in the making and training of Christian con-
verts in his churches.
2. The Domestic and State Religions
a. Religion in the Home

Since primary interest here is not in defining the content of religion in the
home, but only in how it was taught, remarks as to its essence will be extremely
brief. Judging from what may be culled from the sources about the domestic practice
of religion in the Hellenistic period, the first thing to be noted is its diversity.
Usually the religion of the home depended on the locality and ancestral heritage of
its inmates. But taking the Graeco-Roman home for consideration, the following
are of interest. The deity worshiped varied with the devotee's needs, wishes, fe-
s, and hopes, though there were the well known great gods like Zeus (Jove), etc.
the better type home had its shrine and household divinities whom it never neg-
lected. These deities usually were represented by their image. Pious families
prayed to them each morning, or before important enterprises. When they dined, a
small offering was always made to these "domestic" gods. There were often gods
selected as "guardians of the family's possessions" whose images were placed on

the kitchen hearth or elsewhere. The household "protectors" had their own altar and/or (painted) images to whom offerings of fruits, flowers, incense, and cakes were made. Among Romans, the head of the house had his "genius" represented by a picture, bust, etc. Worship consisted of offering incense or some small gift (flowers, etc.) and prayers. These prayers consisted always of petitions for some definite advantage (prosperity, safety, health, etc.), never for a pure heart or some moral improvement. Prayers were accompanied by raised, extended, or clasped hands. In the first century A.D., if one were an artisan and belonged to a guild, he said special prayers to the patron god or goddess of his guild. In a vague way, it was assumed that the gods were displeased at certain violent crimes (like murder), but there was generally no understood immediate relation between these gods and one's moral conduct, as is seen, for example, by the attitude towards women and children in the home. One deity was about as effective as another for all practical purposes, though some were more popular than others. Domestic religion was a blend of superstition, formalism, and tolerance.

Religion in the home was taught primarily by example and imitation. The domestic ritualistic offering and prayers were performed before the entire family so that the children saw and heard all, and certain ceremonies were also performed by and for children, such as marking recovery from disease, birthdays, puberty, etc. Additional teaching was done by slaves and sometimes by hired philosophers. Quite often the training in religion would be given by the child's parents, though apparently this was only rarely done by the father. Such training consisted of telling the ancient myths about the gods and ancient heroes who became deified, answering of questions asked by the children, and occasionally asking questions.


212. See J.P. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander*. 
about various phases of the family's religious beliefs. The extant records reveal little systematic ordering and teaching of religious subject matter in the home. Apparently there were few if any catechetical manuals or compendiums on such subjects for children. The situation was doubtless more regular and systematized in those wealthier homes which were able to afford the services of a chaplain (who was invariably a polished rhetorician-philosopher capable of discoursing learnedly on any given theme without involving or committing himself personally to what he said; Lucian De mercende conductis potentiwm familiaribus 32-36; Timon 50-51).

b. The State Religion

Its historical background made what has been called "normative Hellenistic religion" a worship of socio-political concern. "Religion was an aspect of the conduct of the state," and one was born into his religion precisely as he was born into the state. However, by the first century A.D., considerable individualism and personalization had entered Hellenistic religion from philosophy and the mystery-religions. There never was a universal priesthood, however, and so no orthodox tradition embodied in a sacredotal literature was ever produced. The ministers of state were often also leaders of religion, but then, for much of Hellenism, so also was most every participant in every field of endeavor. That is, the Greeks thought every aspect of life an affair of the divinities; thus they "regarded theatrical exhibitions and religious assemblies as equally fit occasions for the invocation of the gods, and considered an athlete's offering of his speed at the Olympic games no less an act of worship than priestly prayer and sacrifice."

213. Lucian's life spanned the second century A.D., but much that he says is drawn from earlier times. Cf. W.A. Gifford, The Story of the Faith, p. 144; Edwin Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church, p. 41.
217. G.F. Moore, History of Religions, 1:412.
State religion functioned daily, because its essence consisted of punctilious 219 compliance with the details of prescribed rituals. Its nature was therefore 220 perfunctory. This was the one feature about it that was standardized and stereo- 221 typed, not on a universal scale, but for every political or geographical unit. 222 One's attitude towards the gods (even that of the ministrant) was insignificant; 223 complete performance of the ceremonies was what actually mattered. All great public festivals, political gatherings, military and athletic assemblies, etc., 224 called for a special public act of worship. The rise of the cult of king- and emperor-worship simply added one more deity in human form to the state pantheon; 225 the usual ritual was not greatly altered thereby. State worship consisted of sacrifice by priests and sometimes by people (usually of incense only by the latter), prayers, certain rituals, hymns sung by choirs, lustrations, processions, etc. The ritual on great festive occasions was singularly impressive. 226

How was all passed from generation to generation? Again, personal experience (i.e., being present and participating), personal observation, and questions and answers of children to parents and friends were the means of keeping alive knowledge and interest in the state religion. Active participation by the individual was limited to very few occasions, such as when one might place a pinch of incense on an altar to some one or several of the gods as evidence and pledge of his citizenship in the state and loyalty to its laws and authority. More often one simply looked on or listened with no opportunity for more active participation expected or possible. No manuals or written directives about civic worship seem to have existed.

222. This indifferent attitude to the deities was probably due to the belief that it was fate, and not simply the gods, which controlled both men and the state; cf. Franz Altheim, A History of Roman Religion, pp. 426-428.
223. This development was more political than religious; at first people showed their political loyalty in religious forms. See A.D. Nock in Cambridge Ancient History, 10:481ff; W.W. Fowler, art. "Roman Religion," ERE, 10:839-843.
There is no direct evidence that Paul had ever been in attendance at such public state worship services, but possibly he had. As a Roman citizen, he would eventually be thrown into contact with the religious side of imperial life (cf. I Cor. 8:5-6; 12:3). At least he knew much about such services, and had probably seen some of the parades and the festive gatherings that accompanied them. It was partly because of this first-hand contact that "he not only stood aloof from the religious observances of the state and the household, but treated them with contempt or abhorrence."

3. The Philosophies

a. Influential Philosophies of the Day

(1) Stoicism

To gain a slightly better impression of the influences that played upon Paul and his methods of creating and developing the Christian mind a very concise review of the major philosophies current in his time is necessary. Foremost among these was Stoicism, fathered by Zeno of Citium in Cyprus at the close of the fourth century B.C. It was the most widespread, popular, and influential of the philosophies of Paul's generation. Its impact has been observed even on Jewish writings; indeed, some scholars see traces of Stoicism within the O.T. itself. For example, Ecc. 3:1-8 is said to contain the idea that men should live "according to nature," and in 2:14; 3:19; 9:2, 3 occurs the term τῆς φύσεως, "chance;" cf. in 3:12, ἄθικτος ἰδίως ἰδιότητα τῆς γονεῖαν τῆς γονείας τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γονείαν τῆς γο

bodily desires in IV Maccabees. Stoic philosophers were usually public preach-

ers of their doctrines to every race and class; hence their widespread acquaintance

among the populace. The presence of Stoic ideas in Paul's writings has long been noticed. These came apparently to him (1) through the general "atmosphere" of the time which he breathed and experienced daily in conversations, lectures, visits, etc.; (2) through the wandering Stoic preachers whom he probably heard, and (3) through literature which he had read, such (possibly) as Wisdom of Solomon, etc.

Paul not only shows similarities but also striking dissimilarities with Stoicism. Both likenesses and differences must be noted. These are seen in concepts, phraseology, and style. Once he quotes a Stoic philosopher (Acts 17:28). In Rom. 1 and 2 occur expressions like "that which may be known about God" (or rather "is knowable about God"), "being perceived through the things that are made," "the natural use," "against nature," "unseemliness," do by nature the things of the law," and "conscience ---- all expressions with a Stoic ring. Elsewhere he uses concepts like "mind," "knowledge," "rudiments of the world," "virtue," "freedom," "spiritual service," and "sound doctrine." Certain other Pauline ideas also have a Stoic tone, such as "all things cohere in Christ" (Col. 1:17, συνέστηκαί is a Stoic term and suggests Stoicism's unifying principle--- of life); absence of sexual and other distinctions in Christ (Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:11; cf. I Cor. 12:13; Eph. 4:6; this suggests Stoicism's humanitarianism); self-examination (II Cor. 13:5; Gal. 6:1; cf. Epictetus, ἡ ψυχή ἡ ἁμαρτία, τίς ἡ, cf. 3:22:35, 37; 3:24:20, 112); and the call

See the references in Paul to Stoic philosophy summarized by J.B. Lightfoot in an essay "St. Paul and Seneca" appended to his Commentary on Philippians.

Harry Bulcock says he may have read Wisdom in Gamaliel's school, Religion and its New Testament Expression, p. 218.

While Hans Boehlig thinks Paul may have appropriated the idea of conscience directly from the Stoics, Die Geisteskultur von Tarsus, p. 168, yet A.D. Nock considers that he may have gotten the concept from Jer. 31:33, St. Paul, p. 239.

for inward renewal (Rom. 12:1-2; Eph. 4:23; cf. Seneca’s "transfigurari" or Marcus Aurelius’ ἄναλημμα).

But the differences are even more striking. While Paul sometimes picks up words and expressions from the Stoics, his meanings are not always the same. Note the following usages from Epictetus and Paul. The term (1) "conscience" actually plays a rare role with the Stoics, appearing only once in Epictetus (Discourses 3:22:94). Further, to the Stoic the witness and judge of human action is mainly man himself, but for Paul it is a personal God. The term (2) "seemly" for the Stoic means "duty," but to Paul it signifies what is "fitting." Paul speaks of (3) "logical" service, but unlike the Stoic, does not mean thereby one that is primarily rationalistic in nature but one that is spiritual, in contrast to mere outward performance. (4) "Pathos" (pathēia) to the Stoic implies emotion; for Paul it denotes unchaste passion. The adjective (5) ametanostos for the Stoic means a desirable and praiseworthy state (indeed, it is a Stoic ideal), one without regret or painful emotion; for Paul it is just the opposite, an undesirable, deplorable mental state, impenitence. The concept of (6) freedom in Paul is not necessarily an adoption from the Stoics, for it plays a large part in much of the N.T. (cf. John 8:32, 36; Jas. 1:25; 2:12; I Pet. 2:16; cf. Matt. 17:26). Some scholars suppose that Paul's (7) vice-and virtue-lists come from the Stoics, but if so, they are greatly modified, for Paul's views of love as the head of the virtues and his strictures about sex in the vice lists (among other Pauline alterations in both catalogues) are not Stoic at all. Moreover, (8) the religion of Paul is anchored in historic

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237 Most of the above criticisms are indebted to Olaf Nøe, The Apostle Paul, 1:141.
events and a personal God; Stoicism teaches an intangible pantheism with no roots in history and no personality of the divine at all. The Stoic's concept of (9) brotherhood and humanitarianism rests on the presupposition of the ability of all men, even barbarians, to share in a certain kind of culture and intellectual education; with Paul, brotherhood is something less intellectual and without reference to one's culture, a love uniting men into one family as sons of God. Or again, (10) the autarkes, self-sufficiency, of the Stoic is a matter of self-control; for Paul in his single usage of the term (Phil. 4:11), it is a matter of Christ-control. Stoicism is (11) a religion of despair, for heimarmene is its god — shear fate; with Paul the end is quite other. Perhaps the difference, most clearly pointed up by the term (12) "sin" (hamartia), is crucial. For the Stoic, "sin" is the consequence of a false value judgment, of general indolence, of obtuseness; for Paul, it is open rebellion against a personal God most often viewed as transgression of a positive command of God. Indeed, the word "sin" does not really fit into the Stoic system.

Of greater importance for the present study is the relation of Paul's methodology and that of the Stoics. We have already glanced at the two. In the structure of Paul's thought and writings (doubtless also in his sermons and speeches) there is lacking the highly esteemed paradoxical "formularizing" so characteristic of the introductory sections of the Stoic-synic diatribe. Again, as

238. J.S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, pp. 60-61; M.S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, p. 24. This historical element in Christianity was the divine self-offer- ing which filled the gap between God and man. Stoicism with no personal God to fill this gap in history left men to approach that gap unaided, Albrecht Oepke, Das Missionspredigt des Apostels Paulus, p. 164.

239. See Paul Wendland, Die hellenistisch-romische Kultur, pp. 232-233; Edwyn Bevan, Stoics and Sceptics, p. 49.

240. This is J.S. Stewart's phraseology, op. cit., p. 62.


242. Adolf Bonhoeffer, Epitkatet und das Neue Testament, pp. 23f, 26, 369; for (Continued on the next page).
we have seen already, there is also lacking in Paul the dialectical progress exemplified especially by the Stoics of his time; that is, his letters treat their themes in two parts, theoretical and practical, which is not dialectical advance, for the warnings and admonitions of the second part often do not specifically use or apply the theoretical statements in the first part. Furthermore, the exposition of tables of duties ("Haustafeln") under such headings as husband-wives, parents-children, and masters-slaves is said to be a division and arrangement of material fully characteristic of the popular teaching of the Stoic school. Now it is true that this form of "codification" does not occur on an extensive scale in Palestinian Judaism (or rather the number of such extant codifications is small), while in Diaspora Judaism and in the philosophical world of Hellenism this "code" style of teaching ethical duties and relations is rather widespread. But it is also true that the "code" manner of summarizing moral injunctions is likewise a device used even in the O.T. itself (cf. Job 31 which lists duties toward various groups) and in the apocrypha (witness the catena of moral obligations in Ecclus 7:13-35; 9:1-9; 33:24-31; and 41:17-24), so that there is plenty of precedent for this method of ethical instruction among Paul's own people. Thus the method is as native to Judaism as to Hellenism, even

242. (Continued): other differences between Paul and the Stoics, see M.S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, pp. 17ff, 90ff, 219ff-220.
244. Bultmann, Ibid., p. 99.
246. For example, Hierocles the Stoic in the early second century A.D. (contemporary of Epictetus) arranged his work on social ethics according to the following headings: (1) How to behave to the gods; (2) How to behave to one's country; (3) How to behave to parents; (4) On love between brothers; (5) How to behave to kinsfolk; (6) Household management; and (7) On marriage and children. C.H. Dodd says this method (and outline?) antedates Hierocles, New Testament Studies, pp. 115-117; cf. Karl Weidinger, Die Haustafeln, pp. 27-34, 41-42. At least Dogenes Laertius (6:22ff) assigns the method to Pythagoras, and Seneca (Epistles 94:4) says that Cleanthes the Stoic approved the method.
247. See K.E. Kirk, The Vision of God, pp. 119ff; also E.G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of Peter, pp. 421ff.
if not as widely used in the Palestinian area. Finally, one method which both
Paul and the Stoics unquestionably did use in common was the employment of the
250
conversational language of the day. In brief, Paul's debt to Stoic methods
is not so severely limited as is his use of Stoic thought and terminology, but
the debt is probably not so large as some have supposed.

(2). Cynicism

The influence of Cynicism on the N.T. is generally conceded to be quite small.
The Cynics actually originated the diatribe and Cynicism continued to color it,
but the Stoics and others also adopted this form of communication. The Cynics
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were too careless of the world's standards, and in their contempt for almost
all social conventions they became crude and sometimes violent. Yet they were
preachers who went everywhere with a message against luxury, greed, and sensuality
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(though many of them preached only for an easy living and were themselves immoral).
In their precedent of missionary preaching to every class high and low, the
apostle Paul may have found, if not a method (their preaching was more philosophical
than religious), at least an audience prepared to listen to mendicant "preaching
philosophers."

(3) Epicureanism

Epicureanism has also left little mark on the entire N.T. The original form
249. This needs to be stressed, for K.E. Kirk, while reviewing the evidence cited
above, fails to note Ecclus' place of origin and so says, "It is curious
that the obvious gathering together of such fragments (of codes) into a
systematic whole never took place in Palestine," The Vision of God, p. 122.
The sections, especially those of Ecclus, however, are about as "systematic"
as any of the "codes" coming from the Greek philosophers or Jews of the
Diaspora.
Trinity and the Incarnation, p. 146.
253. Samuel Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, p. 351; cf. pp.349-
353 on the Cynics as preachers.
254. Cf. Lucian, especially his bitter attack in his dialogue Fugitives.
of the philosophy was sheer materialism and its goal was happiness or pleasure of a passive, not an active type — freedom from passion, desire, pain.

It was a mere doctrine of escape. Some scholars have detected traces of Epicureanism in the O.T., e.g., Ecc. 3:18-19 is said to be in accord with the Epicurean doctrine of immortality, or rather "mortality." Because, however, Epicureans were not serious enough before the tragedy of evil and regarded God as too transcendent, remote, and indifferent, their impact on the N.T. is nil. Their influence on Paul’s missionary methods is, therefore, extremely slight.

(4) Scepticism

The same negative judgment must be passed on the Sceptics’ influence on Paul, except that their doctrine inflamed him to do what they failed to do: to speak with assurance about the final issues of life and death.

(5) Platonism

The school of Plato had long taught its theory of "ideas," the ultimate reality of the "good" and hence a pale sort of rationalistic monotheism, a Socratic brand of ethics based on knowledge, and the immortality of the soul (cf. Republic 6:507B; 10:596A on "ideas;" Philosopher 20 and Gorgias 499 on "the good"). Have these ideas affected Paul? Some see Platonic influence on his contrast

255. See Paul Wendland, Die hellenistisch-roemische Kultur, pp. 106ff; Macgregor and Purdy, op. cit., p. 257.
260. The recent effort of Norman W. DeWitt (1964) to find a real dependence of Paul on Epicureanism is most unconvincing; see his St. Paul and Epicurus.
261. Further references in Evelyn Abbott, A Subject-Index to the Dialogues of Plato.
262. See Carl Olmen, Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources, pp. 356f.
between the concepts "flesh" and "mind" or "spirit." Reference is made in this connection to the expression "psychical man" (the natural man) in contrast with the "pneumatic man" (the spiritual man, cf. Rom. 7:14; I Cor. 2:1, 14; 3:1; etc.).

Others, however, have shown that closer investigation indicates that the roots of these conceptions are in the O.T. way of thinking rather than in the Greek. "The sharp distinction between "soul" as a designation of the lower, and "mind" or "spirit" as a designation of the higher God-related principles of life, has not been traced in Greek philosophy until it appeared in post-Christian times."

However, only two criticisms will be leveled here against Paul's alleged adoption of certain features of Platonism, one relative to theory, the other to practice.

As to the theory of ideas, basic to everything in Platonism, an insoluble dualism is the result, and some have supposed that Paul was infected with these dualistic concepts, particularly in such a passage as II Cor. 5:1-10 where he seems to speak of the body as weighing one down and of the soul's being freed of its burden — an apparent dualistic anthropology. But recent investigation has shown that the parallel is in words only, not in ideas in this passage:

Paul does not eagerly seek death in order to be free from the body, but shrinks therefrom lest he be found "naked" (gymnos) at that moment. Even this term gymnos is used with different meanings by Paul and the Platonists. In short, Paul shunned dualism throughout.

263. W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 314.
270. See M.S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, pp. 120-127, for a balanced discussion of Paul and dualism.
As to the practice of ethics taught by Platonists, one need only observe that sexual habits and morals were low from the days of Plato onward. The ideal of monogamous marriages was entirely absent from Plato's Republic, and some have supposed that a "community of women" was called for in book 5 of the Republic. It is quite certain that Plato regards the pursuit of unnatural sexual practices with little concern, and so did many a Platonist disciple. Paul's ideas and practices were ganz anders in this respect.

But what of Plato's methods and Paul's? There are some striking similarities. (1) Both utilized the direct method of approach, employing the Socratic method of frequent questions and answers in teaching. (2) In demonstrating their ideas both make use of a very concrete type of illustration to which attaches a certain kind of urbanity and even artificiality. (3) In both the pace of thought progression is often too fast for the average student. Also, (4) both display a predilection for the profoundest possible subjects. But there are also some differences of pedagogic method. (1) Plato's dialectic is purely rationalistic, for he reaches his conclusions by sheer logic without aid of external proofs. Paul's dialectic uses plenty of the logical, but he often appeals also to external proofs, such as scripture and experience. (2) Paul has no illusions about a student's conduct automatically conforming to his knowledge; he does not underestimate the importance of the will in teaching as do most Platonists. (3) The apostle also does not depreciate the importance of the physical in relation to the mental and spiritual and of the necessity of bringing deed into conformity with creed.

b. Bearing of the Philosophies on Paul

What were the effects of the philosophies of the day on Paul? Several

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influences have been noted already. Among others the following are worth mentioning. (1) The intellectual and philosophical atmosphere in Tarsus encouraged a certain mental freedom in its citizens (cf. Athenadorus), and so may have helped Paul bridge the gap between exclusive Jew and suspicious Gentile. The universalism "in the air" at Tarsus may be one of the factors behind his "God is the God of the Gentiles also" (Rom. 3:29), and his "one man's act of righteousness leads to acquittal and life for all men" (Rom. 5:19). This kind of environment taught him to be many-sided ("to become all things to all men," cf. I Cor. 9:22). (2) The popularized philosophical phraseology of the day may at times be employed by Paul, but one is "never able to detect any traces of direct borrowing from Greek literature" (especially philosophical) in Paul, and he usually gives an original turn to what common language he does employ. (3) Whatever influences Hellenistic philosophy may have had on Paul probably came through (a) his friends, (b) his reading, and (c) his hearing of popular Cynic-stoic harangues. That is, his knowledge came indirectly, not from first-hand study in the lecture halls of the philosophers in Tarsus or elsewhere. (4) Paul's missionary zeal has been attributed, not merely to his early Pharisaic training, but also to the passion of men of Greek culture to make their saving truths known.

274. For examples of pagans groping towards monotheism and the spirituality of God, see J. Weiss, NPX, 1:238-243, esp. the footnotes.
275. Strabo says that Tarsus was very zealous of culture, Geography 15:5:13.
276. W.M. Ramsey, Pictures of the Apostolic Church, p.346.
279. Harry Bulcock suggests that after contact with Apollos, Paul sensed the appeal of Alexandrian thought and adopted it to supplement his own, Religion and its New Testament Expression, pp. 220-221.
4. The Mystery Religions

a. Problem of the Appearance and Prevalence of the Mysteries in the Ancient World

When did the mystery religions rise, and how widespread were they in the first century A.D.? To these two important questions no final answer has been given. While there were elaborate liturgical rites and memorized regulations used in worship, literary remains of these are extremely scanty. The initiates were bound to secrecy and so wrote or otherwise related little to outsiders about their religious beliefs and practices. Chronology, therefore, is a problem and it is often impossible to say whether or not a rite is prior, contemporary, or after Paul. The Demeter, Dionysian, Orphic and Eleusian mysteries seem to have been in Greece many centuries before the Christian era, though the first two, having come down from the north, were probably non-Grecian in origin; they were ancient religions by Paul's day. The Oriental mysteries were later in coming into the Mediterranean world. The Phrygian (or Thracian) Cybele and Sabazios from Asia Minor, Adonis (Tammuz) and Semitic Aphrodite from Phoenicia, and Amon and Isis from Egypt had preceded Christianity westward across the Roman empire. Mithraism was a second century (A.D.) movement.

b. Problem of the Effects of the Mysteries and Other Pagan Religions on Diaspora Judaism

This, another vast problem, is most difficult to treat and to solve. There are indisputable instances of Diaspora Jews having adopted some form or rite or belief of pagan religions, and yet having persisted in their Judaism. Examples

281. Cf. J.G. Machen, The Origin of Paul's Religion, pp. 237-243, 250; Albert Schweitzer says, "Paul cannot have known the mystery-religions in the form in which they are known to us," Paul and his Interpreters, p. 192.


283. For example, see references to Dionysus in Homer, Iliad 6:132, 135; 14:325; Odyssey 11:325; 24:74.


of such are the Jews of Phrygia who had blended their worship of the O.T. Jahweh with that of the Phrygian Sabazios in a cult possessing mysteries much like those of Attis; or the burial inscription from the Rheneia in Delos which blends Septuagint expressions with pagan ones when it invokes τόν Θεόν τόν υἱόν τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σοφίας; or again, the Jerusalemite who lived in Iasos in Asia Minor and vowed a sum of 100 drachmas to the festival of the god Dionysus. There are other instances. Yet in spite of all this infiltration from the mystery religions, some scholars assert that Diaspora Judaism only simulated a few likenesses to these religions; it was merely a part of an adopted Hellenistic garb; despite appearances, they were merely accepted forms. But not everyone would agree with this judgment.

What bearing these mysteries may have had on Paul through his native brand of Judaism is, therefore, a question that has evoked the most diverse and subjective answers. And what effects they had on his full-blooded Jewish, as well as Jewish-proselyte, converts from the synagogues is equally difficult to determine. It has been suggested that some strange fusion of Judaism and Hellenism may have been partly responsible for the Colossian heresy --- perhaps a fusion involving, among other factors, elements from the mystery religions.

c. Paul's Mystery Religion Terminology and Actual Acquaintance with the Mysteries

Among the terms in Paul's vocabulary which are sometimes attributed to the mysteries are the following: ὅμοίος, ἐννυμός, κύριος, μυστήριον, νοῦς, πλάσμα, πνεῦμα, στοιχεῖα, σωτρία, τέλειος, φίλος, and ψυχικός among others.

(Continued on the next page)
But these terms need not be drawn from the mystery religions at all, for all of
them, except pneumatikos, occur in the Greek O.T., and the majority of them can
be shown to have seen usage in the church before Paul. For example, Bousset
asserts that kyrios derived from the usage of the pagan cults and came into Chris-
tianity through Paul by parallelism with such phrases as "our Lord Serapis;" but
the title kyrios was given to Jesus by the primitive community before Paul ever
became a Christian, and is embedded in the oldest extant fragments of its
preaching (cf. Acts 2:36). Furthermore, no other early leader in the primitive
church before or contemporary with Paul differed from him in estimation and descrip-
tion of Jesus as Lord. And the same applies to most of the other terms above.

But what is Paul's actual relation to the mystery religions? There is a mysti-
cism in Paul. Did he derive this from the mysteries? Alfred Loisy and
Kirsopp Lake think that not only is this true, but that he turned Christianity

(Continued): Nicomachean Ethics 1117b, respectively.
294. See Paul Wendland, Die hellenistisch-roemische Kultur, pp.156, 194-195; M.S.
Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, pp.45ff.
296. See his Kyrios Christos, pp.34ff, 101. Cf. Carl Glaem, Primitive Christianity
and its Non-Jewish Sources, pp.336-337. For an answer to Bousset, see A.E.J.
Burkitt, Christian Beginnings, pp.44-52.
297. This is shown by Paul's designation of Jesus as "Lord" in the old Aramaic form
"Maranatha" (I Cor. 16:22). See F.V. Filson, The New Testament Against its
Background, p.38. Cf. also the expression "the brothers of the Lord," Paul
Wernle, Jesus and Paul, pp.20ff.
298. C.H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching, pp. 11-12, 14-15, 22. Of course Bousset
rejects the speech in Acts 2 as a late church production, Kyrios Christos,
2nd ed., pp.77-84; Jesus der Herr, pp.13ff.
into a mystery. But Paul’s direct contacts with the mysteries must have been few. There is no evidence whatever that he ever became a devotee of the mysteries either in desire or actuality. Whatever relations he sustained to these religions before his conversion were through his Judaism, and there is ample reason to believe that such relations were infrequent and meager. There was certainly no cause or occasion for his participation in these cults after his conversion.

Granted that Paul may have shared some of the terms of the mysteries, still does he differ from them? The following facts may be noted. (1) All of these cults were based on myths and mystery paragons in which the god died, was buried, and rose again and shared his life with the initiate; the similar-sounding claims by Paul are based on history — on both real persons and acts in time.

(2) "Faith" is an unknown term in the mysteries; everything worked by magic (ex opere operato). Faith and trust in a personal savior are basic to Paul’s Christianity. (3) There was no moral code (nor formulated statement of belief nor sacred scripture) in the mysteries; Paul’s prime emphasis is morality.

Redemption for the mysteries was from nature; for Paul it was from sin and evil

in all their manifestations. (4) The mysteries were syncretistic and


305. W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 93. Loisy, however, thinks that he had the most intimate of contacts with these cults, even before his conversion, op. cit., pp.58ff.


308. J.S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, pp.78-79. Stewart observes how Reitzenstein fails to find a place for pista in the mysteries, Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, pp.94-96.

309. See Francis Legge, Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, 1:146ff.


compromising; Paul is exclusive and intolerant of other religions. (5) In the mysteries a marked distinction in nature was drawn between neophytes and mature devotees; a similar-sounding distinction in Paul (I Cor. 3:16ff; 3:1ff) is one not of nature but moral, and in any case some distinction between beginners and fully-initiated is universally needed. (6) The differences of Paul's Christianity from the mysteries was what impressed the pagan world, not its similarities. There are other differences; these are some of the more significant ones.

d. Methods of Propagation and Education Adopted by the Mysteries and Paul's Relation to the Same

The methods of propaganda and education used by the mysteries were based on the nature of their gods and doctrines, the nature and needs of their audiences, and the aims and promises of the particular mystery. The use of appeal in the mysteries was widespread. The methods were varied. There were (1) the use of cosmopolitan appeal to an international age by presenting the mysteries as non-national or super-national religions; (2) use of the mysterious and secretive; (3) use of the exotic and spectacular; (4) use of the unusual and novel experience (death and resurrection); (5) use of the hope of immortality to lure the

316. See the six defects of the mysteries listed by William Fairweather *Background of the Epistles*, pp.269-272.
disillusioned; (6) use of elaborate ritual with its tense emotionalism to combat or supplement the arid intellectualism of Greek scepticism and rationalism; (7) use of a confident approach based on the sure possession of definite and superior knowledge (gnosis), as over against the doubts and uncertainties connected with the older gods of Greece and Rome, (8) use of strict, ascetic discipline as is evident in preparation for the initiation ceremonies; (9) use of public parades, mendicant priests, public penitents, and miracles, all of which advertised the existence of otherwise secretive cults; (10) use of evangelistic propaganda with its appeal to the individual.

Did Paul adopt some of these techniques? To give an adequate answer to this tremendous question goes far beyond our limits and capacities. We can say only that he does utilize an approach which at times takes on certain appearances of the mysteries, but that he consciously adopts their means of indoctrination and modes of life and worship is probably saying too much. It must be emphasized that parallels do not necessarily imply dependence. Apparent parallels, especially of method, may be totally independent of one another. But allowing

322. See Franz Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, pp.28ff. E.L. Hicks observes that Hellenic worship consisted of ritual acts, whereas Christian worship gave the chief place to prayer, praise, and instruction, "St. Paul and Hellenism," Studia Biblica, 4:12, n.1. This applies particularly to the mysteries and Christianity.
326. Cumont, op. cit., p.25.
for all this, Paul may have used something of the genuine interest in individuals shown by the mysteries in reaching people for their gods. The ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper in the early church are not mystery-religion rites, nor are Paul's use and understanding of them the same as those held by participants in the rites of the mysteries. But he did have to recommend the Christian gospel to a world filled and influenced by these cults, and to such minds he must have shown the parallels of the gospel — as well as its superiorities.

III. INFLUENCE OF HELLENISTIC CUSTOMS AND INSTITUTIONS ON PAUL

1. The Political Situation

No survey of Paul's Hellenistic world and the background of his methods of Christian mission work would be complete without a resume of the customs and institutions of his time. The one important factor in the political situation of his age was the Roman government. Its authority and order reached throughout the civilized world in the Mediterranean basin. Because of Roman tolerance, governmental protection was assured to every religio licita. Judaism was a "recognized" religion. Jews prayed for the emperor and for their king or other local rulers. They even dedicated synagogues to their king, even though he was a non-Jew.

Quite early Christianity recognized the legal protection guaranteed to it as a member of the Jewish religious family, and when the two became distinct, Christians sought a speedy legal recognition by the Roman government. Certain N.T. books seem to have been part of the apologetic effort to secure the government's approval.

Furthermore, the might of Rome assured governmental protection to every Roman citizen. This meant freedom from scourging or execution by a provincial

331. See Albert Schweitzer, Paul and his Interpreters, pp.189ff.
333. S.V. McCasland, IDB, 7:75.
336. Lex Valeria, B.C. 509; Lex Porcia, date uncertain.
authority without the right of appeal to the emperor. Paul benefitted from this surely, for he was born a citizen of the empire (Acts 22:28). His citizenship is revealed in his Roman name "Paulus," which doubtless was his legal, official name given in view of his Roman heritage. So it is revealed too in his "kinsmen" Junia and Lucius and others who bore Roman names (Rom. 16:7, 11, 21).

This citizenship in the empire was a highly cherished possession. It speaks of the social position of Paul and his family in Tarsus.

Paul's Roman citizenship had great bearing on his Christian mission labors. Membership in so vast an organization made him discontent to gather a few believers in one small spot. For Paul, the unit of labor was everywhere the country or nation, indeed the empire or world, not merely a town or an individual (Acts 16:6, 9; 20:4; Rom. 15:24; I Cor. 16:15; etc.).

Moreover, his citizenship greatly molded his views of state. Instances of this are: (1) II Th. 3:6-7, where scholarly conjecture often sees in the Greek expressions to katechon and ho katechon a reference to the Roman empire (and/or emperor); (2) I Cor. 14:33, 40, where the idea that everything is to proceed is viewed by some as the outcome of the Roman desire for discipline and drill; and (3) Rom. 13:ff, where the state is described as avert the entrance of corruption and decay (as against Jesus' view of the state as necessary, yet more to be tolerated than viewed as containing some element of God within it). It has further been noted that Paul's adoption

338. "Saul" is the personal designation of his Jewish heritage. As a Roman, he probably possessed a triple name, a praenomen, nomen, and cognomen. The last was the usual way of designating a person and so has survived in Paul's case; see Theodor Zahn, art. "Paulus, der Apostel," Realencyclopaedia, 15:70.
341. J. Weiss, Paul and Jesus, p. 66.
343. E.g., J. Weiss, Paul and Jesus, p. 64.
344. J. Weiss, Paul and Jesus, p. 63. Weiss' contrast here of Paul's view with Jesus' hardly stands.
of the term "citizenship" (Roman franchise, _politeuma_, Phil. 3:20) was the fittest image of the Christian's position in the "kingdom;" indeed, that his concept of the church as a kingdom was modeled on that of the Roman empire with its base cities and outlying colonies ruled from Rome (cf. Seneca, _De otio_ 4:1; _Epistles_ 68:2).

A most important point is the impact of governmental institutions on the Pauline language and thought. This was especially true of the Roman courts. Roman government was based on the courts which executed its laws. Paul's speech, thought, and action reflect considerable encounter with Roman law and judiciary systems. Roman legal expressions are rather frequent in his letters, such as "adoption" (Rom. 8:15, 23; 9:4; Gal. 4:5; cf. Eph. 1:5), "inheritance" (Gal. 3:18; Acts 20:32; cf. Eph. 1:14, 18; 5:5; Col. 3:24; also verb and noun forms), and the term "law" itself (cf. esp. Rom. 7:1-4).

Paul's stipulations, laid down to regulate the worship and life of his churches, have been credited not wholly to Jewish influence but partly to Roman. For example, the forbidding of oral participation of women in public worship in I Cor. 13:34 has been cited as a parallel, if not a consequence, to the case of Gaia Afrania, wife of Licinius Buccio, a contentious lady (died B.C. 48) who insisted on pleading her own causes in court, and was such a nuisance to the praetors that an edict was made prohibiting women from pleading (Thucydides 2:45:2).

347. E.L. Hicks, however, thinks the term more Greek than Roman, art. "St. Paul and Hellenism," _Studia Biblica_, 4:8. The term occurs neither in the _LXX_ nor in Greek writers before the Christian era. Cf. Moulton and Geden, _Concordance_, p.966; Sanday and Headlam, _ICC on Rom_, p.203.
348. See especially J.B. Lightfoot, _Commentary on Galatians_, p.165.
349. Some consider that the term _nomos_ shows acquaintance both with the Roman _lex_ and the Jewish _torah_, A.T. Robertson, _Grammar_, p.129, n.8; see further, W.E. Ball, _St. Paul and the Roman Law_, pp.1-37; G.B. Stevens, _Pauline Theology_, pp.43-45.
350. See Robertson and Plummer, _ICC on I Cor._, p.325.
In connection with the law courts, Paul experienced direct encounters with the governmental agencies. There were his several arrests, on which his Roman citizenship had varying effects (Acts 16:23; 21:33). There were his numerous beatings, part of which may have been beatings before trial as an adjunct to examination with a view to obtaining evidence, and part as a punishment for the accusations "proved" against him (II Cor. 6:5; 11:25; Acts 16:22; 22:24).

There were the numerous court hearings (Acts 22:30; 24:1ff; 25:6, 11, 23; cf. 24:24, 26), which surely impressed themselves deeply on his mind and may be reflected in some of his dealings with the obstreperous members of his young congregations. There were, further, the judicial sentences passed upon him, mostly pronouncing his innocence of charges brought against him, but more than once leading to (sometimes) prolonged (a) imprisonment (II Cor. 6:5; 11:23; Phil. 1:7; Col. 4:10; Phil. 23; Acts 16:23; 24:23, 27; 25:14; 27:1; 28:16, 30), and finally (b) death. The orderliness, impartiality, and efficiency of the operation of the processes of Roman government impressed themselves upon him so that he speaks highly favorably of Roman administration (Rom. 13:1ff). As noted above, his concern for orderliness and decorum in his congregations may have had a connection with Rome, but more likely the link was with his Hebraic background. What influence, if any, the imperial government may have had on the organization, administration, and functioning of his mission congregations cannot now be known with certainty. From what can be discerned, the Jewish influences again seem to have determined his course.

As an apostle, he certainly does not regard himself as did an emperor or even a

351. See Kirsopp Lake and H. J. Cadbury, Beginnings of Christianity, 4:283. It was evidently illegal to inflict beatings on a Roman citizen under examination. The beating with rods which Paul suffered three different times (II Cor. 11:25) was an official Roman punishment; cf. Hans Windisch Der zweite Korintherbrief, p.356.

352. Not everyone relates this passage to Roman rule; e.g., Martin Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Apostels Paulus, ad hoc, who refers it to the supernatural powers, though he seems to have abandoned this position in his Rom und die Christen im ersten Jahrhundert (Sitzungberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaft, phil-historische Klasse, 1941/42). Cf. Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp.193-207; see Literature cited, pp.205-206; The State in the New Testament, pp.50-70.
senator. He calls himself an "ambassador" (Phil 2:9, reading πρεσβύτερος; cf. Eph. 6:20) and looks on the other apostles as such (II Cor. 5:20, note the "we"). This was the governmental post and function that evidently impressed him most. A certain sort of administration was connected with it, but the prime function of an ambassadorship was "reconciliation," "making peace," and "winning" to the cause of the government which one represented.

2. The Military Affairs

While the political personages and law courts devised and tested the laws of the empire, the Roman army served as backbone to both and made possible the real keeping of law and order. The army was everywhere throughout the empire and its symbols were ever in the environment of the apostle.

It is no wonder, therefore, that military life is so prominent in Paul's writings. A large portion of his time was spent in the proximity of soldiers and officers of the army. Philippi, Troas, and Antioch of Pisidia were Roman colonies and so doubtless had much of the military air about them. The imperial province of Syria, being constantly uneasy, and also a strategic area of the eastern empire, was held by a standing army of at least four legions (i.e., 24,000 men) in Paul's time (Tacitus, Annals, 4:5); some think 60,000 men were stationed there. When the apostle was arrested in the temple in Jerusalem, he was taken into custody by the commandant of the tower of Antonia with some of his subordinates (centurions) and a body of troops (Acts 21:31-33). He was confined in the barracks within Antonia and examined by the military authorities and others (21:37; 22:24ff). He was taken to Caesarea under heavy military guard accompanied by a squadron of

cavalrymen (23:23-24), where he was imprisoned for two years in this center of military government (24:27). On his voyage to Rome, an officer of the distinguished Augustan cohort to whom he was entrusted befriended him and actually saved his life (Acts 27:1, 3, 43). In Rome, Paul was delivered again to the military authorities for two years, while awaiting trial, and lived in a private house but constantly under guard by a soldier, to whom the apostle apparently was bound, wrist to wrist, by chains (Acts 28:16; cf. Col. 4:18; Eph. 6:20). Paul knew the military life, therefore, extremely well.

He refers occasionally to the soldier’s character and requirements. The soldier must be sober (I Th. 5:8; cf. Rom. 13:11ff). He must be obedient and any disobedience will be punished (II Cor. 10:6, in a "military" context). He must ever remain alert when on duty (Eph. 6:18). (Note the reference in II Tim. 2:3-4 to the soldier’s toughness and immuneness to suffering and his singular devotion to his profession).

The apostle presents a fairly complete picture of the individual soldier’s personal equipment. The parts of the armor (hoplon, Rom. 6:13; 13:12; II Cor. 6:7; 10:4) to which he alludes are the following: (1) belt or girdle (Eph. 6:4), (2) breastplate (I Th. 5:8; Eph. 6:14), (3) helmet (I Th. 5:8; Eph. 6:7), (4) shoes (Eph. 6:15), (5) shield (Eph. 6:16), and (6) sword (Eph. 6:18).

The allusions to actual warfare in Paul are numerous and varied. Sometimes he never fully sketches the military figure that is hovering in the background of his thoughts. He refers to various weapons, such as those noted in the armor above. Reference is made to "flaming darts" (Eph. 6:16), and he had "chariots" in mind in the passing description in Col. 2:15, though he does not actually mention them. In Phil 4:7 he alludes to the "garrison" or to the "guard" which watched and kept 356. See C.H. Moore in Beginnings of Christianity, 1:245.
either prisoners or alertness for the enemy. He knows the "orders" or "divisions" (tosemata, companies) within the army (I Cor. 15:23). He makes several references to the various aspects of waging war: (1) the enemies (Rom. 5:10; 12:20; I Cor. 15:26; Col. 1:21; etc.), (2) the sounding of the trumpet to signal the start and course of the battle (I Cor. 14:8; 15:52), (3) fighting (Rom. 7:23; II Cor. 7:5; 10:3) and (4) destroying (II Cor. 10:5). He mentions "strongholds" (ochurome, II Cor. 10:4), which were rock forts "like those which once bristled along the coast of his native Cilicia," and relates how these were "pulled down" by the fighting troops (katheireo, II Cor. 10:4; 15:10). He speaks of "every high thing that lifts itself up" (II Cor. 10:5), a metaphor from walls and towers standing so defiantly. There is the reference to making a "stand" against the enemy (antistena, Eph. 6:13), and he writes graphically of taking captives (Rom. 7:23; II Cor. 10:5) and their being led in public exhibition in a victory parade (Col. 2:15). The success of Roman arms everywhere in battle became the guarantee of her triumphs (thriambeuo) and "to overcome, to win" --- "victory," (nike/nikao; cf. Rom. 12:21) --- became the motto of the imperial armies. But the real end of all fighting and winning of battles is to establish "peace," the (paradoxically) military figure which Paul employs most often of them all (cf. Rom. 5:1; I Cor. 7:15; 14:33; Eph. 2:14-18; etc.), together with its corollary "reconciliation" (Rom. 5:10-11; 11:16; II Cor. 5:18-20). Finally, he alludes to the pay of soldiers (I Cor. 9:7), part of which is the very "peace" which he helps to maintain.

Notice must be made of both soldiers and officers of the Roman army. The newly recruited soldier underwent an initial period of training in the fundamentals of soldierly --- of attack, singly and in corps, and of defense. He was hardened

357. Alfred Plummer, IGC on II Cor., p.277. Dean Howson thinks the Acropolis that towered above Corinth was part of the reference in Paul's mind here, Metaphors of St. Paul, p.35.

358. Dean Howson thinks that reference in II Cor. 10:3-6 is to a commander, op. cit., p.33.
physically (cf. II Tim. 2:3), taught unquestioning obedience to his superiors, drilled in loyalty to his group, inspired with pride and zeal in his work. Training was by both instruction and example, but mostly by experience — marching, drilling, maneuvers, and actual battle participation. Likewise, officers also learned military knowledge primarily by practical experience, for there were no military colleges in the Roman empire. The discipline of the army depended chiefly on the centurions; their knowledge of discipline was attained by observation and experience before and after appointment. This manner of learning by observation and practice is used by Paul in his teaching, but that it came from military life is hard to prove.

The evidence is insufficient that Paul ever served as a soldier in the Roman army. It was generally conceded that Jews, because of their scruples, did not make the best soldiers. The question that is not so easily answered is, Was Paul frustrated by the fact that he was not a Roman soldier — or by his inability to be one? It is possible that a life-long admiration of military life, orderliness, organization, and efficiency of operation accounts for the apostle’s interest and constant references to military affairs. Or may there have been members of his family and/or close friends who were learned and skilled in military science and who left their indelible marks on his mind and outlook?

3. The Business and Professional World

a. Manufacturing and Production

Paul was naturally affected by this area of business life because his own trade of tent-making belonged to it. The manufacture of goods was done largely by slave labor, though in the towns and cities a large class of free artisans produced most

360. See Lake and Cadbury, Beginnings of Christianity, 5:428.
of the products that required the highest skill.

b. Trade and Market Customs

More interest lies here for Paul. Jews had spread over most of the empire, and had already assumed a role as world traders and store-keepers. Their knack for business came to the fore here. There were private street-vendors in all the towns hawking their wares to the public. Some of the popular philosopher-preachers of the day seem to have done the same with philosophy. Paul warns against those who seek "to peddle the gospel" in much the same fashion (II Cor. 2:17). "Buying" (αγοράζω) and "selling" (πωλεω)occur in his writings, particularly in those to Corinth, one of the great commercial centers of the world. So do "owe" (Rom. 13:8), "debt" (Rom. 1:14), "wages" (Rom. 6:23), etc. Regardless of what lessons he learned from the business world, he did not heed them in the matter of profit from his labors at preaching, especially with the Corinthians. His "business methods" as a Christian set up new techniques and goals — he labored often with no aim at financial profit (I Cor. 9:11-12, 15, 18; II Cor. 11:7-10; 12:13), because he placed the higher "value" on what the pagan world usually regarded as worthless. How much did he learn about salesmanship from the pagan commercial world? And how much "salesmanship" does he use in his preaching — the presentation of wares as new and novel and the excitation of curiosity, the transformation of curiosity into desire, and of desire into decision, and of decision into actual purchase? These are questions which modern business men ask, but which were practiced by ancient ones as well. He certainly uses both the methods and psychology of the merchant who is trying to "make a sale" with a prospective customer, though it must be remembered that in Paul's case, more than clever human techniques always are involved.

c. Trade Guilds and "Social Associations"

In the complexity of life brought about by the vastness of the Roman empire, the natural human desire for fellowship looked for expression but was denied such, at least in the political field. Clubs and associations for social fellowship had been known since early days in Greece and Rome, but under the pressure of imperial rule only the oldest and least suspicious politically were allowed to continue. Eventually these were legalized and regulated. They were generally called "τó κοινόν, ἡ σύνοδος, δογματίου, and ἡ ἱεράμος" (collegium, societatum or icium, commitalium or -ia). Most of these clubs and unions were semi-industrial and/or semi-religious. That is, most of them were basically trade guilds, but each usually had its own special form of worship. A number of these guilds existed mainly, and some solely, for the purpose of recreation and enjoyment; indeed, this was part of the purpose of all the guilds. The organization of these societies was modelled on that of the city-state, with the patron, president, secretary, treasurer, and usually a priest or priestess. Their tenure of office was limited and all were responsible to the members. These societies, therefore, were quite democratic. Membership was open to any one who paid the entrance fee and accepted the regulations. They met in the club on equal terms as in a family. The club looked after the welfare and rights of its members, such as burial, etc., but they were not "trade unions." They offered an outlet for repressed social feelings, opportunity for self-expression, and a place to attain the dignity of self-respect. Jews were members of these clubs.

363. Julius Caesar had banned nearly all groups and fellowships, Suetonius, Divus Julius 42; and Augustus was nearly as strict, Suetonius, Divus Augustus 32.
364. Suetonius, Divus Julius 42; Divus Augustus 32.
365. Synagogae and ekklésia were sometimes used to designate these unions, Franz Poland, Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens, pp. 247ff, 332; cf. George Johnston, Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament, p. 6.
368. (See the next page).
sometimes even forming such.

The important problem here is to what extent Paul may have been impressed with what he observed (and possibly even experienced in Tarsus) in these social clubs or guilds, and further, to what extent his missionary ways of work are due to them. It was the one way in which the cults could organize and be recognized as legal. Thus, some scholars have remarked that, together with the synagogue, they served as model for the early Gentile Christian house-churches. To make Christianity appear all the more as a harmless collegium the organization of the guild-system was largely carried over into the church — so it is averred. In line with this some of Paul's converts may even have been eager to claim the privileges and protection which they had formerly enjoyed as members of legalized guilds, and so transfer that former governmental recognition to the church. It has been noticed that characteristic features of the synagogue are absent from a church like Corinth (a college of elders, discipline of the church over members who go to heathen courts, etc.), while impressive analogies with pagan thiasoi appear, such as the welcome given the poor and needy (I Cor. 1:26ff; II Cor. 8-9), observance of a common meal (cf. I Cor. 11:20-22), the tendency to split the local congregation into competing cliques under rival leaders (I Cor. 1:12ff; etc.), and the inclination to boisterousness in assembly (I Cor. 11:22; 12:23ff). But all these analogies existed in the church even in Jerusalem from the start! Further, the thiasoi or collegia (with the possible exception of the

369. See Erich Ziebarth, Das griechische Vereinwesen, p.147.
371. MacGregor and Purdy, op. cit., p.266.
372. See the evidence cited by Schuerer, Geschichte des juedischen Volkes, 4te Aufl., 3:18.
widespread guild of Dionysiac artists) were purely local, while every Christian congregation was closely interrelated with all the others in one vast body. Moreover, the idea of mutual helpfulness was the bulwark of Paul's Christian ethical heritage, an ethic that surpassed the standard of pagan "mutuality." Finally, the collecting of money in the collegia came from fixed assessments or gifts of wealthier patrons, while the method of "raising funds" in Paul's churches was by voluntary contributions of all the members (I Cor. 16:1).

d. Travel

It has been noted that Paul's mode of travel — by sea wherever possible — shows his Grecian background and the hold of Hellenism on the apostle, and moreover, that in travelling he pushed on to the larger centers of population where Hellenism was strongest. But too much emphasis should not be placed on either of these. Paul's methods of beginning mission work first in the great cities was based on a wiser principle than personal enamorment with Hellenistic culture and travel.

e. Agriculture

Paul was urban, hence it is generally assumed that he knew little about rustic ways and little particularly about agriculture. But travel took him to and through innumerable country landscapes and activities where he must have watched the agrarian processes first-hand, especially as ancient travel was so slow. Reference to and use of agricultural images are very frequent in his writings. "Farm workers" are mentioned in I Cor. 3:9 (cf. II Cor. 11:13; Phil. 3:2; note "farmer" in II Tim. 2:6). "Plowman" and "plowing" occur in I Cor. 9:10. He alludes to "seed for sowing" (II Cor. 9:10), "sowing" (Gal. 6:7-8; I Cor. 15:36-37), "planting, watering, and growing" (I Cor. 3:6; cf. Rom. 6:5), "cultivating" (ergazomeni seems so used in some passages, cf. Rom. 2:10; 13:10), matured "grain"

375. See Clifford E. Moore's remarks on travel in Paul's day, Beginnings of Christianity, 1:229ff.
376. (See the next page).
(I Cor. 15:37-38), "firstfruits" of harvest (I Cor. 15:20, 23; cf. Rom. 11:26), "reaping the harvest (II Cor. 9:10; Gal. 6:7-8), "threshing" the grain (I Cor. 9:9-10; cf. I Tim. 5:17-18), law of harvest proportionate to planting (II Cor. 9:6, 9; cf. Gal. 6:7-8), "fruit" (Rom. 1:13; 6:21-23; 7:4-5; 15:23; II Cor. 9:10; Gal. 5:22; Phil. 1:11, 22; 4:17; Col. 1:6, 10), "unfruitful" (Eph. 5:11), and paying "wages" to hired laborers (Rom. 6:23; I Cor. 3:8). He also knows about "flocks" (I Cor. 9:7; Acts 20:28-29), "milk" (I Cor. 3:2; 9:7), "oxen" (I Cor. 9:9-10), "goads" for the stubborn ox (Acts 26:14), "vineyards" and "grapes" (I Cor. 9:7), and the process of "grafting" used in horticulture (Rom. 11:16-24). His ignorance of agriculture, however, is often pointed out from his inversion of the normal grafting process in Rom. 11:16ff, but the order he adopts was the only one suited to his purpose! It is not therefore, testimony of his ignorance, but of his rabbinic habits of contextual "free-handling."

What had agriculture to do with his methods of "Christianizing"? Whether from first-hand or second-hand experience, Paul employs several methods whose very nature is that of certain agricultural processes. For example, the principle that no new life and growth and consequently fruit, can be realized without the sowing of seed; or again, the necessity of preparing the ground on which the seed is sown. Further, the necessity for watering and cultivating the young plants is clearly recognized. The awareness of the gradualness of the growing process of plants is used to good advantage by the apostle (auxano occurs in I Cor. 3:6-7; II Cor. 9:10; 10:15; cf. Eph. 2:21; 4:15; Col. 1:6, 10; 2:19; cf. the "growth of

376. (From page 158): E.L. Hicks, art. "St. Paul and Hellenism," Studia Biblica, 4:10; Adolf Deissmann, St. Paul, p.33; W.M. Ramsay thinks that too much importance ought not to be attached to this, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen.


the word" in Acts 6:7; 12:24; 19:20). Also, very prominent in Paul is the principle that all sowing, watering, and cultivating is for production of fruitage in the plants (Rom. 1:13; II Cor. 9:10; Gal. 5:22; etc.) and that unfruitfulness is waste and defeat (cf. Eph. 5:11). Moreover, he recognizes that the fundamental methods of agriculture are based on the regularity of planning, of labor, of interest in the crop, and of cooperation with the higher factors of growth which are beyond the farmer's knowledge and power, i.e., farming proceeds on the principles of cooperation between the worker and the seeds, soil, and seasons — the farmer works and greatly controls the growth, but the other factors provide the growth (cf. I Cor. 3:6). For one who knows little of agriculture (whether of horticulture or animal husbandry), Paul does remarkably well in using its principles and techniques in the service of Christian missions.

4. The Fine Arts Area

a. Painting and Sculpture

Because all painting and sculpture reproduced the images of man and beast, the Jew was forbidden to practice or use them. However, about A.D. 230 all the walls of the synagogue of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates were decorated from top to bottom with pictures depicting scenes from the O.T., even portraying nude people and pagan gods. Whether or not this amazing Hellenistic invasion into the very center of Jewish life ever occurred in the first century A.D. cannot be asserted at present. Paul adopted the artist's method when he "depicted" or "portrayed" Christ crucified to the Galatians (Gal. 3:1). He had certainly seen artists at work and observed their methods and their productions sufficiently at first hand as he journeyed across the empire.

b. Music

If philosophy was the spouse of the Greek mind, then music was its handmaid. From ancient days it had been a chief part of the academic curriculum in the schools, both public and private. It cannot be known just what, if anything, Paul knew of the musician's magic art. He was able to sing hymns (hymnos, Acts 16:25), and while these tunes may have been a heritage of his Jewish boyhood, it is possible that both music and words were fresh creations of the new Christian mentality and life. He shows acquaintance with the flute and harp (aulos and kithara, I Cor. 14:7) and recognizes the finer distinctions in the musical notes produced by them. At least he is not tone deaf. He mentions psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs in Col. 3:16 (cf. Eph. 3:19, where is added "singing and making melody"). There is no adequate reason, however, to assume that these influences came to him directly from Hellenism, especially from its schools.

c. The Theater

Deissmann notes an inscription marking the seats assigned to Jews in the theater at Miletus, thus showing that the Jews attended the pagan theater there. Had Paul done the same in Tarsus? He speaks of the apostles as having become a "spectacle" (theatron, I Cor. 4:9; cf. Acts 19:29, 31) before all men——a theatrical technical term. Paul may have come into some sort of contact with Jews who attended the theater in Miletus when he visited there (Acts 20:15, 17; cf. II Tim. 4:20). Did he learn any of the lines, or study the manner of speaking and bodily gestures of the actors? He knew how to gesture (Acts 13:16; 21:40; 26:1), but even so his speaking was not that of the oratorical artist (I Cor. 1:17; 2:1, 4; II Cor. 10:10; 11:6); it is too sincere and delivered with too much earnestness to be so highly polished and is totally devoid of those

380. Light from the Ancient East, pp. 451-452.
381. A word not found in any version of the Greek O.T., including the apocrypha.
382. Though Bultmann denies that the reference here is an allusion to the theater, Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt, p. 31.
rhetorical tricks of the popular lecturers and actors of the day. But like the writers of drama he knows the art of disseminating new ideas.

d. Architecture

Architecture was a foremost identification mark of Hellenism. The Graeco-Roman style of building was adopted everywhere, even in the very temple in Jerusalem (Tamid 1:3; Middoth 1:5; Josephus, Wars of the Jews 5:3; etc.). Paul saw the influence of Hellenism on architecture almost every day of his life. He speaks of architectural features such as the "foundation" (I Cor. 3:11; Eph. 1:4; cf. II Tim. 2:19), "building upon the foundation" (Rom. 15:20; I Cor. 3:12; cf. Eph. 2:20), "foundation stone" or "corner stone" (cf. Eph. 2:20), "building" or "building up" (some 10 times), "walls" (II Cor. 11:33; Acts 9:25; cf. Eph. 2:14, 16), "pillars" (Gal. 2:9; I Tim. 3:14-15), "windows" (II Cor. 11:33), "doors" (I Cor. 14:9; II Cor. 2:13; Col. 4:3; etc.), houses (I Cor. 3:9; 6:19; II Cor. 5:1; 6:16), architectural adornments (I Cor. 3:9-15), and razing of buildings (Gal. 2:18). He uses some of the basic principles of architecture in his mission work. He knows the importance of a good beginning (a solid foundation). He uses good building materials (O.T., Christian traditions, own experience — cf. gold, silver, stone, not wood, hay, stubble, I Cor. 3:13). He "builds" (teaches) according to plan knowing the type of "building" on which he works (I Cor. 3:16-17; 6:19), what kinds of material fit each part and thus "raises the structure" (I Cor. 3:1), and he recognizes that "building" must be done carefully and well if the "house" is to endure (I Cor. 3:10). He is aware that tests will come to the Christians whom he is training ("edifying") and that what happens to their lives will be the test of his and their "building" operations (I Cor. 3:13-15). He even calls himself (in the capacity of "constructor" of human lives) a "skilled

385. See Schurer, HJP, 3:34-35.
master builder" (architekton, I Cor. 3:10). His skill derived from both theoretical knowledge and practical experience.

5. Athletics

Apparently Paul took an unusually keen interest in sports. Athletic figures in the N.T. are almost wholly confined to him. Some scholars think that Tarsus left this impress on him. Judaism might frown on and ban from the games, but Paul's virile nature responded to the prowess of runners and boxers in the stadium, so that "he writes of these things as one who had seen them and been personally thrilled by them." The games of the stadium held a special fascination for him. He mentions "boxing" (I Cor. 9:24-27), "wrestling" (cf. Eph. 6:12), and "foot-racing" (Rom. 9:15-16; I Cor. 9:24, 26; Gal. 2:2; 5:7; Phil. 2:16). In connection with racing, he alludes to the "track" or "course" (II Th. 3:1; Acts 13:25; 20:24; cf. II Tim. 4:7-8) and the "goal mark" (Phil. 3:14). In connection with all athletic endeavor, but especially racing, he mentions "temperance" and "self-control" in preparation and participation (I Cor. 9:25), "training" (I Cor. 9:25; cf. I Tim. 4:7-8), "rules" (cf. II Tim. 2:5), "striving" (Col. 4:12), "contending" or "competing" (I Th. 2:2), the "referee" or "judge" (Col. 2:18; cf. II Tim. 4:8), "spectators" (I Cor. 4:9), and the "prize" (I Cor. 9:24-25; Phil. 3:12-14; cf. II Tim. 2:5). Personal fitness was a major part of Greek athleticism, and care for the body was taken seriously. Even Hillel was concerned for the body and thus showed a Greek trait in his actions (see Wayyikra Rabbah 34:3); and if the teacher revealed the trait, it is not surprising that his pupil should do so too.

What Paul may have learned for his mission work from the gymnasion where Greeks trained, and the stadium (and arena) where they performed, can hardly be affirmed. The young athletes certainly showed him that the way to succeed was to

388. See E.L. Hicks, op. cit., 4:7.
389. Cf. also Norman Bentwich, Hallenism, p.255.
set a goal and then to train assiduously for attaining it. Paul employs the
method in training "young" Christians. Furthermore, he must have observed the
need for co-operation in games such as relays which demanded "teamwork" from all
the participants. He uses that method in achieving efficiency among the leaders
of his congregations and his fellow workers — even among the apostles. He uses
the principle of competition (with oneself and others) and the lure of the "prize"
(both in temporal and timeless forms). He practices also such methods as the
"trainer" or "coach" employed — instruction about new situations, constant
observation of the "trainee's" weakness and progress in performance, more advanced
and difficult "athletic feats" upon the performer's conquest of simpler ones,
390 etc. Yet Paul gives relatively little place to actual physical athletics in
the life of a Christian.

6. The Moral and Social Life

a. Certain General Areas of the Moral Life

(1) Possessions

There were amazing economic extremes in the world of the first century A.D.
391 A few persons were enormously wealthy; many more were destitute. The large
cities teemed with multitudes of the wretched. Such dire circumstances gave rise
to crime, intrigue, fear, and constant unrest. The unequal distribution of
possessions and wealth gave impetus to the practice of dishonesty, and naturally
a mad pursuit for the gaining of large fortunes by those in position to do so.

390, R.H. Pfeiffer notes that the custom of conferring seats at the games was
transformed by the Jews into conferring chief seats in the synagogues,
History of New Testament Times, p.185. There is no evidence that Paul's
churches followed the Jewish transformation here, since he had considerable
difficulty simply to get the apostles (the "highest" personages in the
churches) properly recognized by his congregations (cf. I Cor. 9:1; II Cor.
11:5, etc.). For Christians, there were no "chief seats."

391. The evidence is conveniently summarized by M.I. Rostovzeff, Social and
Economic History of the Hellenistic World, 2:1143-1159. Cf. Samuel Dill,
Roman Society From Nero to Marcus Aurelius, p.96.
But not all who owned wealth were such selfish guardians, and avaricious seekers after money. There were, and had been for long, a few, especially in philosophical circles, who gave away rather freely what wealth they had inherited or amassed. Such, however, was a rather rare exception. At the heart of Paul's ethics is his teaching on honesty (cf. I Th. 4:6; Eph. 4:28), work (for the acquiring of means, I Th. 4:11; II Th. 3:10), and liberality (with the wealth one has acquired, Rom. 12:20; Eph. 4:28). As was noted previously, this method of approach was not the usual one.

(2) Sex Morality

This phase of the morality of the first century world has been much described. A great deal about the sexual morality of the common people of Paul's day is not known, but abundant evidence exists regarding that of the nobility and higher classes. The sin of pederasty and other similar forms of unnatural vice were known and even praised by the best of Greek philosophers, among whom was Plato (cf. his Symposium 181C-185C, 191D-192B, 211B-7, 216D-219C; also his Phaedrus 237Bff, 239C-241D). The sins of fornication and adultery were quite common even (or perhaps one should say "especially") in higher social and political circles, so that the masses had rather unworthy examples in their leaders in respect to personal conduct. Then, too, both leaders and common people had just as poor examples in their gods, the vileness of whose misdeeds often surpassed their devotees' own human sins. In this respect, the character of the gods was often an index to the character of the men who worshipped them. Further, prostitution was a widely recognized institution in the Hellenistic world. Slaves especially were forced into this wretched debauchery, and exposed infants, both male

393. See M.S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, pp.148f.
394. Cf. Pausanius, Descriptions of Greece 1:6:2, 8. The biographies of Suetonius and history of Tacitus, though prejudiced and one-sided morally, do reflect a real situation in the highest social circles.
and female, were often seized and brought up as prostitutes. In many parts of the empire religion and prostitution were closely allied — a survival of ancient fertility cults. The sexual promiscuity in the first century led Paul to be on guard continually against this deep-rooted evil. He adopts a firm and realistic manner of dealing with the problem. Marriage or celibacy constitutes that method. This approach was new to many pagans, but he persisted in his rigid demand for personal purity of life (Rom. 13:12-14; I Cor. 6:9-11; Gal. 5:19-21; I Th. 4:3ff; etc.).

(3) Women and Children

The role of women and often children in antiquity was rarely an easy one. The ancient Greeks and Romans had sought to hold their women in a sort of domestic servitude, but the Grecian women had long ago thrown off the yoke and the Roman matrons in Paul’s day were doing the same. Feminine emancipation had been realized to some degree by a number of the more prominent women across the empire. But this new freedom brought its moral and social dangers. Surrounded by slaves to whom her merest whim became law and reveling in costly jewels and the rarest luxuries, the wealthier class of women often lost the moral attainments of older days and of the lower classes. Divorce was extremely common. But many women in the lowest classes in the great cities were no more refined in morals and far less so in mental achievement. Yet many others in all areas and ranks were model wives and mothers and guardians of the domestic circle, even though some of them were regarded as mere perpetuators of the family line and often as a mere means of

395. Strabo, Geography 8:6:20, relates that the temple of Aphrodite at Corinth in ancient times had a thousand sacred slaves or prostitutes. Whether or not the temple was there in Paul’s time is not known.
396. N.S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, pp. 45ff, 143-164.
397. See Macgregor and Purdy, op. cit., p. 261.
399. See Samuel Dill’s discussion of Roman women, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, pp. 76ff, esp. p. 85.
pleasure to their husbands. On the other hand, however, not a few women were regarded with both respect and love, as is admitted even by a writer like Martial, and as is shown by Pliny's letters to his Calpurnia, as well as by Plutarch's efforts at comforting his beloved Timoxenia. The Stoics were preaching a single standard of chastity for men and women alike, but old ways were slow to change.

The prevalent pagan attitude towards children tended to estimate them for their utilitarian value. The practice of infanticide and child exposure had long been approved and even regulated by law in both Greece and Rome. Throughout the Hellenistic world abortion and infanticide, especially of girls, were widely practiced. The horror of this latter practice is graphically depicted in the famous letter of the Egyptian laborer, Hilarion, to his wife Alis, an expectant mother, in which he bade her destroy the child at birth if it were a girl. Cruelty to children was also widely indulged in. Unmerciful beatings at home were common and was the rule in most of the schools. Subjection of children to the crudest side of pagan life was one of the most pathetic evils of the age. Especially was this true of the abuse made of boys, and the subjection of both boys and girls who were without protection to the horrors of prostitution. Yet children were also highly desired and loved by many parents, and were often taught and entrusted with the highest that the age afforded.

402. Plutarch, Consolation ad uxorem 608ff; cf. also his Conjugalia praecopta 34, 44.
403. Text and photographic reproduction by many editors, e.g., Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, pp.167-170.
404. Horace gave his teacher, Orbilius Pupillus, the nick name "Plagosus" because of thrashings administered during lessons on Andronicus' translation of Homer's Odyssey, Suetonius, De grammaticis et rhetoribus 19. Cf. Menander, "The man who has not been flogged has not been trained," Sentences 422.
What was the impact of the pagan treatment of women and children on Paul's methods of Christian education? The evil in that treatment certainly influenced the direction of his work with them. The repeated insistence on one standard of morality for all, growing out of the principle that in Christ there is neither male nor female, guarantees a place in Christianity for the women whom he taught. This approach proved itself a vital factor in gaining and holding women. Paul has little to say in his letters to or about children, but the mental and spiritual level of the adults with whom he often had to work demanded methods of teaching and ministering which could be set at no higher gage than that of a child's caliber. In training he adopts the approach that the recent convert is a "child" (I Cor. 3:1-2; Gal. 4:19; Eph. 4:14; I Th. 2:7, 11), that like a child the convert's growth will be gradual (II Th. 1:3; Eph. 4:15), that new believers are expected to "grow" toward "maturity" or "adulthood" (Col. 1:28; Eph. 4:13), that some may be retarded and so "immature" (I Cor. 3:1-2), and that advanced materials and methods belong to an advanced stage of growth.

(4) Slavery

One of the cruel features of the ancient world shared also by Hellenism was slavery. Human slaves were the machines of antiquity. Prisoners of war, victims of raids by corsairs, and rearing of unwanted children were the chief sources of the slave traffic. Slaves were frequently superior in intelligence and culture to their owners. They were sometimes highly esteemed and given positions of the most confident trust and responsibility in the master's own household and business. More often their lot was cruel under a master whose wanton lust and sadism were restrained by few legal safeguards. The virtue of most slaves was hard pressed; their very presence in the household of an unrestrained libertine increased their insecurity. A master could put his own slave to death upon his own judgment. Castration, torture for neglect or disobedience or for no real cause, insecurity of tenure, hard
labor, the specter of death by crucifixion, burning, fighting wild beasts in the arena, etc., and total absence of personal right and regard made the slave's life ever uncertain and miserable.

What did Paul learn from the institution of slavery? Again, it was primarily the evil in the system that influenced his thoughts and methods most. As slavery, by the application of one standard and kind of life to all its subjects, reduced all to the same status, so Christianity did the same by the abolition of all distinctions between those who are in Christ. Paul did not attempt an outright frontal attack on the institution of slavery. The method of approach was to lay down a principle and relationship that transformed the whole institution until its old form and content no longer really existed. Slavery provided him with his favorite expression for describing his own relation to Christ — he is Christ's bond slave (doulos); Christ is his lord or master (kyrios). The apostle applies the same terms to other Christians in relation to Christ (Rom. 6:22; I Cor. 3:23; 6:19-20; 7:22; Col. 4:1; etc.). Yet he is careful never to give the idea that he himself is a master or that his converts are his slaves. They do not even bear his name and so he is not even the leader of a party much less their lord (I Cor. 1:13). He uses the methods of slavery in so far as slaves among his converts are reminded of (1) their perpetual dependence on their master and of (2) their membership in the master's household and family, and hence that (3) they are given their special duties in the household to perform and that (4) each is directly responsible to the head not only for the careful and complete exercise of these given tasks, but for the use and welfare of their very own bodies and lives (cf. I Cor. 7:21-22; Eph. 6:5-9; Col. 3:22-4:1).

Note that in Gal. 4:7 he describes the Christian in higher terms as "no longer a slave, but a son (of God), and if a son then an heir." Cf. Rom. 8:16-17, Gal. 4:30-31.
b. Certain Moral and Ethical Terms in Paul Current in the Contemporary World

(1) Aristotelian Ethical Terms

Among Paul's ethical expressions several may be traced to certain ethical popularizers before him. Of these προσωποποίησε had been made famous by Aristotle in the sense of "deliberate choosing," a meaning given the term in II Cor. 9:7. Also αὐταρκεία in II Cor. 9:8 probably owed its wide currency to the same Greek philosopher, and possibly the Aristotelian virtue ἐκκρατεία likewise.

(2) Stoic Ethical Terminology

The Stoics far outdid the others in popularizing ethical terminology in Paul's time. Their wandering preachers both created and adopted a semi-technical ethical lingo of their own. They put new and different ethical meanings even on words long recognized generally as belonging to the vocabulary of "moralists." Some of their technical terms appear in Paul's speech as has been noted already, such as συνειδήσει, ἀρετή, καλόν, καθέκον (cf. Rom. 1:28), and συμφερόν (cf. I Cor. 12:7), etc. In just what ways he regards these expressions will appear further on.

IV. PAUL THE HELLENISTIC JEW

1. The Diaspora Jew as Described by Paul

It is a Jew of the Diaspora, a Hellenistic Jew, whom Paul addresses in Rom. 2:17-20. The apostle here describes him as one who (1) boasted of (the one) God (2:17), (2) knew the law (2:17-18), (3) endorsed the highest ethical principles (2:18), and (4) tried to convert the heathen to his religion (2:19-20). Paul here actually is depicting the Jew of his own home town and, in part, himself. Jewish monotheism appealed to the best thought of the time which was moving along different lines towards monotheism. The study of their law produced one of the

406. Polybius 6:11:30, etc.
407. Nicomachean Ethics 1:7:5, etc.
409. See M.S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, pp.34-43.
410. G.J. Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, p.228.
most thorough educational systems of the age. The ethical mind of the Diaspora Jews is seen in their system of ethics, set down in the O.T. and later in the mishnah, which attracted higher Gentile minds everywhere. Together with monotheism the moral appeal of the Diaspora Jew won numerous proselytes from the heathen. The techniques of religious propaganda developed and applied everywhere by the Hellenistic Jew were thoroughly examined and their best features were freely adopted by the apostle.

Just how hellenized the Diaspora Jew really became is a most difficult problem. C.G. Montefiore thinks that he absorbed a full dosage of Hellenism and so differed enormously from the Palestinian Jew, hence Paul's Judaism is not that of Palestine. R.H. Pfeiffer concludes that Hellenism was merely a garb of Judaism for the Diaspora Jew and that the difference between Palestine and abroad was only one of emphasis. In the main the reaction of Judaism in the midst of Hellenism seems to have been twofold: (1) defense, such as is witnessed in Paul and his parents in Tarsus (Gal. 1:14; Phil. 3:5; Acts 23:6), and (2) accommodation, such as is seen in Philo's synthesizing and to a lesser extent in the syncretism of Judaism in Asia Minor.

2. Paul the Apostle to the Gentiles

Whatever may be thought of the nature of Paul's Diaspora Judaism, there can be no doubt that his evangelistic work lay largely in true Hellenistic Greek lands. Almost all his letters were written in and for the Aegean circle — Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth. This was not in the slightest a "semitic" area.

413. Montefiore, Judaism and St. Paul, pp. 96ff.
416. See Adolf Deissmann, St. Paul, p. 33.
To what extent was he himself and his ways hellenized? Some have concluded
417 that Hellenism acted like leaven in him. If so, either the leaven was extremely
weak or the dough strongly impervious to the leavening. Tarsus may have taught him
418 to be many-sided, but Graeco-Roman syncretism seems not to have penetrated too
deply into him. Hellenism's influence on him was greatly limited by two factors:
419 (1) his Jewish clannishness and (2) the fact that he was sent early to Jerusalem.
These two factors had an important bearing on his Gentile missionary procedures.

a heavy imprint of Hellenism on Paul, but the question is whether Knox's
theories in his great study, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, do not
frequently outrun his factual evidence.
418. So says W.M. Ramsay, Pictures of the Apostolic Church, p.34; cf. I Cor. 9:22.
PART II - THE FACTORS IN PAUL'S CHRISTIANIZING OF THE GENTILES

SECTION I - PROCESSES USED BY PAUL IN CREATING THE CHRISTIAN MIND

CHAPTER III - PAULINE HOMILETICS: THE USE OF MISSION PREACHING FOR "CONVERTING" HEARERS TO CHRIST, I.E., FOR ELICITING A CONSCIOUSNESS OF BEING "IN CHRIST"

(The Problem of the New Creation in Christ)

Paul thinks of himself in a special way as "an apostle to the Gentiles" (Rom. 11:13) "entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised" (Gal. 2:7). This does not mean that he was forbidden to preach the gospel to Jews (of Rom. 11:14), but that the peculiar sphere of his commission as an evangelist and apostle embraced specifically the Gentilic world (Gal. 2:9). His very call to apostleship by the Lord had stipulated his field of Gentilic labor and interest (of Acts 9:15; 26:17). From the moment of his call, he set himself to meet and transform the mind of that pagan sphere. Just what was the nature of this Gentilic world and its non-Christian mind? That is the problem which confronts us first of all. We cannot know how he shaped a Christian mind and thereby fulfilled his apostolic commission until we know just what kind of persons and mentality he sought to reshape.

I. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE PRE-CHRISTIAN GENTILIC AUDIENCES ADDRESSED BY PAUL

1. THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF PAUL'S INITIAL GENTILIC AUDITORS.

The types of persons to whom Paul preached and the places in which he proclaimed the gospel had a profound impact on the manner and effectiveness of his preaching. The political, economic, and cultural achievements of his hearers are clues to their mentality. As to the sites of his preaching, he spoke in Jewish synagogues (Acts 9:20; 13:5,14; 14:1; 17:17; 18:26; 19:9), beside a river (Acts 18:3), in prison (Acts 16:25ff23; his own letters to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon were written in prison), in the market place (Acts 17:17), on a hill-top (Acts 17:22), in a school or lecture hall.

In the groups who heard him, there were Jews (Acts 13:15ff; 19:10; 22:1ff; 28:17; Rom. 1:17, etc.), Greeks (Acts 17:12,18ff; 19:10; etc.), Romans (cf Acts 22:27,28; 28:30; Rom. 1:15), and barbarians (Acts 14:11; 28:1-3, cf Rom. 1:14; Col. 3:1). There were the very low — the ignoble (born without title, status or means, I Cor. 1:26, and thus unlike Paul, himself born a Roman citizen in a great city of the empire, Acts 22:28; 16:37; 25:27), the poor (II Cor. 8:23cf I Cor., 11:21), and the ignorant (I Cor. 1:26f). The church in Corinth was drawn largely from just such persons (I Cor. 1:26f); some of them were so poor that apparently they had no food to contribute to the congregation's common meals held in conjunction with the Lord's supper (I Cor. 11:21), and Paul speaks frankly of the abject poverty of the Macedonian community (II Cor. 8:2). There were also prisoners (Acts 16:25; 28:21ff; of Phil. 1:13), a goodly number of slaves (I Cor. 7:21, Phil. 10:16), a group of widows, who doubtless were rarely "well-off" (I Cor. 7:8), and a large number of day laborers who eked out a meager hand-to-mouth sort of existence (Acts 18:2,3; cf Rom. 16:3). Paul himself shared the privations of these classes and his own personal experience of such hard, uncertain economic and labor conditions furnished him the best possible means of approach to them. Somewhat akin to these groups were the rustic country peasants or farmers and the small town people in such a

1. As M. Rostovtzeff notes, rich people were an exception at this period, The Social & Economic History of the Hellenistic World, 2:1204.
place as Lystra (Acts 14:11, 13). One might conclude from all this either that the audiences of Paul have a thorough-going proletarian character or that he intentionally and preferentially sought out the disinherited.

But there were others also among his hearers. The "not many" of I Cor. 1:26 implies that at least "some" were noble, rich, and learned. Several at Corinth were wealthy enough to gorge themselves with food and drink to the point of gluttony and drunkenness at the common meals (I Cor. 11:26). Some were sufficiently learned to appreciate with disturbing relish the intricate and highly polished rhetoric and speculative philosophical learning of the Greeks and to depreciate the plain unpretentious style of speaking adopted by the apostle (I Cor. 1:17; 2:6-26; 3:10, 13; II Cor. 1:12; 11:6; Acts 17:21; 18:24ff, cf. Col. 2:8).

There were slave owners (I Cor. 7:22; cf. 1:1; Eph. 6:5; Col. 4:6; Phil. 16) and freedmen (I Cor. 7:22; cf. 12:13; Gal. 3:28), philosophers (I Cor. 1:17; II Cor. 1:12; Acts 17:18; Col. 3:2) and soothsayers (Acts 16:16ff), orators (Acts 17:24ff; 24:1) and magicians (Acts 19:18, 19), pagan priests (Acts 14:13) and heathen devotees (I Th. 1:9; I Cor. 8:7; 10:20; Acts 14:13; etc.). Moreover there were governmental and civic officials among his audiences, including rulers of the Jews (Acts 18:8, 17; cf. I Cor. 1:14, 18), jailors (Acts 16:23, 27), city treasurers (Rom. 16:23) judges (Acts 25:6, 23), councillors (Acts 17:34; 23:1, Dionysius the Aeropagite was probably such an official; policemen (Acts 16:35, 38), magistrates (Acts 16:35), proconsuls (Acts 13:7, 12; 18:12), governors (Acts 23:33; 24:10), a king and queen (Acts 25:13), and even the

2. That the crowd in Acts 14 was this type is inferred from the following observations: (1) Lystra was a smaller town, (2) the "sermon" in 14:15-17 is marked by simple ideas in a plain garb, so as to appeal to simple rustic minds, (3) the people still followed their native religion, and (4) they still spoke their own native tongue. (See W. M. Ramsay, The Cities of St. Paul, P. 408).


4. The cost of initiation into pagan cults was often enormous, and frequently one was initiated into several, cf. Sydney Cave, The Gospel of St. Paul, P. 173 and n.1.

emperor (Acts 25:11; 26:32; 28:19). In addition to these, there were the "devout" women "of high standing" of Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:50), the "leading" women of Thessalonica (Acts 17:4), the "honorable" women of Berea (Acts 17:12) and Damaris of Athens, a woman probably of extraordinary prominence to be singled out thus (Acts 17:34). There were merchants and business men, doubtless mostly small shop owners, though Lydia of Thyatira and a resident of Philippi owned and/or operated a fairly prosperous trade in purple goods (Acts 16:14ff). Probably from this mercantile group, who likely had more wealth than all the others among his converts except a few individuals here and there, came much of the money contributed to the collection for the poor Jerusalem saints, and on rare occasion, to his own upkeep (II Cor. 11:9; Phil. 4:15,18, etc.). There were also military personnel among his hearers: regular soldiers (Acts 21:32,35ff; 23:10; 27:31, 32ff; 28:16, 23ff; cf. Phil. 2:25, where Paul calls Epaphroditus "fellow soldier," sustratizes, and Phil. 2, where he does the same of Archippus), centurions (κατανυστατοι, Acts 21:32; 22:25ff; 23:17; 27:1,31), tribunes or captains (κυριωται, Acts 21:31-33, 37ff; 23:10, 17ff; 25:33), proconsuls (Acts 13:7; 18:12ff), and military governors (Acts 23:26; etc.). And of course there were the seafaring folk. He worked in numerous sea and river ports and experienced many sea voyages (Acts 13:4,13; 14:26; 15:11; 18:13,22; etc.). He was shipwrecked at least four times and was adrift a night and a day at sea (II Cor. 11:24,25; Acts 27; 40ff). Consequently he knew maritime people and their ways quite thoroughly. Among his associates and hearers were both owners and captains of seagoing vessels (Acts 27:11), regular sailors (Acts 27:27,30), and sea travellers (Acts 27:21,37).

6. Some suppose that she was a foreigner belonging to a class of educated courtesans for which Athens was famous; so E. J. Bicknell, A New Commentary on Holy Scripture, N.T., p. 364. It might have been simply that she was the only woman convert and hence is named!

7. Could it be that these titles were suggested by their having been former soldiers?

8. Rudolf Bultmann, notes, however, a lack of comparisons to sea life in the Pauline letters, Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die gynisch-stoische Diatribe, p.91.

Thus it can be seen that men and women from almost every calling and political, economic, and cultural strata of society constituted his audiences. Their bewildering variety demanded an extraordinary versatility on the apostle's part. He addressed almost every walk of life, in every kind of place and circumstance, and at practically every hour of day and night.

2. The Moral Level of Paul's Non-Christian Gentilic Audiences

The moral level of the non-Christian Gentilic world provides a still more valuable clue to the mentality and outlook of Paul's pre-Christian audiences (and recent converts). To know something of the moral status of his listeners is important because it was the prime determinator of the manner and methods of his personal approach, his kerygmatic preaching, and his initial teaching as he presented the gospel to them for the first time. Many of his Gentilic hearers were almost wholly untrained and undisciplined in morality — even what a Jew would have thought of as "basic"morality — though he does not for a moment admit that they were totally illiterate on such matters (Rom. 1:21; 2:14) Lists of evils such as those enumerated in Rom. 1:18-22, I Cor. 6:9-11, and Gal. 5:19-21 reveal the utmost moral bankruptcy in many non-Christian Gentiles. These lists include sins of flesh and spirit, of will, thought and deed. Nearly always in the vanguard in these catalogues of vice stands idolatry which, Jew-like, Paul counted the fountainhead of all other evils (cf. especially Rom. 1:21-25) and which he was forced to rebuke even among his own converts (I Cor. 10:7,14 cf. Col. 2:17; 3:5). Such gross and bestial sins, however, were by no means confined to Gentiles. Even some non-Christian Jews were guilty of theft, robbery, and adultery, if not idolatry (Rom. 2:21-24), and thus by their low moral practices became a stumbling block to pagans around them (Rom. 2:24). Such poor background material provided many a disappointment (Rom. 9:1,2; I Cor. 3:1,2; II Cor. 2:4; Gal. 3:1ff) and problem for the apostle, e.g., the unexpelled case of incest in the Corinthian church

(I Cor. 5:1ff): the split in the same congregation over preachers, a direct reflection of heathen divisiveness and factiousness (I Cor. 1:10ff); the Galatians' subversion to legalism, the result of an obvious wrong identification of liberty in the spirit with licenccce in the flesh, a mistake so easy for recent pagan converts to make (Gal. 1:6ff; 3:1ff); the Thessalonians' idleness in view of an expectation of Christ's imminent appearance, an idleness aggravated no doubt by the low regard for hard manual labor held by former pagan Greeks in Thessalonica; etc. The strong grip held by pagan training and environment on his young converts proved almost too much at times for some of them. The hold of superstition (e.g., sacrifices to idols as though some reality actually attached to the image, I Cor. 8:4ff,7; 10:19;20), idolatry (I Cor. 8:7; 10:7,14), immorality (I Cor. 5:1ff; 10:8; etc.), the burden of sin and guilt (Rom. 3:9,23; 5:12,21; I Cor. 10:13; 15:17,56; Gal. 3:22, etc.) the fear of Satan (Rom. 16:30; I Cor. 5:7; II Cor. 2:11; 11:14; I Th. 2:9; Acts 26:18), the awe of demons (Rom. 8:33; I Cor. 2:8; 10:20,21; Gal. 4:18;9; Acts 16:16ff), and the dread of death (Rom. 1:32; 5:12,14,14; I Cor. 15:17-19,56; II Cor. 7:10; etc.; precisely the idea in Heb. 2:15) in the lives of his converts long after they had become Christians, all manifest the kind of weak and unpromising persons with whom he had to work from the very start. They were not merely ignorant of the ways of the true God (Rom. 1:21; Gal. 4:8), but their very thought processes, attitudes, wills, and emotions were fixed in degenerate and perverted habits of functioning, and so they were accustomed to think and do what was ungodly and therefore sinful (Rom. 1:21-23). In short they were "Gentile sinners" (Gal. 2:15).

Yet not all of those Gentiles to whom Paul preached the gospel for the first time were wholly perverted and morally irresponsible, for some of them had received at least the rudiments of ethical instruction and a few had even studied the ethical systems of the various philosophical schools current in the mid-first century; indeed, some of his listeners belonged to one or the other of such schools.

(Acts 17:18 says expressly that "some also of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers met him" and that Paul addressed them at their request). The first two chapters of Romans certainly have just such Gentiles in mind. They had learned from Cynic and Stoic philosopher-preachers, from reading serious treatises on ethical themes, and from frequent discussion of such moral subjects among their friends that "when Gentiles who have not the law do by nature what the law requires, they are a law to themselves" (Rom. 2:14). Thus they knew and demonstrated that "what the law (of nature or God) requires is written on their hearts" and that of this inner law their conscience also bears witness and their conflicting thoughts accuse or perhaps excuse them (Rom. 2:15). Further, when Paul reprimands the Corinthians for tolerating in their midst a form of sensuality "not found even among pagans" (I Cor. 5:1), he implies the presence of a moral standard in pagans that transcended the standard of some of his Christians. Consequently there was a higher moral level in certain pagans to which the apostle could point, a fact he learns to use to advantage in challenging his non-Christian hearers and also, under other circumstances, young Christian converts in danger of moral relapse into their former paganism. However, the general moral tone among Gentiles was nothing like the purity of thought and conduct among Jews. The Gentile was far less adequately prepared to receive the moral demands of the gospel than was the Jew. His moral level, in spite of a few amazing exceptions, such as Plutarch and Seneca, was generally quite low.

3. **Salient Features of the Non-Christian Gentile Mind**

What kind of mentality was it which Paul sought to remake into the Christian mind? What sort of outlook, mental habits, values, aspirations, and hopes characterized the Gentiles with whom he had to work? His epistles refer rather frequently to various characteristics of the pre-Christian thoughts and lives of his converts

12. I assume that Rom. 2:1-16 was intended also for Gentiles; but whether (1) wholly so, (2) mainly for Jews, or (3) as a transition from heathen to Jewish readers, is hard to say. Oepke is probably right in concluding for the last, Die Missionspredigt des Apostels Paulus, p. 65, n. 2.
so that at least partial answers can be given these questions. In the following
survey of these references we shall group them in respect to the individual Gen-
tile's relation to God, to others, and to himself. In relation to God, Paul says
gentiles (and Jews, Rom. 10:3) are (1) ignorant. They know not God (Rom. 1:21;
Gal. 4:8; I Th. 4:5; II Th. 1:3), and further, the world through its wisdom could
not know him (I Cor. 1:21). They did know something about God, namely his eternal
power and deity (Rom. 1:19,20), but the one "true and living God" (I Th. 1:9)
remained "an unknown God" (cf Acts 17:23) -- his will and purposes were undisclosed
to them. Hence, their senseless minds were darkened (Rom. 1:21), their thoughts
became confused (Rom. 2:15), and they were left having no hope and without God in
the world (Eph. 2:12). In short they were alienated from the life of God because
of their ignorance (Eph. 4:18).

This state of ignorance was partially self created for they deliberately exchanged
the "truth" about God for a "lie". This exchange was the origin of idolatry, for the
"lie" was that they "worshiped and served the creature rather than the Creator"
(Rom. 1:25). And their idolatry was in turn the cause of all their immorality and
evil (Rom. 1:24ff). This was the Gentiles great "error" (Rom. 1:27). This partial
ignorance of God led them to express constant (2) ingratitude toward him (Rom. 1:21).
They were dishonorable or disrespectful to him (Rom. 1:21) and refused to acknowledge
him (Rom 1:25) -- refused even to have him in their thoughts. It was this unthankful-
ness that led to their boasting about themselves (Rom. 3:27; I Cor. 1:29-31) and this
boasting cut them off from him. Their attitude toward God reached the actual stage of
open (3) hostility or rebellion. They became estranged and hostile to him in their
minds (Rom. 8:7; cf. Col. 1:13) and consequently their very thoughts and thought-
processes became futile and vain (Rom. 1:21), even in case of the most seemingly wise
among them (I Cor. 3:20). The consequence was that they could not believe the truth

13. Otto Pfleiderer asserts a contradiction in Paul's views of Gentilic knowledge
of God. In I Cor. 12:2, Gal. 4:8; I Th. 4:5, Gentiles are said to know nothing
of God, but in Rom. 1:20ff, they are held responsible for a partial knowledge of
God. Pfleiderer identifies these two views with two irreconcilable systems of
philosophy, Hellenism and Judaism, respectively. Primitive Christianity 1:298-299.
but believed what is false (II Th. 3:11) and idolatry -- false gods -- was the first step in this falsehood. Their minds therefore did not and could not submit to the law of God (Rom. 8:7). This led them to become flagrant rebels and enemies of God (Rom. 5:10) and accordingly their manner of living was filled with ungodliness (Rom. 5:6) and sinfulness (Rom. 1:28ff; 5:8, etc.) -- two general manifestations of man's opposition to God. Disobedience to God (Rom. 11:30-32) and to the gospel of the Lord Jesus (II Th. 1:8) was the end of this rebellion. They could and would no longer please God (Rom. 8:8). Instead they blasphemed (Rom. 2:24) and hated him (Rom. 1:30).

In relation to their fellow men, the Gentiles displayed, first, an outlook and set of mind best described as (1) selfishness or self-seeking. This ego-centric love expressed itself in their bad dispositions: they were easily aroused to anger, were wrathful, insolent, heartless, ruthless, and bitter (Rom. 1:30-31). Their selfishness manifested itself also in their factiousness: They were divisive, jealous, envious, deceitful, treacherous (faithless, asynthetos), quarrelsome, disorderly, factious (hairesis) (Rom. 1:29-31; II Cor. 12:20; Gal. 5:19-21, etc.). Their self-seeking also expressed itself in their violence of speech and action: they surrendered themselves to boastfulness, abusiveness, filthy speech, raillery, back biting, clamoring, reviling, whispering, foolish talk, and even to robbery and murder (Rom. 1:29-31; I Cor. 5:11; 6:10; cf. Eph. 4:31; 5:4; Col. 3:8). This Gentilic spirit of selfishness sometimes took the forms of greed: extortion, theft, covetousness, and fraud (I Cor. 5:10,11; 6:10; II Cor. 9:5; I Th. 2:5; 5:2,4; etc.). Further the personal relations of Gentiles, were notorious for their (2) sensuality. Of course sensuality is the most extreme expression of the selfish spirit, but because of its prominence in the pre-Christian lives of Paul's converts and in ancient pagan life generally, we list it separately here. It is clear from Paul's letters that the mentality of perhaps the majority of non-Christian Gentiles was dominated by the physical senses. Their minds were set on the things of the flesh (Rom. 8:5) i.e., on earthly things (Phil. 3:19) and were conformed to this world (Rom. 12:2), consequently they
themselves were fleshly (I Cor. 3:3) or natural, unspiritual, beings (I Cor. 2:14). They lived in the futility of their minds (Eph. 4:17) and in the flesh (Rom. 7:5) and so walked according to the flesh (Rom. 8:4ff), that is, according to fleshly desires (Gal. 5:16, 24) -- the lusts of their hearts (Rom. 1:21) and their sinful passions (Rom. 7:6; I Th. 4:5). This means that they were carnal (Rom. 7:14) -- in thought and action, in willing and feeling. Their sensuality expressed itself in their drinking: they indulged in wine until drunkenness overpowered them and reveling became unendurable (Rom. 13:13; Gal 5:21). It was expressed also in their eating--their god was their belly (Rom. 16:18; Phil. 3:19). But even more gross was the sexual immorality that permeated most of ancient pagan society, expressing itself in terms some of which Paul repeats such as the following: ἁρσενοκοίτησις (paederast), ἁμάλαγεια (licentiousness, lewdness), Κοίτη (immorality), μαλακός (passively voluptuous), μακχασ (adulterer), μακχασ (passion) and πορνεία (fornication). Not only did many Gentiles actively pursue such immoralities for themselves but applauded all others who likewise practiced them (Rom. 1:32). The passions of numerous Gentiles were partly or wholly perverted. The type of "mind" that lived in this atmosphere held little promise of ever realizing the meaning and practice of moral purity.

In relation to self, the Gentilic mentality was characterized by (1) pride, another partial synonym for selfishness. Boastfulness was the primary failing of the proud pagan (Rom. 1:30). By his own cleverness he would find God (I Cor. 1:21) and by his own obedience win his way to God's approval (Rom. 2:12ff; I Cor. 1:19-21). Arrogance (cf hyperēphanos, Rom. 1:30) and conceit (physiōsis, I Cor. 12:23) were hall-marks of the Gentilic egoist. But (2) impotence is probably the term that most adequately describes the total person of the non-Christian Gentile.

Because of his weakness (cf. Rom. 6:19) he was in bondage to beings that by nature are no gods (Gal. 4:8), that is, he was a slave to the elemental spirits of the universe (Gal. 4:3, 9), to the demons (I Cor. 10:20) who were the rulers of "this age" (cf. I Cor. 2:6, 8) -- "the age" to which all non-Christians belonged. For this reason the non-Christian Gentile was sold under sin (Rom. 7:14) and so was a slave of
sin (Rom. 6:16, 17, 20). His very body belonged to sin (cf. Rom. 5:6, "sin's body"). The strength of sin was the law (I Cor. 15:56) and this law -- even the unwritten law of conscience (Rom. 2:14) -- confined him as a slave in his weakness under its overmastering power (Gal. 3:23). Moreover, the Gentile was a slave of fear (Rom. 8:15) and powerless to effect his release. Further, he was dead already in trespasses and sins (Col. 2:13, Rom. 5:12, 21), because his mind was set on the flesh -- and to set the mind on the flesh is death (Rom. 8:6). This was so because flesh is the property of sin (Rom. 8:3) and "the wages of sin is death" (Rom. 6:23). That is, their very bodies (their "selves") were dead on account of sin (Rom. 8:10).

Therefore death, because of sin (which is death's sting, I Cor. 15:56), had become a tyrant who rules over all men. Their bodies belonged to death (cf. Rom. 7:24, "death's body"). (cf. Rom. 5:12, 21). Further a part of the Gentile's impotence was his inability to do good. He could know what was right, even the very decrees of God (Rom. 1:31), and he could will what was right, but he could not do it (Rom. 7:18). This was because no good dwelled within him, that is, in his flesh (Rom. 7:18). Consequently, he could not understand his own actions (Rom. 7:15). The result was that because of his weakness he, (along with the whole universe) was subjected to futility (Rom. 8:20), to suffering (Rom. 8:18, 22), and to bondage to decay (Rom. 8:21). In short, he was weak (Rom. 8:25), he was helpless (Rom. 5:6), he was perishing (I Cor. 1:18; II Cor. 4:3; II Th. 2:10), he was lost (cf. Cor. 1:13; II Cor. 4:3). His state of mind therefore was forever one of hopelessness (I Th. 4:13; Eph. 2:12).

The picture that Paul draws of the Gentile's mind and of its functioning is not a predominantly bright one. There are however, a few streaks of light penetrating this gloomy background. Gentiles did possess the power of thought (Rom. 1:21) and

14. CAA Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, and others thus interpreted the phrase.

though their thinking might be futile (I Cor. 3:30), their minds senseless (Rom. 1:21), and their thoughts conflicting (Rom. 2:15), they still could know something about God (ἀγνοοῦν γνωσίαν τὸν Θεὸν, Rom. 1:19,21), even though they did not really know him (οὐκ εἰδότες Θεὸν, Gal. 4:8). They could honestly claim to be wise (Rom. 1:22) even though they could not know God through their own wisdom (I Cor. 1:21), for God's foolishness is wiser than men and his weakness stronger than men (I Cor. 1:25; 3:19; cf. Rom. 1:22). Further, Paul testifies to an exceedingly high conscience in many Gentiles, which prompted them to strive after certain ideals as high as some of the demands of Israel's divinely revealed law, because they had a law written on their hearts (Rom. 2:14,15). But all the "idealism, nobility, and versatility" of the pagan world in Paul's view served only to point up its hopelessness (and the Jew was left in a similar state), for Paul viewed all men, not in a comparative relation to their fellows, but in a contrasting relation to the one, true God.

II. The Basic Ideas in the Mission Preaching of Paul to the Gentiles

In none of the earlier epistles which constitute our primary sources does the apostle refer to himself as a "preacher" (κήρυκας, cf. I Tim. 2:7; II Tim. 1:11). Yet Paul's understanding of his apostleship was in terms of communicating the gospel to men (especially Gentiles) primarily by "preaching." In Gal. 1:15,16 he makes this relation of apostleship and preaching crystal clear, "But when he who had set me apart before I was born, and had called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles ...." (cf. Rom.1:1,5; II Cor. 2:17; 11:4-6; Gal. 1:11-12). Here Paul says precisely that the point of Christ's revelation to him was to make him a preacher of God's Son among the Gentiles (cf. Acts 26:16-17). It was, therefore, through preaching that most of Paul's converts acquired their initial acquaintance with Christianity.

The expressions "to preach" (κηρύσσω) and "to preach the gospel" (δι'ηγείταιἀμα) appear 15 and 19 times respectively in our six epistles (neither appears in II Thess.), and in Acts they appear with reference to Paul 3 and 7 times respectively. Their frequency of occurrence needs to be compared with other terms denoting forms and means of communicating the gospel; for example, with "teaching" (διδάσκω), which occurs 7 times in four of our epistles and 7 times with reference to Paul in Acts. Indeed, in Acts more space is allotted to Paul's mission preaching than to his teaching, miracle working, and worship altogether. Thus the place of preaching in creating and educating the Christian mind, both in Paul's own estimation and in his practice, is exceedingly important. A careful and concise examination of his mission preaching is, therefore, imperative. We shall begin with an investigation of the content of his message. Later we shall move on to examine the various forms and features into which he casts it, noting the methods and techniques he employs to communicate his kerygmatic ideas, and finally, round out this chapter of our study with an analysis of several extant segments from his mission sermons.

1. The Preparatory Proclamation (Shared with Jewish Propaganda to the Gentiles)

Even at best the extant sources for the study of Paul's mission preaching are extremely meager and inadequate. Nevertheless, such fragments as may survive embedded in his letters, together with the general impressions afforded from a study of the homiletic summaries attributed to Paul by the writer of Acts, are sufficient to furnish a fair idea of what his mission preaching to Gentiles must have been. Of course it is impossible to reconstruct his mission preaching and practice with absolute certainty, but in spite of the rather fortuitous manner in which he introduces many ideas and practices in his epistles, it is likely that we do have in our

18. This last has been omitted because of length.
19. John Reid holds that the content of the apostolic kerygma is what is recorded in our four canonical gospels. This is only a half-truth. "The Missionary Methods of the Apostles," Expository Times (1900), 11:60.
hands the concepts and methods of missionary procedure which he probably considered essential. Sections in his epistles which contain or summarize missionary homiletic materials are probably the following: Rom. 1-3, 4:23-25; (some say Rom. 1-9); 21 9-11; I Cor. 1:18-2:16 (possibly post-baptismal preaching); 15; II Cor. 3:1-5:13 (post-baptismal). The primary aim of our study is not simply to lay bare the main ideas which Paul preached to his Gentile audiences; nevertheless, it is essential to note what these were. To these major themes we now turn our attention.

During the last several decades a good deal of fruitful research has been done on early Christian missionary work and communications. Efforts have been made to determine more precisely the content and nature of missionary preaching in the early church in general, and Pauline studies have profited from these efforts. It has become clear, for example, that most N. T. writers draw a distinction between "preaching" and "teaching" though the difference is not always easy to determine or to state. C. H. Dodd has defined preaching in the N. T. as "the public proclamation of Christianity to the non-Christian world." By implication, then, "teaching" (usually thought of as "ethical instruction") is the term reserved mainly for the communications to converts after their baptism. This by no means, however,

21. See C. H. Dodd, The Epistle to the Romans, pp. 149-150. Dodd lays out well the three "divisions" of this "sermon," p. 150.
22. On the "sermonic" character of all of I Cor. see James Moffatt, The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, pp. XXV f.
23. See Friedrich Trautzsch, Die mündliche Verkündigung des Apostels Paulus.
25. Krister Stendahl has recently drawn attention to the confusion inherent in the term kerygma and the difficulties involved, in The School of St. Matthew, p. 29; cf. n. 4 and 5.
26. Apostolic Preaching, p. 4; cf his Gospel and Law, Chapter 1.
27. So Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, p. 4.
signifies that preaching is solely a pre-baptismal and teaching wholly a post-baptismal function in the N. T. The distinction is simply a convenient one and the primary emphases in the two functions are in the main part in their proper places. The kind of preaching that we shall examine in the following paragraph is that which Paul addressed largely to non-Christian audiences. Reference will be made occasionally to his preaching to Jews, but our prime interest is what and how he spoke to Gentiles.

Of Paul's preaching we have three examples in Acts: the sermon at Antioch in Pisidia to Jews (13:16-41), the address at Lystra (14:15-17), and the speech at Athens (17:22-31), the last two to Gentiles. There are also five incidental references to its substance in Acts: a description by the soothsaying girl at Philippi (16:17), a summarization of his teaching in the synagogue in Thessalonica (17:2-3), an intimation of the points which impressed the Athenians in the Agora as odd (17:13), the Ephesian city clerk's reference to its tone and character (19:37), and Paul's own reiteration of its fundamental features in his farewell words to the elders of Ephesus (20:21). In addition to these accounts in Acts, there are Paul's own references to his preaching in his letters (cf. Rom. 1:15ff; I Cor. 1:23; 2:1-2; 15:1ff; Gal. 3:1; I Th. 1:5, 9-10).

Before going further it must be noted that from time to time all or parts of the sermons and speeches attributed to Paul in Acts have been questioned and denied to him.

28. Though Krister Stendahl supposes that we have in Paul's letters preaching to Christians only, i.e., teaching "Kerygma und Kerygmatisch," Theologische Literaturzeitung (1952), 77: 715-720.
29. Cf. Roland Allen, Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or Ours?, p. 82.
30. See literature cited by H. J. Cadbury, Beginnings of Christianity, 5:404, n.2

Edward Norden in his elaborate study of the speech in Acts 17 attempts to show a dependence of the passage upon a lost writing of Appolonius of Tyana (Agnostos Theos). But Norden is said to have abandoned this latter theory (according to Eduard Meyer, Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums 3:93 n; my attention was first called to Norden's abandonment of his theory by Rawlinson, N. T. Doctrine of the Christ, p. 68, n.1). Many parallels to the speech have been culled from Paul's letters, e.g., Rom. 1:19f; 2:14f; 11:36; and elsewhere Paul reveals traces of ideas or at least of phraseology that are just as "stoical" as any in Acts 17, e.g., I Cor. 5:21; Phil. 4:8f, 11ff. See Sydney Cave, The Gospel of St. Paul, pp. 113-114; Bultmann, TNT, 1:70; K. Lake, Beginnings of Christianity, 5:240ff; Martin Dibelius, An die Philipper, ad 4:8f.
There seems even yet to be no consensus of scholarly opinion about them. Attempts to solve the problem have consisted mainly of a comparison of style as well as of concepts between these passages in Acts and Paul's letters. But neither form of comparison is one involving equals. The sermons in Acts 13, 14, and 17 are mission sermons to pagans; the address in Acts 20 is a valedictory to the episcopate or eldership of the Ephesian church. The speeches in Acts 22, 24, and 26 are apologies for his life's faith and work. (It is the first three of these that really concern us here). It is quite erroneous, therefore, to attempt to compare these with any and every part of his letters in the most haphazard fashion. Mission sermons in Acts ought to be compared with mission sermons in his epistles — and there are none of the latter, unless Rom. 1-3 and 9-11 be reckoned as excerpts or summaries of mission addresses. Even so, the section in Rom. 9-11 is doubtless not an "introductory" type of mission sermon in the sense that those in Acts 13, 14, and 17 are. Romans 9-11 is a sort of "apologetic sermon," or part of one, and yet it is of a different type than the apologies in Acts. In the Acts-apologies Paul is fighting for his life; in the Romans-apology he is fighting on behalf of his faith. It is true that here and there in his letters he drops hints of what he had said in his initial mission preaching to his readers, yet these statements are not sermons. And even if Paul's letters be considered as sermons intended to be delivered by some reader before the particular church addressed when it was assembled for worship and edification, still "epistolary sermons" must be considered as addressed to Christians and not to unconverted Jews and heathens. Finally, the epistles are first-hand productions, conceived and executed by the apostle himself (or at least dictated to a secretary); the speeches in Acts are only second-hand epitomized summaries of


mission sermons reported by one who may have been present, though it is just as probable that he gained his information at a later time from the apostle himself or from others who were present at their original delivery, or even from early Christian documents reporting what was said on these occasions. For our present purpose, we shall assume that the Pauline speeches in Acts, especially his mission sermons, contain in substance what the apostle probably spoke on the occasion of their delivery. Even something of their original general structure may well be preserved for us.

According to Acts, whenever Paul first arrived in a new city, he went immediately to the Jewish synagogue (Acts 13:14; 14:1; 17:1, 10, 17; 18:4; 19; 19:8). There he began his preaching of the gospel. There he had access to a prepared audience, assembled and ready for an address. More important, these synagogal audiences possessed already sufficient background knowledge of divine revelation and the history of salvation so that he could launch straight into the proclamation of the good news: that the Messiah has appeared in Jesus. Furthermore, in addition to Jews who might be won, there were always a number of Gentilic proselytes to Judaism, as well as other Gentiles keenly interested in the tenets of the Jewish faith but who found certain of the ritualistic demands more than they were willing to undertake. These proselytes and interested Gentiles, who stood on the very


37. Johannes Warneck regards Acts 17 as a model for preaching to pagans ignorant of Christianity, Paulus im Lichte der heutigen Heidenmission, pp. 61f.

38. As against Oepke, who thinks that the authentic form of the mission preaching is forever lost, op. cit., p. 173.


fringe of Judaism, doubtless proved quite susceptible to Paul's preaching. Such Gentiles would be almost as well acquainted as full-blooded Jews with most of the basic features of Jewish belief, such as monotheism, the demand for high moral living, the expected Messiah, the resurrection and judgment, etc. But when Paul faced an audience composed entirely of Gentiles the situation was wholly different. He could not presume a general knowledge of even the one God, much less of his revelation in the O. T., its moral demands, etc. It is clear that the approach of necessity must have been different, but what is the procedure adopted here? How did he arrange the order of the contents of his message? Did he begin his preaching by declaring that Jesus is God's Messiah (and/or savior) and move from this fact to the moral demands which this Messiah makes upon all who hear of him, and from this assertion finally arrive at the proclamation of the one God who sends this Messiah? Or was this whole process reversed so that he began first with what Jews and Jewish proselytes already took for granted, that is, monotheism, etc.?

The question is a fundamental one, but also one extremely difficult to answer; and we have moved already beyond our immediate aim at this point in our discussion, namely, to outline briefly the basic ideas in Paul's mission preaching. Yet the answer to this question vitally affects our arrangement of the contents of his preaching!

The views of the competent students of the problem deviate considerably from one another. There is first, the possibility that Paul begins with the good news of the crucified Christ who saves. There are reasons to support this possibility. In I Cor. 1:23, Paul states, "we preach Christ crucified," and in 2:2 he is even more definite when he describes how he had come among them and first preached the gospel, "For I decided to know nothing among you but Jesus Christ and him crucified." Again, the same thing is asserted in Gal. 3:2, where he goes on to connect this

portrayal of a crucified Messiah to the Galatians with both their "receiving" and their "beginning" with the Spirit, as though Jesus crucified is the initial matter in their faith. Or again, the same can be said of I Cor. 15:1ff where Paul defines "in what terms I preached to you the gospel," namely in terms of the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ. Finally, it can properly be asserted that the "God-Christ" order of introducing the gospel to the heathen does "threaten to suggest the Jewish representation of Christ, to which the doctrine of the whole New Testament runs contrary, that one must set out from faith in God the Father in order to reach faith in Christ." However, with reference to the above allusions of Paul to his initial preaching among the Corinthians and Galatians, it ought to be noted that none of these passages definitely asserts or even implies that these are the very introductory terms of his preaching. A closer examination reveals just the contrary. I Cor. 2:1 (which introduces the specific terms describing Paul's preaching in 2:2) says, "I did not come proclaiming to you the testimony of God in lofty words or wisdom." The emphasis here is on "lofty words or wisdom" and even though it was God's testimony (about Christ crucified?) that he proclaimed, still it was God's and the ignorant Gentiles would need to know first what God this was whose testimony Paul proclaimed, and this would necessitate some introductory word about God. Further, Gal. 4:8 ("you did not know God...but now that you have come to know God") may just as well describe his first preaching to the Galatians as does 3:1. Besides neither Gal. 3:1 nor I Cor. 15:1ff states that these passages contain solely or wholly his introductory message. Paul could still write thus even if Christ crucified had been the climax and not the introduction of his initial preaching. With regard to the God-Christ order of presentation, it is sufficient to notice it appearing in Paul elsewhere (I Cor. 8:6). While one comes to God through

42. Oscar Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, p. 50.
43. Or "mystery."
44. As Cullmann observes, Op. cit., p. 42
Christ, it is also quite possible to approach the Son through the Father. Moreover, if one has never heard that the one God exists, it is problematical that he will reach him immediately through the bare announcement of a crucified Messiah.

There is, then, the second possibility that Paul began with a sort of preliminary message about God and moved from there to his message about Jesus. The following considerations seem to support this view. First, (1) this approach does not contradict that described in I Cor. 2:1-2, for there Paul describes the type of verbage and reasoning which accompanied his preaching. It was not "in lofty words or wisdom." He shunned Greek rhetoric and logic. His words were plain and his subject matter (the cross) was offensive. But his dogmatic assertion that there is only one God, despite all pagan protests to the contrary, may well have been equally as offensive to the average Corinthian. (2) Again, this was the approach actually followed by Paul with Jews, for the evidence of his epistles and of the speech in Acts 13 shows a great deal of introductory emphasis on the one God, the God of Israel and history, who has now sent his Messiah. (10 of the 20 uses of "God" or "he" referring to God in Acts 13 -- a mission sermon to a Jewish audience-- occur in the first 8 of the 26 verses of the sermon). And even if Paul did not always mention God so expressly as in Acts 13, he certainly could presume and build upon a thorough knowledge of the one God on the part of his Jewish hearers. Could he proceed in any other fashion with Gentiles? Why should a crucified Messiah be so offensive unless Paul's Gentile audiences were in a position to know when he announced him that the great God of the world was the one who had sent him and given him over to his crucifixion? This was what really looked so "foolish" to them (the same as to the Jews) about Jesus' death (I Cor. 1:18ff). Further (3) the

earliest evidence on the whole question points in the direction of the order God-
Christ. In I Th. 1:9,10, Paul describes his own first appearance among the Thes-
salonians, "...What a welcome we had among you, and how you turned to God from
idols, to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, etc."
Here is Paul's initial preaching; and in it a knowledge of God seems to precede
that of Christ. Moreover, (4) the structure of what may be the only sizeable frag-
ment of a missionary sermon in his letters points also to this conclusion, Rom. 1-3.
Here Jesus is introduced only near the close of these chapters (3:22,24); God is the
burden of the entire passage. Indeed, Oepke considers that the decision to the
whole question hangs on the answer to the problem whether Rom. 1-3 is really a primary
source for Paul's mission preaching. Finally, (5) the structure of all the sermons
attributed to Paul in Acts which introduce Jesus at all, observe this order. This
applies to sermons both to Jews (Acts 13) and to Gentiles (14 and 17). Indeed, in
the speech in Acts 14 to Gentiles he does not get so far as the introduction of
Jesus! We may reasonably assume, therefore, that when he stood before Gentiles
for the first time, Paul usually began his preaching with some statement about "the
one living and true God." Yet the evidence does not warrant the conclusion that

45. Die Missionspredigt des Apostels Paulus, pp. 64ff.
47. The soothsaying girl at Philippi notes two elements in Paul's message, namely
the most high God and the way of salvation (Acts 16:17). These may represent
the order in which she had heard them preached by the Apostle, cf. Roland Allen,
Missionary Methods, pp. 62, 66.
48. This seems to be precisely why Roland Allen concludes that the sermons in Acts
14 and 17 are not specimens of typical Pauline mission preaching (Missionary
Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?, p. 88). Allen fails to recognize that both
sermons give only portions of the preparatory "preaching" of the apostle. The
speech in Acts 17 actually breaks off just where the heart of the Christian
message begins and that in Acts 14 never got that far. Thus the content of both
speeches is probably "typical" but not complete.
49. cf. Cullman, "The conversion of the heathen demanded that faith in God be
enunciated before faith in Christ, in agreement with the Jewish confession of
the oneness of God, the "Shema." Earliest Christian Confessions, p. 42.
W. M. Ramsay's judgment seems unjustifiable;" Alke at Lystra and Athens, there
is nothing in the reported words of Paul that is overtly Christian, and
nothing (with the possible exception of "the man whom he hath ordained") that
several Greek philosophers might not have said," St. Paul the Traveller, p. 150.
cf. R. B. Rackham, Commentary on Acts, pp. 312-313.
Paul followed only this procedure. There may well have been occasions when he reversed this arrangement of his message, finding it more acceptable with certain Gentiles first to present Jesus as the answer to men's needs and ills and then to present the one God.

We proceed, therefore, with our summary of the basic ideas in Paul's mission preaching.

a. The one, true, and living God — the foundation item of belief. In accord with the above conclusion Bultmann asserts that Paul simply could not begin with the Christological kerygma; rather he had to begin with the proclamation of the one God. At any rate, the apostle certainly preached the unity (Rom. 3:30; I Th. 1:9) and uniqueness of God (cf. Rom. 16:27, "the only God"). This was part of a kind of preparatory proclamation indispensable to a full understanding of the rest of his message. As noticed already, I Th. 1:9,10, the earliest and surest source for the content of Paul's preaching to pagan audiences, sets monotheism in the foreground of his message. According to Acts, this fundamental tenet is proclaimed to ignorant and learned Gentiles alike (14:15; 17:22ff). It seems clear from Rom. 1:18ff that Paul, at least sometimes, began his sermons with this doctrine. The words of I Th. 1:9 are reproduced almost verbatim in the summary remarks before the crowd at Lystra in Acts 14:15, "That you should turn from these vain things to a living God." And nearly the whole of the Areopagus speech in Acts 17:23ff consists of an exposition of the nature and purpose of this one God, or as Harnack puts it, there the main aspects of God are successively presented — monotheism, spirituality, omnipresence and omnipotence, creation and providence, the unity of the human race and their spiritual capacities, and spiritual worship. It is interesting that the Philippian

50. See Harnack's chapter on the gospel of the savior and of salvation, M & E, 1:10ff.
51. THt 1:65.
53. So Cepke, on cit., p.83.
54. M & E, 1:282.
jailor was commanded to believe "in the Lord Jesus" (Acts 16:31), yet he rejoiced after his baptism because "he had believed in God" (16:34). Echoes of this initial proclamation of God are heard in I Cor. 12:2 with Paul's reminder how they formerly worshipped "dumb idols," and (in Gal. 4:8) "beings that by nature are no gods." It is clear, further, that in his mission sermons the apostle went on to amplify the doctrine of God, citing not only his unity and uniqueness (Rom. 3:30; 16:27; I Cor. 8:6) but also his character as living and true (Rom. 9:26; II Cor. 3:5; 6:16, I Th. 1:9; Acts 14:15), his work as creator (Rom. 4:17; 11:36; I Cor. 8:6; Acts 14:15, 17; 17:24, 25), his relationship as father (I Cor. 8:6; cf. Acts 17:28, 39), and his role as judge because of his demand for righteousness (Rom. 2:5ff, 16; 14:10; I Cor. 3:16-18; II Cor. 5:10; I Th. 1:10; II Th. 1:7; Acts 17:31). Of course, the Jewish mission had for a considerable time anticipated the Christian mission in preaching monotheism, as an abundance of extant literature shows. While many of his statements about God have been paralleled from Stoic sources, still his approach is largely Jewish in his development of the doctrine of God. Certainly most of the features noted above -- unique, true, father (especially in regard to Jesus), and judge of unrighteous sinners -- are not Stoic; these are typically Jewish characterizations, except that of God as father (of Christ). In fact they are more characteristically Jewish than Pauline descriptions! It was union with the living God for which Paul in his preparatory preaching sought to pave the way.

55. Some regard Rom. 2:16 as a gloss, e.g., Bultmann, TNT, 1:75.
56. See the sources listed in Harnack, M & E, chapter 11, 1:290ff; J. Weiss, HPX, 1:237, n.20; Oepke, Op. Cit., p. 85; n.1; Bultmann, TNT, 1:65,68.
57. Cf. Hans Lietzmann, Roemerbrief, ad 11:36, p. 107; Martin Dibelius, Kolosserbrief, ad 1:16f, pp. 8-9; Dibelius, Hermes, Mandates ad 1:1, pp. 497-498. E. Norden, Agotos Theos, pp. 240-250; Bultmann, TNT, p. 71f; Carl Clemen, Christianity and its non-Jewish Sources, pp. 77-82.
58. See the compilation of texts on the doctrine of God in Alfred Seeberg, Die Didache des Judentums, pp. 11ff.
59. See chapter 2.
60. For summaries of Jewish & Hellenistic attributes of God in writings extant in the first century see literature in Bultmann, TNT, 1:70.
b. The arousing of a consciousness of sin and of the need for forgiveness

Paul's message to pagans, however, goes beyond the basic proclamation of monotheism. He appears to have sought next to arouse a consciousness of sin in his hearers and a sense of their need for forgiveness. He proceeds from a premise well known to Jews, namely, the assumption that the worship of many gods (polytheism and idolatry its usual expression) is a falling away from the true God and therefore constitutes the basic sin and the source from which the other sins of the Gentile world derive. That is, Paul saw "a causal connection between heathen polytheism and idolatry and the heathen world's degradation in sin and vice," intellectual and spiritual corruption inevitably produce moral degeneracy, for idol worship, heathen rites, magical ceremonies, sexual excesses, and all other forms of pagan violence and abusiveness are interdependent. Paul saw the fruitage of such polytheistic degradation in every city where he founded a church, and many of his converts had known the blight of idolatry firsthand (Rom. 1:18-32; 2:22; 11:2-5; I Cor. 6:2-11; 10:20; Gal. 4:5; 5:19-31; I Th. 1:9; 4:3-8). Consequently, in the mission preaching in the first chapter of Romans he sets forth three distinct stages in the progression of man's moral deterioration: the denial of God, the perverse practice of idolatry, and the unnatural forms assumed by licentiousness with the revolt from conscience in general. The reversal of this process, therefore, was faith in God and a change of thinking and living. What Paul aims at arousing is a sense of sin and guilt in the conscience of his pagan hearers concerning their descent into idolatry and moral corruption, and in Rom. 2:15 he even uses the word supeidesis as a witness to their evil status. A sense of wrong-doing, of wrong-headedness, of sin would then be accompanied in many Gentilic minds by a desire for relief from this personal consciousness of evil, for "all men, both Jews and Greeks are under sin" (Rom. 3:7). This is Paul's major thesis and aim in the sermon in

63. Bultmann, , 1:72.
64. Carl von Weizsacker, AA, 1:115.
Rom. 1-3, namely to awaken men to a consciousness of their sin and to arouse in them a sense of need for forgiveness and to share God's righteousness which has now appeared in Jesus Christ (Rom. 3:21, 25).

c. The demand of God for repentance and righteousness in light of a final judgment

Once his converts had gained some conception of what was prohibited them in a life that gave sole allegiance to the one true God, they would require to know the positive requirements. These are embodied in the demand of God for righteousness in living. Much in Paul's letters, even in the doctrinal portions, is concerned with this important theme. And communities like those he evangelized in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Achaia (as well as at Rome) would require extensive discussions on this subject from the start. At this point the didactic training of interested hearers actually begins, even though it is pre-baptismal training. It is surely implied in the Thessalonians' "turning to God" (ἐπιστρέφομαι, I Th. 1:9), in the reminder of Gal. 5:21, "I warn you, as I warned you before, that those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit ...", and in the recalling to the Corinthians that "the unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom ... But you were washed, etc." (I Cor. 6:9-11) and that "you were bought with a price. So glorify God in your body" (I Cor. 6:20), as well as the plain statements in Rom. 1:20-23; 2:4, 7, 14, etc. Paul intends to make it clear that one can not impose on the grace of God (Rom. 2:4) and presume that he can continue to sin in order to put the forgiving grace of God to a test (Rom. 3:8; 6:1, 5; I Cor. 10:9-13). Just how much of this divine command for righteousness Paul actually preached to his unbaptized audiences cannot be precisely determined, but a call to repentance seems to have been a vital part of his message to initial hearers -- according to Acts 13:40, 41; 14:15; 17:30. In Acts 26:20 Paul, in describing his typical preaching

65. In most cases he probably did not go much beyond the establishment of a primary acquaintance with fundamental moral expectations of the Christian life, and in some circumstances there was scarcely time for that prior to the hearer's baptism (cf. the Philippian jailor in Acts 16:25, 34).
to Agrippa, says that he declared (ἀποκαίρυσθαι εἰς θεόν) to Jews and Gentiles "that they should repent and turn to God and perform deeds worthy of their repentance" (cf. Acts 20:21). This call to repentance has its basis in the fact that the one God is the judge of the world (Rom. 3:5; 14:10; I Th. 3:13; Acts 17:31, and so Paul warns his heathen audiences of "the wrath to come" (Rom. 1:18; I Th. 1:10) and of "the condemnation of God" (Rom. 2:3-6). Whenever Paul approaches the eschatological note in his message, he finds it easy to insert the christological motif, for (as will appear later) God's final judgment of the world will be closely related to the Messiah.

In essence, therefore, the content of Paul's "preparatory" mission preaching consists of three basic thoughts: the living God, sin, and the threatening judgment.

2. The Forthright Proclamation of the Heart of the Christian Kerygma

Monotheism, sin, and judgment -- important though they be -- are not, however, the core of the Christian gospel as preached by Paul. His forthright proclamation of the gospel begins not with man's "fall," man's destiny, nor even God's will, but with the introduction of Jesus.

a. Jesus as the Messiah, the Son of God -- the fulfiller of ancient divine promises.

A very difficult problem rises at this point: how did Paul introduce Jesus to his pagan audiences for the first time? In what category and under what captions was Jesus presented? Foremost among Paul's designations for Jesus is "Messiah," always in the Greek translation Χρίστος, "Christ." It is Paul's favorite and most frequently used title. The content of all Paul's kerygma is embraced by

67. See Bultmann, MTW, 1:75.
68. With this Cepke agrees, op. cit., p. 118.
70. This is seen even in his teaching. Notice the structure of Romans: the epistle opens with a creedal statement about Christ and then moves on to man's status (1:18ff) and much later to the "fall" (5:12ff), final glory (5:2; 8:18), etc.
this one term, so that he often actually speaks of his preaching as "preaching Christ" or "Jesus Christ" (I Cor. 1:23; 15:12; II Cor. 1:19; 4:5; Phil. 1:8) His gospel is, therefore, literally "Christo" — centric. He uses repeatedly the expression ἔβαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Rom. 15:19; I Cor. 9:12; II Cor. 1:19; II Cor. 4:5; Phil. 1:8), which seems to mean "the good news about Christ" or "which is Christ." For Paul "Christ" is the only foundation that can be laid (I Cor. 3:11). "Christ" is the object of faith (Rom. 3:22; Gal. 2:16; 3:22, 28; etc.) and of obedience (II Cor. 10:5). To "Christ", believers are slaves (I Cor. 7:22; Gal. 1:10; Phil. 1:1). He uses the peculiar expression "in Christ" everywhere in his letters.

But the question still remains, how Paul could have presented for the first time such a term and idea so foreign to his pagan audiences. Obviously the title "the Christ" was not understandable to the Hellenistic world and would have made little impression on Gentiles to whom the word doubtless conveyed little or no meaning without rather extensive explanation. For that reason the mission speeches before Gentiles in Acts are probably accurate on this matter in that the designation "Christ" nowhere appears in any of them. And in the mission sermon in Rom. 1-3, this designation is not a title at all, but a part of the personal name of Jesus.

Furthermore, in non-sermonic passages Acts carefully describes Paul as presenting Jesus to the Jews as "the Christ" (17:3; 18:5; and so did Apollos, 18:28!) but never thus to Gentiles. In attempting to solve this problem, Schiatter suggests that Paul created (or at least employed) a number of concepts — Greek equivalents

72. That this is an objective not subjective genitive seems to me more probable. Oepke, On. cit., p. 57 n.2, summarizes the German views, but I cannot agree with his own view (subjective gen.).
73. The title "Christ" in Paul is somewhat rare; even at this early date the designation was rapidly becoming a personal name.
to the Jewish titles — to describe Jesus' person and work in a way comprehensible and attractive to Greek-speaking Gentiles; foremost among these is the idea of the "second Adam." Unfortunately for this suggestion, however, there is no evidence that Paul used it in his mission preaching, and the only place where the idea of a "second Adam" is treated is in a passage where he discusses matters (relative to the resurrection) which he had failed to treat altogether or had discussed very imperfectly — even in his teaching to converts (I Cor. 15:45-49; cf. the Adam-Christ parallels in I Cor. 15:21,22; Rom. 5:12-19). Acts 17:31 does speak of God's judging the world by a "man" (ἀνήλικον) whom he has appointed, but not a word is mentioned about his being a "second Adam" or a "second man from heaven." Moreover as Oepke notes, the Greeks would scarcely have understood the connection had Paul attempted to introduce Jesus to them by paralleling him with Adam, for the term "Adam" was as foreign to them as "Christos," and contained even less meaning for them. Thus the two passages in Paul which use the Adam-Christ parallel do not contain a suggestion as to how he introduced and explained the "Christ" idea; rather they presuppose its understanding already!

The extant evidence seems to indicate that Paul preferred to introduce Jesus' Messiahship to Gentiles under the title "Son of God." For him to have used the term "the King" (βασιλεύς), which would have approximated "Christ" in content, was out of the question, "in the first place because "King" had no soteriological meaning; and also because it would have exposed the Christian message to the misconception that it was a political program." But "Son of God" was a "religious" term familiar to all Gentiles through myths of deified heroes, "humanized" gods, and divinely worshipped rulers who bore the title. The titular designation "Son" also opened

75. See Oepke, op. cit., p. 119.
76. On the "second Adam" idea in Paul see W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, chapter 3, pp. 36ff.
77. Bultmann, NT, 1:80.
up an avenue for making connections with the O.T. promises about the Messiah (identified as God's Son), connections which Paul no doubt profitably pointed out and explained as soon as possible to his hearers and new converts. Indeed, Acts 13:33 portrays him as using this very approach in his mission sermon at Pisidian Antioch, citing Psalm 2:7 ("Thou art my son") of Jesus, a passage often quoted by the N.T. writers with reference to the Messiah. Of course this advanced approach in Acts 13 was before a Jewish audience (though also containing Gentilic proselytes, 13:16;26), but this very same procedure (to be followed up subsequently with Gentilic beginners when they had acquired more knowledge) was suggested from the start by Paul's use of the expression "Son of God" as an introductory title for Jesus.

There is sufficient evidence from Paul's letters to warrant the assumption that Paul found the title "Son of God" best suited to introduce Jesus' messiahship in his mission sermons to pagans. In I Th. 1:9, 10, containing that summary of his "converting kerygma" from the first to the Thessalonians, he writes, that they turned to serve God and "to wait for his Son from heaven." Now it is significant that in the midst of this completely Jewish apocalyptic concept — a messianic parousia from heaven — Paul has inserted, not (as in other apocalyptic passages) "Jesus" (as in I Th. 4:14), nor "Christ" (as in I Cor. 15:23), nor "Lord" (as in I Th. 4:15-17), but "his Son." In Gal. 2:20, the apostle describes the object of his own faith, which brought about his own new life, as "the Son of God," and again in the same epistle, when he explicitly identifies the subject of his preaching and the agency by which his apostleship was communicated, he employs the designation "his Son" (1:16). Further, I Cor. 1:9 describes the beginning of the Corinthians' Christian life as being "called into the fellowship of his Son." And even more definite is II Cor. 1:19 where Paul describes the One (note) whom he preached among them as "the Son of God." Moreover, in the creed-like formula in Rom. 1:3,4 (which no doubt reflects a tradition already existent in the church before the apostle he twice
defines the gospel which he preached as that of "God's Son." (cf. also Rom. 1:9; 1:10; 8:3, 29, 32). But this point needs no further elaboration, for abundant recent research has sufficiently confirmed Paul's frequent and varied use of the expression as a title for Jesus in his mission preaching. The point seems to be that for Paul the expression "Son of God" was regarded as the Gentilic equivalent of the Jewish "Messiah," and that he took advantage of the expression's adaptability to Gentilic minds in his mission sermons.

b. Jesus as the Judge of All Mankind

It is very probable that the messiahship of Jesus was most easily introduced into the kerygma at the point where the preaching touched on God's judging the world. The transition from God to Christ was easily made at this point, for not only was God to judge the world, but he was to do so in or by the person of his Son. The speech in Acts 17 closes with a pronouncement of this divine judgment in Christ:

"He (God) has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness by a man whom he has appointed" (verse 31). This is also clearly enunciated in the mission sermon in Rom. 1:3 ... on that day when, according to my gospel, God judges the secrets of men by Christ Jesus" (2:16). And to prove the point that the transition to Jesus and to his messiahship was most easily accomplished (especially before Gentiles) at the place in the sermon where the final divine judgment was introduced, it ought to be noted that the very first mention of Jesus in both of the

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79. It seems significant that the title "is only used in such portions of the letters as are marked by an especial elevation of style," Weinel, St. Paul, p. 324, thereby indicating the apostle's high regard for the designation.

80. "Whether Son of God was already current as a messianic title in Judaism is uncertain and debated" (Bultmann, TNT, 1:50). Bultmann also distinguishes between a messianic and a mythological meaning of "Son of God" (Ibid., 1:50, 130-132), which incidentally is a distinction of great significance to many of his major theories.

81. cf. William Manson, Jesus the Messiah, p. 70.

82. Note that Paul says expressly that this idea was a part of his gospel ( NKJV Κρίτης τοῦ Θεοῦ); cf. Cepke, p. 63, n.1.
sermons in Acts 17 and Romans 1-3 is precisely in the passages just quoted.

Moreover, in nearly all of his letters it so happens that the very first reference to Jesus, apart of course from the rather stereotyped formulas of salutation in the opening lines, connects him invariably with his future coming and his day of judgment (Rom. 2:16; I Cor. 1:7, 8; II Cor. 1:14, a partial exception, since Christ is mentioned already in 1:3, 5; Phil. 1:6; Col. 1:4-5; I Th. 1:10; II Th. 1:7). Now this usage hardly seems accidental with Paul; rather it reflects an habitual practice deeply engrained in his mental processes that whenever he thinks of Jesus, one of the first thoughts which he associates with him in his return for judgment of the world. This usage may also reflect an old homiletic custom with Paul which breaks through at the beginning of his letters, perhaps before he had written far enough to lose completely his usual sermonic style and structure by more thoroughgoing transition to the epistolary and didactic form of communication, namely, the familiar practice of introducing Jesus as judge or as otherwise centrally related to the world’s end and judgment. We ought not to conclude from this that Paul opened all of his sermons with a reference to Christ’s judgment, though this may have been true of many of them. Rather it seems to mean simply that whenever he introduced Jesus to Gentiles it was possibly in relation to his judgeship.

Finally, there is also the possibility that Paul may have concluded his mission sermons with a strong eschatological reference to Jesus as judge of mankind. This fact is not so readily and graphically demonstrated as is his habit of introducing Jesus as judge, because we have few if any extant examples of actual conclusions from Paul’s sermons. For example, the closing verse (31) of the speech in Acts 17

83. In his letters Paul seems to have made little effort to reconcile his statements about God’s judging (Rom. 2:5ff; 3:6; II Th. 1:5; cf. Acts 17:31) or the judgment seat of God (Rom. 14:10) with Christ’s judging (I Cor. 4:5; cf. I Th. 2:19) and the judgment seat of Christ (II Cor. 5:10).

84. Galatians is the only real exception, and here the parousia and judgment are never explicitly mentioned in the whole of the epistle. Ephesians, if Pauline, is substantially the same.

85. I assume here that Paul was primarily a preacher, that his basic style was adapted to that end, and that only secondarily was he a letter-writer.
bears out this eschatological observation, but here the first references to Jesus (who is really left unnamed) is also the last, and in all probability the summary in Acts 17 is not that of an entire sermon at all; one is left with the feeling that the speech ought to continue just where it breaks off. The same verdict must be rendered about the unfinished character of Rom. 1-3. And even if we really do have an idea of how the sermon here in Romans ended, we may still have an eschatological allusion (in what is the closing paragraph of this section) lurking behind the future tense of \( \text{εἰσιν} \) (a term from the assize) in 3:30, and he will justify ...". Or, even if chapter 4 ought to be added to the discourse here, as some have sought to prove, the same eschatological allusion appears in \( \text{καλλίστε} \) \( \text{καί} \) \( \text{τρέχει} \) \( \text{Tat} \) (4:24). In neither case, however, is the allusion tied specifically to Jesus. There is possibly also an indirect hint in this matter from Jesus himself, who seems to have used in nearly all his "sermons", an eschatological reference in his conclusions, often to the judgment. Of course this procedure may be due to the editing of the evangelists, but the same phenomena occur in the tannaitic literature, and though the same criticism can be leveled also against its Jewish editors, still the great prevalence of such homiletic practices among Paul's own contemporary predecessors and circles may well have had a strong influence on his preaching. We must leave this whole point in doubt, but list an eschatological conclusion with Christ the judge as its key personage as a real possibility in Paul's mission preaching.

At any rate, there is a genuine eschatological note of a futuristic type in Paul's mission kerygma which is not simply a passing notion in his thinking.

86. See Morton Smith's study of 9 of these dominical "sermons" in all of which this is the procedure adopted in the conclusion, Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels, p. 100.
87. See Morton Smith, Ibid., pp. 101-110.
c. Jesus as Savior of men in consequence of his death, burial, and resurrection.

Probably more meaningful to most pagan audiences was the preaching of Jesus as savior. Savior gods and their cults, scattered over much of the Greco-Roman world of the first century, provided sufficient background for this idea to those listeners of Paul who lacked acquaintance with the term from the O.T. But Paul's announcement of the manner in which Jesus had manifested his saving powers must have aroused many Gentile hearers -- some with the keenest interest and others with equally marked revulsion. Paul declares that this Son of God has come in flesh (Gal. 4:4; Rom. 1:3; 8:3; II Cor. 8:9; Phil. 2:7), but was put to death like a condemned criminal on a Roman cross (I Cor. 2:8; Phil. 2:9). Yet it is in spite of this humiliating death by crucifixion, indeed precisely because of it, that Jesus, God's own Son, has become the savior of the world (Rom. 5:9, 10; I Cor. 1:18; etc.). Whenever Paul preached to Gentiles he set this awful death in a prominent place in his sermon. In Corinth he makes it one of the chief elements of his message (I Cor. 15:2ff); in fact, he determined there to know nothing among them except Jesus Christ and him crucified (I Cor. 2:2). That is because he regards Christ's death as the very power of God (I Cor. 1:18, 24) -- divine power unto salvation (Rom. 1:16). This power inherent in Jesus' death lay in the fact contained in these words always used by Paul to describe Jesus' crucifixion, that "Christ died for our sins" (οὐπέρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν θεοῦ, I Cor. 15:3; cf. Rom. 4:25; I Cor. 11:24; Gal. 1:4). That is how and why "he died for us" (οὐπέρ θεοῦ, Rom. 5:8). That terrible death of Jesus, therefore, contains a meaning far greater than the simple fact that a man has died on a cross. Rather that death is the highest proof of God's redemptive love for all mankind, the commendation of this divine love for helpless sinners, and the assurance that he desires to forgive them (Rom. 5:6, 8; 3:24; Col. 1:14, etc.). This meaning attributed to Christ's

death (i.e., that it is "for our sins") was no new creation due to Paul's theological reflections on the problem posed by the death of the Messiah, the son of God. He had received it from those who had preached in the church before him (I Cor. 15:3; cf. 11:23). This "unheard of" message of God's love displayed so lavishly in the death of his own Son was exactly the sort of thing to be peculiarly appealing to all those Gentiles who had no relief from their burden of sin and from their fear of sin's inevitable consequences. Once the shocking realism of a vivid homiletical portrayal of Christ's crucifixion had been transformed into a picture of God's condescending love for them, many a Gentile would be pricked in heart with un easiness of conscience, if not with sorrow and remorse (Rom. 2:4). This is what Paul means when he writes to the Corinthians, "For the word of the cross (Christ's crucifixion) ... to us who are being saved ... is the power of God" (I Cor. 1:18). To those Gentiles who seriously pondered the apostle's words, this message came like a sudden bursting of light into a dark room.

But preaching the bare fact that a man had died would never have substantiated the claim that he is the Messiah, the Son of God, much less the claim that by such a martyrdom the forgiveness of sins has its guarantee. Hence Paul went on to proclaim that God has vindicated the claims concerning Jesus and his messiahship by raising him from the dead. (I Cor. 15:1-4, 11). Here was historical proof that God was with Jesus in a very unique way and that the latter was no mere prophetic teacher, fanatical extremist, or determined martyr. Jesus' resurrection was and is the supernatural authentication of his claims and the divine vindication of his crucifixion. Consequently, wherever Paul preached Jesus' death on men's behalf, he also preached his resurrection. For just as Christ's death was the expiation, Rom. 3:25 for (ὑπὲρ) men's sins (I Cor. 15:30), so his resurrection became the surety for the forgiveness of their sins (I Cor. 15:17) and the guarantee of their

91. A. M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, p. 34; Bultmann, TNT, 1:32.
own resurrection (I Cor. 15:20, 22). The resurrection of Jesus, therefore, probably stood near the climax of all his mission sermons (cf. Rom. 4:24; 10:9; I Cor. 15:1-4; I Th. 1:10; Acts 13:30-37; 17:31). These facts -- Christ's death, burial, and resurrection -- belong together in Paul's preaching. They constitute the fundamental facts in his gospel. For example, the following are the "terms" in which Paul preached the gospel to the Corinthians "from the first", "That Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, that he was buried, (and) that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures ..." (I Cor. 15:2). These are the facts that made Jesus Savior. Accordingly, when Paul speaks in his earliest preaching to the Thessalonians about Jesus as "deliverer (savior) from the wrath to come," he associates with this description the further fact that he is also God's Son "whom he raised from the dead." And in conjunction with his definitive summary of the gospel which he preached to the Corinthians in I Cor. 15, he declares that it is "the gospel ... by which you are saved" (v.2). "Discussions about Jesus' messiahship (and saviorhood) apart from his (death and) resurrection are never encountered in Paul". Though the apostle designates Christ only once as "savior" (Phil. 3:20), yet he frequently employs verbal descriptions of his saving activity, e.g., Rom. 5:10, "we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son ... we shall be saved by his life;" I Cor. 1:18, "For the word of the cross (Christ's death) ... to us who are being saved ... is the power of God;" Gal. 1:3-4, "Our Lord Jesus Christ who gave himself for us to deliver us from the present evil age;" I Th. 1:10, "Whom he raised from the dead, Jesus who delivers us from the wrath to come." (Note in

92. The burial of Jesus and the enumeration of his numerous appearances seem not to have received the attention given his death and the fact of his resurrection. In I Cor. 15:4, κατὰ τᾶς θάνατος καὶ ἀνάστασιν is lacking after ἐν, ἐναγάλητος, and the appearances are used as proofs of his resurrection; so Oepke, Op. Cit., p. 59.

93. Oepke, Op. Cit., p. 117; words in brackets are mine, underscoring ours.
all these examples how Jesus' saving activity is specifically related to his
death and/or resurrection). In the sermon in Acts 13 appears Paul's descrip-
tion of Jesus as savior (v. 23) and of the apostle's message as one of salvation
(v. 26); and it is interesting to note that this "message of salvation" consists
(vs. 27-28), burial (v. 29), and resurrection
here of Christ's death (a\), which enables this man Jesus to grant for-
giveness of sins and freedom "from everything from which you could not be freed
by the law of Moses" (vs. 38-39). Acts 28:28 reports Paul's words that "this
salvation of God (in Christ) has been sent to the Gentiles."

For Paul, then, Christianity is not primarily "doing the will of God," nor
is it "justification by faith," nor "the vision of God," nor "reconciliation,"
or "the kingdom of God." For him "salvation" wrought by Christ's death, burial,
and resurrection is the fundamental and ultimate matter -- the basis even of
his concept "life in Christ." In this he was at one with all the preachers
of the early church.

It has been observed that the very fact that Jesus is judge enables him also
to be savior. That is, he who holds the power to work destruction has also
the power to withhold it. Hence, Paul's mission preaching is found to connect
both ideas intimately, e.g., in Thessalonica, he had declared that Christ delivers
from the wrath (adverse judgment) of God (I Th. 1:10; cf. 4:15-18), and at the

95. F. B. Westcott, St. Paul and Justification.
97. Albrecht Ritschl, The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation, 
not pp. 30ff, 77, 85, etc.
99. C.A.A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, p ; A. M. Hunter, The 
100. The view held so strongly by some: Adolph Deissmann, Das ne\"testamentliche
Formel "in Christo"; Albert Schweitzer, The Mysticism of the Apostle Paul,
pp. 3-5; J. S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, passim; E. H. Wahlstrom, The New 
Life in Christ, pp. 87ff.
101. C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching, pp. 12-16; A. M. Hunter; The Message of 
102. Bultmann, TNT, 1:78.
close of the "sermon" in Rom. 1-3, he writes that God provides redemption in Christ, whom he "put forward as an expiation" to prove himself both just and justifier (features of a judge). It seems likely, therefore, that Paul's preaching of Christ as judge led straight on to the proclamation of him as savior. That is, once he had aroused the consciousness of sin against the true God in his listeners and excited in them a consequent fear of the divine wrath and judgment, he then introduced Christ the savior who saves by virtue of his death and resurrection.

Apparently to pagans Paul stressed the death of Christ, while to Jews the greater emphasis was on the resurrection. Evidence of this is seen in his statements of what he preached to Gentiles, where almost invariably the death of Christ on the cross is to the fore (I Cor. 1:17; 23; 2:2; Gal. 3:1 cf. Rom 5:3-9; Gal. 1:4; I Th. 5:10; etc.). On the contrary, in those passages which reflect preaching specifically designed for Jews, the resurrection is very prominent (Rom. 4:24,25, the resurrection is introduced first and then repeated after mentioning the death, 103 10:9; 4:24; cf. 1:4). This does not mean that to Gentiles he omitted the resurrection and to Jews deleted all mention of the crucifixion. It seems to point to an emphasis in Paul's manner of preaching for the first time to these two groups -- that he laid heavy stress on God's great love for sinful heathen in Christ's death and less stress on Christ's resurrection which was harder for them to accept, while with Jews he stressed the resurrection (which was in harmony with orthodox Jewish belief anyway) as the highest kind of proof of Jesus' messiahship, but went easier on the crucifixion, a matter probably rather touchy with most Jews since Jesus' death was at the hands of the Jews (I Th. 2:15) and

103. Of Rom. 1:4, J. Weiss notes that Jews were prominently in mind here as the words τούτῳ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Ἀδελφοί show (HEX. 1:228).
104. As the statement in Acts 17:18 indicates, Epicureans and Stoics seem to have misunderstood his message as concerning Jesus and Anastasis, i.e., two deities.
the idea of a crucified messiah was probably denounced by most of them.

d. Call to belief in Jesus and acceptance of him as Lord.

One other element in Paul's mission kerygma was of especial importance to non-Christian Gentilic hearers, namely, that Jesus is Lord. Just as much as the epithet "savior", this title "Lord" swarmed with associations and connotations drawn from the varied life and experiences of the pagan world. It was a term thoroughly familiar to Gentilic minds, a term that conjured up reminiscences of heathen mystery gods and emperor worship. As we have seen, the title "Lord" was probably appropriated from the O. T. by Paul's Christian predecessors and passed along to him. Its use in Rom. 1:4; 10:9; I Cor. 12:3; and Phil. 2:6-11, passages very likely containing pre-Pauline material, show its occurrence in the kerygma of the church prior to the apostle. In preaching to the Gentiles the title assumed a supreme role as is evidenced by its place in Paul's descriptions of his mission preaching and even more in his summaries of the essential creedal beliefs demanded of every prospective Christian. In II Cor. 4:5 Paul says that what he preached was not himself but "Jesus Christ as Lord." In the section of Rom. 13:11-14, which seems to be an echo, if not a paragraph, from his mission sermons, Paul admonishes "Put on the Lord Jesus Christ." The words sound

105. Kirsopp Lake rather unconsciously bears out this position in Beginnings of Christianity. He says, "As between Paul and the Jews the vital point of controversy, at least in his eyes, was the Resurrection" (5:213). Further, Lake (5:220) is unable to account for the absence of the doctrine of salvation by Jesus' death in Acts (occurring only in 20:28). The point is that only in 20:28 does Paul advance far enough to introduce Jesus into a speech before Gentiles or Gentilic Christians; all the other speeches into which Jesus is introduced throughout the Acts are before Jews or Jewish proselytes, hence Jesus' death is touched upon only lightly.

106. Wilhelm Bousset, Kyrios Christos, pp. 109-118; see Albert Schweitzer, Mysticism of Paul The Apostle, pp. 27ff.

107. The title thus appropriated a name assigned exclusively to God in the O. T., as well as consigned to Jesus functions reserved for deity alone; cf. G. A. A. Scott, Foot-notes to St. Paul, pp. 193, 215; but contrast Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p. 108.

108. A. M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors.

very much like reminiscences of a call customarily issued to non-Christian audiences to accept Jesus as "Lord." That Jesus lordship held a central place in his missionary message is clear from the concise answer to the Philippian jailor's query as to one's course in order to receive salvation, "Believe in the Lord Jesus" (Acts 16:31). If these words are really Pauline, they are tremendously significant as evidence that among the terms which were always in readiness in Paul's mind for description of Jesus to Gentiles was "Lord." This agrees completely with the fact that with Paul the most frequently used title for Jesus is "Lord." Thus the report of the apostle's speech given in Acts 20:21 to the Ephesian elders is probably correct when it records that he had testified both to Jews and to Greeks in Asia "of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ."

The creedal summaries and fragments embedded in Paul's letters further confirm the prominence of Jesus' lordship in Paul's initial preaching before pagans. Converts could confess only what they had learned from his preaching (or teaching). And a major item that they had learned was "If you confess with your lips, 'Jesus is Lord' ..., you will be saved" (Rom. 10:9; cf. I Cor. 12:2). For Paul, faith is always defined as faith in the "Kyrios." This does not mean two faiths and two confessions -- one for Father and another for Son. "Faith in God is really a function of faith in Christ." It is one gospel that Paul preached and the "Lord Jesus" was the central item in it to be believed. In the summary statement of his gospel in Rom. 1:1-4, "our Lord" is the climactic element in the whole statement. The same is true of the hymn in Phil. 2:6-11, which concludes with the confession from the tongues of all creation: "Jesus Christ is Lord." That he uses all of this material with complete approval testifies to the similar place that Jesus the Lord occupied in his missionary preaching.

111. See Oscar Cullmann, The Earliest Christ Confessions, p. 28, also n. 2.
Paul associates the lordship of Christ with the death and resurrection. The death and resurrection, especially the latter, had made possible Christ's triumph and consequently his exaltation to his lordship. For example, in the "doctrinal" section of Romans (Chapters 1-11), Jesus is never called "Lord" outside of a context that directly associates him with his death and resurrection or their complement, (i.e., death and life, or eternal life) (cf. Rom. 1:4; 4:24-25; 5:1 and 10, 11, 21; 6:23; 7:24-25; 8:34 and 39; cf. also 14:9). And apparently the resurrection had a more important bearing on his lordship than did his death, for Rom. 10:9 parallels confession of his lordship with belief in his resurrection (not with his death or with both his death and resurrection).

This lordship of Jesus extends not only over the individual believer (Rom. 14:4; I Cor. 7:17; 19:20), but over the whole church (I Cor. 3:23; 6:19, 20; 8:6; Col. 1:16, etc.), the spirit world (I Cor. 2:9; 15:25ff; Phil. 2:10), the living and the dead (Rom. 14:9; I Th. 4:15, 170), and in fact the whole universe (I Cor. 15:25-27; cf. Eph. 1:10).

It has been noticed that a favorite technique by which Paul presents Jesus as Messiah, Savior, and Lord to pagan Gentiles is the figure of the exodus. Here as his pattern, he has in mind the exodus of Israel from their Egyptian enslavement by "baptism into Moses" (I Cor. 10:1-2), their leadership under his guidance, and entrance into freedom and the promised land. So he proclaims that by Jesus, God's anointed, all men are saved from slavery to sin, death, and Satan by baptism into Christ, and submission to Christ's lordship which means freedom and blessing for all who accept.

113. It really makes little difference whether the resurrection and exaltation coincide for Paul or not. Several students think they do, e.g., Bultmann, TNT 1:82; apparently M.R. Vincent, Leg on Phil, p. 61; cf. C. A. A. Scott, Foot-notes to St. Paul, pp. 192f.
114. Rom. 1:7 is the stereotyped salutation formula.

What biographical materials from the life of Jesus were known to Paul, what sort of interest did he take in these historical matters, and to what extent did he employ these materials in his mission preaching to Gentiles? We cannot provide a satisfactory answer to any of these questions because our sources are inadequate on these problems. This lack of materials concerning Jesus' life in Paul's letters has been sometimes assumed to point to his lack of knowledge about them. Von Soden, however, denies, not knowledge, but interest in the historical Jesus on Paul's part. And it has been pointed out that a similar indifference to biographical interest in Jesus is displayed by the writer of Acts, who is admittedly the same as the writer of the third gospel, and also by the author of I John who is probably identical with the writer of the fourth gospel. Moreover, neither II Cor. 5:16 nor Gal. 1:12ff can be used as evidence that Paul had adopted a position with regard to the historical facts of Jesus' life that differed essentially from the position of the primitive community before him. The present problem is not primarily concerned with the question of whether or not Paul had seen the earthly Jesus (cf. I Cor. 9:1; Gal. 1:12). Among the references to

116. An inference from silence; see G. E. Stevens, Pauline Theology, pp. 205ff.
118. J. N. Sanders thinks that Paul was one of the Jews from Cilicia in Acts 6:9 who disputed with Stephen about Jesus. If so, Paul must have known a great deal about Jesus. He certainly knew enough to understand Stephen's speech, e.g., Stephen's references to Jesus' betrayal and murder by the Jews, Acts 7:52, Foundations of the Christian Faith, pp. 121f.
Jesus' life and teachings in his letters the following may be noted. Jesus was descended from the fathers of the Jewish nation (Rom. 9:5; Gal. 3:16), of the royal line of David (Rom. 1:3; cf. Acts 13:33; Rom. 15:12), and was born under the Jewish law (Gal. 4:4). He was, therefore, every whit a man and a Jew (Phil. 2:7, 8; cf. Acts 17:31). He had brothers, one of whom was named James (I Cor. 9:5; 15:7; Gal. 1:18; 2:9), and twelve disciples, two of whom were named Cephas (note the Aramaic name) and John (I Cor. 9:5; 15:5; Gal. 18:2-9). He lived a life of comparative poverty (II Cor. 8:9), though a life free from sin (II Cor. 5:21). His work was that of a servant among the circumcised, i.e., Jews (Rom. 15:8; cf. Phil. 2:7). He was betrayed at night (I Cor. 11:23) near the time of the Jewish Passover (I Cor. 5:3), the very night in which he instituted the Lord's supper (I Cor. 11:23ff). He was put to death (I Th. 4:14; etc.) at the hands of the Jews (I Th. 2:15) and the Roman authorities (I Cor. 2:8; Acts 13:28) in Judea (I Th. 2:15). The form of his death was crucifixion (I Cor. 1:17, 18; 2:2; II Cor. 13:4; Gal. 2:20; 5:1; 6:12, 14; cf. "death on a cross," Phil. 2:8), a form of dying that manifested his condescension for men into weakness (II Cor. 13:4) and shame (Phil. 2:8). He thus, by hanging on a tree, became a curse for them (Gal. 3:13). He thereby gave his life in sacrifice (I Cor. 5:7) for them (Rom. 8:32; I Cor. 11:2; 15:16; II Cor. 5:14, 15; Gal. 1:4), i.e., for their sins (Rom. 4:25; I Cor. 15:3) in accordance with the O.T. writings (I Cor. 15:3; of Acts 13:29). He was buried (I Cor. 15:4; cf. Acts 13:29) for three days.

(I Cor. 15:4), (in a tomb, cf. Acts 13:29). He was raised from the dead (Rom. 1:4; 7:4; 8:11, 10:9; I Cor. 6:14; 15:4; II Cor. 4:14; Gal. 1:1; I Th. 1:10; cf. Acts 13:30-37; 17:4, etc.) in accordance with the scriptures (I Cor. 15:4) and appeared to his disciples (I Cor. 15:5-8; Gal. 1:16; cf. Acts 13:31; 22:14; 26:16). His resurrection secured the forgiveness of sins (I Cor. 15:17) and guarantees the future resurrection of his followers (Rom. 6:5; I Cor. 6:14; 15:20-22, II Cor. 4:14). He was exalted to heavenly glory (Rom. 8-34) and lordship (Rom. 1:4; Phil. 2:9-11). Of course his resurrection and exaltation cannot properly be described as "biographical" incidents in an earthly life, but they mark the culmination of his earthly career and so are included here. Paul also knew of Jesus' equality with God (cf. Rom. 9:5; Phil 2:6), of his meekness and gentleness of behavior (II Cor. 10:1; cf. his humility in Phil. 2:8), of his purity of character (II Cor. 4:21), of his example which solicits imitation (I Cor. 11:1; I Th. 1:6), of his obedience up to the moment of his death (Phil. 2:8), of his love for individuals (Gal. 2:20), of his compassion in accepting outcasts, even Gentiles (Rom. 15:7), of his grace in the midst of his poverty (II Cor. 8:9; cf. I Cor. 15:4ff), of his unselfishness in sharing the best that he had, even to the point of giving life itself (I Cor. 11:24, reading Σίσκον with aeg., arm., etc., Gal. 1:4; cf. Acts 20:35) -- a giving that exchanged heaven for earth (II Cor. 8:9), spirit for flesh (Phil. 2:5-7), life for death (I Cor. 15:47?; Phil. 2:9), sinlessness for other men's sins (Rom. 8:3; I Cor. 5:21), innocence for condemnation (Gal. 3:13) -- all because he chose not to please himself (Rom. 15:5).

Finally, the apostle in at least three cases cites words of the earthly Jesus, concerning marriage and divorce (I Cor. 7:10), support of the ministry (I Cor. 9:14), a number with specific Jewish and rabbinic associations relative to burial customs of the dead (Kirsopp Lake, The Resurrection of Jesus Christ, p. 196) and to resurrection beliefs (James Moffatt, Commentary on I Cor., pp. 237-238); cf. Carl Clemen, Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources, pp. 142, 187-189, for pagan associations with the "three days" and "third day."
and the Lord's supper (I Cor. 11:23ff). A possible fourth word of Jesus concerns the parousia of Christ and the resurrection (I Th. 4:15). A fifth dominical word is reported from Paul in Acts 20:35. In addition to these are many other dominical clauses and phrases echoed in the epistles, such probably as "Bless those who persecute you" (Rom. 12:14; Matt. 5:44; Lk. 6:27; cf. I Cor. 4:12), "Faith so as to remove mountains" (I Cor. 13:2; Matt. 17:20; 21:21), etc. Brief though all Paul's notices of Jesus' work and words really are yet when these are assembled, one notices that all the essential parts of his life are touched upon, and that Christ is not just a "heavenly" but also an "earthly" being for Paul.

Whether or not these features of Jesus' life and character actually appeared in Paul's mission sermons and lectures is without proof, but in all probability some, if not all, of them did -- along with much more additional similar material. All the above notices from his epistles appear in such a way as to indicate that he presupposes a knowledge of them already by his readers. Some scholars contend that Paul used the picture of Jesus' earthly life not to awaken faith, but as a pattern for conduct, that is not in his preaching to the unbaptized but in his teaching to young converts. Others have gone further in judgment. For example, it has been suggested that the brief recital of facts in I Cor. 15:1ff may be only the conclusion of a general summary which included some reference to Jesus' ministry. According to Acts 13:16-41, Paul preached to Jews in terms of a survey of

123. See here Alfred Resch, Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu, and also the next chapter; A.W. Argyle, "Parallels Between the Pauline Epistles and Q," Expository Times (1949), 80:318-320.
the chief events of Jesus' career. If this was necessary to Diaspora Jews, who
would likely know of many happenings in Palestine, how much more necessary
to Diaspora Jews, who would likely know of many happenings in Palestine, how much more necessary to

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ignorant Gentiles? Indeed, J. Weiss concludes, "If he did not do so, then
we must say that in this respect he departed from the common model of apostolic
preaching." Still others contend that Paul never used Jesus' life at all as an example, in whole or in part, apart from encouragement of his converts to manifest his general attitude and spirit.


Are traces of any sort of evolution in his message to be detected in the records of Paul's mission preaching? That is, over the years covered by his letters can we affirm that the content of his gospel or even the method of his presentation was altered: certain new elements added, certain early elements deleted, emphases shifted, etc.?

In at least two areas some students have asserted such developments or change, namely, his handling of the doctrine of eschatology and his preaching originally of a rather simple gospel to which he later added other elements, or at least lay greater stress on elements not so greatly emphasized in his earlier years. C. H. Dodd has tried to state the case for Paul's change in eschatological concepts and emphases. The early Thessalonian letters reveal a vivid moment-by-moment anticipation of Christ's return that simply electrified that primitive community with parousial expectancy, but by the time he penned the

130. J. Weiss, HPX, 1:225.
131. Ibid., 1:62.
132. Martin Dibelius contends that much of the material in our canonical gospels was employed in mission preaching -- even by Paul, From Tradition to Gospel, pp. 3-36, esp. 17-22; also John Reid, "Missionary Methods of the Apostles," Expository Times (1900), 11:60.
135. Dodd inclines to dating Galatians after Thessalonians and before Corinthians, Ibid., p. 85.
"prison" epistles (or even Romans!) that mood had mellowed into a more practical waiting for an event that might be a great while away. Of course this assertion rests on a stated chronology; and even so, the assertion is not so accurate as at first appears. For example, whether Galatians was written before or after Thessalonians makes little difference; the epistle is still relatively early.

Of greater importance, the epistle reflects a situation existing by or before the time the gospel was ever preached in Thessalonica, as well as conditions after it was preached there, and probably no scholar ever discovered a superabundance of "hot eschatological fervor and furor" among the Galatians — not from the Galatian letter at least! That Paul evoked a great deal of eschatological expectancy by his initial preaching to the Galatians which he later toned down is a suggestion scarcely born out by the contents of his letter to them. Further as to Thessalonians, the situation was not that Paul had preached so much eschatology in Thessalonica but possibly that he had not said enough about it. At least not enough to prevent confusion in the minds of his audience. And finally, the parousia expectancy of the apostle in Thessalonians is still with him in Phil. 3:20, the latter a very "late" passage that parallels almost verbally I Th. 1:10 (cf. also I Th. 4:16).

A second instance of "development" more closely involving his actual preaching has been pointed out. It has been suggested that (again!) in Thessalonians a very simple kerygma, consisting of the one living God, the resurrection, and Christ's return (I Th. 1:9-10) is represented as the substance of his preaching. Nowhere does Paul mention the cross, salvation, reconciliation, justification,

136. The conclusion of G. B. Stevens, written over 60 years ago, on the matter, is worth noting, "There is no just ground for the assertion that Paul underwent a change of view regarding this subject," Pauline Theology, pp. 34-37.

137. See Cepke, op. cit., pp. 158-159. It is at once apparent that these two assertions run counter to one another in development — his eschatology is allegedly "thinned down;" his kerygma is "filled out" or expanded.
or adoption. But in his later epistles all these appear — and appear as more or less central in his message. In fact, an attempt has been made to assign an exact date to the emergence of these features of his enlarged gospel on the basis of I Cor. 2:2 where for the first time he introduces the cross. But the same idea occurs in Gal. 3:1 (cf. 1:4). Again the date of Galatians is immaterial, for 3:1 reproduces what Paul preached to these Gauls when he first came among them. That is, the cross and Christ crucified were preached in Galatia years before Paul ever reached Thessalonica! Also prior to his Macedonian mission, according to Gal. 2:14ff, Paul had withstood Peter in the matter of justification by faith in Christ (2:16, 21) the crucified (2:20). So, then, the assumption of gradual growth of his missionary message with the passing years of his missionary career needs more careful perusal. Too, the real reason for the absence of certain basic thoughts from Thessalonians may have been due to the occasional character of these letters. We have not room to notice Dodd's alleged development of universalism in Paul's letters, nor Alexander's assumption of advancement of the apostle's thought in relation to marriage and slavery, nor again Scott's assertion that he enlarged his ideas on the Messiah and concerning Gnosticism. Answers to these suppositions are rather complex, but move partly along the lines pointed out above.

Such then was the essence of Paul's gospel. This is what he preached. And this preaching of the gospel was the first stage in the creation of the Christian mind. The existence of Christians without first the communication of the facts of

142 Ibid., p. 152.
the Christian kerygma was an impossibility.

III. The Aims Behind Paul's Mission Preaching To Gentiles

1. Pre-baptismal Preaching (i.e., Preaching to the Unbaptized)

The aims behind Paul's mission preaching to the heathen may be succinctly summarized by the four words faith, repentance, confession, and baptism. Apparently each of his mission sermons had part or all of these as their goal.

a. To establish faith in God and in Jesus Christ his Son

The primary aim behind his preaching was to create faith in the one God and in his Son. Paul has no illusions here, for without faith there can be no Christian life. The relation of preaching to the eliciting of faith is made perfectly clear by Paul in Rom. 10:14, 17, "But how are men to call upon him in whom they have not believed? And how are they to believe in him of whom they have never heard? And how are they to hear without a preacher? ... So faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes by the preaching of Christ," and in Gal. 3:2, "Did you receive the Spirit by works of the law, or by hearing with faith?" (cf. 3:5). For Paul, there was no belief without antecedent preaching. Consequently, he speaks of "the word of faith which we preach" (i.e., the word which is to be believed, Rom. 10:8). All of his preaching is intended to produce faith in Christ; that is, both the goal and effect of his preaching is Christ and faith in him (Rom. 1:5, 16; 10:9-17; I Cor. 1:21; 2:5; 3:5; 15:2, 11, 14; Gal. 3:2, 5; I Th. 1:8.

But Paul attaches a meaning to faith in God and especially to "faith in Christ" which transcends its usual definition as (intellectual) acceptance of testimony from or about something or someone. As in all the N.T., faith means for Paul personal acceptance of and trust in Jesus himself, the commitment to

144. cf. Johannes Mueller, Das persoenliche Christentum der paulinischen Gemeinden, p. 163.
him of one's entire person. "Faith" came to be understood as the attitude which through and through governs the life of the religious man." This is a meaning which the term had not possessed either in the O.T. or in other ancient religions. This faith in Christ is the means to salvation (Rom. 1:16; 3:22; I Cor. 1:21; 15:11; Gal. 2:16; 3:22; II Th. 2:12; etc.) and is a kind of faith brought into being primarily by preaching of the gospel. At the close of his sermon in Acts 13, Paul anticipated that his hearers would accept Jesus in faith and he warns them (v. 41) against neglect and unbelief of what has been proclaimed, for "by him (Jesus) everyone that believes is freed from everything from which you could not be freed by the law of Moses" (13:39; cf. also v. 42; 14:1; 17:4,12; 18:4). It is very probable, therefore, that a call to belief in Jesus accompanied most of Paul's mission sermons. Faith in Christ was the second "stage" in the creation of the Christian mind.

It is worth noting that in spite of certain differences between Jesus and Paul, the two are at one in this fundamental matter. "Believe the gospel" is the primary message of both Jesus and Paul. The Christian gospel (Christ) is effective only as it (he) is accepted by or on faith. The new life of the

146. Idem.
147. Johannes Mueller says that the personal working of God's Spirit, not the new religious ideas or revolutionary change in world views, was what subjected men to Christ. (op. cit., P. 180, cf. 191). I should prefer to add that it was God's Spirit working in conjunction with the ideas and views expressed in the gospel which led to faith in Christ. Paul has not the slightest idea that the Spirit works in a vacuum, as Mueller elsewhere admits (p. 182).
148. Note in this connection the following: Rom. 1:16; 3:22; 4:24; 10:9-11, 14-17; 11:20, 23; 13:11-14; I Cor. 1:21; 2:5; 14:24?; 15:2,11; II Cor. 4:13,14; 15:11; Gal. 2:16; 3:2,5,8,22; I Th. 1:7,6; 2:2-4,13; II Th. 1:10; 2:14. Rawlinson is wholly correct in regarding "the new life as being mediated ... upon the basis of faith," The N.T. Doctrine of the Christ, p. 153.
Christian rests on belief in Christ. "The sin of the Pharisees and the scribes is not that they have maintained false doctrine, but that they do not believe in Him who is sent by the Father." It is also the basic error of hearing but unbelieving Gentiles.

In his homiletical presentation of Christ, Paul seems to have employed "methods" (in handling his Christological ideas), which were calculated to elicit faith in Jesus on the part of his hearers. First, his emphasis is always on Christ himself as the fulfillment of men's deepest needs, such needs as "reconciliation" (Paul speaks little or nothing in his epistles of "forgiveness"), which he always connects with Christ (Rom. 5:10, 11; II Cor. 5:18-20; cf. Rom. 11:15 where Christ is not mentioned but hovers in the background; Acts 13:38), "repentance" (cf. Rom. 2:4), and "moral power" and "spiritual renewal" (Rom. 8:9; I Cor. 6:19; II Cor. 5:17; etc.). Secondly, as we have observed already, he presents Christ's death as the proof of God's love and forgiveness to men (Rom. 5:6, 8; Gal. 3:1; I Th. 5:9, 10, cf. 1:10). Thirdly, he presents Christ's resurrection (1) as God's own approval of Christ's person and work (Rom. 4:24, 25; 6:9; Phil. 2:9; cf. Acts 13:30, 33, 37), and (2) as evidence of Christ's power to save men at the eschatological judgment from sin and death (Rom. 2:14; 5:10; 8:11, 23, 24; I Cor. 15:12-19; II Cor. 4:14; Gal. 3:22; I Th. 1:10; 4:14; 5:9; Acts 26:23, etc. It is worth noting in this latter connection a passage from Paul's mission kerygma in which he ties Christ's resurrection to that of the believers. He says (II Cor. 4:14), "We too believe and so we speak" (obviously a sentence from his preaching), "that he who raised the Lord Jesus will raise us also with Jesus and bring us with you into his presence." In Rom. 6:4-5, where Paul interprets the meaning of baptism, he

150. Ibid., p. 47.
151. Passages assuredly drawn from the mission preaching are underscored; these are paralleled and so elaborated in other connections.
directly relates Christ's own resurrection with that of the new Christian -- not only with the believer's resurrection to a new spiritual life at baptism (v. 5), but with his future bodily resurrection as well (v. 6).

b. To arouse to repentance from sin

Another major aim of all Paul's preaching was to bring about a change of thought (repentance, μετανοεῖν) as well as of life (reformation) — as Oepke puts it, to awaken a consciousness of God and the conscience. It is extremely difficult to determine the exact place of repentance in Paul's preaching to heathen, for the words metanoia and metanóein occur rarely in his epistles and even then mostly in reference to Christians. Both of the speeches of Paul in Acts before pagan audiences contain an admonition to repentance: "you should turn (epistrephein, cf. I Th. 1:9) from these vain things to a living God" (14:15). "God ... commands all men everywhere to repent" (17:30). However, if a single feature of Paul's preaching, as portrayed by the writer of Acts, is open to question, then, this one is. The call to repentance was a familiar part of Jewish preaching as the O.T. and contemporary first century records both Palestinian and Hellenistic prove. It was an equally familiar homiletic device of the (Stoic-Synic) diatribe, as well as of certain of the mystery religions.

152. cf. Hans Windisch, Kommentar ueber II Korintherbrief, pp. 410f; Adolf Schlatter, Kommentar ueber II Korintherbrief, pp. 674f.
154. Could this infrequency of reference be due at least partly to his doctrine of justification? "Repentance" is a cardinal "work" in every type of legalism. John the Baptist and Jesus in Palestine; Philo in the Diaspora; cf. Mark 1:4,15; cf. De paenitentia 1ff; De fuga et inventione 18; De specialibus legibus 1:3; De Abrahamo 18; see Moore, Judaism, 3:157 and 159, notes 228 and 231.
155. E.G., Epictetus, Discourses, 2:22, 35; cf. Oepke, p. 107, n.3.
156. cf. e.g., the instance cited by Richard Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 337.
The writer of Acts may well have adopted the techniques in his effort to represent what is thought likely would have been typical of Paul's handling this well-known medium in the service of Christian propaganda. On the other hand, had Paul failed to include repentance in his initial preaching before Gentiles, he would have been out of step with all other early Christian preachers. (cf. Heb. 6:1; Rev. 9:20f; 16:9,11; I Clement 7:4; 8:5; Ignatius, Eph. 10:1; Barnabas 16:9; Polycarp, Phil. 11:4; Hermas, Similitudes 8:6:1f, Mandates 4:3, Kerygma Petri 3). It is possible also that for the apostle the substance of repentance (as well as "forgiveness," as noted already, a rare term in Paul) is contained in his repeatedly used term "grace" (χάρις).

The apostle seems to have used both negative and positive means to evoke repentance in his Gentile hearers. Negatively, he sought to produce (1) repentance through sorrow and regret for their past sins (II Cor. 7:9-10; this passage refers to Christians, but II Cor. 12:21 repeats a similar idea of Paul's own sorrow over converts whose conduct was still more heathen than Christian, which leads to the supposition that here is revealed an approach used with non-Christians). Paul also apparently relied heavily upon the adverse (2) judgment of God as a means to repentance. In the mission passage at the beginning of Romans he 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" (2:5). Consequently he must have warned his heathen audiences of "the wrath to come" (Rom. 1:18; I Th. 1:10) and of "the condemnation of God" (Rom. 2:3-11) and "persuaded" men "knowing the fear of the Lord" (II Cor. 5:11). The whole of Romans 2:1-16 is a masterful statement of the "wrath and fury" (2:8) involved in God's judgment upon evil, which Paul must have repeated over and over to pagans (and Jews) as an incentive to repentance.


from their sins. This apocalyptic note of divine judgment had receded into the background in the preaching of Hellenistic Judaism by the first century. Yet a call to repentance like that in Acts 17:30, or at least its supporting reason ("because he (God) has fixed a day on which he will judge the world," v. 31), would hardly have been received as a novelty. In a positive way, Paul appeals to (1) the love of God, citing "his kindness and forbearance and patience" (Rom. 2:4). He asks pointedly in his mission sermon in Romans, "Do you not know that God's kindness is meant to lead you to repentance?" (2:4). Acts depicts him as pleading with the Lystrians to "turn from (epistrephein) these vain things to a living God" (14:15); his prime reasons for advocating this change is the goodness of the living God displayed (a) in nature (14:17, cf. 17:24-25). In Acts 14:16 and 17:30 the appeal is to God's goodness (b) in past history in "overlooking men's ignorance" and "allowing all nations to walk in their own ways" as an incentive to present repentance. But probably the apostle's most moving appeal was (c) the death of Christ on behalf of helpless sinners. This was the supreme manifestation of God's kindness (Rom. 2:4). The ideas in Romans 5:6-8 and II Cor. 5:19, therefore, probably appeared with great frequency in his mission sermons as a means of leading men to repent of their sins. Hence Acts 26:23 quite accurately connects the fact in Paul's kerygma "that the Christ must suffer" with the apostle's appeal to (Jews and) Gentiles "that they should repent and turn to God" (26:20).

With similar accuracy Acts has Paul describe his message as "the gospel of the grace of God" (20:24) and "the word of his grace" (20:22). Further, the apostle also seems to have appealed to (2) the promises of God in relation to repentance.

160. J. Weiss, HFZ, 1:222.
163. J. Weiss thinks that Paul disqualified himself with the Jews from the start by requiring of them the same repentance as from "sinners of the Gentiles" (Gal. 2:15), HFZ, 1:223.
Our evidence here is quite scanty. Acts records Paul's account of his commission to the Gentiles in which he is "to open their eyes that they may turn (Ταυτά ἐπιστρέψατε) from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins..." (26:18). Here surely is an appeal to the promise of (a) release from evil powers (cf. I Cor. 15:24-26) and of (b) the forgiveness of sins (cf. I Cor. 15:3, "for our sins; Acts 13:38), both of which are related to the repentance ("turning") of the Gentiles. Whether or not the promise of (c) the gift of the Holy Spirit was held out as an incentive cannot be learned from Acts or his letters. Gal. 3:2,5 relates the reception of the Spirit to hearing (preaching) and faith (believing); I Cor. 12:13 connects the Spirit's reception with baptism. The promise of (d) triumph over death, i.e., of eternal life, was probably connected with repentance. At least II Cor. 7:10 speaks of "a repentance that leads to salvation" and points to a worldly grief that "produces death."

The problem of how much moral instruction the apostle may have included in his first sermons to Gentiles is difficult to solve. By "repentance," as he uses the term in II Cor. 12:21, he certainly means more than a radical change of thinking or outlook; he includes also a radical break with the concrete sins of the past, even naming the ones he has in mind on this occasion: impurity, immorality, and licentiousness. These words, however, are directed to Christians, not unbelievers. The lapse of time before baptism in many cases, perhaps in all, -- indeed, in all we know about from Acts -- permitted no extensive moral teaching apart from what may have been included in the mission preaching. I Th, 1:9


166. Cf. Johannes Behm, TWNT, 5:1000; Wilhelm Bousset, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, ad. loc.
seems to hint at the inclusion of such moral teaching in his initial preaching, and I Th. 4:1-2, 3-7 seems to define what turning to God (repentance) to live and please him means — forsaking sexual irregularity and fraudulent business dealings.

The question of the relative order in which faith and repentance were first realized in the life of the hearer is a debatable one, though a suggested solution is possible. With ignorant heathen some sort of "intellectual consent" to the existence of the one God must have been present before they could "turn" to him. This is not full, "biblical" faith, though it is the beginning point of such. From this viewpoint, "faith" precedes repentance. But in Mark 1:15, Acts 20:21, and Heb. 6:1 the order listed is repentance and faith. However, it is probable that in the passages in Mark and Hebrews Jewish readers were in mind who already had faith in God and whose first need was to turn to him anew and purify their hearts; their primary need was repentance. After this, they were called to faith in Jesus Christ or anew in God. Pagans who had no background of monotheism would need first to be called to faith in God and of course with that naturally would go faith in Jesus Christ, who was the new and full revelation of God. Once faith in him and in his Son was established, the call to repentance from sin and reform of life, required of all converts from paganism, must follow. Acts 20:21 may actually confirm this. Paul's review of his missionary labors here depicts himself as "testifying both to Jews and to Greeks of repentance to God and of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." It may well be that the order here of repentance and faith was suggested by mention first of the Jews, so that a sort 167. Cf. Eric Wahlstrom, The New Life in Christ, p. 215.
168. Paul Wernle seems to hold a similar idea, Beginnings of Christianity, 1:185; cf. E. J. Holtzmann, Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie, 2:240; but see Oepke, op. cit., p. 71; Olaf Moe, Apostle Paul, 2:29.
of parallelism or pairing of members follows, i.e., his basic emphases were repentance from Jews and faith from Gentiles. At any rate the repentance is toward God and the faith towards Jesus. But both of these responses to his preaching are closely intertwined and one overlaps and often overtakes the other in the creating of the Christian mind, so that it is peculiarly difficult always to distinguish and define the limits of each.

c. To move to confession of Jesus

A third aim of Paul's mission preaching was to cause Gentiles to confess their faith in Jesus. He preached "Jesus Christ as Lord" (II Cor. 4:5). As we have seen, this was apparently the climax of his message. It became also the central item of confession which he expected of all his converts. This confession of faith in Jesus was probably made for the first time in relation to the believer's baptism. Paul says definitely that "the word of faith which we preach" is the same word which is on the lips and in the hearts of his (Christian) readers, which if they confess with their lips they will be saved, namely, "that Jesus is Lord" (Rom. 10:8-10, cf. 13). In this confession his hearers articulated verbally and publicly their subjection to a new "Lord," the only "Lord" there is for them (I Cor. 8:6). This was another stage in the process of creating the Christian mind, a stage reached by his hearers through the instrumentality of his preaching.

d. To lead to baptism into Christ

The last aim that we shall consider in relation to Paul's preaching was to lead his Gentilic hearers to acceptance of baptism. It is a striking fact that there is not a single instance of baptism in the N.T. apart from antecedent

169. Ezra P. Gould says that repentance is the change from sin to righteousness, "and the principle by which the change is effected is faith," The Biblical Theology of the New Testament, p. 59.
preaching of the gospel. This fact applies to Paul, even to those cases where the accounts involving him in Acts are extremely meager -- Acts 16:13-14 (Lydia); 16:32 (Philippian jailor; note that "they spoke the word of the Lord to him and to all that were in his house"); 18:8; 19:4-5. The writer of Acts expresses his own view of the matter clearly in 18:8, "And many of the Corinthians hearing Paul believed and were baptized." Paul himself connects the Galatians' hearing (which presupposed his preaching; cf. Rom. 10:14c) with their faith (3:2,5), and again their faith with their sonship to God (3:26), a sonship which he relates to sonship and heirship to Abraham both of which belong to those who are Christ's (3:39), and one belongs to Christ by baptism (3:27). That is, preaching, hearing, believing, and baptism seem rather closely bound up together in the apostle's thinking throughout the whole of chapter 3 in Galatians. Even more definite is Romans 6:3-11 where Paul presents his clearest views on baptism and follows in his discussion in 6:17,18 with the statement that, "You who were once slaves of sin have become obedient from the heart to the standard of teaching to which you were committed, and having been set free from sin ...." This "freeing" occurred at baptism, as 6:4,6 makes clear. He here relates their "being set free" with their "obedience" (and the latter with "teaching"). That is, the order seems to be: slaves, teaching, obedience (i.e., faith, repentance, confession, baptism?), freedom.

When the apostle connects his preaching to baptism in I Cor. 1:14-17, however, he places a secondary estimation upon his baptizing (though not on baptism as such!) Still the passage is definite testimony that in his own mind he automatically relates the two. For Paul, his preaching had a supreme place in his creating

172. It is the verb, βαπτίζω, not the noun form or verbal "nommen", which occurs here. Nor does the passage necessarily mean that Paul's companions did the baptizing, as H. B. Swete assumes, The Holy Spirit in the New Testament, p. 107.
of the Christian life and mind in others. Baptism held also a place for him in that new creation, but his specific and personal commission concerned the basic factor in the whole process, namely, preaching: "Christ sent me to preach the gospel."

That baptism nonetheless was of vast importance to him is clear from his remarks about it. (1) It marks the believer's entrance into Christ -- the church (Rom. 6:3; I Cor. 12:12; Gal. 3:27). (2) It is the candidate's own public acceptance, enactment, and proclamation of the very heart of the Christian kerygma -- the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ (and the candidate's own participation with Christ in these, Rom. 6:3-5; Col. 2:12,12,20; 3:1; cf. I Cor. 10:1-2). (3) It marks the candidate's purification from sin, that is, his realizing the promise of the forgiveness of sin (I Cor. 6:11 is probably best understood with reference to baptism; Acts 22:16). (4) It marks the bestowal and reception of the Holy Spirit (I Cor. 12:13; II Cor. 1:22; Acts 19:1-6).

There is both a negative and a positive aspect in baptism -- a breaking off of relations with sin and the sinful past ("Our old self was crucified with him,


175. Actually baptism is a "reproduction" or dramatization of only the burial and resurrection of Christ and of the candidate; it does not "portray" the mode (crucifixion) but only the fact of the death of Christ and of the candidate. At this point Bultmann's comments (TNT 1:140) are quite erroneous, being a complete misunderstanding of the idea involved in submersion of the candidate beneath the water; the idea in the act is not one of drowning but of burial (Rom. 6:4; Col. 2:12). H. V. Martin also misses the point in arguing for self-immersion of the candidate and completely overlooks the action involved in Acts 8:39, "The Primitive Form of Christian Baptism," Expository Times (1949), 59:160-163.


so that the sinful body might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin," Rom. 6:6; "so you must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus," Rom. 6:11) and a uniting with Christ who renews the whole personality ("You ... were baptized into Christ," Gal. 3:27; "If anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation," II Cor. 5:17). (5) Baptism is, therefore, an important factor in the creating of the Christian life and mind. Apparently Paul did not regard it as the one great formative event in the embryonic stage of the Christian life. Rather he seems to have regarded it as the culmination of the formative process(es) in the Christian's early spiritual existence. Back of baptism and contemporaneous with it was Paul's preaching and the candidate's faith, repentance, and confession. The apostle played the role both of father and mother to his converts in this their formative period; like a father he "begot" them "in Christ Jesus through the gospel" (I Cor. 4:15; cf. Phm. 10); like a mother, he "travailed" with them -- until they were brought forth as new creatures (?) (Gal. 4:19; II Cor. 5:17). He changes his figure of speech in the middle of Gal. 4:19, and completes the figure by saying "until Christ be formed in you." This is a highly instructive clause. He recognizes here that there was a formative process in their new Christian existence, and though God is the ultimate source of that new life (I Cor. 1:30), still he, Paul himself, played a significant role in it also. The clause further suggests that the source of the new life lay outside the individual. The point at which that new life may be said to break through, the point where there is


"new life," centers for Paul in baptism. He never calls baptism a new birth, though he "begets," "travails," "nurses" and his converts are "formed," and are called "babes," "little children" (reading ἀνάστασις in Gal. 4:19), "new creatures" (or "creation"), etc. Baptism marks both (1) a (symbolic) process of the death of the old man and the resurrection of the new and (2) the decisive step on the road of the new life as a primary act of obedience to the candidate's new Lord. It is an act that gathers up in a single moment and in a single person the whole of God's history of salvation as well as the "history" of the establishment of the new life in the candidate since his first moment of belief in the gospel (cf. Rom. 6:3-19).

For Paul baptism climaxes the formative "process(es)" of the new life and mind in Christ. It is, therefore, both the culminating point in the creating of the Christian mind and the beginning point of its development. That is, it is both a climactic and an initiatory act. Its real meaning and importance, however, remain incomplete apart from preaching, believing, repenting, and confessing Christ, as well as the working of the Holy Spirit. Baptism is not viewed by Paul as a memorial, nor as a mere symbol, nor as a magical rite. It is a rite of initiation into the body of Christ. Just how much sacramentalism the apostle relates to the act is difficult to determine, but something does happen in or in conjunction with baptism. He uses it as a

181. cf. Karl Barth, "It (baptism) answers the question of the divine certainty and the divine authority of the word which the man has already heard, which in faith he has already laid hold of and to which he has replied in the affirmative," The Teaching of the Church Regarding Baptism, p. 42 (underscoring mine); cf. Roland Allen, Missionary Methods, p. 96, n.1; Olaf Moe, Apostle Paul, 2:54f, 328-333.
183. Karl Barth, Ibid., p. 20.
185. cf. Oepke, TWNT, 1:1540, lines 17ff.
teaching device, but it is much more than this.

The question of laying on of hands need not detain us here. This "hand-laying" was an act related to the reception of the Spirit, which in turn was related to baptism. The instances of laying on of hands cited in Acts (8:17; 19:6) appear to be exceptional cases in which baptism and the reception of the Spirit were not simultaneous. Indeed, Bultmann thinks the intent of such passages was "to teach precisely the inseparability of baptism and the reception of the Spirit."

Of more significance is the question of the lapse of time between the candidate's acceptance of the gospel and his submission to baptism. Acts leaves the impression that baptism followed almost immediately upon the preaching and the hearer's positive or favorable response to it (cf. 16:14-15, 32-33; 18:8; 19:5; 22:16; cf. 2:41; 8:36ff; 10:47f). There is really little help on the problem in the rest of the N.T., though it has been suggested that Paul withheld baptism from his converts in Athens (Acts 17:34), on the ground that he elsewhere (I Cor. 16:15) calls the household of Stephanas in Corinth "the first fruits of Achaia."

But why he should do so, since these Athenians "believed," is left unexplained; and besides, they were still his converts -- baptism or no baptism!

191. W. M. Ramsay, The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the N.T., pp. 365ff. The relation of Athens to Achaia is one possible explanation, cf. K. Lake and E. J. Cadbury, Beginnings of Christianity, 4:219. It is possible that his memory is confused or that Luke is in error. There is also the question of where in Achaia the household of Stephanas was when won -- neither Acts nor Paul locates the scene in Corinth. If it were in Athens or even before Paul arrived in Athens, it might help explain why he almost forgets the Stephanas familia in his listing of those whom he baptized in the Corinthian church (I Cor. 1:16), since in his memory the baptism of this family is not associated with Corinth but with some other place.
2. Post-baptismal Preaching (i.e., Preaching to the Baptized)

Of the speeches attributed to the apostle to the Gentiles in Acts only one is addressed to a Christian audience -- the farewell to the elders of the church at Ephesus recorded in 20:18-35. Even were we sure of its genuineness, its contribution to our understanding of Paul's sermons to Christians would be limited by its very nature; it can hardly be described as a sermon. Moreover, valedictory sermons are never typical. And yet just such an address provides a rare insight into the purposes, motives, and results of all his preaching among these particular hearers.

On the other hand the situation is different with regard to his epistles. All of them, except possibly Philemon, have been regarded as sermons intended to be read before the particular congregation addressed, probably instead of the message or messages usually delivered by members of the group (cf. I Th. 5:27; Col. 4:16) But they are not sermons in form or aim. Nor are they homilies. Yet they probably do mirror more of the content, structure, and style of the apostle's preaching to his churches than has sometimes been realized. We have noticed already that certain passages in his letters may have belonged to sermons preached over and over on different occasions to different audiences, e.g., Rom. 1-3(4) and 9-11. At any rate we probably possess enough to judge the aims of his preaching to Christian audiences. Briefly summarized these seem to have been fourfold: (1) To train, challenge, and refresh the minds of his hearers about the great facts of the Christian faith (the entire Roman epistle is the prime example of this; cf. 15:15, "I have written to you by way of reminder ...."). (2) To introduce incidents, sayings, and statements involving the work, teaching, and person of Jesus which had not been presented previously to his congregations or which needed repeating and/or explaining (note the "words" of Jesus introduced at I Cor. 7:10; 9:14; 11:23ff). (3) To explain further the O.T., especially in the light of 192. cf. James Moffatt, First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, pp. xxiiiff, on I Cor. 193. See Ernst von Dobschuetz, "Gedanken zur paulinischen Hemeneutik," Theologische Blätter (1929), pp. 151-154.
Christ, and vice versa (cf. Rom. 15:4; I Cor. 9:8-10; 10:6,11; etc.). (4) To inspire and exhort to greater faith and life in Christ (ethical behavior) on the part of his converts (cf. Rom. 1:11,15; "That I may impart to you some spiritual gift to strengthen you ... So I am eager to preach the gospel to you;" II Cor. 12:19, "We have been speaking in Christ, and all for your upbuilding, beloved," etc.). Further study of Paul’s communication to his converts had best be reserved for our investigation of his teaching.

III. Homiletical Forms and Methods in Paul’s Mission Preaching

1. Formal Elements in Paul’s Sermons

With reference to certain of the formal elements in Paul’s sermons we are forced to rely on conjecture. If we possessed but a single complete and authentic sermon from him, we could proceed with much greater assurance. The sermon as a means of transmitting the gospel was probably the most fundamental and important form of primitive Christian communication and has left its mark almost everywhere on the literary structure of the early Christian traditions.

We are forced, therefore, to proceed largely by conjecture and inference, and hence with caution, on the matter of the structure of Paul’s sermons. We are assuming that certain features of his preaching style(s), interests, and emphases reappear also in his epistolary productions. Those longer sections widely regarded as homiletic will be of greatest assistance, along with what general deductions can be garnered from other and briefer passages.

194. The whole of this aim has been questioned, at least so far as the use of the O.T. in early Christian worship services goes. See Gerhard Delling, Der Gottesdienst im Neuen Testament, p. 90ff.

195. Each of these four aims is represented in the speech in Acts 20:(1) vs. 20-21; (2) vs. 26; (3) vs 27(?); (4) vs 28, 31-32.

196. The "Form-Criticism" school known as "Form-Criticism" (or better rendered, "Form-History" or "Tradition-History" has capitalized heavily (but frequently with questionable profit) upon the impress of the sermon (and other forms of early Christian communication and worship) on the extant records of the primitive church, especially in the gospels; see Rudolf Bultmann, Die Geschichte der Symptischen Tradition; Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel; E.S. Easton, The Gospel before the Gospels; Vincent Taylor, The Formation of the Gospel Tradition; F.C. Grant, Form Criticism; A.H. McNeile, Introduction to the N.T., pp. 46-58; see E.C. Selwyn, Commentary on the First Epistle of Peter, p.366.
a. His use of arrangement

To gain an adequate answer to the question of Paul's use of an overall plan in his sermons we need at least one whole sermon. Judging from the structure of his letters, or even the more homiletic portions of them, a positive answer to the question is inescapable. We may ask further whether the great two-fold division, so often noticed in his letters, making of the former part a doctrinal section and of the latter part a more hortatory division (cf. Rom. 1-11, 12-14; Gal. 1-4, 5-6; I Th. 1-3, 4-5; II Th. 1-2, 3), did not characterize also his spoken missionary sermons. The phenomenon is observed elsewhere in the New Testament (cf. Heb. 1-11, 12-13; I Pet. 1-2; 10; 2:11-5:14). Of this in Paul, however, we have no proof. In Rom. 1-3, the dialectical and hortatory elements appear to be interwoven, one with the other, from the start. Yet this fact does not overrule a second observation that there is also a very definite advance of thought within these chapters — from the assertion and proof of the universal sinfulness and lostness of Gentiles and Jews to a presentation of the sole means of salvation, namely, Jesus Christ "to be received by faith." To be sure we have to admit that the organization of considerable sections of Paul's writings is very carelessly done, but he was no systematic theologian and his letters are not theological treatises systematically conceived and executed. Yet there probably was in all his sermons the elements of (a) unity (whole sections of his epistles can be summed up under one or two words, e.g., Rom. 1:16-4:25, "justification by faith;" I Cor. 1-4, "Christian wisdom;" 13, "love;" etc.), (b) order (the type of mentality revealed in Paul's epistles in not the "filing-cabinet" type, but organization is generally present), (c) development of thought (which proceeds at times in the rabbinical manner, i.e., omitting to state some of the important intervening steps in the reasoning.

processes, e.g., the understanding of Rom. 4:15, "For the law brings wrath, but where there is no law there is no transgression," rests on just such an assumed intermediate thought: "that a sin can only be pursued by the wrath of God if it is represented as a 'transgression' of an announced commandment of God; in any other case it is indeed 'sin' but not 'transgression'," and (d) simplicity (which becomes apparent upon contrast with the style of Plutarch, Josephus, Philo, etc.). On the other hand there is a complexity in Paul at times which makes exegesis of certain clauses and phrases uncertain. Most of this, however, seems due to his verbosity and perhaps the haste and spontaneity of his method of oral composition.

b. The introduction of the sermon

We are assuming that Paul's sermons had introductions and conclusions, even if these were only beginning and ending sentences attached to a greatly extended "body." He had to begin and end some how! Acts 13:16, 17:22, and 20:18 are probably correct, therefore, in prefixing one or two sentences of introductory material to the speeches that follow. The purpose of the introduction was primarily that of contact in order to secure the attention of the audience. Hence, the terms of address always were adapted to fit those before him (cf. "Men of Israel, and you that fear God," Acts 13:16; "Men of Athens," 17:22; a form of designation for the elders of Ephesus is omitted in Acts 20:18; his favorite designation for Christians, introductory and otherwise, seems to have been ' αυτοι', cf. Rom. 1:13; 7:1; 10:1; 13:1; I Cor. 1:10; 2:1; 10:1; II Cor. 1:8; Gal. 1:11; I Th. 1:4; II Th. 1:3; etc. It is difficult to determine what if any distinctive Pauline features may have marked his homiletical introductions.

199. cf. R. C. Jeff, "As to mere style, Plutarch ... was too fond of long compound words and involved sentences," in Leonard Whibley, A Companion to Greek Studies, 182; H. Almqvist, Plutarch und das Neue Testament (1946), vol. 15 in Acta Seminarii Nötestamentici Upsaliensis.
If the epistolary introductions are characteristic also of his sermonic ones, then diplomacy (compliments) and a rapid procedure to the subject of immediate interest were two outstanding marks. Both of these were important to the apostle's efforts in reformulating the thought and life of his auditors. He was always moving among strangers -- diplomacy was mandatory. He had only a limited amount of time to work -- straightforward movement of thought was essential. Sometimes he began with a "text" from the O.T. (Rom. 1:17, quoting Hab. 2:4, may be so understood in relation to the following chapters); sometimes he started from a theme (Rom. 9:6 introduces chapters 9-11 with the theme of the apparent failure of God's word -- because of Israel's rejection of the gospel); at other times he may have begun with the situation at hand (as represented by the speeches in Acts 13, 14, 17, and 20); on occasion he may even have introduced his sermon by a quotation from an early Christian hymn (of his own or another's composition, as may be the case in Col. 1:15-20; cf. Phil. 2:6-11), or a Christian prophecy or apocalypse (cf. II Th. 2:1ff; cf. 1:5ff), or perhaps even with a kerygmatic summary of the fundamental facts in the gospel (note how Romans opens with such, 1:1-4; so does the long "discourse" on the resurrection in I Cor. 15). Before Christian audiences his introductions may have included also a doxology (Rom. 1:7; I Cor. 1:3; II Cor. 1:2; Gal. 1:3; I Th. 1:1; II Th. 1:2) and, as a closing to the introduction and transitional "device," a brief prayer (Rom. 1:8f; I Cor. 1:4ff; II Cor. 1:3ff; I Th. 1:21; II Th. 3:1:3). Again a recitation of history (Gal. 1:6ff; I Th. 1:3ff; cf. Acts 13:16ff; 20:16ff) or a list of items (cf. Rom. 9:1-5, the privileges of Israel, the vices of unregenerate mankind) may have served as material for his introductions.

200. cf. Sanday and Headlan, ECC on Rom., p. 22; Alfred B. Garvie, New Century Bible, ad hoc.
201. Gerhard Delling, op. cit., p. 91; also 57*, n. 42.
202. Unless these were intended to open the "body" of the sermon.
203. Paul does not pause for such expressions of prayer and thanksgiving in Gal., though he does expand the usual doxology (1:4-5).
Before Christians he may have opened when drastic measures were called for, with a rebuke, intended to startle and provoke (Gal. 1:6). It seems unlikely that he ever began preaching with strong exhortations, though a milder and more diplomatic appeal may have been very effective especially with Christians (I Cor. 1:10; cf. II Cor. 10:1). That he began many of his sermons with a question also seems improbable. It is more possible that the opening sentences sometimes took on the form of a promise (cf. Rom. 1:17, "will live") or command (cf. "agree," "be united" in I Cor. 1:10). Most often they doubtless were factual (most of our evidence falls here; Rom. 9:1 opens with an "oath" as to the veracity of the facts that follow!) or explanatory (II Cor. 1:8,15). Be it noted that all of the above instances stand at the beginning of recognized sermonic or epistolary sections.

c. The body of the sermon

In the main part of the sermon stood Paul's arguments, and elaborations of the idea(s) presented in the introduction (or in the opening line or two of the body itself). Beyond this observation we can scarcely go with certainty. What of (a) the question of a plan -- the use of subdivisions centering about different facets of his basic "idea"? Judging from the speeches in Acts 13 and 17, Paul (in his mission sermons) probably first reviewed certain historic facts relating to salvation (drawn from God's historic relations to men, from the O.T., and from certain traditions concerning Jesus especially his death, burial, and resurrection which fulfilled the predictions of the O.T., Acts 13:16-25; 17:22-29). Out of these facts came the pronouncement of the promise and proof of salvation from the coming wrath -- through Jesus, God's savior, who was appointed and approved by his death and resurrection (13:23,26-39; 17:31), because of which a divine command to a serious consideration of this message and to belief and repentance was issued (Acts 13:40-41; 17:30). The speech in Acts 13 seems to

If II Cor. 10-13 is a separate letter from 1-9, it is probably only part of one; surely the introduction is missing.
be constructed along some such lines, each of the three divisions being introduced by direct address to the audience (I, "Men of Israel, and you that fear God," v. 16, followed by a sketchy resume of the O.T. backgrounds and Jesus' appearance at the time of John the Baptist; II, "Brethren, sons of the family of Abraham, and those among you that fear God," v. 26, followed by a brief account of Jesus' death under Pilate, his burial, and resurrection, all foretold by the prophets; III, "Brethren," vs. 38, introducing the consequences of "point" II, the salvation wrought by Christ, and closing with a warning against unbelief).

His mission sermons probably contained some such body of materials arranged in somewhat similar order. The one major difference would be with the O.T. material under "point" I. Here, before heathen, more of the anti-polytheistic propaganda (borrowed largely from the Jewish mission, with here and there traces of Hellenistic philosophical influence showing) would be used -- doubtless as confirming and supplementing the O.T., but never as supplanting it.

The speech in Acts 17 has been similarly analyzed, but not so symmetrically as the address in Acts 13 because the former apparently is incomplete.

The above threefold division of (Gentilic) sermons by the apostle is a very ancient one. A more modern one quite similar to it has been set out as follows:

First, the message or kerygma ("the gospel") consisting of the events related to Christ, particularly those embodied in the "formula" in I Cor. 15:3-4 -- his death, burial, and resurrection. Second, certain proofs drawn from the O.T. scriptures and from the testimony of the witnesses to Christ's death and

206. See Roland Allen, Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or Ours?, pp. 82-83.
206. H.J. Cadbury supposes that the "break" in the address, here marked by a new vocative, is due to the close of a quotation from John the Baptist and that the vocative is inserted to inform the reader that the quotation is ended (as in Acts 2:22, 29; 7:51; 26:19), Beginnings of Christianity, 5:426. But 13:26 also marks a change of thought, as does 13:38.
resurrection. Third, an exhortation to acceptance of the message (Christ) in faith and repentance.

Sermons to converts may have followed a plan which cast the body into two major parts: Theoretical and practical — a doctrinal section followed by a hortatory one. Proof of this, as we have already seen, is the wide usage in the epistles of the N.T. of such a scheme. The procedure is possibly a carryover from similar conventional sermonic organization heard and used by the apostle in the synagogue and possibly even from the Stoic diatribe.

As to the matter of (b) emphases within the body of his mission sermons, we can say only that these were probably regulated by the cardinal facts of the gospel and the type of audience addressed. Sermons before Christian audiences likewise must have contained emphases according to the needs of the hearers, as well as the mood of the preacher. The one rule everywhere regulative of the homiletic emphases in Paul is "that which builds up" (I Cor. 14:4-5, 12, 19; II Cor. 12:19). Emphasis in Paul was gained apparently by some of the common rhetorical "tricks" of all speakers — repetition, description, bluntness, short sentences (popular also with Stoic speakers), quotation, illustration, etc. Perhaps his most frequent "device" was extensive concentration on a single theme, e.g., Galatians.

209. Bo Reicke adopts essentially the same analysis but constructed somewhat after the pattern of a syllogism in logic: (1) Thesis (the kerygma), (2) Proofs (of four kinds: (a) the Jews as eye-witnesses of Christ's miracles and passion, (b) the C.T., (c) witness of the apostles to the resurrection the evidence of Christ's lordship, and (d) Christ's present power and miracles and gift of the Holy Spirit — only (b) and (c) actually find a place in mission sermons before Gentiles, a fact unnoticed by Reicke), and (3) Conclusion (the need to repent and to be baptized). See Reicke's article, "A Synopsis of Early Christian Preaching" in Anton Fridericksen, The Root of the Vine, pp. 139ff. See other patterns in Roland Allen, Missionary Methods, pp. 83-84; Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, p. 15. C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Development, pp. 25-29; R. Leijis, art., "Predication des Apotres," Nouveau Relig. Theologie (1947), 79:607ff.

210. See Bultmann, Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt, pp. 99-100, who thinks the latter possibility more influential on the apostle.

211. Bultmann, Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt, pp. 67, 69.
and Romans; in others a single major theme keeps recurring even after he appears to have left it, e.g., "wisdom" in I Cor. 1-4, cf. 8:1, 2, 7, 11).

As to (c) transitional words, phrases, clauses, and sentences within the body of the sermon, there were such 1/ set formulas as a/ $\delta \tau \iota \varepsilon$ $\tau o\tau o\tau o$ or $\delta \iota \o\$ (Rom. 2:1; 5:12), b/ (το) $\lambda o\iota \pi o\nu$, especially in transition to practical exhortations but not to introduce a specific case (II Cor. 13:11; I Th. 4:1; cf. Phil. 3:1), and the c/ $\nu \iota \nu \varepsilon$ $\delta \iota$, so often used to mark the transition from "life in flesh" to "life in Christ" (Rom. 11:30; 16:26; I Cor. 7:14; Gal. 4:9; cf. Eph. 5:8). The expression $\eta \iota r\iota\sigma\varepsilon$ $\delta \iota$ does not occur in Paul. The apostle seems also to have used questions as transitional devices— for objection (cf. I Cor. 15:35; Rom. 3:1, etc.) and for continuation of the subject (Rom. 4:9f; 8:31; Gal. 3:19, etc.). But perhaps the most important transitional technique, so far as his education of the Christian is concerned, is that of 2/ kerygmatic summaries which epitomize and review in a few concise phrases and clauses what he has just proclaimed or explained in one section of his speech before he turns to his next division (Rom. 4:24b-35; 8:31-39; 11:32, etc.); or they may function as "clinchers" for what was said in a previous section of a speech but stand at the opening of a new section as a sort of anticipatory outline of some of the major things he is about to develop (Rom. 5:1-3, perhaps 1-5; I Cor. 15:1-11; Gal. 3:1-5). There are other types of summaries which act as transitional pivots in the apostle's speaking (and writing), such as didactic (I Cor. 8:1; 12:1-3) and hortatory (Rom. 12: 1-2; I Cor. 5:1-2; 10:1-5; II Cor. 6:1; 10-1; Gal. 5:1; I Th. 4:1, etc.), but perhaps none of these plays quite the role of the kerygmatic summarizations.

213. Bultmann, Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt, p. 101, suggests that its absence is intentional, due to the nature of the phrase. It implies that its hearers already had and were able to follow the ideal in question, and hence it fits "eine Epigonezeit," an age that lives off a former age.
d. Conclusion of the sermon

In relation to the sermonic conclusion, our remarks are sheer guesses. We do not know whether Paul ever closed, for example, with a summary or recapitulation of his "point" or "points," whether with a climactic illustration (perhaps Christ's death and/or resurrection itself), or whether there even was a very carefully thought out termination. Of his mission sermons we may be certain only that there was a (1) direct appeal to belief and repentance at the close (cf. Rom. 3:22, 25 (4:24); Acts 13:38-41; 17:30-31). There is a real possibility that the conclusion may have contained a (2) repetition of the motif (or "text") which had been enunciated near the beginning of the sermon. Our evidence is strongest on this point, for the two "sermonic" sections in Romans seem to bear out this observation (cf. 1:17 with 3:21, 25, 26 (or 4:25); 9:5 with 11:36). There may or may not have been a (3) practical application of the "teaching" (contained in the body of the sermon) in the concluding sentences. This feature probably characterized most of the sermons to converts. (4) (Pastoral) exhortation doubtless appeared in relation to and in addition to the practical application. That is, both unbelievers and converts were told not only what and how to do, but were urged to do (cf. Acts 20:28-35). There must have been other closing conventions available to the apostle, just as there had been for him in his introductions, such as quotations from hymns or from the O.T. (cf. Rom. 8:33ff; 11:33-36; I Cor. 2:15f; 5:13; 15:33, 55; II Cor. 8:15), a brief apocalyptic hope outlined that lifted his hearers into another world or brought a new world down upon them (cf. I Cor. 16:22; I Th. 5:23), the use of doxology (as in most of his letters), exploitation of climax (Rom. 8:33ff; 11:25ff; etc.) paradoxes (cf. II Cor. 12:10), imperatives (very often; cf. I Th. 5:25-27, or rather 5:12-27f), promises (Rom. 3:30 (4:24); 15:12-29; II Cor. 13:11; Phil. 4:19; etc.) maxims or aphorisms (Rom. 11:34-36; cf. I Cor. 3:22f; 4:20; II Cor. 10:17f), logical deductions (cf. Rom. 11:32), principles
of thought and conduct (Gal. 6:16), prayers (every letter attributed to Paul opens and closes with a benediction; even though the language may not be his, the custom is; it may have been true of all or many of his sermons), and kerygmatic summaries (cf. Rom. 3:24-25 (or 4:24-25); Gal. 6:14,17).

In his conclusions the apostle's tone rose to a higher pitch, for at this crucial point he drove home the urgency of his message (Rom. 3:21-26 (or 4:24-25); 8:31ff; 11:33ff; I Cor. 15:51ff). There is a real possibility that the direct, personal, and searching, question or at least the "interrogative mood" closed most of his initial mission sermons. Something like the interrogative impact of I Cor. 4:21, standing at the close of the progressively heightening line of thought presented in the first four chapters of that epistle, must have led to considerable soul-searching among attentive hearers: "What do you wish?" Will you choose chaos or order, death or life, defeat or victory, destruction or Christ? This was part of the eschatological element that, as noted already, may have appeared in conclusions to his mission sermons. Whether he used the singular in such pointed appeals to groups is unknown; judging from epistolary precedent, he did (cf. I Cor. 16:23, ἡ ἀλήθεια, πρὸς τὸν Δίκαιον; Gal. 6:17, ἦλθεν ἐστὶ).

For creating the Christian mind the conclusion of the mission sermon probably ranked in importance above all the apostle's other efforts, both oral and literary. Here he sought to arouse conviction of the truth of his claims just uttered and to marshal the hearer's will behind these claims as they presented themselves to his attention. Here was God's call to men. Here eventuated a decision for or against this new "Lord." Yet this call was not dependent on a merely human response in which human initiative saved it from defeat. God was at work in the hearts of those who heard when the word was spoken in the mission sermon.

(I Th. 2:13-14) and witnessed for the first time by heathens in the lives of the apostolic messengers (I Th. 1:5, 6; 2:10). The conclusion was the main place where Paul could say "we persuade men" (II Cor. 5:11), and yet it was "God making his appeal through us" (II Cor. 5:20).

e. The style of Paul's sermons

(1) Qualities of style

A great deal of study has been given to Paul's style. It is an important matter to our discussion in so far as it served to render the gospel either acceptable or offensive to its hearers and recipients. Paul places a low evaluation on the whole subject (I Cor. 1:17, 2:1, 4; 4:20) partly because he was professionally untrained as a Greek rhetorician (cf. II Cor. 10:10, 12), and partly because he considers the subject matter of his kerygma more significant than its garb (I Cor. 1:23; 2:2). All students detect a Hebrew element in his Greek. Some detect in his style the popular language, the legal lingo, the overtones of the mysteries, and the jargon of magic. "Few have ever accused him of being literary." Among the numerous qualities of his style we call attention to five: (a) clumsiness, (b) liveliness, (c) plainness, (d) "polemicalness," and (e) "homileticalness." There is a certain (a) clumsiness in the sentence structure especially near the beginning of his letters (Rom. 1-3; I Cor. 1:4-8; I Th. 1:2-7; II Th. 1:13-12; cf. Phil. 1:3-11). Bultmann, in his extensive comparative study of Paul's preaching style, reckons that such sentences are not reminiscent of his oral preaching, but that here Paul merely writes. Such clumsiness he says, is due to Paul's desire to make the sentences express his purpose and at the same time by

219. Adolf Deissmann, Light From the Ancient East, pp. 301ff.
221. Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt, p. 73.
them to bring theological thoughts to expression. In light of what Paul says about his poor speaking ability, however, it may be that just the opposite is true—that his oral preaching showed this clumsiness more frequently, for in case of letter writing or dictation there was ample opportunity, denied to the public speaker, to revise both thought and phraseology. The (b) extravaganza of Paul breaks out in his epistles in passages of elevated inspiration and in an eloquence all his own (cf. Rom. 8:31ff; 11:28ff; I Cor. 4:11-13; 13:1ff; II Cor. 4:7-12; 6:3-10) as well as in warnings, confirmations with oaths, consolations, assurances, etc. In his six earlier letters, approximately one sentence in every six is a question, one in six is a promise, and one in five is a command. He alternates between attack and proclamation, wrath and wooing, monologue and dialogue. There is lacking in Paul, however, that sudden shift in temper between jesting and earnestness, calmness and enthusiasm so common in the Cynic-stoic diatribe of his time. A (c) plainness marks his speech and writings as we have seen above (see simplicity). He is frank and honest if not always clear. Even in his letters there is a literary directness which is said to make him "one of the classicists of Hellenism." He sometimes writes (and so probably spoke) in a (d) polemical vein, as is seen in the first chapters of Rom. and I Cor. and especially in Gal. However, in his mission preaching the negative scoldings and blamings sometimes directed at headstrong young converts were very probably absent. Everywhere his letters are dominated by a (e) homiletic tone. "Almost everything is said in a far more intense and emphatic manner than one would expect to find in a quiet friendly conversation or monologue." Part of this sermonic mood is his seriousness. There is

relatively little humor in the entire Pauline epistolary Corpus. The reader encounters a supernatural world where ultimate issues and realities are the life and breath of the writer. Even the most daily affairs of life are regarded and described with an obvious gravity (cf. the "personal" sections in Rom. 15:14ff; I Cor. 16; Gal. 1:11-2:21; Phil. 1:13-2:30). Mockery and irony supplant the lighter vein (I Cor. 4:8; II Cor. 10-13, especially 11:19ff; 12:13; Gal. 5:12; cf. Phil. 3:2; 3:13).

(2) Means of achieving style

Among the ways open to Paul for achieving style in his literary and sermonic productions was (a) his choice of words. It is not possible for us to enter into a study of his vocabulary. From studies already made in this area we may observe that he chooses terms familiar and understandable to his hearers, shows generally a predilection for concrete and pictorial terms as over against those more abstract and indeterminative, and employs slogans and catch words in opposition to opponents (e.g., "all things are lawful," I Cor. 6:12; 10:23) and in directions and information for his converts (Rom. 10:6ff; I Cor. 15:32). He shows an instinctive feeling for the right word.

A second means of achieving style as noted above is (b) his construction of sentences. In addition to long, involved, and unwieldy constructions, there were also short and abrupt expressions, best observed in his exclamations (Rom. 3:6; 6:2; I Cor. 15:36), answers to rhetorical questions (Rom. 3:2,9,27), and...

228. Bultmann, p. 105; August Tholuck, however, saw a light and witty streak in what he calls Paul's "puns," i.e., the apostle's word plays, such as those in Rom. 1:29, 51; II Cor. 8:22; 9:8, etc. "Remarks on The Life, Character, and Style of the Apostle Paul," in The Biblical Cabinet (1840), 28:31-34.


imperatives (Rom. 12:6-21; II Cor. 13:11; I Th. 5:12-22, 25-27).

There is also (c) his conciseness and verbosity. Sometimes he telescopes his thinking into sentences so compact, closely worded, and closely reasoned that we find it difficult to follow his train of thought. This is the case in Rom. 4:2-5, 10-16; I Cor. 15:12-19, 44-47; and Gal. 3:6-22. In these passages, quite in the rabbinical manner, often many middle terms are left out; consequently his exposition becomes rather obscure and leaves the reader floundering. But his worst habit is verbosity. Not infrequently, he becomes carried away with an idea and piles up superfluous words and phrases in his efforts to define or express it (cf. II Cor. 4:6, "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ"). Sometimes he becomes so involved that he loses connection with the idea being expressed, abandons it, and switches to a completely different line of thought without ever returning to complete what he set out originally to state (cf. Rom. 5:7, 12; 8:12; Gal. 3:4). Most of these cases, however, may be put down to excitement or passion aroused by hopes, fears, adversaries, etc., which were before his mind as he wrote. His hearers must have found him hard to follow in such instances, so we are not surprised by misunderstandings arising among his young converts, whom he had instructed only a matter of weeks or months before. In fact, there were such misunderstandings in all the churches of his own founding represented by his earlier extant letters! Here is one of the notable instances of his human fallibility as an agent in creating the Christian mind.

The most important means of achieving style was (d) his figures of speech. These were a major factor in the formal elements in his sermons and hence in the development of the Christian mind. These have been well classified and

231. See J. Weiss, HFX, 1:418.
discussed elsewhere, so that we need notice only the most outstanding of them for our purposes. They are of two types, the "sound-effect" and the "sense-effect" figures. Of the "sound-effect" figures, we may mention two: 1/ wordplays (involving similar sounding words, words with a common root or stem, words having the first or other syllables changed, and words that are antitheses -- the last involving contrast, paradox and oxymoron), and 2/ parallelisms (synonymous, antithetical, climactic, parallelism of questions -- or of questions and answers, parallelism of imperatives, and parallelisms using anaphora and ephiphora).

The "sense-effect" figures of speech are of greater significance for our study. Among these were a/ rhetorical questions (to create self-reflection, I Cor. 4:7; 9:1, 4-6; etc.; to express the speaker's own self-consciousness and thinking, Rom. 8:31-35; I Cor. 1:20; and to elicit the hearer's assent and agreement, I Cor. 9:7; 10:16; 12:17,19; 14:7-9; etc.), b/ imperatives (ironical, I Cor. 11:6; Gal. 5:12; hortatory, I Cor. 1:26; 3:10; 8:9,10; 12:18; et al.), c/ exclamations (rejection or prohibition, Rom. 3:4,6,31; 6:2,15; 7:7,13; etc.; wish formulas, I Cor. 4:2; II Cor. 11:1; Gal. 4:20; oaths and condemnations, I Cor. 9:16; Gal. 1:8f; thanks to God, Rom. 6:17; 7:25; exclamations using the name of deity, I Cor. 15:31; II Cor. 1:18,23; Gal. 1:20; et al.), d/ metonymy (Rom. 2:26; 3:30; I Cor. 10:21; Gal. 2:7ff), e/ synecdoche (Rom. 3:26; 7:2,3; 9:30,31; etc.), f/ personification (Rom. 6:14; 8:19-22;


233. References in Robertson & Blass-Debrunner.
Paul's usage of simile (a formal comparison of two objects) and metaphor (an implied simile) constitutes the bulk of all his figures of speech. His frequent simile construction ὑπερ ... ὁ ἄρως or ὁ ἄρως καί alone occurs 11 times in his six earlier epistles. His less formal metaphors are too numerous to list in full. His comparisons, as seen already in chapter two, are derived from wide areas of life and thought — human body, family life, sickness and death, nature, law, war, fine arts, sports, Jewish tradition, etc.

There are instances where he may have used the technique of the diatribe, with its visualization of an imaginary interlocutor — in the case of Paul usually the congregation, though often also in the form of a typical "you" (cf. Rom. 6:16; 11:25; 14:13; I Cor. 3:16; 4:5; 5:6; 10:1; I Th. 4:13, etc.) — with whom he raises objections (Rom. 3:8; I Cor. 15:35; etc.) only to answer them immediately (cf. Rom. 14:2-6; I Cor. 3:5-9). These sections carry the hallmarks of the diatribe — short sentences (cf. Rom. 12:9-21; 14:1-23; etc.), playful (Rom. 14:2-6) or intense (Rom. 2:21ff; I Cor. 9:4-7) contradiction, use of concrete examples drawn from daily life (I Cor. 9:7,24) but often from tradition not actual experience (Rom. 11:23f), and especially such usage with the ethical sections.

There are also dialectical sections in which he sets out his teaching positively (cf. Rom. 1:19f and 3:21-26). In these he forces his thoughts closely together and "overloads his sentences with many irrelevances and misunderstandings.

235. His metaphors are extremely important to an understanding of his thought. Eric Wahlstrom has shown how his use of metaphor dominates his entire explanation of Christian doctrine and life, The New Life in Christ, pp. xiv-xx, especially the list on p. xvi; cf. Adolph Deissmann; St. Paul, pp. 144ff, 180ff.
of the foregoing clauses." Almost every stylistic medium is here employed - participles, relatives, prepositions with the infinitive, causal phrases, and appositional clauses which bewilder the reader (cf. Rom. 3:24ff; 4:16-21; Col. 1:15-20; 2:9-15).

In the combat passage the language picks up those short, loose sentences of warning (II Cor. 11:29ff; Gal. 5:1-12, esp. 4,7) and heaps up the enhancing particles (τέλ τε, ἔριπτε, etc., I Cor. 4:8-13; II Cor. 11:19ff).

In those passages where he waxes poetic under the spell of an exalted mood his language naturally becomes rhapsodic (Rom. 11:25ff; I Cor. 15:42ff, 50-57; I Th. 4:15ff).

Of course there were probably also other, more subjective and less tangible factors that made a real contribution to his style, such as his immediate aims in speaking, his idiosyncrasies, his sense of timing, his awareness of the mood of his audience, etc.

All of this reveals how Paul made use even of style to project his message to others -- to inform them, convince them, admonish them, transform them, in short, to form the Christian mind in them.

f. Classification of Paul's sermons

Perhaps we cannot accurately distinguish and label the types of sermons preached by the apostle nor say exactly what their differences imply as to his methods of presenting the gospel. The passage in Rom. 9-11 seems to be from a (1) topical or thematic type of sermon, in which a proposition (the kerygma, with special reference to the unbelieving Jews) is developed and expounded. This may have been his favorite method of preaching to Gentiles who had no knowledge of the kerygma or the O.T. We have already noted his use of

236. J. Weiss, HFX, 1:419.
(2) textual sermons, of which Rom. 1:16-17 and the following chapters may be a partial example. In such cases an exposition of a verse of scripture (or possibly a proverbial saying) furnished the point of departure. This method, too, would recommend itself with Gentiles to whom one or two O.T. sentences would not be a burden to memorize. The speech in Acts 17:22 may be modelled on this plan, with the inscription from an Athenian altar "To an unknown God," (17:23) serving as the "text." Among the rabbis, a favorite device was building up (or "drawing out") a midrash from a word, phrase, or verse of scripture. Sometimes such a "text" served little more than a catch-word; at other times it was all important. It has been suggested that Col. such 1:15-18 is just a midrash based on the first word (ןָּוּ ל) of Genesis 1:1, in which the apostle spins out, in an elaborate exposition, the various possible meanings of the word. There were also (3) expository sermons, which aimed at the exegesis and explanation not merely of a word or a sentence but of an entire paragraph or longer unit of scripture. This method would be highly adaptable to Gentiles in the homiletic treatment of the narrative portions of the O.T. There seems to be decided traces of the method in Paul's letters especially in those passages which touch upon portions of the O.T. cast originally in narrative form or which refer to events from Jesus' life or to personal experiences in the lives of Christians. As examples of this we mention


the fall of man, Rom. 5:12; cf. 7:7ff; the act of baptism, Rom. 6:3ff; the
Israelites' journeys through the sea and the wilderness, I Cor. 10:1ff; the
institution of the Lord's supper, I Cor. 11:17ff; the giving of the old (and
new) covenants, II Cor. 3:4ff; cf. Gal. 4:21ff; etc. Perhaps the only approx-
imation to this manner of preaching (ascribed to Paul) in Acts is the Pisidian
Antioch address in Acts 13, which is literally a survey of the "history of
salvation" beginning with "the fathers" (13:17). The speeches in Acts 20,
22, and 26 all have an element of this "historical survey" or "exposition of
history" in them. To Gentilic Christians who had already learned something of
the O.T., this method of preaching would offer an excellent means of communi-
cation. Bultmann calls attention to a type of preaching in which the
novelty of Christian living is described in contrast to the Christian's worldly
past according to the scheme: "form[ely] .... now." This appears, however, to
be only a type of the expository method noted above, in which the O.T., the
Christian tradition about Jesus, or the general Christian experience and life
common to all who exchange a pagan past for the acceptance of the gospel, sup-
plied the principal material for exposition. Thus, it may take such forms as:
(1) Once salvation (God's plan of salvation) was hidden, but now is revealed
(I Cor. 2:7ff; Col. 1:26f; cf. Rom. 16:25f; and elsewhere in the N.T.), or (2)
once we were heathen sunk in sin, now we are cleansed (Rom. 6:17f; 7:5f; 11:30;
I Cor. 6:9ff; Gal. 4:5ff; cf. 3:5ff; etc.).

It is not difficult to suppose that the expository sermon, especially one
based upon a fairly long O.T. or "dominical" narrative, would have made great

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Bo Reiche thinks there are no expository sermons in the sense of "analytic"
addresses in the N.T., but he has in mind the sort of address known later as "homily" (Origen, etc.), The Root of the Vine, p. 141.

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TNT, 1:105; 106.

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cf. TNT, 1:106.
appeal to the type of mind that thinks "concretely", i.e., in terms of pictures, symbols, and actions. The topical sermon would probably hold a strong attraction for those persons who preferred the logical processes by which the meaning and ramifications of some great theme are drawn out and proved by reason, illustration, quotation, and analogy. The textual sermon would have great appeal to both groups, with a special attraction for the aphorist, the motto-monger, the connisseur of eternal truth concentrated into proverbial form — and there were many such persons among Gentiles as is shown by the numerous collections of proverbs, e.g., Mandubala Epigrammata, Lucius of Tarrha in Crete (first century A.D.), and others.

2. Functional Elements in Paul's Sermons

a. Declaration

Straight forward announcement of the contents of the gospel was the chief method adopted in Paul's preaching. These include a survey of 1/ the historic facts (and their proofs), especially those centering in Christ; of 2/ the authoritative commands, particularly to hear the gospel, believe, repent, confess, be baptized, and to live under the lordship of Christ; and of 3/ the divine promises, namely, the forgiveness of sins, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and escape from the wrath to come (eternal life). These were proclaimed simply and directly — without excuse or defense — as we have seen already.

b. Explanation

Again, we simply reiterate what we have already observed. He expounded 1/ texts (or passages) from the O.T. and from Jesus (Rom. 1:17; I Cor. 7:10; cf. Acts 20:35; etc.) or 2/ subjects, centering in "persons" (God, Christ, Abraham, etc.), places (Jerusalem, Sinai, etc.), and things (institutions, such as the law or the covenants; relationships, such as father-child, king-or kingdom-citizen; etc.).
c. Argument

The importance of argument in Paul’s preaching and teaching is very great. The Pauline homiletical fragments, both those lodged in his epistles and those ascribed to him in Acts, show that every major assertion in his speeches was followed by a statement of reasons or proofs. This may well be due to his old habit of summing up Judaism in a few sentences for purposes of defense and explanation, a habit which he carried over into Christianity even though it was unlike Jesus, his Master. Apologetics and dialectics are strong weapons in Paul’s hands. He argued and pleaded about the kingdom of God (cf. I Th. 2:9 and 12; Acts 19:8; 20:25; 28:23) and about justice, self-control, and future judgment (cf. I Cor. 6:9-10; Acts 24:25), and confounded the Jews by proving that Jesus was the Messiah (cf. Rom. 9:5; 10:4, Acts 9:20, 22; 17:2,17; 18:4,19; 19:8,9; 20:7,9; 24:12,25). There are many instances of "close reasoning" in his epistles, especially in contexts where the debating mood is prominent, e.g., Rom. 3:21-26; 4:9-12; 5:8-10; 5:12-21; I Cor. 15:12-19; Gal. 3:21-22; etc. His dialectical forms remind us much more of the rabbinical than of the Stoic diatribe forms. For example, his reasoning lacks the dialectical progress seen in the diatribe, as is evidenced by the fact that the warnings and admonitions which often follow the "doctrinal" portions of his letters are not all specifically the direct application or result of those doctrinal statements, but many are common Christian exhortations. Moreover, as noticed already, so many middle terms in his reasoning processes are simply assumed or in the heat of proof and debate are allowed to pass without special attention. Examples are seen in (1) Rom. 4:15, where he neglects to state an assumption that a sin is not pursued as such by God’s wrath

245. So Morton Smith, Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels, p. 73.
unless it is represented as a 'transgression' of an announced divine commandment; in (2) I Cor. 15:12-16, where the thought shifts back and forth: if Christ is raised then the assertion that dead do not rise is a contradiction, but if the dead do not rise then Christ's resurrection is impossible; in (3) I Cor. 15:44, the assertion that because there is a "natural" body, so there must be a "spiritual" ("supernatural") body, contains a silently accepted "either-or" which is not really logical. Further, the practice of drawing upon the O.T. for citations to prove his points reflects more the rabbinical method of argumentation than the Hellenistic.

Among the principal varieties of argument in Paul is the argument from (1) testimony. With Paul this takes a two-fold form, (a) from scripture and (b) from personal experience. His proofs from scripture are exceedingly important for him. The formula "It is written" rebuffs all objection and clinches any discussion. It must be noted that 1/ he usually relies on the Greek translation instead of resorting to the original Hebrew (a fact which is discussed elsewhere). Further, 2/ he customarily disregards the context and original intent of the words under discussion and bestows on them only a meaning that suits him. Thus, for him the words of Deut. 30:14 in Rom. 10:8, "the word is near you, on your lips, etc.", refer not to the law but to faith in Christ. Likewise the effort in Gal. 3:16 to find in the singular "the seed of Abraham" a reference to the one Christ is unnatural to the linguistic usage of both Hebrew and Greek, for the term is a collective for "seed" and so relates to all of Abraham's descendants.

248. cf. J. Weiss, Paul and Jesus, pp. 37ff; Bultmann, Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt, P. 102.
249. Morton Smith says, "The basic book on the subject (forms of argument both in the N.T. and tannaitic literature) has still to be written," Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels, p. 81.
250. One of the latest studies of O.T. quotations in the N.T. is by Kristo Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, pp. 39ff; for the Pauline epistles, see pp. 159-160.
Moreover, 3/ Paul approaches the O.T. with the conviction that it contains messages and mysterious truths divinely concealed to all except those who are enlightened by the Spirit (I Cor. 2:13; II Cor. 3:14-18) and who proceed from the viewpoint that the O.T. is completed and fulfilled in Jesus the Messiah, that he is its real content (Rom. 1:2f). Furthermore, there is also observant in Paul's handling of passages from the O.T. 4/ the principle of the unchangeableness of the will of God and the opinion that the older is the truer, which furnish him with the critical canons by which he can distinguish the eternal from the temporal in the Jewish scriptures. Thus the fact that the promises to Abraham based on faith (Gen. 12, 15) precede his circumcision (Gen. 17) and were 430 years before the law guarantees that the way of "faith" (and not legal "works") is more nearly the genuine will of God than the later development, i.e., than the law which "was added" (Gal. 3:19) and "slipped in between" (Rom. 5:20). 5/ Beyond all this, Paul adds to scripture such words of his own as supply the desired but lacking "proof" for some idea which he wishes to demonstrate or establish; and then he treats these explanatory additions as scriptural! Thus the words in Rom. 10:6-7, "to bring Christ down" and "to bring Christ up from the dead" are his own additions, but he regards them as if they were a fully integral part of the text. So, too, he twice treats Ps. 143:2 (in Rom. 3:20; Gal. 2:15) as if it contained a treatment of justification "by works of the law." In the same manner in I Cor. 15:45 he quotes Gen. 2:7 as if it read, "The first man Adam became a living being; the last Adam became a life-giving spirit" and as though the last seven words were also scriptural. Finally, 6/ he also uncovers and uses facts not preserved in canonical books, such as for example the mysteries concerning the sequence of events at the end of the world (I Cor. 15:23f; I Th. 4:13ff; II Th. 2:1ff). Apparently he was acquainted with the secret wisdom of apocalyptic,
and Johannes Weiss declares that, in addition to 1 Cor. 2:9 from an unknown apocryphal writing of Elijah, the words in Rom. 8:22 and 28, introduced by the formula "we know," probably derive from some (Hellenistic) Jewish apocrypha. Paul's treatment of the phrase "son of man" (from Ps. 8:3) no longer referring to men in general but specifically to Christ (1 Cor. 15:27) probably stems also from a fixed, stereotyped rabbinical tradition. These features in Paul's use of scripture as proof must have appeared with great frequency in his preaching, more so naturally before converts than before unbaptized Gentiles, and probably more often before Jewish than Gentile converts.

Along with his appeal to the testimony from scripture must be set his appeal to the testimony of Jesus himself. We shall have more to say of this later, so we merely refer to it at this point.

Also should be mentioned here his arguments from citations (which apparently were regarded as part of the common public fund of knowledge, e.g., 1 Cor. 5:6; II Cor. 9:6; Gal. 5:9) and from the use of proverbs (e.g., 1 Cor. 15:33).

Quite significant in his preaching is his use of personal experience as proof—both his own and that of his audience whether pagan or Christian. He uses it to add reality to what is difficult to perceive, to make vivid and concrete what otherwise remains theoretical and intangible. In the opening chapters of Romans he appeals to (or rather against!) the common experience of non-Christians, though he distinguishes two sets of experiences—those common to Gentiles and those shared by Jews. Almost the whole of Rom. 1:18–2:29 is stated on the assumption that the readers or hearers are able by experience and/or personal observation from their non-Christian days to verify the truth or falsity of what he says. Naturally, since his letters are addressed to Christians, most of his appeals to proof by

experience are appeals to Christian experience. Thus the arguments in Rom. 5:6-11 about the certainty of salvation (future salvation is assured on the basis of what God has done already for us), in I Cor. 15 (especially vs. 12-19) about the assurance of the resurrection (here based on Christ's resurrection), and in Gal. 3:3-5 about the reception of the Spirit and its blessings (and the relation of these to the law) are all based on what is agreed by Paul and his audiences to be Christian experience. If this premise (Christian experience) should weaken or be questioned, the whole of the argument might collapse. These are arguments directed to those who believe, and so are not developed scientifically against unbelief. They are correctly described as "sermon proofs" -- effective only for the faithful. Perhaps that is why Paul is often not very cautious with his premises, proofs, or conclusions. To those struggling with uncertainty or doubt, he gives little place in his letters. But then the modern positions with regard to doubt and unbelief were practically non-existent in the first century.

Paul also employs argument from (2) analogy to real advantage, as Rom. 6:4, I Cor. 9:7; 14:7ff; 15:39ff; II Cor. 5:7-9; Gal. 4:1-5; etc. show. Here he is on ground shared also with the Stoic diatribe. This method of reasoning really does not "prove" anything, but it does have great defensive and inferential value. In I Cor. 15:35-44 he sets forth the various aspects and transforming processes of nature and then concludes, "So it is with the resurrection of the dead."

Moreover, he uses argument from (3) false or ridiculous presentation of the opposing view or position. Thus in I Cor. 11:5 he reasons that the woman who

255. J. Weiss, HPX, 1:441.
insists upon praying with her head "unveiled" should be shorn "bald" in Rom. 16:18 the God of those who would introduce "food" offerings is described as the God of the "belly," and in Phil. 3:19 the glory of these "circumcision" preachers is in their "shame" (cf. Gal. 5:12). In Gal. 4:9-10 the Galatians who wish to return to Jewish "ceremonialism" are said to be observing "days, months, seasons, and sabbatical years."

There are also many other forms of argument which Paul uses to challenge and convince the minds of his non-Christian hearers as well as young converts. He uses the a priori argument with great skill especially in Romans and Galatians. In the very beginning of the discussion in Rom. Paul draws consequences from the principle which he simply assumes, that rejection of the one God leads to immorality in men: "(They) exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images .... Therefore God gave them up in the lusts of their hearts to impurity" (1:23-24), "And since they did not see fit to acknowledge God, God gave them up to a base mind and to improper conduct" (1:28). Both of these passages contain the basis from which the lists of evils in 1:26-27 and 29-31 are drawn (or "deduced") respectively. In fact the whole of Rom. 1-3 is dominated by the method of inductive reasoning. Consider 2:14 in light of the syllogisms of logic: "When Gentiles who have not the (written) law do by nature what the law requires, they are a law to themselves." Or the same in 2:1 (except that the conclusion is stated first): Others do evil and are without excuse; you do what others do; "therefore you do evil and have no excuse." Or to put it in another way: Failure to keep the law is sinful; Jews and Gentiles failed to keep the law; therefore, Jews and Gentiles are both sinful -- Rom. 1:21; 2:1; 3:9. And using the conclusion of this syllogism as the major premise, he seems to think in terms of a second

one: Jews and Gentiles are alike sinners; faith is God's only means of salvation (not the law); therefore, Jews and Gentiles must be saved by faith — Rom. 3:23-26, 25-30. By far the greater portion of Paul's thinking and conclusions follow this deductive pattern. He followed the rabbis here, whose chief differences from the Greeks were largely in their presuppositions and incomplete statement of the logical steps in the process of attaining the conclusion.

Again, while it is more difficult to determine precise instances, Paul uses the a posteriori form of reasoning. This drawing of conclusions inductively from observations and experience has been noted already. I Cor. 11:29-30 is probably an example, "For any one who eats and drinks without discerning the body eats and drinks judgment upon himself. That is why many of you are weak and ill, and some have died."

Further, Paul employs the a fortiori method of argument with considerable frequency. In Rom. 5:9, he writes, "Since, therefore, we are now justified by his blood, much more shall we be saved by him from the wrath of God."

He also uses effectively the method described as reductio ad absurdum when, for example, he asks the rhetorical question concerning his own conclusions about the unmerited nature of God's forgiveness, "Are we to continue in sin that grace may abound?" "Are we to sin because we are not under law but under grace?" (Rom. 6:1-15). He reduces the arguments of his legal-minded Judaic opponents to

257. cf. the thinking which underlies Rom. 15:16-27, I Cor. 9:11, and II Cor. 8:14; The Gentile Christians have more material blessings than the Jewish Christians; the Jewish Christians have shared their greater spiritual blessings with the Gentile Christians; therefore the Gentile Christians ought to share their greater material blessings with the Jewish Christians.
258. See rabbinic examples of the a fortiori argument in Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar (Rom. 5:9), 5:223ff.
259. See the rabbinic example of arguing a minori ad majus cited from Rabbi Jose (2nd century A.D.) in a manuscript edition of Sifre which partly parallels Rom. 5:15-18, cited by Oesterley and Barx, Religion and Worship of the Synagogue, p. 93.
the same ridiculous terms in Gal. 3:3 by reminding the Galatians that such a position causes those who began "in the Spirit" to wind up "in the flesh." 

Cf. Gal. 3:21; 5:12; Phil. 3:2. This method of reasoning is closely akin to the false or ridiculous presentation of the opposing view or position noticed above.

There is also the _ad hominem_ type of argument which he uses when he desires to appeal to the passions or prejudices rather than to the intellect of his audiences. Thus, when he appeals to his readers' practice of baptisms on behalf of the dead or his own hourly peril as supports or reasons for believing in the resurrection of the dead (I Cor. 15:29-30), he is using just such an approach.

We do not imply for a moment that Paul would have recognized (or approved of) our classifications and analysis of his argumentation; but we think that he has actually used them whether he did so consciously or not.

d. Illustration

The use of illustrations in both preaching and teaching provided a tremendous tool for creating and educating the Christian mind. Jesus had been a master of this art. In his epistles, however, Paul gives the impression of having made relatively little use of illustrations. Yet we must be cautious at this point, for such an apparent lack of illustrative examples may be due in part to the epistolary style of his literary legacy. Moreover, some of his figures, which seem to be introduced as though they were illustrations, really are treated as part of the basic discussion itself. e.g., circumcision in Rom. 2:25 is treated precisely like the law, not as an illustration of what happens to those who have the law but do not obey it. Cf. also Rom. 6:4ff; 7:2ff. In Rom. 4:1ff Paul uses Abraham as an illustration, and yet the patriarch is employed not as a model or

pattern for the right practice (as the Stoic diatribe used the great philosophers for analogies), but as proof for the right theory.

Perhaps somewhat typical of his sermonic illustrations are the following: the severance of the binding force of the law by death as illustrated by the severance of the marriage bond for a wife upon the death of her husband (Rom. 7:1-6), the trustworthiness of God's promises apart from human endeavor as is demonstrated by God's dealings with Isaac and Rebecca (Rom. 9:6-13), the right of God's sovereignty over his creatures and creation as seen in the relation of a potter to his hand-wrought vessels (Rom. 9:19-24), and along the same theme, God's treatment of Israel and the Gentiles as illustrated by a forester's or gardener's free-handling of wild and cultivated olive trees (Rom. 11:17-24), the divine arrangement that preachers of the gospel should have support from the gospel as seen in the custom of temple priests who share the altar offerings (I Cor. 9:13-14), the inability of baptism and the Lord's supper in themselves to guarantee divine acceptance as illustrated by the inadequacy of Israel's ancient equivalents of both these rites to do the same for them (I Cor. 10:10-11), the nature, unity, relations, and functions of the church of Christ as illustrated by the human body (I Cor. 12:12-27), the need for intelligent interpretation of tongues in worship as shown by the necessity of sensible and correct playing of musical instruments (or understanding of a foreign language) in order to their comprehensible usage (I Cor. 14:7-12), the resurrection of the dead illustrated by the analogies in nature (I Cor. 15:35-42), the inexorability of the promises of God in relation to his covenant based on faith as demonstrated by the priority of the covenant of faith with Abraham to the law (Gal. 3:6-9, 15-18), etc.

261. See Bultmann, Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt, p. 100.
At this point, it is important to notice Paul's usage of another type of illustration, namely, allegory. J. Weiss thinks that the apostle's handling of this method of thought reveals that he was acquainted with Philo's use of it (and that Philo had probably derived it from the Stoics who harmonized the story of Homer with the enlightened thought of their day by transforming the persons of the gods into cosmic or spiritual forces and the human myths into natural events or metaphysical doctrine). As Philo transformed the characters in the O.T. narratives into ethical principles or psychological categories, so Paul uses the story of Hagar and Ishmael as a prophetic illustration relating to Jews and Gentile Christians (Gal. 4:21-31). Allegory, however, is not confined to merely illustrative purposes, but is used veritatively as scriptural "proof" in the matter of unmuzzled oxen being evidence of God's provisions for the care of ministers of the gospel (I Cor. 9:9-12).

A few observations on Paul's treatment of illustrative materials may be noted: He uses mostly analogies and comparisons. In fact, these take the place of extended illustrations. He nowhere uses parables in his letters, nor does Acts ascribe any parabolic stories to him. His use of allegorical incidents as illustrations is severely restricted. Most of his illustrations are derived not from real life but from (1) the scripture (cf. Rom. 7:1-6; 9:6-13; I Cor. 10:1-5, etc.), (2) Jewish tradition (I Cor. 10:3), (3) history (Rom. 4:1ff; I Cor. 10:1ff; Gal. 3:21ff), (4) the fine arts (I Cor. 14:7-12) (5) industry (the potter, Rom. 9:19-24), (6) nature (I Cor. 12:12-27; 13:11; 15:35-42), and (7) his own inventive imagination (grafting of the wild olive upon a cultivated stock, Rom. 11:17-24). To these should also be added as a most significant illustrative source (8) the Christian traditions (Christ himself is so used in Rom. 15:2-4, 7-9 and Phil. 2:5-11, perhaps also II Cor. 9:9 and 10:1; the account of the resurrection of 262, J. Weiss, HPX, 1:440.

263. Unless we interpret the incidents related in a passage like I Cor. 10:1-22 as illustrations of the subject under discussion — in this case, the dangers of idolatry and of rashly or carelessly eating meat sacrificed in an idol temple; so C.A.A. Scott, Saint Paul, the Man and the Teacher, p. 124.
Jesus and his appearances in I Cor. 15:3-8 may be taken as an illustration intended as proof for the fact of a general resurrection -- for Paul so applies it in 15:12ff). It is surprising that he never uses any of Jesus' parables or illustrations, if of course he knew of them. His illustrations, further unlike those of Jesus, derive largely from urban and not country life. When he does employ an illustration from country life it is much more conventional than the others. Illustrative material from legal and military affairs seem to have held most interest for him.

e. Application

The application to life of the kerygma which was "proclaimed" and "proven" in the foreparts of the sermon marks the closing section of all Pauline mission preaching. The apostle focalized the claims of the gospel upon the individual and sought to bring belief and repentance to reality. These (belief and repentance), together with confession and baptism, were the initial ways and means which he suggested for applying the gospel to practical life. In his first sermons to heathens he seems to have laid relatively little stress on the great moral principles of Christianity, as such immoral outbursts as the case of incest at Corinth show. His initial application of the gospel took the form of exhortations in which he set forth motives for acting and appeals to the emotions and will of his hearers much as the former parts of the sermon had appealed to their intellects. Thus both the fear of God's judgment and the redemptive power and cost of God's love are prominent elements in his attempts to apply the facts of the kerygma.

266. Adolf Deissmann, St. Paul, p. 71. One might also add, oddly enough, athletic affairs.
267. Ernst von Dobschuetz, Christian Life in the Primitive Church, p. 52.
to his hearers' thoughts and lives. Analogy played a most significant role in applying the gospel to his hearers' lives for the first time. To accept the gospel, i.e., to accept Christ, is for them a death-burial-resurrection, an exodus-entrance, a putting off - putting on, or a new creation (new birth?).

Part II - THE FACTORS IN PAUL'S CHRISTIANIZING OF THE GENTILES

Section II - PROCESSES USED BY PAUL IN EDUCATING THE CHRISTIAN MIND

Chapter IV - PAULINE PEDAGOGICS: THE USE OF TEACHING TO DEVELOP IN HIS CONVERTS A CONSCIOUSNESS OF BEING "IN CHRIST" (THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN WISDOM)

Once Paul had prompted his hearers to accept his message, to repent, to confess Jesus Christ as Lord, and to be baptized into Christ, how did he advance their thinking and living with reference to Christ from that point on? What were the nature and aims of any such "advancement"? Above all what were the methods used? What were the norms and motives appealed to? What regulative factor(s) guaranteed an element of stability in the midst of the sudden or gradual shifting of thought-forms and behavior-patterns that marked the transition of raw recruits from paganism to Christianity? What tests, if any, were used to determine the fact of progression (or retrogression) in his converts? How did he recover those who relapsed? What did he do with those who could not (or would not) conform to his teachings about the Christian faith and life? What exactly is his concept or idea of a full grown man in Christ? These are some of the questions which confront one when attention is directed to the Pauline education of the Christian mind. In the following chapters we shall survey very briefly some of Paul's attempts to solve these and other related problems.

It has recently been suggested that the idea of education and methods of education were taken over by the early Christian missionary movement from Greek sources. In light of the O.T. itself, the Jewish oral traditions, the weekly custom of reading and lecturing in the synagogue, the system of Jewish schooling existent already in the first century (overwhelmingly devoted to religious

1. Rudolf Bultmann, TNT, 1:66.
purposes), and the procedure of day by day family training of children in the doctrines and practices of Judaism, it does not seem likely that the idea of education and the methods of educational procedure came into the Hellenistic church as novelties from the Greeks! Most of Paul's own Gentile congregations had at least a few Jews as charter members, and in these churches this nucleus doubtless furnished the apostle an invaluable crutch in the initiation of Gentiles to the discipline of education in things Christian, especially in morals. But even so, the task was not an easy one.

I. THE FACT OF LIFE "IN CHRIST"

1. Various Meanings of the Expression "to be in Christ"

The aim of all Paul's mission work was to form and educate the Christian mind — in the individual and in the community. This was realized only by men's relation to Christ. Just what this relationship or status involved and how it was affected or brought about is the substance of our study. Paul's favorite designation for this relationship is a rather difficult and peculiar expression. He describes it as "being in Christ". In order to discover how he brought men "to be in Christ", the expression must be defined. We cannot adequately understand how he effected this relationship if we do not know what the relationship was. We have called "being in Christ" a "relationship"; perhaps other descriptions are equally possible, such as "status", "condition", and "attitude".

It has sometimes been assumed that the formula "in Christ" in all of its 164 occurrences in Paul carries the same emphasis. This hardly seems likely. The

phrase seems to be used in quite different senses, though naturally none of these is contradictory or exclusive of the others. Thus at least five different groups of passages each with differing meanings have been noticed: (a) a series in which the "in" does not refer to Christians as such, but to their redemption, God's love, his will, etc. That is, because Christ has come, these things are here (cf. Rom. 3:24; 8:39; II Cor. 5:19; Gal. 3:14; I Th. 5:18; Phil. 3:14); (b) a series characterized by a very inclusive representative use in which Christ heads up and represents a new humanity just as Adam did the old (Rom. 5:21; 8:4; I Cor. 7:14; 15:22; etc.); (c) a group in which the words "in Christ" are not an independent formula, but modifies the objects dependent of verbs such as praising, hoping, trusting (I Cor. 1:31; II Cor. 10:17; Phil. 3:3, "we glory in Christ Jesus"); (d) a series in which the "in" seems to be instrumental, as if it were "through" (Rom. 15:30; I Th. 4:1, cf. 2; II Th. 3:6, 12); (e) a series in which the full mystical sense may be present (I Cor. 1:30; II Cor. 5:17; Gal. 2:20; I Th. 3:8, etc.).

Yet it has been contended that throughout all these 164 occurrences of the expression "in Christ" a true mystical, ecstatic content of feeling is to be detected, therefore the formula must be understood in a mystical sense. In brief, we have here the prime expression of the "Christ-mysticism" of Paul. The expression, so it is said, is parallel to the phrase "in the Spirit." Thus the formula is (a)

3. This was Deissmann's conclusion, but most others have agreed; Cf. J.S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, pp. 154; Otto Pfleiderer, Primitive Christianity, 1:382-383.
4. See Deissmann, St. Paul, p. 140: "Just as the air of life, which we breathe, is 'in' us and fills us, and yet we at the same time live in the air and breathe it, so it is also with the Christ-intimacy of the Apostle Paul: Christ in him, he in Christ." Cf. his Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu, pp. 97-98.
both as regards Christ and the Christian. The expression "in the Spirit" must be understood, therefore, from the formula "in Christ", not vice versa. The mystical view of the phrase "in Christ" becomes possible only when the fixed outline of Christ's personality has been softened and dissolved and replaced by the idea of a formless, impersonal, all-penetrating being. 2/The new life "in Christ" is the individual's own life, and though admittedly there is a mystical aspect to the Christian life, it is a life which he lives in the world here and now. Thus in Gal. 2:20, the locus classicus for the mystical interpretation, Paul explains that the clause "Christ lives in me" means also "the life which I now live in the flesh". "It is not a life in absorption into the Deity, nor in any other sense a divine life, but a new human life." 3/ This life "in Christ" is always closely connected with faith. In the passage from Galatians just noticed Paul states that his new life is based on faith, and then adds that it is faith in a person (not a "formless, impersonal, all-penetrating being") "who loved me and gave himself for me." Hence, it is said, that phrase does not suggest a mysticism or passive communion. These objections, however, may not be so formidable as they at first appear, for while "spirit" is distinct from flesh, "it" can also be "personal", belong to an individual's life, and is surely based on faith.

The expression may also be denominative of (b) one's belonging to Christ. It certainly includes the idea of one's being bound together with him as a possession of his.

Sometimes the phrase seems to be (c) synonymous with life in the church, "the body of Christ." Hence Christians can be said to have been baptized both "into Christ" (Gal. 3:27) and "into one body" (the church, I Cor. 12:13).

7. So Wahlstrom (p. 94) to whom the above criticisms are due, op. cit., pp. 90-94.
9. See John Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, 113, 128, 141, 158; Bultmann, TNT, 1:311.
Again, the term may be (d) equivalent to the expression "to be a Christian" and to the descriptive modifier "Christian". As such, it generally appears without any accompanying expression showing deep religious feeling, as e.g., in Rom. 16:11; I Cor. 7:39; II Cor. 12:2; Phil. 1:1, etc. It seems strange that Paul in his letters never employs the noun or adjective "Christian". We cannot help asking whether or not he knew this form of appellation for the disciples (Acts 26:28 presupposes that he knew the term; cf. Acts 11:26; I Pet. 4:16), or whether his omission of it was merely preferential (or accidental?). At any rate, "in Christ" sometimes means for him little more than an adjectival designation for being "Christ-like".

The formula may also be (e) expressive of the personal relation and living fellowship (κοινωνία) which the Christian maintains to and with Christ. This includes what has been said above in (a) and (b). It also lays stress on the important matter left indefinite in (a) — that Christ is really a personal being, and omitted in (b) — that Christ not only "possesses" the believer, but maintains constant fellowship with him.

We do not know that Paul was the creator of the formula "in Christ". In many passages the words seem almost to possess a polished phraseological sense, in which case it would follow that Paul did not create the expression; or if he did invent it, "he used it so frequently that in his hands it has become, so to speak, like a coin which has been thinned by handling."

Nor can we say just how it originated. J. Weiss has the theory that it was derived from the baptismal formula "into Christ" (ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ; cf. Rom. 16:5). Originally, this was the expression for 'belonging to Christ' (complementary to ἐν Χριστῷ ἡμῶν; cf. our (b) above); then it received a deeper meaning in

10. So Martin Dibelius, Paul, pp. 107ff; J. Weiss, HFX, 2:469, n.22; Oepke, TWNT, 2:537; Bultmann, TNT 1:311.
11. Oepke, TWNT, 2:537.
12. Oepke suggests that he may have received it from earlier Christians before him, TWNT, 2:537; cf. also Rawlinson, New Testament Doctrine of the Christ, p. 160, n.1.
connection with the mystical significance of baptism; finally it was taken liter-
ally, and the idea appears: every Christian is "in Christ" (Rom. 16:7; II Cor.
12:2)." There are certain parallels to the expression in ancient literature,
though these are only partial. There is no proof that the idea was borrowed
by Christians from an outside source, but just how it originated is purely specu-
late. It is quite possible that in some way the expression ultimately goes
back to Jesus for its origin.

2. The Influence of Paul's Own Early "in Christ" Experiences on his Pedagogy.

Can we determine with any degree of probability the extent to which Paul's
own early experiences in Christ helped to fix the processes and means which he
later employed to bring about the same relation to Christ on the part of others?
This is indeed a difficult question. We should like to know more about his own
conversion. Too, his concept of God's role in causing men "to be in Christ", while
generally over-emphasized, must by no means be underrated. There are several
factors, however, that may have influenced his later pedagogical methods with his
own converts. Foremost is the problem of his knowledge of the earthly Jesus.
Even if he had seen Christ in the flesh (which is very debatable, II Cor. 5:16),
he would have received relatively little knowledge of his teaching and probably

cf. Albrecht Dietrich, Eine Mithrasliturgie, pp. 97ff; Bousset, Kyrios Christos,
p.114. One of the "closer" parallels cited by Reitzenstein (pp.10ff) and
Bousset (p.114) is quoted from a papyrus published by Fredric Kenyon Greek
Papyri in the British Museum (1895), 1:116, of which the most important lines
are, "Come to me Lord Hermes, as babes in the womb of women... I know thee
Hermes and thou knowest me. I am thou and thou art I." The papyrus is dated
16. Adolf Deissmann supposes that the phrase "in the Lord", which occurs in the
LXX (cf. Hab. 3:18; often in the Psalms), may underlie the Pauline usage of
the same formula, as well as the apostle's mystical expression "in Christ", St.
16. C.A.A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, p.158; cf. A.E.J. Rawlinson,
17. J. Weiss HPX 2:452-455; Paul and Jesus, pp.28ff; cf. Hans Windisch on II Cor.
5:16, Der zweite Korintherbrief, pp.186-189; but see C.A.A. Scott, Living
none of a divine nature in Christ's person. And though he may have gained the knowledge that Jesus was the Messiah, by a divinely given insight (Gal. 1:12, 16), yet all the rest that he knew of Christ came from those early Christians before him. Here, then, was his initial contact with the earliest methods of Christian preaching and teaching in the primitive church. His own "catechetical" learning provided him with his introduction to Christian pedagogics. Of course, he had learned something from those Christians whom he had persecuted, but such learning was at best haphazard and so has little bearing on the question of the origin of his own pedagogical procedures.

There is secondly, the prominence which Paul everywhere gives to Christ's present heavenly nature and status. To be sure he is not alone among the writers of the N.T. in this respect; but his emphasis on the glorified Lord greatly outweighs his stress on the earthly Jesus. Perhaps this was due to the fact that it was the glorified Lord who appeared to him and commissioned him an apostle in his vision at Damascus. It may have been due also to the concepts and predicates concerning Christ which he took over from those in the church before him. It has been contended that Paul's thoughts move from the living resurrected Christ backward to the crucified Jesus and not in the reverse direction; thus, for him the "life of Christ" is "not the remembered life that preceded his death, but the life which followed it --- the present life of the Son of God." If this be true, then one's relationship to the earthly Jesus is secondary; to know the heavenly Christ is the really important matter.

But regardless of what Christ meant precisely to Paul or how exactly he came to personal acquaintance and relation to him, the memory of his own initial contact

21. Ibid., p.131.
with Jesus would always serve him as a guide in introducing others to the new life "in Christ". As he had been taught, so would he himself teach others. At least some of the features of his own conversion and initiation into Christ would be normative for others too --- such as confrontation by the gospel of the crucified and risen Christ, faith in him, repentance, confession of Christ ("calling on his name"?), and baptism into his body the church, followed by a consciousness of the reception of the gifts of forgiveness of sins, the Holy Spirit, and new life. There would follow too, some or all of the fruit(s) of the Spirit listed in Gal. 5:22 which he doubtless knew first-hand after his conversion.

II. PEDAGOGICAL "FORMS" OF COMMUNICATION USED BY PAUL IN THE EDUCATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MIND.

Paul's efforts to develop in his converts a Christian attitude and relation to everything in life, i.e., to develop in them the Christian mind, speedily assumed various forms. He was attempting to communicate to them a new message (new factual content), a new outlook and spirit, a new relationship, a new power, and a new life. These were not transplanted complete and full grown to his converts, but had their small beginnings. The "finished product" was not different from the "embryonic" in kind, but in degree. That is, the fundamental gospel facts in the mind of his most recent convert were the same as those in his own elaborate and profound knowledge of and about Christ. The basic attitudes, the Spirit, fellowship with Christ, and the new life in beginners likewise were of the same sort as in "advanced" Christians, but there were remarkable differences in development between the neophyte and the more mature believer. Now in order to bring the "babes" in Christ to a larger maturity, a number of significant factors were at work. One of these was an increase in the stock of knowledge and the correct

understanding of it in the thinking of his "young" Christians. He considers their thoughts and association in relation to Christ as the basis of their Christian lives (Rom. 1:21, 28; 12:2; I Cor. 2:16; etc.). There was also the problem of guiding their conduct to insure that it was synonymous with the concepts and ideals of their thinking about and fellowship with Christ (Rom. 12:1). There was further the matter of their worship which to some extent involved both their thinking and living (Rom. 1:9; 12:1). At this point, however, it is our immediate purpose to examine some of the forms and methods which Paul employed to communicate to his converts a more thorough knowledge of the gospel, a larger outlook, etc. We do not intend to imply that Christian growth is simply one of natural advancement dependent merely on the individual's assimilation of more and more factual knowledge, etc. This is certainly a non-Pauline viewpoint. Yet this is part of the process of the education and development of the Christian mind and life. The "natural" processes of hearing, reading, observation, and serious mental reflection are indispensable to the making and growth of a Christian. To be sure, these apart from the divine operation and assistance of the Spirit are ineffective (cf. Rom. 8:3-4). But so is the Spirit apart from the natural processes (Rom. 10:14-17)! When Paul exclaims that because Christians have the Spirit, "We have the mind of Christ" (I Cor. 2:16) and so possess a God-given insight not vouchsafed to others who are without the Spirit, it is also true that this insight is a new understanding of factual knowledge which was gained by hearing, reading, etc. This Spirit-given insight is a gaining of new meanings or the true meaning, of what one had previously learned (or is now learning) by some means of communication. Even for Paul the Spirit does not operate in an empty vacuum. We turn attention, then, to the most frequently used forms of communication used by Paul for education of the Christian mind.

24. An important method not discussed here is the use of frequent travels and visits to advance, confirm, and challenge the faith of his converts in his churches; see Harnack, M. & E., 1:462ff.


1. Sermons. Paul's sermons to Christian audiences probably did not differ greatly from those to non-Christians except in the matter of greater detail and profundity of thought. That is, he here introduced and explained matters which, due to shortness of time and immaturity of his audience, he was forced to omit in his initial preaching. Apparently, therefore, a much larger didactic element was incorporated into his preaching to converts than to the unbaptized. The only extent fragments of sermons which we may be fairly certain are his, are preserved in his letters — sections like Rom. 1-3, 9-11, possibly also I Cor. 7, 15, etc. Here are reminiscences of how he preached to his recent converts; Rom. 9-11 seems for certain to be a section (or perhaps a summary) of such a sermon. It is not known whether he sent written sermons to be read to his converts by his helpers, much like his letters were done. His sermons to Christians, probably like his letters, contained relevant subject matter and not simply arid doctrinal discussions. The great teaching value of his sermons lay in their presentation of the fundamental Christian doctrines, which supplied the basis for a well-rounded theology, in brevity, completeness, and simplicity, and which were repeated again and again.

2. Lectures. When Paul speaks in I Cor. 4:17 of "my ways in Christ, as I teach them everywhere in every church", he is stating his most important method of educating the Christian mind in his converts, namely, by teaching. Of course there was a large didactic element in his sermons, but the bulk of his teaching was probably done in both formal and informal teaching "sessions" with his converts. On such occasions there would be a variety of teaching forms adopted, as for example,

29. See James Moffatt, First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, pp. xxiiif.
30. See Richard Heard, INT, pp. 230ff.
31. Ethelbert Stauffer supposes that confessional formulas were used by Paul and others as the normal basis of homiletical exegesis to congregational audiences, Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments, p. 220. There is no proof for this in the N.T.
the use of a "textbook" (the O.T.) containing the text for his comments on certain passages, the use of discussions and lectures, etc. With Gentiles, most of whom were totally uninformed about the Christian message, the lecture was probably the most frequently used method. The N.T. evidence suggests that there were few, and sometimes not any, such lectures before the candidates' baptism.

Acts describes his most frequent mode of communication as "speaking" (λέγω, ἔβαλεν, 13:16; 14:15; 20:18; etc.; ἐρωτάσθη 17:22; 22:2; etc.). It further narrows down this general expression to "preaching", "teaching", "arguing", etc. In Acts 15:35 he and others remained in Antioch and "taught" (διδάσκαλω) the word of the Lord. In Rome, he "taught" openly and unhindered in his own hired house (as a Roman prisoner) (Acts 28:30). Acts 19:9 states that he reasoned and the western text makes an even more precise attempt to define his specific daily schedule of lecture hours. Acts 19:9 states that he reasoned or argued (διαλέγομαι) daily in the hall of Tyrannus. Acts 20:20 defines his "teaching" as taking place both in public and in private. Paul says in I Cor. 4:17 that he teaches "everywhere in every church" and reminds the Thessalonians of the "traditions which you were taught by us" (II Th. 2:15). He must have taught the art of instruction to at least some of his converts for in I Cor. 12:28, 29 he speaks of teachers as high ranking appointees in the Corinthian church. In Rom. 12:7 he alludes to "teachers" and their teaching (διδασκόμενοι) within the Roman congregation. He admonishes the Colossian Christians to "teach" one another (3:16). He says expressly in I Cor. 14:26 that when the Corinthians meet together one has a "lesson" (or "teaching", διδάσκαλος) along with the gifts exercised by others in the group. This "lesson" was doubtless a briefer version of the "lecture" which Paul himself had used over

33. See Roland Allen, Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or Ours?, p. 131f.
and over in his frequent teaching sessions with those Corinthian converts. This "lecture" was probably kin to the philosophic ἐνοπλια (cf. Acts 20:11: 24:26; 34 Ignatius, Polycarp 5) which was later known as διάλογος or disputatio. The homilia became the "sermon" of the later church. Paul's lesson or lecture differed in content and flexibility of structure from this philosophical form of communication. There is reason to assume that the "lecture" differed from the "sermon". The "sermon" presented in an unadorned manner the most important facts concerning salvation in Christ with a strong appeal for their acceptance by the audience. The "lecture" aimed not only at presenting the greater events, but the lesser ones too, and at explaining the meaning and significance of all. The difference is that between proclamation and explanation, between the Christian gospel to be believed and Christian ethics to be practiced. In the lecture were embodied and expounded, along with material already familiar to the neophytes, those things for which there had been inadequate time and opportunity before baptism. The lecture was an expansion and fuller treatment of the old and an introduction of the new details in the scheme of redemption. It is significant that Acts 18:5 introduces Paul's arrival in Corinth and his initial work among the Jews as "preaching, testifying... that the Christ was Jesus", but then characterizes the rest of his eighteen months' stay in that city as "teaching the word of God among them" (18:11). Acts 15:35, however, reverses this order of the two, unless the author was thinking of teaching to converts and preaching to outsiders --- though there is no such intimation in the text. Paul's letters probably reflect accurately the nature of his lectures, in that most of what he writes has been introduced to his audiences already in the basic fundamentals of the Christian message which he presented while with them.

34. See the remarks of James Moffatt, Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, p. 47.
36. But Ethelbert Stauffer thinks that Paul's "form of teaching" (Rom. 5:17) was a doctrinal formulary, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, chapter 65.
but these broad outlines and basic principles needed their implications and ramifications drawn out, defined, explained, amplified, illustrated, personalized and applied. Even much of the profundities of Romans was written "by way of reminder" (15:15), i.e., the fundamentals in the letter are not novel to his readers. The general principles and historic events of the gospel had to be broken up and made clear, vital, personal, challenging, and applicable to minds accustomed to patterns of thinking almost wholly foreign to those of "spiritual minds" (I Cor. 1:18ff; 2:6-15). These lectures were nothing else than the teacher's "lessons" to his pupils. While they were probably very much along the lines of his letters, they were probably much closer to his letters in style and content than to his mission sermons, yet they were likely not so compact, closely reasoned or heavy, for his personal presence, greater freedom as to time and treatment, the opportunity for questions, etc., would provide factors denied him in his letters. These were, e.g., the chance of variation in approach and presentation, the instantaneous on-the-spot awareness of the success or failure of his words with his hearers, the extensive use of numerous details, the probable opportunity of straightforward questions from his hearers to which he could supply direct answers --- all impossible in a letter to be read in the apostle's absence.

Taking the letters as a cue several observations concerning the lessons or lectures of the apostle may be noted. The manner of treatment probably followed one of several courses: (1) introduced topics or subjects and discussed these one after the other (as in I Cor.: unity of the church, immorality among believers, cases of litigation, marriage, etc.; note how I Cor. 11:18 begins the "first point" in the "instructions" mentioned in 11:17); (2) adopted a logical movement of thought, following out the lines of reasoning which grew step by step one out of the other, until one entire vast theme or subject was covered (Rom. 1-8 is an example); (3) outlined rather summarily the practical issues and demands of the gospel upon
individuals and the church with a view to orderly life and conduct, adding only such briefer or longer explanations as the situation demanded (cf. Rom. 12-15; I Th.); (4) use of the apologetic technique — defense of the Christian gospel against sub-Christian and anti-Christian ideas and practices (as in Galatians); (5) employment of extensive exegesis and interpretation of Old Testament passages — indeed, a favorite form of lecturing with Paul may well have been the running-commentary on a section (or sections) from the O.T., a device so familiar to Jews in the midrash; at this point the lecture and the sermon adopted similar methods (compare the sermon in Rom. 9-11 in this respect with such didactic passages as Rom. 15:9-12; I Cor. 10:1-13; II Cor. 6:16 - 7-1; Gal. 4:21-31); (6) probably always included ethical explanations, advice, encouragement, and possibly admonition; in this respect the teaching session most likely resembled I Cor., which intersperses ethical treatment throughout the letter, more nearly than, say, Romans, in which the ethical implications are more heavily (but by no means entirely) concentrated in the latter part of the letter.

The great bulk of Paul's teaching was done in just such lectures and lessons. Doubtless many of his "sermons" to Christian audiences were simply such "lessons", and thus to Christians he may not always have distinguished so clearly between preaching and teaching; or, more accurately, before Christian audiences each of the two forms of presenting the gospel shared features with the other.

3. Exhortations. A form of communication usually cited, but rarely ever considered in detail is the exhortation. Its very nature implies previous preaching or teaching. It consists of a sincere effort to persuade hearers to accept and/or perform what they have just learned or know already from former preaching-teaching

37. Even including the Jewish haggadic and allegorical treatment of scripture; cf. our chapter 1. See Adolf von Harnack, History of Dogma, 1:99.
38. See the five examples of the talmudic sort of exposition in Paul cited by Joseph Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, pp. 454-457.
sessions. It aims to convince, to inspire, to compel. Very often it is part of the sermon or lecture itself, occurring intermittently throughout the address (cf. Rom. 5:1; reading ἐξορμέω here 6:11-13; 11:18-21; I Cor. 1:10; 3:18-21; 4:14; etc.), or reserved for a special but potent paragraph or two at the end (the bulk of the exhortations in Romans occurs in chapters 12-15; cf. Gal. 5-6; Phil. 3-4; Col. 2:8-4:6; I Th. 4-5; II Th. 3; Acts 13:40-41; 17:30-31). Apparently, however, entire speeches were occasionally given over to the hortatory purpose (Acts 20:18-35 is largely a collection of exhortations).

Paul uses the expression "I (or "we") exhort" (παρακαλέω) some 14 times in our six letters. Four other times he mentions that he has exhorted (past tense) others to action. Once (II Cor. 13:11) he even admonishes his readers to heed his exhortation—"to be exhorted"! At least once also he expects his converts to exhort one another (II Th. 5:11; cf. Col. 3:16). His favorite hortatory formula is "But I exhort you, brethren (παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοί) followed by the infinitive (Rom. 12:1; 15:30; 16:17; plural subject in I Th. 4:10), by ὅταν and the subjunctive (I Cor. 1:10; 16:15), or by an imperative (I Th. 5:14, plural subject). Acts summarizes his pastoral communications on his brief return visit to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch at the close of his first missionary journey as "strengthening the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to continue in the faith" (14:23). Paul and Silas did the same just before leaving the new converts in Philippi (16:40). Paul repeated the process before departing from Ephesus after the uprising there (20:1), "And in the localities on his way to Greece (20:2). Acts, therefore, would seem to imply that his exhortations were a sort of special valedictory device. His letters supply us with a more balanced view of the nature and function of his exhortations. "Exhorting" (παρακάθεσις) was a recognized function within the church (Rom. 12:3). Acts 15:32 seems to relate the hortatory art particularly with the gift of prophecy.
Paul also uses the expression "to admonish" or "to warn" (ποιμένω). He had admonished the Corinthians as a father does his beloved children (I Cor. 4:14). He asks the Thessalonians to respect those over them, part of whose task it was to admonish the brethren (I Th. 5:12), so that the hortatory function belongs to congregational management. These same Thessalonians — apparently all of them — were expected to admonish the idle (I Th. 5:14) as well as the refractory brother (II Th. 3:15). The apostle considers the Roman Christians "able to admonish one another" (Rom. 15:14, cf. Col. 3:16). Acts 20:31 records the apostle as saying that for three years in Ephesus "I did not cease night or day to admonish every one of you." Exhortation, therefore, played no small role in his teaching ministry.

Occasionally he employs the term "to beg" or "beseech" (σέβομαι) in a hortatory manner. Thus he persuades the Corinthians, "We beseech you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God" (II Cor. 5:20). So he begs the Galatians to "become as I am" (4:12). Hence also he pleads with the Corinthians against his need of being rash with those among them who are suspicious of his motives (II Cor. 10:2).

Sometimes the phrase "to plead, persuade, or urge" (πειθό) is used. He says in II Cor. 5:11, "We persuade men." So he persuaded or pleaded with the Thessalonians (Acts 17:4), Corinthians (16:4), Ephesians (19:8), Asians (19:26) and Romans (28:23,24). Acts says the subjects of his pleading were the one God (19:26), the Messiahship of Jesus (17:3-4; cf. 18:4) and the kingdom of God (19:3). Most of his usages of πειθό, therefore, are directed towards the unbaptized.

The hortatory sections of his epistles are numerous and frequently extensive. About one sentence in every five in the earlier Pauline letters is an imperative. Of course not all of his exhortations are commendatory. There are (1) mild entreaties pronounced with great delicacy and even tenderness. One of his earliest entreaties to the Thessalonians is prefaced by the high compliment to them that they "love all the brethren throughout Macedonia" to which he affixes the admonition in
so gentle a fashion that one reads it almost without discerning its hortatory nature: "But we exhort you, brethren, to do so more and more" (I Th. 4:10; cf. 4:1f, 18; II Th. 2:1, 15; 3:1; Phil. 1:27; 2:1ff; etc.). He writes to these same Thessalonians that "you know how, like a father with his children, we exhorted each one of you and encouraged you and charged you" (I Th. 2:11), and he expects them to admonish one another as brothers, not as enemies (II Th. 3:15). Yet his exhortations also include (2) *sharp rebukes*, of which the admonition against the possessors of false wisdom in Corinth is a capital example (I Cor. 3:13-23; 4:6-14), and (3) *stern warnings*, such as he repeats to the Galatians that those who practice the sensual works of the flesh shall not inherit the kingdom of God (Gal. 5:19-21; cf. I Cor. 6:9-10; 10:6, 11-12). He also uses frequent (4) *negative prohibitions* (carry-overs from his Judaism?), such as the following: "Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies" (Rom. 6:12); "do not be conformed to this world" (Rom. 12:2); "do not forbid speaking in tongues" (I Cor. 14:39); "do not be mismated with unbelievers (II Cor. 6:14); "do not submit again to a yoke of slavery" (Gal. 5:1); "do not quench the Spirit, do not despise prophesying" (I Th. 5:19, 20); "do not be weary in well-doing" (II Th. 3:13); etc. Most frequent of all, however, are his (5) *positive commands*. It is interesting that nearly always where he employs a negative prohibition he also includes, usually in the very same sentence either immediately before or after, a positive demand. All of the prohibitions just cited have their immediate adjacent counterparts in admonitions concerning what is expected of Christians. Was this custom due solely to his love of antithesis? May it not be due in part to the impact of the positive approach of Jesus on the apostle's manner of thought? The positive command holds the chief place in his exhortations.

40. II Th. 3:13 is the nearest exception, though verse 14 follows with two verbs in the imperative mood.
41. If so, one would like to know if he transmitted this "manner of thinking" to his own converts. Perhaps this is as near as he approached to the modern fad of "positive thinking!"
For beginners, such commands were invaluable. Even for more mature Christians they added strength to their Christian ideals and behavior. In his six earlier letters there are at least 272 such positive commands. For an apostle who relies so heavily on the leading of the Spirit to produce the Christian life in individuals and who opposes so strenuously every suggestion of legalism, one may well show surprise at finding so many plain commands laid down within so brief a compass. Yet there are sufficient reasons behind this apparently puzzling course of action. (1) Most of his converts were of Gentilic extraction and all too often of the lower social and moral strata. They were on a level even beneath the "legal" religion of the Jews; a number of negative and positive demands, especially regarding personal conduct, were inevitable. Of course, he would proceed immediately with instruction concerning the higher Christian source of moral behavior, but the alteration of vile moral habits must begin at once with the start of the convert’s existence in Christ. The command was the quickest way to achieve such beginnings, even at the risk of having to bring the mind and understanding of the convert abreast of his action only at a later date. Further, (2) the apostle had been attacked by Judaizing opponents who charged both him and his followers with antinomian tendencies if not practices. The use of commands, sometimes repeating or alluding even to those of the O.T. (Rom. 12:20; 13:8-9; I Cor. 9:8-9) in his teaching and exhorting, helped to disprove these unfounded charges. Again (3) the world-wide scope of the apostle’s commission left him all too little time in which to convert and transform the daily ethical thinking and living of so many poorly prepared converts. Commandments were a short cut to the goal of bringing their conduct into conformity with profession. The case of incest in Corinth (I Cor. 5) seems

42. There are at least 291 positive imperatives in Paul’s six earlier letters, including 15 in O.T. quotations and in dominical citations, and two in a quotation from Harnack, M & E, 1:360.

43. Cf. von Harnack, M & E, 1:360.
to indicate that he had had too little opportunity (or intention) to stress the moral principles of the life in Christ. It further needs to be noted, however, that (4) while he thus employs the one great characteristic and method of legalism --- the commandment --- yet, like Jesus, he completely overhauls its meaning and refurnishes its usage with a new motive and aim. He recognizes the severe limitations and dangers of the imperative. Finally, (5) there is the tremendous problem of the origin of the larger, and some of the shorter, hortatory sections preserved in his letters. Are they really Pauline creations, or may they originally have been Jewish and/or Hellenistic teaching devices, which were rather widely current in the mid first century and which the apostle simply took over and adapted to fit his purposes? If the latter is the case, then such frequent usage of the command is not exactly due to a relapse into older Judaistic habits on his part. In any case such frequent usage of the imperative is no Pauline eccentricity or even idiosyncrasy among the techniques of the writers and teachers of his age.

The apostle's exhortations are not all commands. Sometimes he uses such verbal expressions as "one ought" or "it is necessary" (ἐξέταιρίζονται; cf. Rom. 12:3; II Cor. 5:10; I Th. 4:1; II Th. 3:7. The last two of these four instances are the really genuine examples. One wonders if he used the strong hortatory "must" more often with beginners than with the more mature, since I and II Th. were written closer to the founding of that church than were probably any other of his letters.) Sometimes he employs verbs in the subjunctive mood in order to present a milder and more diplomatic form of appeal (e.g., Rom. 5:1, "Let us have (reading ἔχωμεν) peace with God;" I Cor. 1:10, "I appeal to you, brethren... that you should all

44. Ernst von Dobschutz, The Christian Life in the Primitive Church, p. 52.
45. See C.H. Dodd, Law and Gospel, pp. 64-83, esp. 71ff.
46. So Bultmann and Weidinger. See below footnote 101.
agree and that there should be no dissensions among you, but that you should be
united..." I Th. 4:1, "You should do so more and more" (περισσεύστε ἐμαυτὸν).
In these examples the first and second persons are employed in the verb forms.
The rather impersonal third person appears less frequently. The subjunctive
holds a significant place in Paul's use of exhortations as a count of forms shows.
Sometimes he omits altogether (or nearly so) the verb of command or exhortation
and yet the hortatory approach and mood are definitely present throughout. For
example, Rom. 12:6-13, 15, 17-18 consist largely of lengthy lists of participles
or nouns which nowhere contain a hortatory verb form, not even a single initial
imperative at the beginning of the list. Yet the verb forms in the context before
and after the lists and the tenor of the whole passage develop an impressive
hortatory impact. This technique of "commanding without commands" is rather
extensively used by Paul. At times he actually says to his readers that he is
refraining from issuing a command (ἐπιτάγο), even where one might have been ex-
pected (I Cor. 7:6; II Cor. 8:8).

Sometimes the apostle uses questions as media of exhorting, as in I Cor. 10:22
when he asks, "Shall we provoke the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than he?"
This is probably more effective than if he had demanded that the Corinthians must
not so provoke the Lord. In Gal. 5:7 he says, "You were running well; who hindered
you from obeying the truth?" --- a reminder of their failure and a subtle plea for
renewed obedience. In II Cor. 6:14 his command, "Do not be mismated with unbeliev-
ers," is followed and amplified by five direct questions which show the true nature
and consequences of the preceding hortatory command.

Sometimes his exhortations are expressions of very polite wishes or personal
desires. In I Cor. 10:20 he says, "I do not want you to be partners with demons."
That is much more diplomatic than saying that they must not share in demonolatry.

49. As will be shown later, David Daube thinks that the participial "imperatives"
in this particular passage are a genuine form of semitic (Hebrew?) imperative—
a form unknown to real Greek.
50. Cf. Daube as referred to in note 49.
In Gal. 4:21 he combines both wish and question in the same sentence in a plea to the Judaized Galatians to reconsider the teaching of the law.

Paul draws his hortatory forms and materials from (1) the O.T. A few examples will suffice: In Rom. 12:19 he reinforces his own imperative "never avenge yourselves" with the quotation of Deut. 32:35, and in the next verse (Rom. 12:20) he cites the two imperatives from Prov. 25:21-22. In I Cor. 10:7ff, he supports his exhortation against idolatry and immorality to the Corinthians by appeal to the plight of the Israelites who practiced these evils and suffered the severest penalties as related in Ex. 32:4, 6; Num. 16:41, 49; 21:5-6; and 25:1-18. He draws also on (2) Christian tradition, especially the exhortations of Jesus. In Rom. 13:8-10 and Gal. 5:14 he repeats the O.T. command of love to neighbor together with Jesus' evaluation of it — that all other commandments are summed up in and rest upon this one (cf. Mk. 12:31; Mt. 22:40). In I Cor. 9:14 he repeats the "command" of the Lord that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel. In I Cor. 7:10 he gives the "charge" of the Lord concerning marriage. That he used hortatory materials from other Christian leaders before him is less clear, unless the references to the admonition in Gal 2:10 from James, Cephas, and John for Paul and Barnabas to remember the poor, he regarded as applied in those passages in his epistles where he pleads on behalf of the offering of the churches for the Jerusalem saints (cf. Rom. 15:27; I Cor. 16:1ff; II Cor. 8:7ff; etc.). There may be traces in his letters of hortatory materials adapted (3) from Stoic or other Hellenistic sources, such as the diatribe. We shall deal more completely with this matter in relation to the catechism.

4. Apologies. Next to preaching, apology probably ranks as Paul's first-love. When Acts represents him before both Felix and Agrippa as saying that he "cheerfully" (euthymos, 24:10) and even "happily (makarios, 26:2) made his
defense, it describes accurately a major feature of the apostle. In almost every one of his letters there is a dominant note of defense --- of himself, his thoughts, his status, his behavior, his relationships, his plans, his gospel. It is an aspect of his fighting spirit. He not only uses apology, he clearly delights in it.

There are really no formal apologies in the N.T., though many if not all the books contain apologetic motives and passages. There is moreover a sense in which the whole N.T. is an apologetic book. Hebrews and I John probably most nearly fit the apologetic category, if by apology one means a somewhat formal treatise drawn up to defend some person, philosophy, theme, or behavior. In this sense, Romans, at least the first eleven chapters, and Galatians among his letters are most nearly akin to the "defense" variety, though every one of his writings contains considerable apologetic. In Thessalonica and Athens he "disputed (dialegomai) daily." with opponents who questioned his faith (Acts 17:2,17), and it is quite possible that such arguments as he advanced on these occasions may be partly reproduced in his extant letters. These apologies are determined, naturally, by the character of the opposing idea or party. Some three or four major opponents have been distinguished in the N.T., all of which occur in Paul:

1) Judaism, (2) heathenism, (3) Gnosticism, and (4) a general syncretistic relativism. These groups determine the general lines of defense which he adopts. Paul's "apologies" differ, like those in the rest of the N.T., from the later formal apologies in that they are addressed not to an aloof or professedly hostile outside world, but to an audience already in sympathy with Christianity.

The methods of proof by which Paul sought to establish the truth of his claim before both Christians and converts have been noticed in part in the last chapter. Some of the more important may be briefly mentioned here: (1) proof from scripture, a form of proof that gained significance in an age when an appeal, or better, citation from ancient literary wisdom carried great weight. Furthermore, even his arbitrary manner of exegesis, including usage of allegory and rabbinical subtlety, often pierces behind the bare letter of scripture to its ultimate meaning — perhaps even more effectively than some modern exegetical methods. Thus when the apostle concludes (Rom. 4:10-12) that Abraham was justified by faith because the scriptural mention of the patriarch's faith in God precedes the record of the circumcision of Isaac (Gen. 15:6; 21:4), he has correctly grasped the truth in the O.T. story, that God accepts a man for his inner spirit of faith and obedience and not merely for his performance of external rites. (2) Appeal to the "inborn rational nature" of man, his reason and conscience, helps Paul to prove his message as true. As opposed to the external, meaningless ritual of Jew and heathen, Christianity is a "reasonable" service (Rom. 12:1). He expects his converts to learn that even "nature" teaches some more as superior to others (I Cor. 11:14-15). (3) Appeal to spiritual intuition or insight given by the Spirit, which can scarcely be analyzed or established by mere logical processes, is also used by the apostle. Such a proof is really useless for polemical arguments and consequently we cannot be sure how extensively he may have employed it in situations involving non-Christian readers or hearers. This is really an appeal that depends altogether upon one's having known already the Christian mind and experience. Thus in I Cor. 2:6, 10 he writes, "Among the mature we do impart wisdom... (which things) God has revealed to us through the Spirit," where only Christians are addressed or contemplated. This sounds like an instance of reasoning in a circle — that one must belong to
Christ and have a mind in full inward sympathy with him before one can have satisfying evidence of Christ's claim and message as these are announced by the apostle. Yet there is truth here — of a certain pragmatic sort! To the outsider, it would take the form of "Test and you will see" — a mode of proof based on the presence of the Spirit and the practice of the kind of thinking and living which the Spirit originates and controls. (4) This suggests another of the Pauline means of proof, namely, appeal to the Christian life. Here the presence and operation of the Spirit are externalized. Though the world could not receive the Spirit without becoming Christian, it could recognize the fruit of the Spirit in the superior lives of Christians and the church as a whole. Thus Paul says to the Corinthians "You yourselves are our letter of recommendation...to be known and read by all men." (II Cor. 3:2), and he urges the Thessalonians not to be idle but to work "so that you may command the respect of outsiders" (I Th. 4:12).

It is not our purpose to make an elaborate survey of Paul's apologetic, though his letters are our richest source for the study of apologetic in the primitive church. In I and II Th. one notices a minimum usage of apology. The church in Thessalonica seems to have met the apostle's general approval. Even the sections concerning morality in I Th. 4:1-8 and the parousia in I Th. 4:13-5:11 are scarcely defending positions to which his converts are objecting. Rather the former is an exhortation to do "just as you are doing", only to "do so more and more" (4:1), and the latter is a matter of instruction, some of it given evidently for the first time ("But we would not have you ignorant, brethren,"4:13). More nearly defensive is the treatment of the parousia in II Th. 2:1-17. Paul here has to go out of his way to convince his converts that the return of Christ will not be immediate, that certain events must first transpire, and hence Christians ought to continue their

daily routine of living for the time being. There will be a parousia, but not yet!

In I and II Cor. several apologetic sections are discernible. In the opening chapters of I Cor. Paul defends the simple manner in which he has presented the gospel without rhetorical eloquence and philosophical wisdom (I Cor. 2:1; Chps. 2-4). Here he also introduces his famous attack on the supercilious "gnosis" of the party in Corinth who placed "knowledge" above all else. He elaborates this theme in later chapters in a defense of love as superior to wisdom (cf. chps. 8, 13-14). In I Cor. 8, his reasoning on this subject leads him to an apology for Christian freedom into which he injects also a correction of certain erroneous ideas and abuses relative to freedom which had become current among the Corinthians. I Cor. 9 is a strong defense of his right to claim support for his services as a minister of the gospel. In both I Cor. 8 and 10 he leads an attack against idolatry.

Probably the most apologetic section in I Cor. is the defense of the resurrection in chapter 15. So self-contained and finished a piece of reasoning is here embodied that frequently it is suggested that the passage was originally composed as a separate unit which the apostle presses into service now that the circumstances calling for a serious defense of the doctrine are upon him. In II Cor. his defense of his apostleship occupies a considerable portion of the letter. He defends his ministry in more than one passage but chapters 3-6 are especially concerned with this problem and the same is apologetically treated also in chapters 10-13.

In Galatians the tone of almost the entire letter is apologetic. Here the opposition stems largely from Jews, not pagans. By the strongest insistence that full obedience to the ceremonial law by Gentiles is essential for their acceptance

58. J. Weiss, Die erste Korintherbrief, ad loc; Robertson and Plummer, ICC on I Cor., p. 329.
with God, the Judaizers were making serious inroads into the Galatian churches and threatening the faith, freedom, and unity, if not the actual existence, of the whole Christian community. Paul's entire work in that region was at stake; so was the whole church of Christ and its gospel (1:6; 3:1; 4:9). The Galatian letter is his attempt to prove that "by the works of the law shall no one be justified" (2:16), and that "he who through faith is righteous shall live" (3:11). It is his apology for salvation as ultimately a divine gift rather than primarily a human production.

The Roman letter embraces more subjects than the Galatian, but shares, apologetically speaking, much of its content with the latter. Both letters contain some of the same key arguments concerning the method(s) by which the salvation of men is realized (cf. Gal. 3:11... Rom. 1:17; 2:16...3:20; 4:5...8:15,16; 5:16...8:4). The apologetic in Romans is presented in a more deliberated manner but is no less rigorous and compelling than that of Galatians, Rom. 9-11 is a special section, if not originally a separate tract, devoted to the defense of God's power and promises as these relate to Israel's apparent rejection of the gospel. These three chapters afford an excellent view of the apostle's debating instinct at work. He prefaces his remarks with an oath that he is speaking the truth when he testifies to his great personal agony upon contemplating Israel's rejection of the gospel, and he further affirms a willingness to undergo self-effacement and even self-annihilation if thereby he can guarantee the welfare of his racial brethren. After this assertion of his sincerity in treating the question, he proceeds with the statement and defense of his proposition that the word of God has not failed (9:5) even though Israel has not accepted the gospel. His evidences are theoretical and historical in character: God has always shown an apparent selectivity --- not all of Abraham's descendants are reckoned as his "children", but only those who are descended "as God promised" (9:9), and even of
these, only part have been accepted, as is shown by the divine rejection of Esau and acceptance of Jacob instead (9:10-13). This raises another theological problem, namely, the injustice of God in such apparent arbitrariness of selection, which Paul tries to answer by emphasizing God's mercy in such selectivity (9:14-16) and by use of an illustration of the potter who has the right to mold some vessels for beauty and others for menial purposes (9:19ff). He rounds out this part of the "debate" with an appeal to the theological doctrine of the remnant — though there are many descendants, only a part are saved (9:27). His next great proposition is that this arbitrary selection of God, which has worked out to the adoption of the Gentiles and the apparent rejection of the Jews, is due in part to the manner in which each group has sought after God's righteousness. The Jews sought to establish their own righteousness by legal works, the Gentiles submitted to God's righteousness in Christ by faith (9:30-10:4). He supports this thesis by pointing out that the scriptures (10:5 - 15) and the nature of all preaching of the gospel (10:14-17) presuppose that the way of salvation is by faith in Christ as risen from the dead and therefore Lord (not by the law). In order to forestall any possible objection that Israel has neither heard nor understood this method of salvation (by faith in the gospel, i.e., in Christ) he hastens to add that Israel already knows this method as the scriptures had foretold it (10:18-21). He concludes that God has not rejected all of Israel, but a remnant has responded to him on his own terms (grace versus works) (11:1-6) — as Paul knows, for he himself is one of that remnant (11:1). The bulk of Israel has failed to attain its desire (11:7-10); but their rejection, or rather, failure, means the granting of salvation to the Gentiles — which in turn will make the Jews jealous and result in their inclusion too (11:11-12). Paul closes with a warning to Gentiles by way of an elaborate illustration of the grafted olive branch which symbolizes their inclusion into the people of God when the older branches (Jews) were temporarily cut off,
though they will sometime be restored. Eventually all Israel will be saved (11:25-23).

Several observations regarding Paul's apologetic approach in Rom. 9-11 may be noted. (1) His propositions are largely abstract. His central problem is to rationalize Israel's rejection of the gospel. His answer must square this contemporary historic fact with God's apparent failure to keep his promises made to Israel's forefathers. If these promises are fulfilled in Christ and the church, then Israel ought to accept both, otherwise, God does not keep his promises (or Paul's gospel may be in error!). Paul, therefore, seeks to prove that God is capable, i.e., sovereign ("not as though the word of God had failed", 9:6), is just ("is there injustice on God's part?", 9:14), and in brief is consistent, i.e., faithful ("has God rejected his people?", 11:1). These are all abstract propositions and yet (2) a more thorough concrete treatment can hardly be imagined. This concreteness is seen in the fact that he does not reason further about God's nature or attributes, but about his actions in history already past as these reveal his capability, justice, and consistency. Was he unfaithful to the promises made to the founding forefathers or unable to carry them out when he arbitrarily selected only part of their descendants from the very start to be the recipients of those promises (9:6-13)? Was he unjust in raising up Pharaoh simply to show his power in that ruler (but not his mercy to him?) (9:14-18)? Has God been inconsistent and rejected his people — in light of a remnant whom he has already "chosen" on his own terms, i.e., according as they responded to him (like in Israel's past history) by works or by faith (11:1-6)? (3) This means that Paul's apologetic is here (and usually) a curious mixture of the abstract and the concrete, of theory and history. In chapter 9 and 11:1-12 in this section, some 14 separate characters of ancient Hebrew history are introduced (Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebecca, Jacob (Israel), Esau, Benjamin, Moses, Pharaoh, Elijah, (Baal), David, Hosea, and Isaiah);

59. Even if part of this treatment moves on academic lines — as Dodd contends with reference to 9:1-23, Commentary on Romans, p. 160.
chapter 10 merely re-introduces Israel, Moses (twice), and Isaiah (twice). Only Hebrew 11 and Acts 7 in the N.T. compare with this employment of historic personages to give reality to theory. Moreover, there are about as many historic events introduced in these chapters to illustrate and prove his more hypothetical ideas as in any other three adjoining chapters in his letters: the promise to Abraham (9:7-9), the choice of Isaac as against Esau (9:10-13), the raising up of Pharaoh (9:17), the calling of a people from both Jews and Gentiles (9:24), etc. The apostle makes (4) very extensive use of the O.T., ranging from the pentateuch to the prophets, with the greater number of citations from the latter part of the canonical Isaiah. His use of scripture, as we have seen before, is to prove simply by quotation the propositions under discussion. His treatment of texts sometimes appears arbitrary and wooden, yet in the end he usually does succeed in getting to the point which he desires to attain and often does penetrate to the real religious meaning underlying his citation, even though his emphasis and insight may seem to contain at first examination an apparent contradiction to the obvious meaning of the passage cited. His use of the O.T. involves its quotation to show the fulfillment of prophecy in Christianity. Like the rest of early Christian writers he makes this one of the main forms of Christian evidence to vindicate his claims and arguments. He employs also (5) the various structural techniques of defensive address, much in the style of the diatribe, such as question-and-answer (almost one verse out of every three in Rom. 9:11 contains a question; sometimes the question becomes a strong device for debate as in 9:19-22 and 10:14-19 where the thought of his argument actually advances in the form of one question after the other without stopping for any intervening or forthcoming answers and by no means are all the questions rhetorical). Other noticeable structural devices are the frequent inclusion of hypothetical objections which he anticipates from his audience ("You will say to me then", 9:19; "you will say then," 11:19);  }

60. A.M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, pp. 69ff; Bernhard Weiss, BTNT, 2:304.
rather stereotyped phrases of address, such as *anthrope* (9:20) and *adelphoi* (10:1; 11:25); and illustrations — as noted already, his propositions are all demonstrated by concrete persons and events (which really serve the function of illustrations (cf. 9:9-18, three—Abraham, Isaac, Pharaoh; 9:19-24, the potter; 11:1-5, two — himself and Elijah; 11:17-24, the olive tree).

5. **Creeds and Confessions.** Primitive Christian confessions of faith, to which a good deal of recent study has been devoted, are found scattered throughout the N.T. Paul employs *creeds* in his efforts to make and educate Christian converts. Judging from the frequency of their appearance and the importance assigned to them in his letters, he regards them as unusually significant to the formation and education of the Christian mind. With Paul the function of the creed is to summarize, objectify, personalize and confess the content of the Christian's faith. Hence, the "Pauline" creed is a very concise affirmation of the fundamental tenets of faith required to be a Christian. For Paul, the confession of Christ is the essential article of belief in all creeds; thus, the type of confession he uses is a purely *Christological* formula. In most of the instances where creetal summaries occur in his letters they are introduced as what is "believed" or "confessed". That is, in at least five passages the words "(we) believe that" or "(we) confess that" provide a convenient criterion for identifying a creetal statement. Thus, Rom. 4:24-25 says, "Us who believe in him who raised from the dead Jesus our Lord, who was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification." Rom. 10:9 reads, "If you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead." In I Cor. 12:3 are the words, "No one can say 'Jesus is Lord' .... In I Cor. 15:(3), 11 he adds concerning Christ's death, burial and resurrection, "So we preach and so you believed." Phil. 2:11 says, "Every

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tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord." Only in Rom. 1:3-4 and I Cor. 8:6 are such introductory formulas omitted. There the confessional summaries run respectively thus, "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", and "There is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist." The last quoted (I Cor. 8:6) is probably the most ancient bipartite confession preserved from the early church, that is, if it was really meant to be a confession. Of the seven passages just quoted it has the least "external" creedal marks or attestations, i.e., introductory formula, signs of quotation and context. We may recall other passages (of a kerygmatic nature) cited in the last chapter, such as I Cor. 1:23; II Cor. 1:19; 4:5; I Th. 1:9, 10, as containing also summaries of belief.

Paul's creed expresses itself in short formulas. From the passages already quoted the most frequently used form is "Jesus (Christ) is Lord" (Rom. 1:4; 4:24; 10:9; I Cor. 12:3; Phil. 2:11). In Rom. 1:3-4 Christ's "lordship" is combined with his "sonship", "... his Son, ... Jesus Christ our Lord," though he nowhere cites (as a creed) the form "Jesus is the Son of God" in which "Son of God" stands alone without mention of his being also "Lord" (cf. Matt. 16:16; John 1:34, 49; 20:31; Acts 8:37; Heb. 4:14; I John 4:15; 5:5). Such a form may be in his mind, however, when he says that he lives "by faith in the Son of God" (Gal. 2:20) and that he preached "the Son of God, Jesus Christ" to the Corinthians (II Cor. 1:19; cf. Acts 9:20). Neither does he use the form "Jesus is the Christ" (Messiah), either alone (as in Mark 8:29; Lk. 9:20; I John 2:22; 5:1) or in conjunction with

63. Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 37, 46, 51.
64. Ethelbert Stauffer lists 12 criteria for detecting creedal formulas of faith in the N.T., Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Appendix III, p. 322. Cullmann thinks most of these are too rigid, op. cit., p. 20, n.1.
"the Son of God" (as in Matt. 16:16; Acts 8:37), though Acts 9:22 presents him as proving to the Jews "that Jesus (is) the Christ" (cf. Acts 18:5). However, he does include the idea of the Messiahship in the designation "Christ" which really becomes a personal name for Jesus, as in Rom. 1:4 "Jesus Christ our Lord," or Phil. 2:11 Jesus Christ is Lord." The expression Kyrios Christos occurs with notably rarity in Paul (Rom. 16:18 and Col. 3:24) and never in a creedal context. Just why he omits the title Christos from a creed intended for Gentiles is not difficult to understand. In the early Christian confession, as in the early kerygma, he uses what his Gentilic hearers and new converts could comprehend. Then, too, as already noted, his description, "Son of God" may have been used as a Gentilic equivalent for the Hebraic Christos.

He seems also to include with Christ's lordship, at least in some of his creedal formularies, a concise statement of the death, (burial), and resurrection. This is true in Rom. 1:3-4; 4:24-25; 10:9; and these great kerygmatic events are tied in with the great confession in Phil. 2:11 --- cf. verses 8-9. In I Cor. 15:3ff the death, burial, and resurrection appear without any mention of his lordship (cf. also the kerygmatic statements in I Cor. 1:23; 2:2). Thus the question presents itself as to which of these two data (lordship and death-resurrection) is the more primary and thus as to whether we can go any further in discovering the more original summary of the primitive Pauline confession of faith. We must be careful to recognize that this does not involve a choice of one datum at the exclusion or actual minimizing of the other. Since the form "Jesus (Christ) is Lord" appears in all the seven clearest "creedal" passages in Paul previously noted (except I Cor. 15:3ff), and since it occurs twice alone, i.e., unaccompanied by any mention in the context of the death-resurrection (I Cor. 3:6 and 12:3; actually the "death-burial-resurrection" is not cited in Phil. 2 as an integral part of the confession in 2:11),

it may be concluded that the irreducibly minimum yet comprehensive form of the Pauline confession lay originally in these words, "Jesus (Christ) is Lord." Actually
the present lordship of Christ was inaugurated by his death and resurrection (or exaltation), so that to confess Christ as Lord involves these other items also.

A similar question is whether for Paul (and the rest of the N.T.) the confession of Jesus as "Son of God" is synonymous, subordinate or supplementary to the confession of him as "Lord". We may take Rom. 1:4 as our clue to a solution. Here Jesus is described as "Son of God" _kata sarka_ and also _kata pneuma_.

In the latter of these two descriptions he is "designated Son of God, _en dunamis_," and these two Greek words seem to be more fully amplified in the addition "by his resurrection from the dead." This seems to mean that Paul (and those Christians before him from whom he probably derived this rather "traditional-sounding" confession of faith in Rom. 1:3-4) here sets out to show that the thing (his resurrection (and/or exaltation?)) which "declared" or "made known" Jesus as "Son" also made him known as "Jesus Christ our Lord". The latter (his lordship) is the real starting point, and his sonship is made known as in harmony with or possibly an aspect of that sovereign dignity. Thus the two confessions are at one, and therefore are usually employed together by the apostle — as we noticed above.

Our really important problem, however, is when and how Paul made use of these primitive creeds and confessions of faith in relation to his converts' training.

Since there was generally only the one all-inclusive, very brief statement of faith that "Jesus (Christ) is Lord" (or perhaps "Jesus (Christ) the Son of God (?) is Lord"), it was quite possible to exact some such oral confession prior to baptism even from those converts, such as Lydia and the Philippian jailor, whose baptism followed almost immediately upon their hearing the gospel preached for the first time.

Apparently for Paul, the confession of faith embodied in this simple primitive creed was the only "oral" test demanded of candidates prior to or at the time of their baptism. This is the "confession" of Christ to which we referred in the last

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chapter. It presupposes one's faith in Christ and repentance of sin and, as an oral confession, it looks toward or at baptism as an enacted or dramatized confession of Christ's death-burial-resurrection and lordship and as the "rounding out" of one's entrance into Christ. When one recited this confession as his own, he there and then publicly announced from henceforth an exchange of allegiance and devotion, of lordship and citizenship, from all old tyrants to his one new Lord, Jesus Christ. The sharp break in ties demanded by this confession was indeed a radical one. Moreover, these few words became the touchstone or canon by which every other belief, claim, action and relationship of the Christian was judged.

We may discern at least five occasions, if not more, on which the early church makes use of the creed: (1) catechumenism and baptism, (2) regular worship (liturgy and preaching), (3) exorcism, (4) persecution and (5) polemic against heretics. 69 To these may possibly be added (6) ordination and (7) excommunication. Paul shares in most, if not all, of these usages of the creed.

The brief confession that "Jesus Christ (the Son of God) is Lord" would be the first thing that a prospective Christian must (1) learn and understand. The meaning of the lordship of Christ is always tied by Paul (and the rest of the N.T.) to Christ's death, burial and resurrection. These events explain how and in what areas Christ is "Lord". These, too, the initial hearer must learn and understand. These few facts - Christ's identity and functions - could be learned in only a few minutes. Fuller understanding would occupy many discussion sessions, indeed, a lengthy lifetime.

In the creedal passages in Rom. 10:9; I Cor. 12:3; and Phil. 2:11 the singular number is used, while in Rom. 1:3-4; 4:24-25; I Cor. 8:6; and 15:3-4 the number is plural. There is the possibility, therefore, that in these two groups of contexts the apostle's thought relates itself respectively to individual and community...
confessional formulas of faith. It may well be that the candidate for baptism first confessed his faith in Christ (in terms like those of the first three passages above) just prior to his being buried in the waters of baptism or immediately upon being raised from the watery grave. This may possibly be what is meant whenever "calling upon the name of the Lord" is specifically connected with salvation (Rom. 10:13; cf. Acts 2:21). Paul himself had accompanied his own baptism with a "calling on the name of the Lord" (Acts 22:16), and he says expressly that baptism is "in (or into) the name of the Lord" (I Cor. 6:11; compare his question in I Cor. 1:13 (15) when he asks the Corinthians if they had been baptized "in the name of Paul". The reason for his query lies in the tacit assumption that they had in fact, been baptized "in (to) the name of Christ"). It is also possible that the name of Christ was called upon and that the creed "Jesus is Lord" was recited not only by the baptized but also by the baptizer in the moment of the rite (cf. James 2:7, "that honorable name called over you;" RSV: "by which you are called"; the same expression occurs in Acts 15:17). But whatever the precise relation of the primitive Christian creed to baptism, it seems certain that the foundation and gist of the catechetical instruction preceding baptism was the confession "Jesus (Christ) is Lord." This is confirmed in I Cor. 15:3 when Paul says he delivered to the Corinthians the tradition about Jesus' death and resurrection (on which his lordship rests) "first of all", i.e., in his missionary preaching and catechetical instruction.

70. Surely Acts 8:37 is an "individual" type of confession, while I Pet. 3:18 probably records a "community" formula. Or perhaps it is more accurate to speak of individual and community "usages" (rather than "types") of the primitive creed. Cf. the singular number of the verb "confess" in Rom. 10:9-10.


72. At a later date baptism and the pronunciation of creedal formulas were brought close together (Justin Martyr, Apology 61; Tertullian, De spectaculis 4; De corona militis 3; also the Apostolic Constituions 7:39-45; the Syriac Didascalia; the Catechisms of Cyril of Jerusalem; cf. Ludwig Hahn, Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche).

73. Ullmann, op. cit., p. 23.
The use of the confession of Christ as Lord early appeared in (2) worship. There was the precedent of the shema in the worship of the Jewish synagogue. Yet nowhere does the N.T. state specifically that the creed was repeated by the assembled congregation at their (weekly) worship services. But with the frequent repetition of the brief creed in sermons and in the public confession made by new converts the creedal formula would be heard probably more than once in a worship service. The Aramaic word "Maranatha" preserved in I Cor. 16:22 and Didache 10, may possibly be a prayer ("come, our Lord!") rather than a declaration of faith ("Our Lord comes," cf. Rev. 22:20), but even so it contains the essence of the early creed, and was probably used in the liturgy of the worship service either at the Lord's supper, or as part of the benediction, or possibly both.

There may be no example of the usage of the creed in conjunction with (3) exorcism in Paul's letters. Acts 16:18, however, furnishes a prime example of his power of casting out spirits when he removed the spirit of divination from a slave girl at Philippi "in the name of Jesus Christ" (cf. the case of Peter and the lame man in Acts 3:13-16 and 4:10; also Mark 1:24; 3:11; 5:7). At Ephesus certain itinerant Jews sought to imitate his success in exorcism by use of his formula "(the name of) the Lord Jesus", but with disastrous consequences (Acts 19:12, 13-17).

The use of the creed in (4) persecution may be reflected in I Cor. 12:3 where Paul speaks of Jesus as being either cursed or confessed as Lord. The passage is concerned with spiritual gifts, and Jesus announced to the disciples 74. It seems odd that the form of the creeds used to this day in the worship of many Christians are couched in the singular rather than the plural number, i.e., "I believe", not "we believe", as though the creed was not originally intended for communal confession, but for individual usage, e.g., at baptism, etc.

74. Hans Lietzmann suggests that the earliest creeds were drawn up in forms closely resembling that of hymns (in Festgabe fuer Adolf von Harnack (1920), pp. 226-242). If so, the creed may well have been sung as well as spoken during the service of worship.
the inspiration of the Spirit in times of persecution (Matt. 10:17-20). The Martyrdom of Polycarp (9:3) and Pliny's Letter to Trajan (5) declare that Christians under persecution were ordered by the authorities to curse Christ. "It was not sufficient to sacrifice and to say Κύριος Κυρίαρχος; the Christians had further to say ἄνδρα Χριστοράς."

Paul thus may be saying in I Cor. 12:3 that one could not afterwards offer the excuse that the Spirit had inspired such words of condemnation, for the Spirit promised to those under persecution is operating only where the confession Kýrios Iesous is heard. From II Cor. 11:25 and Acts 17:7 it is clear that Paul himself had experienced conflict with the political authorities, being charged with saying that "there is another king, Jesus" (cf. I Cor. 15:32; II Cor. 1:8-10).

Brief summaries of the faith are frequently employed by Paul in polemic against heresy and unbelief. The formula in I Cor. 15:3ff opens a statement directed against the error of those in Corinth who disbelieve the resurrection or who think that it is past already. The creedal statement in I Cor. 8:6 is directed against heathen polytheism: "one God .... and one Lord Jesus Christ" as opposed to "many 'gods' and many 'lords'."

There may be no clear example of an ordination in Paul's letters. He himself was called and commissioned an apostle "through Jesus Christ and God the Father" (Gal. 1:1). It may be that I Cor. 5:4 uses the early creed in connection with an excommunication, or at least a withdrawal of fellowship, when the apostle declares that judgment is pronounced against the impenitent wrong doer "in the name of the Lord Jesus".

6. Catechism (s). Out of the last three or four decades of N.T. study along the lines of Formgeschichte some significant results, not only in the gospels but in sections outside of the gospels, have eventuated. Among these

76. Cullmann, op. cit., p.29.
latter areas is that of the primitive Christian preaching (the kerygmatic tra-
dition) and that of the creed. Another is that of the early Christian catechism.

a. Problem of its Existence in the Early Church. Recent studies, particu-
larly those of Carrington and Selwyn, have explored the possibility of the
existence of a catechism in the primitive church. Can signs of its existence and
usage really be detected in the N.T., and especially for our purposes, in Paul's
letters? If so, what can we learn of its content and structure? We must notice
first in the letters themselves those intimations which are thought to show the
usage of a catechism (especially in the Pauline circles). In Rom. 6:17 Paul
says, "You who were once slaves of sin have become obedient from the heart to
the standard of teaching to which you were committed" (παρέσκευα κτίσεως μετὰ τοῦν σιδέρια). Wheth-
er or not ἄρως here refers to doctrinal or moral teaching or more probably
to both, the term does seem to point unmistakably to a body of teaching which
Paul knew the Roman Christians had been taught and to which they themselves had
subscribed. These words seem often to have troubled commentators. In I Cor.
4:17 he writes, "I sent to you Timothy ... to remind you of my ways in Christ
(τὰς ὅσιάς μου τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ) as I teach them everywhere in every church." It
is not clear from this verse, however, that pre-baptismal instruction or even the
simple teaching designed for Christian neophytes is in the apostle's mind. Judging
from such passages as I Cor. 1:17 and 2:1-5 this may well be the case; but such
"ways" as he describes in 4:11-13 and 9:15, 22, 27 actually have little to do
with the individual thought and life of most Corinthians for they are largely
personal Pauline procedures. In I Cor. 11:2 he speaks of the "traditions" which
he had "delivered" to them (παρέσκευα ὅμως τὰς παρὰ δόσεις). These terms "tra-
ditions" and "delivered" probably echo the Jewish didactic background of the

79. Sanday and Headlam, ICC on Rom., p. 168.
80. One of the latest, Rudolf Bultmann, declares the words a gloss, TNT, 1:221, n.1.
81. See Moulton-Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, sub Paradidomi
and Paralambanō; J.H. Thayer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament,
(Continued on the next page)
apostle. Both are technical terms in Jewish parlance for the content and process, respectively, of the transmission of the body of unwritten learning which constituted the prime element in rabbinic education. Thus the apostle writes in II Th. 2:15, "Stand firm and hold to the traditions which ye were taught by us, either by word of mouth or by letter" (cf. 3:6). In the N.T., this term "tradition" seems always to signify that which is transmitted (not the act of transmission) usually without indicating the method of transmission or necessarily implying any lapse of time such as is generally associated with the word "tradition" in English. These Pauline "traditions" apparently include a summary of the kerygma which he preached to new hearers, possibly in the form of a brief creed-like statement or outline. As we have seen already, the death, burial, resurrection, and lordship of Jesus must have loomed large in these traditions. At least in the two passages, where he describes the content of the tradition which he had delivered to his converts, Paul relates the facts relative to Christ's death and resurrection (I Cor. 11:23ff; 15:1ff). Seeberg supposes, on the basis of II Th. 2:15, that an early catechism based on certain savings of Christ was used in the Thessalonian community. That these were primitive didactic traditions which

81. (Continued from page 304): sub idem; Friedrich Buechsel, art. "Didomi, etc.", Kittel's TWNT, 2:173, lines 31ff; Baltmann, TNT, 2:119ff.

82. Erubin 54a; Sanhedrin 99a; Hagiga 9b. Subject-matter was not only memorized carefully, but retained faithfully and transmitted to others exactly as one had been taught it, Aboth 3:11; Eduyoth 1:3; Midrash Leviticus Rabbah 20, on Lev. 16:1. Cf. G.F. Moore, Judaism, 1:319-320; Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, 2:150ff.


84. Ethelbert Stauffer says that the christocentric interpretation of the O.T. was a major concern in these "traditions", along with the life and work of Jesus, Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments, p. 220. Cf. also Foakes-Jackson and Lake, Beginnings of Christianity, 2:469-516.


86. Alfred Seeberg, Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, pp. 1ff, 4ff.
included also at least the most rudimentary ethical instructions seems evidenced by II Th. 3:6, "Keep away from any brother who is living in idleness and not in accord with the tradition that you received from us," and I Th. 4:1-2, "You learned (nσρέλάβετε) from us how you ought to live (περίπατείν) and to please God.... You know what instructions we gave (τίνας παραγγέλιας εδόκαμεν) you through the Lord Jesus" (cf. Rom. 16:17). Furthermore, J. Weiss thinks that the designation ἄδιόται in I Cor. 14:16, 23, 24 (cf. II Cor. 11:6; Acts 4:13) refers not simply to "laymen" or merely "outsiders." Rather the term forms a class between the believers and unbelievers. Like the unbeliever, the ἄδιότης appears to be a guest of the assembled congregation (I Cor. 14:23, 24), hence is different from both the outsiders and the believers, remaining one degree removed from the church beyond the other Christians, and also a degree nearer than the unbeliever. This middle group, or ἄδιόται, J. Weiss describes as "a kind of proselyte or catechumen group." If Weiss is correct, then this is an implicit reference to a specific group in the church who must have made use of some sort of catechism. An explicit reference to the individual member and to the teacher of such a group may underlie the use of the words ὁ καθηχόμενος and τῷ καθηχοῦντι in Gal. 6:6.

And yet, "there is no clear indication of a catechumenate in the New Testament" --- and no section is anywhere specifically identified as a transcript from a catechism. A second and more recent approach to the question has concentrated more on the possibility of fragments from an early catechetical form having

87. Der erste Korintherbrief, pp. 329ff, 333; EEX, 2:624.
89. Carl von Weissaecker understands Gal. 6:6 as no reference to doctrinal lectures in the congregation, but only to personal instruction, AA, 2:333.
90. Burton thinks that "it is a class of paid teachers to which this verse refers," ICC on Gal., p. 335; cf. here F.V. Filson, "The Christian Teacher in the First Century," JBL (1941), 60:31-7ff. Some scholars consider such "catechetical forms" or "catechetical traditions" as may have been used in the earliest church to have preserved and transmitted largely "kerygmatic" materials, cf. Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, pp.70, 239ff, while others lay greater stress on the "didactic" contents of such traditions, cf. Karl Weidinger, Die Haustafein; Donald W. Riddle, Early Christian Life as Reflected in its Literature, p.154; Dibelius, oo. cit., p.339; Carrington, oo.cit., pp.3ff, 81ff.
been incorporated into various parts of the N.T., especially in the epistles and Acts. Attention has been centered particularly on the ethical sections of the letters. Philip Carrington and after him E.G. Selwyn, by a detailed comparison of identical or similar words, phrases, and ideas of an ethical sort, have attempted to explore the possibilities of this approach. A comparison of I and II Th. and I Pet. is thought to reveal resemblances which seem to point beyond the influence of an individual mind (Silvanus is a joint author in all three letters) to a pattern or patterns of catechetical instructions familiar both to the writer and to his readers. This pattern (or patterns) of teaching Carrington designates "A Holiness Code" (based ultimately on Lev. 17-19) which was summarized in, or derived from, the Jerusalem decree of Acts 15 and, so it is theorized, probably provided the first outline of a baptismal catechism intended to instruct candidates for baptism, as well as to satisfy both the elementary needs of Gentilic converts and the fears of Jewish Christians. The chief marks of this "code" are emphasis on "abstaining" (apechesthai) from sensual lusts and uncleanness, and on positive "consecration" (hagiazein, katharizein) which specially expresses itself in love. To this "code" probably belongs also the idea of Christians as "children of Light" and it seems to have included the idea of the church as a neo-Levitical community. This primitive catechetical pattern, however, was soon amplified by another more comprehensive baptismal catechism which, it is said, was conceived on more positive and imaginative lines. Carrington groups the didactic parallels which he uncovers from Rom., Col., Eph., I Th., James, and I Pet., and which belong to this larger catechism, under six major heads, which Selwyn also adopts. These divisions probably were superseded or reinforced by others, so that the supposed catechism when reconstructed appears somewhat as follows: (1) It began with a section on the

92. The evidence cited for this "neo-Levitical community" idea is extremely meager, if not fanciful.
94. Selwyn dates the later form of the catechism between A.D. 50-55 in origin (p. 460).
new creation or new birth, opening with a section on "the truth" or "the word of truth" (i.e., the gospel) as the basis and preparation for baptism, and describing the change culminated by baptism in a variety of metaphors: (a) new birth, (b) new creation, (c) old man-new man (or a death-burial-resurrection, and putting off-putting on) and (d) darkness-light. (2) The Abstinentes ("abstaining") section of the earlier form of the catechism was supplanted, or at least reinforced, by a (more positive) Deponentes ("renunciation") section containing repudiation of heathen idolatry and vice and especially of kakeia in all its forms, including sins of speech and temper. (3) The Deponentes section was followed by a correlative Induentes ("putting on" or "assumption") passage, including a list of general virtues, based largely on Jewish gnomic models in Ps. 34 and Prov. 3 and turning upon the triad, truthfulness, humility, and love, which one must practice in his new life. These two sections (Deponentes and Induentes) really belonged together: one lays aside old vices only to take up new virtues. (4) A section seems to have been given over to the worship of God, which derived largely from the customs of the synagogue. (5) Another, called Subiecti ("subjection"), contained the law of humility which embraces the subordinationist social code of primitive Christianity, including not only subjection to church leaders but civic and domestic obedience, the last involving relations of masters and slaves, husbands and wives, and parents and children. (6) There may have been also a section which Carrington designates Vigilare ("watch"), involving the duty of watchfulness and prayer, as well as one which he dubs State ("stand"), concerning the duty of steadfastness. Selwyn

95. There seems no apparent reason whatever why "death-burial-resurrection" and "putting off-putting on" should be regarded as synonymous with or subordinate to "old man-new man" rather than two separate classifications (cf. Selwyn, op. cit., p. 392).

96. One is reminded of the structure of the "Two Ways" section in the Didache; see Headlam and Sanday, IGC on Rom., p. 168; Bultmann, TNT, 2:218-219; Adolf von Harnack, Die Lehre der Zwelf Apostel.


thinks these last two sections may have belonged to a separate type or form of catechism intended for times of crisis evoked by persecution; he also thinks there was a section on church order and unity (reflected in different ways in Rom., Jas., and I Pet.), which probably was part of the section on virtues (Indumentes) noted above. Much in the catechism was based directly on verba Christi.

The question which now confronts us is, How valid are all these "findings" and just what do they mean for our survey of Paul's educational procedures? If proven extracts from a primitive catechism or catechisms really underlie or constitute parts of the N.T., and especially parts of Paul's letters, then this fact is of the highest importance to discerning how he informed his converts in their initial contacts and earliest experiences with life in Christ.

With regard to the studies, particularly of Carrington and Selwyn, the following observations need to be noticed. (1) The studies are based largely on the enumeration and comparison of vocabularies, and further these vocabularies consist of the most basic and common Christian words and ideas --- words and ideas that must needs be employed everywhere and repeatedly in order to realize the Christian life at all, apart from considerations about the existence of a catechism. (2) Inadequate attention is given in these two scholars' researches to the matter of the order and relationship of the sections within such a catechism as these may be reflected in the catechetical fragments supposedly embodied in the N.T. Of course there may have been no settled order to the catechism at this early stage; or the emphases demanded by the current situations may have called for a rearrangement of the customary order in the several sections "cited". But the matter of arrangement seems significant to the theory. More attention to this feature of the investigation is needed. (3) The very materials in the N.T. that appear the most "catechetical" may actually be derived by any or all the writers who use

them, not from a primitive Christian catechism, but from Jewish and/or Hellenistic sources. This is especially true of those very ethical codes of which Carrington and Selwyn make so much. For example, the "Haustafeln", involving domestic relations between husbands-wives, masters-slaves, and parents-children, may very well derive not directly from a Christian catechism at all, but from tables of duties used in Diaspora synagogues or even in pagan philosophical and "ethical" circles. And when one notes that nearly the whole of the materials surveyed by Carrington and Selwyn are of just such an ethical variety this observation becomes extremely important. (4) The various efforts to reconstruct the catechism, like those of the "Form-critics" (whose techniques Selwyn employs) in their efforts to analyze and define the strata in the structure of the gospels, do not agree. For example, Selwyn is convinced that the two major sections, styled Vigilate and State by Carrington, belong to a persecution-inspired and employed document. Moreover, J. Weiss would see most of these ethical precepts included in Paul's mission sermons side by side or even mingled with his kerygma. Of course, they may have been taught subsequently also, but the point is that Weiss does not relegate them to a special catechetical code. (5) The elaborate arrangement of materials, particularly that suggested by Carrington and Selwyn, seems more inspired by modern concepts of what catechisms are or ought to be than the evidence in the

102. Selwyn, op. cit., pp.439ff. Selwyn also thinks that the "Outline of the Pattern" put forward by Carrington is too simple, and so he proposes an early baptismal form.
103. Weiss groups these evils in this order: (1) Sexual impurities first — fornication, adultery, sodomy; (2) Warning against idolatry next; (3) crimes against property; (4) excesses, such as drunkenness, gluttony, etc.; (5) all that offends against love.
N.T. might appear to suggest. There is a real danger here of reading back into these first-century documents the developments of a later period. (6) Then there is the matter of silence in the N.T. If a full-blown catechism existed, why is there not more explicit reference to it, not to mention unmistakable quotation from it? At least one wonders why more and clearer traces of the semi-settled forms of such codified instruction, both doctrinal and ethical, are not appealed to especially on major questions such as adultery (I Cor. 5), marriage (I Cor. 7), worship (I Cor. 12-14), etc. One wonders too, why the alleged traces which do occur in the various epistles are not closer in vocabulary and order to one another, if they stem from even an oral common catechetical tradition.

Furthermore, one wonders why none of this early catechetical form survived apart from fragments in the N.T. (and maybe in the Didache) especially since it would be better to teach (and learn) from so well arranged a document rather than a miscellany of epistles. Finally, so much of the primitive Christian ethical teaching and learning depended on the leadership and operation of the Holy Spirit that the extensive use of catechisms for this purpose has been questioned.

Yet most of these objections may be more superficial than real, for when Paul alludes to a "standard of teaching" or to a "tradition" which he "delivered" to his converts or to (ethical) instructions as to how they are "to walk", he obviously presupposes that these young Christians had been exposed to some kind of group or collection of facts which they were expected to remember. And in order to be remembered such a collection of facts would likely have been arranged in some sort of pattern or order, so as to facilitate the memory, all the more so since few of his converts were highly gifted intellectuals. Or even if it be that much of his early moral instruction was drawn from the ethical codes of Judaism and Hellenism,

104, See, e.g., Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 228.
105, A fact that Selwyn recognizes, op. cit., pp. 421-422. He notes, e.g., that the code in Col. 3:18-21 contains little that is specifically Christian except the formula en kyrio (verse 21 is almost a quotation from Menander) which points to a Gentile origin for the code, while emphasis on "fear" and the use of the curious imperatival participle are characteristically Jewish elements, (Continued on the next page)
still these are "catechetical forms." Carrington and Selwyn's "findings" may outrun the evidence, but they have pointed to an apparently early ordering of the didactic materials used with neophyte Christians in the N.T.

There may be a third piece of evidence in the N.T. for the existence at a very early period of catechetical materials and forms, namely, the treatment of candidates for baptism. Cullmann thinks that the repeated use of the question Τί ἐπιλύσεις (or Τίς (or other forms of the verb)) by the candidate or baptizer in Acts (8:36; 10:47; 11:17; cf. Matt. 3:15f; Gospel of the Ebionites, cited by Epiphanius 30:13) reflects a query from a baptismal questionnaire. If Cullmann's lead is correct, then we may expect to find other questions from the same source preserved here and there in Acts' baptismal accounts. Among the first questions that a candidate would be expected to ask is, "What must I do (to be saved)?" This question appears on the lips of interested and believing inquirers in Acts 2:38 (the Jewish hearers on Pentecost) and 16:30 (the Philippian jailor, whose query Paul himself answers) and in both cases baptism of the candidates follows almost immediately. Strikingly enough the query appears on the lips of Paul himself when Jesus is seen by him on the Damascus road (Acts 22:10, "What shall I do, Lord?") and in this case it is Jesus the Lord who gives the reply, "Rise and go into Damascus, and there you will be told all that is appointed for you to do" (Acts 22:10; cf. 9:6). Part of what he was told to do, indeed, the only recorded matter he was told to do, once inside...

(Continued from Page 311): and so the original substratum of the code may be a fusion of Jewish and Gentilic thought which originated in Hellenistic Judaism or even the early Christian mission, p. 438.


107. It is interesting that the greater part of the so-called apostles' creed appears in an interrogative form in the baptismal rite in Epiphanius, Apostolic Tradition 21:12-17. Cf. Arthur G. Hebert, The Form of the Church, p. 42.


109. Cullmann fails to notice any other questions related to baptism and so does J.C. Davies who also points to the question noted by Cullmann. Cf. Davies, "Life and Worship in the Early Church", Twentieth Century Bible Commentary, pp. 375-381; esp. p. 380.
Damascus was "Rise, and be baptized ..." (Acts 22:16). It may well be also that another interrogative in such a baptismal questionnaire is that which Annanias asks of Paul in Acts 22:16, "And now why do you wait?" In this case the question comes from the performer, not from the candidate, but again is related to baptism. It may be that such a question came just before or immediately after the first query noted above ("What forbids me?"), but there is no further evidence on the matter. At any rate such questions as these three would be asked repeatedly because they are fundamental questions to which all earnest enquirers desired an answer. A reconstruction of such a baptismal questionnaire is purely hypothetical, but on the basis of what questions occur in Acts (for our purposes in relation to Paul) the following attempt to supply the missing links is proposed (questions and/or answers preserved in Acts or Paul are underscored):

1. "What must I do (to be saved)?" (Acts 2:37; 16:30; 22:10)
   Answer: Believe (Acts 16:31; cf. 8:15–37; 18:8; Rom. 10:9), Repent (Acts 2:38; cf. 3:19; 17:30; 26:20), confess (Acts 8:37; Rom. 10:9; Phil. 2:11), be baptized (Acts 2:38; 8:36, 37; 10:47; 22:16; cf. 18:8; 19:5).

2. Believe: in what?
   Answer: "Believe in the Lord Jesus" (Acts 16:30; cf. Rom. 10:9);
   that "Jesus Christ is the Son of God." (Acts 7:33).

3. Repent: why?
   Answer: In order to "turn to God and perform deeds worthy of (that) repentance" (Acts 26:20), "a repentance that leads to salvation" (II Cor. 7:10); "that your sins may be blotted out, that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send the Christ appointed for you, Jesus, whom the heavens must receive until the time for establishing all that God spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old" (Acts 3:19–21; cf. 2:38; this last of course is Peter's answer),
"because he has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness by a man whom he has appointed" (Acts 17:31).

4. Confess: what?

Answer: That "Jesus is Lord, Jesus Christ the Son of God" (Acts 8:37; Rom. 10:9; Phil. 2:11; cf. I Cor. 12:3).

5. Baptism: What and why?

Answer: In baptism one who "has died with Christ" (Col. 2:20), that is, whose "old self is crucified with him" (Rom. 6:6), is "buried with him... into death" (Rom. 6:4), "and raised with him through faith in the working of God" (Col. 2:12; cf. Rom. 6:4-5). Consequently his "life is hid with Christ in God" (Col. 3:3) and he "walk(s) in newness of life" (Rom. 6:4). One is "baptized into Christ Jesus" (Rom. 6:3; I Cor. 12:13; Gal. 3:27). Baptism is "in the name of the Lord Jesus (Christ)" (Acts 2:38; 19:5; cf. I Cor. 1:13, 15; 6:11) "for the forgiveness of sins" (Acts 2:38; cf. 13:38; 26:18) "and the gift of the Holy Spirit" (2:38; I Cor. 12:13).

6. "What is to prevent my being baptized?" (Acts 8:36; 10:47; cf. 11:17)

Answer: (Silence) or "Nothing", or "You may be baptized."


(Both question and answer in 6 and 7, especially the latter, may have been simply a rhetorical part of the baptismal ceremony. It is also quite possible that number 7 is a part of the hortatory charge always given to new listeners upon the completion of an initial preaching-teaching session with them).

But enough of speculation! Even if a baptismal pattern of elementary teaching, somewhat along the lines suggested above, really existed at the time Acts was written, it would not necessarily follow from this fact that (apart perhaps
from question no. 5) such a pattern was available to Paul, though most of the answers culled from Acts can more or less be duplicated in Paul. However, it is not simply a problem of either questions or answers, but one involving a definite sequence of both — and this is lacking from our sources. We have the "answers" in our sources, but they generally are not characterized as "answers" because in most cases the necessary "questions" are not asked. 110

b. Usage of Catechetical Materials by Paul. Granted that Paul used catechetical materials and even catechetical forms, how did he employ these? We need first to notice what Pauline epistolary materials previous researches seem to indicate were likely derived from a possible primitive catechism. Among passages in Paul's earlier letters the following may be reckoned as catechetical:

Rom. 12:1-20; 13:1-10; I Cor. 3:16-17; 5:9-10; 6:9-10; I Th. 4:1-12; 5:1-9, 13-22; II Th. 2:13-17. The table attached (reproduced from Selwyn) will give a comparative summary of the chief passages from the earlier Pauline letters with the relevant passages from other letters. They are arranged according to Selwyn's (and Carrington's) catechetical scheme. Most of the passages which compose what Selwyn calls a catechetical persecution-form are not included, since for the most part these are widely scattered verses ranging throughout I and II Th., I Pet., and other epistles (I Th. 5:1-11, however, is treated consecutively in one block in this "persecution-form").

110. David Daube seems to think that a fourth type of evidence for a catechetical form in the N.T. lies in a peculiar form, namely, a use of participles as imperatives. He contends that this usage is not Greek but Semitic; hence, for example, Rom. 12:9-19 contains the very linguistic idiosyncrasies of a (catechetical) code. One wonders, however, if a good deal of homiletical exhortation may not have been thrown into this participial-imperative form with no (conscious) imitation of ethical codes or catechetical forms intended. See Daube's essay, "Participle and Imperative in I Peter" in Selwyn's First Epistle of St. Peter, pp. 484ff; also see H.G. Meecham, "The Use of the Participle for the Imperative in the New Testament," Expository Times (1948), 59:165-166.

WL - Worship service, strongly influenced by Levitical ideas of worship
WS - Worship service
CV - Catechumen virtues
CVL - Catechumen virtues, drawn largely from Lev. 19
CVG - General catechumen virtues

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A glance at the attached table shows first what is not there. Doctrinal subjects are not much in evidence. The subject of worship occupies only a minor position. As to arrangement, the order is nowhere the same, and where it comes nearest to being so is in those two epistles which are the product of the joint authorship of Silvanus, namely, I Th. and I Pet. What is included is ethical instruction, couched for the most part in commands and exhortations. That is, the "findings" show that the formation of the new life and ethical behavior constitute the bulk of this early "standard of teaching". This is to be expected in the early Gentile communities where high standards of morality were uncommon. Whenever an interested group was assembled, the apostle began to preach the gospel to them. Ethics, in the form of a call to repentance and righteousness, entered his speech almost at once. Baptism followed immediately for those who professed faith in Jesus whom Paul preached. Then began in earnest the ethical instruction of the converts. There was not only teaching but exhortation, commands, and persuasion of his converts to obey in their lives what they had learned with their minds.

How does Paul employ these codes and catechetical forms? First, he handles his materials with much greater freedom than the other N.T. writers who also use these forms, importing rather distinctive metaphors of his own and impressing his strong personality upon the earlier forms which he uses—as Selwyn notices. Further, the apostle also seems to separate the "theoretical" from the "practical" in his works, assigning separate positions to both more nearly than do, for example, James or Peter. A glance at the attached table will confirm this statement. Notice that the table contains no reference to anything in I Th. 1-3, nothing to Rom. 1-11, or to Col. 1-2, or to Eph. 1-3 (These are "doctrinal" sections), but every chapter in I Pet, is included in the attached chart, except the last, and all of James, except chapter 2. Whether Paul was teaching doctrine or ethics he could say, "This

112. On..., p. 419.
one thing I do!" We do not for a moment imply that he does not relate the two or that he regards them as separate compartments of the Christian faith. As we shall see, this is untenable; but when dealing with either area, he does sustain his manner of reasoning in one direction for a considerable length without switching predominantly to the other. This can scarcely be said, for example, of 1 Peter. The nearest Pauline approach, a mixing of the two seems to be 1 Cor. 7. Here relations of husband-wife, parent-children, and master-slave are all touched upon in a free sort of way that remotely reminds one of the parenetic sections in Eph. and Col. (Few scholars seem to have observed this fact). Yet interspersed are references to such doctrinal matters as Satan's working (7:5), God's call (15, 17, 18, 20-22, 24), God's gifts (7, 17), circumcision (18-19), God's purchase of believers (23), the impending distress and shortness of time (26, 29), the transitory nature of the world (31), and the primacy of Christ's lordship (23, 32-35). In this connection we ought to notice also that he does not discuss doctrine apart from ethics nor does he ever attempt to exhort to ethical behavior without first laying a doctrinal foundation or refreshing the memories of his audience on their previous theological acquisitions. It is important, also, to note the relative order of these two --- his doctrinal treatises always come first. And while he does not usually lose himself in foreign excursions on side tracks (these lengthy asides are mainly in the doctrinal portions), yet he frequently injects doctrinal and theological parentheses into his ethical codes which sometimes serve simply to Christianize them and thus to adapt them the better to his purposes (witness the ἐν κυρίῳ injected in Eph. and Col. into otherwise Jewish or Hellenistic catenae of ethical advice), or to clarify, amplify, or supplement segments of the codes. Sometimes also these brief theological insertions supply a strong motive for performing the ethical instructions. These

distinctively "Christian" theological features (addition?) may or may not be Pauline creations. They are, however, evidences and illustrations of his (or of some earlier Christian's) pressing of plain ethical codes into the service of Christian pedagogy and so of his manner of instilling doctrine into the minds of his converts in the meanwhile.

Another point to be noticed is, if the recent theories and researchers are valid, that while he often simply admonishes his readers to a refreshing of their memory on the contents of the didactical standard or tradition left with them, yet he is not adverse to quoting at length from that standard or tradition what he considers pertinent for his current purposes of counselling, discipline, and exhortation. However, he never identifies these citations as from a catechism as he does most of his O.T. quotations. It is further to be noted that the range of Paul's initial teaching to converts is revealed by these catechetical deposits in his letters. He everywhere presupposes some kind of theological knowledge on the part of his hearers or readers; his paraenetic sections are not fully meaningful otherwise. Hence monotheism, the kerygmatic facts relative to Christ, and eschatology stand, for example, in the background of I Th. 4:1ff; Col. 3:5-15; and I Th. 5:4-8 respectively. The actual range of hortatory subjects in his "catechetical" sections includes the state (Rom. 13:1-7), home and family (I Th. 4:3-8; cf. Col. 3:18-4:1; Eph. 5:21-6:9), personal relations and behavior (Rom. 12:9-21; 13:8-10, 12-14; I Th. 4:9-12; 5:4-8, 12-22), worship (Rom. 12:12; 1 Th. 5:19-21), work and the exercise of talents (Rom. 12:3-8; I Th. 4:11-12; cf. I Th. 4:6, translating ἐν ἔργῳ ἐργαζόμεθα as "in business"; also cf. II Th. 3:6-13), relation of leaders and led in the church (I Th. 5:12-13; cf. Col. 3:16; Eph. 5:21), and others harder to classify. Yet again, Paul regards his general moral injunctions (which give the ethical sections of his letters their decided overtone of moral pedagogy) as the will of God for...
his converts — at least in regard to practical affairs of conduct (I Th. 5:13). These injunctions are not detailed regulations designed to fit the peculiar or specific situations in their lives. Through these regulations his converts partly come to "understand what the will of the Lord is" (Eph. 5:17) in regard to conduct and life.

Just what is Paul's usage of these catechetical materials? It is clear that his chief employment of them is at the beginning of the formation of Christian life. Whether or not he used a baptismal catechism constructed on the basis of certain key questions posed by the candidate and/or agent we simply do not know. At any rate he does use the interrogative method with great frequency in his epistolary teaching. Approximately one out of every five sentences in his epistles is a question. Sometimes they stand amassed in clusters in which each question may contain a separate argument advanced against his opponents' position (cf. I Cor. 9:1, 4-13; etc.), or in which each succeeding question functions as the answer to the problem expressed in the preceding one (I Cor. 6:1-7; etc.), or in which he simply raises questions in order to refute them later in his discussion (I Cor. 15:12, 29-31; etc.). Most of these last instances serve as a rhetorical device for introducing new subject matter into his discussion and so reflect the methods of the Stoic diatribe. But in the main the questions in his letters stand separate and alone as serious problems to which he endeavors to provide genuine answers. It is their large number that is noteworthy, and that prompts us to ask (116) if this reoccurring Pauline pedagogical procedure may be due to his perpetual use of a catechism or catechetical questions in his teaching sessions with his converts? Of course, the question-and-answer method of instruction was probably the main technique in Jewish and rabbinical teaching and so would have come "natural" by Paul.

116. Even in his letters much of the ethical instruction stands on a rather elementary level, D.W. Riddle, Paul Man of Conflict, p. 113.
There is also the possibility, however, that the presence of so many questions and answers reflects his habit of continuous repetition of catechetical questions and answers in his teaching sessions, with prospective and/or recent converts. It is also possible that some of these very questions are drawn from a catechetical form familiar already to his readers. At any rate the method is much the same as appears in the interrogative catechetical form. The significant fact is that he seems to continue use of the method even with more mature Christians as is obvious, e.g., from his letter to the Romans.

When, where and how the catechisms or proto-catechisms arose is difficult to determine. They are probably the result both of individual and corporate efforts, probably began as oral matter and were later committed to writing in varied forms and versions, and were in circulation in different forms and drafts for teachers in different districts and communities. It has been suggested that the earlier form originated at Antioch and that the more developed and later catechetical form grew up as a result of the church’s expansion in Asia Minor, perhaps between A.D. 50-55. These are only suggestions and theories, however, not proven facts.

There seems to be no evidence that either form or content of such instruments of teaching was settled within the first century. The evidence for a "Sons of light" baptismal form as well as a persecution form seems rather frail. One doubts whether we ought to posit much more than the existence of a general mass of ethical principles which frequent usage gradually assimilated more or less to a customary pattern of arrangement.

This conclusion would see not so much settled forms (surely not settled with any great degree of finality) in Paul’s catechetical teaching as a general tendency in that direction due to inherited arrangements of (Jewish and Stoic?) materials and

117. So Selwyn, First Epistle of St. Peter, pp. 401, 438.
118. Ibid., p. 375.
119. Ibid., p. 375.
120. Ibid., p. 419.
121. See the next page.
to constancy of usage.

The question of a teaching order in the Pauline churches seems to be fairly well answered in I Cor. 12:28-30, where teachers are ranked third after apostles and prophets. Not every Christian is qualified to be a teacher (cf. "Are all teachers?", I Cor. 12:29). Paul may have sought early to identify and to train such gifted persons among his converts. Some scholars see in Gal. 6:6 ("Let him who is taught the word share all good things with him who teaches") evidence of a paid order of teachers. This would imply an exceedingly well trained group of instructors whose loss of time due to serious study and instruction was compensated by their pupils.

7. The Old Testament.

The only written educational medium which we know with certainty that Paul possessed is the O.T. He could rely on a fairly thorough and exact firsthand acquaintance with it among his Jewish converts, but apart from conversions of former Jewish proselytes he could count on little knowledge of it among his Gentile converts. What then is his attitude towards the use of the O.T. in training fresh recruits from paganism? What value does he place on a knowledge of these writings for the Gentile's Christian life? How does he proceed in seeking to transmit to Gentile Christians a knowledge of these books? How successful is he in this endeavor? These are some of the more significant questions involved in any study of Paul's use of the O.T. in eliciting and shaping a Christian consciousness in his Gentile converts.

121. (From page 320): It is not a question whether or not nor of how much of the ethical teaching goes back to Jesus. Much of its content may well do so, especially that in Rom. 12. Cf. S. J. Case, Jesus, A New Biography, pp. 391ff. It is hardly likely that much of its form (that is, arrangement) is due to Jesus. The method of Formgeschichte has seriously wrestled with this problem. Cf. Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, pp. 287ff; Rudolf Bultmann, Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition (2te Aufl.).

122. Burton, ICC on Gal., p. 335.


a. Ignorance of Gentilic Converts of the O.T.

In light of the enormous ignorance of Gentiles concerning the O.T., its introduction to them by the apostle would a priori be a very difficult task. It is a difficult book. For most Gentiles it could be studied only in a translation in Greek, the septuagint, and a very poor translation it is at best. Most Gentiles were deeply influenced by Hellenistic culture, and even those with a partial acquaintance with oriental traditions would find the type of semitic atmosphere that pervades the O.T. a rather rarified one. Its spiritual concepts, its high ethical ideals, and its intolerance of compromise in addition to its foreign terms, strange figures, thought-forms, and rites made it a difficult collection of writings for easy-going Gentilic minds to comprehend.

One wonders, therefore, to what extent Paul actually used the O.T. with Gentiles. He frankly admits in I Cor. 8:7 that some of the Corinthian Christians did not possess knowledge about the non-reality of idols and of idolatrous sacrifices made to pagan gods — and monotheism is a basic concept in the whole O.T! Nowhere in his letters does he seem to discuss a question which had been raised by a former pagan concerning some problematic passage, concept, action, or institution in the O.T. which had proved difficult to understand. This does not imply that such questions were lacking when the apostle stood in person as an instructor before a group of such converts. But it has been recently denied that the O.T. was ever used in the worship services of the early mission churches among the Gentiles. And some have wondered if Paul, like Marcion, does not somewhat disparage its value and usage as an instrument of Christian training.

Yet the apostle prefaced a brief description of his "gospel" in Rom. 1:2ff with the words "which he (God) promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy

125. That they had such "problems" however, is perfectly clear by the existence of the entire letter to the Galatians — even if they did not write and ask about them!
127. Cf. Adolf von Harnack who supposes that the modern church has erred in retaining the O.T. as part of its canon (see his Marcion: das Evangelium vom fremden Gott, pp. 233ff, 247ff; 2te Aufl., 1924, pp. 248ff)
scriptures", and in I Cor. 15:3-4 he defines the essence of the gospel which he had preached to the Corinthians as being "in accordance with the scriptures" (kata tas graphas). These two passages are exceedingly important, for in the former he had never visited the readers addressed, yet these words stand at the very beginning of the opening sentence in his letters to them, and in the latter his readers had been so instructed "from the very start" (en protois). In both cases he everywhere assumes on the part of his readers a fairly thorough knowledge concerning great segments of the O.T. That is, his language even with Gentiles is saturated with the O.T. not only in phraseology but in concepts. Again, he writes in I Cor. 4:6, "That you may learn by us to live according to scripture" (in eis ev oμιβα μετα το με ομοποι ει γι γραπτα). This statement surely implies a first-hand acquaintance with the O.T. writings. Moreover, the way in which he handles Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar in Gal. or Adam and Moses in Rom. presupposes a considerable knowledge of the O.T. without which the whole argument remains unintelligible. He declares expressly that Gentilic readers are expected to draw instruction, patience, and encouragement from the scriptures --- which means the O.T. (Rom. 15:4). If he actually expected the readers of his letters in the young mission churches to understand both his designated and tacit references to these writings, then we must assume a vast amount of concentrated teaching from them.

So much for the internal evidence. Recently, C.C. Torrey has called attention to a fact that may help externally to confirm the use of the O.T. in the apostle's churches. Two, or possibly three, copies of the titles of the O.T. books (according to the Hebrew canon) each including the regular Greek spelling

129. On Paul's public reading of the O.T. to his converts, see Thomas M. Lindsay, The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries, p. 46, n.2.
of the titles as well as their transliteration into Aramaic have been uncovered. Torrey surmises that these lists represent a church "bulletin" sent out from the Aramaic-speaking church in Jerusalem and preserve for us the basic information about the O.T. that all Gentilic Christians were asked to learn. The lists were probably in use soon after A.D. 50, Torrey thinks. They may reflect the use of the O.T. in the earliest Gentilic churches, and therefore reveal the apostle's procedure in introducing the O.T. to Gentilic "students" for the first time.

O.T. instruction "actually" began with Paul's mission preaching. In the speech at Lystra in Acts 14:15-17 there is naturally no O.T. quotation (it is probable that he made few, if any, such direct citations in initial addresses to Gentiles), but these three sentences constitute a concentrated summary of the O.T. message about the living God who made heaven and earth and who bears witness to himself by the goodness which he exercises in his temporal activities. Nearly every word in this brief summary is an echo of the Jewish scriptures. The same thing is true of the more complete speech at Athens preserved in Acts 17:22-31. It has been noted that in the six verses in Acts 17:24-29, at least 36 reminiscences from many different O.T. books appear.

b. Problem of the Christian Use of the Old Testament

What relations were Christians to assume toward the O.T.? How were they to esteem its claims and promises? How were they to use it in public and (if any were able to afford it) in private? These are questions that continue to hound the church. It is Paul's contention that the resurrection and exaltation reversed the Jewish verdict of condemnation against Jesus (Col. 2:15; cf. Gal. 3:13-14; Acts 13:28-30), and that by the giving of the Spirit Christ formed the

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131. Ibid., 44:217-219
132. Ibid., 44:217.
church which became the "new Israel". Most of the old "Israel after the flesh" (I Cor. 10:18) by unbelief thus apostatized and so forfeited its rights. To its privileged position as God's own peculiar people the faithful remnant of Christians now succeeded (Rom. 11:5), Gentiles as well as Jews (Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:11). As the one true "Israel of God" (Gal. 6:16; cp. Rom. 9:6) the Christians were now "heirs according to promise" (Gal. 3:29) and the sole legitimate guardians and interpreters of the divine oracles (Rom. 3:2; 15:4). This was true because they now through the Spirit have (access to) the mind of the Lord himself (I Cor. 2:16); in Christ the veil of incomprehension and lack of insight is removed (II Cor. 3:14-18). Thus Christians, as members of the divinely redeemed community (the 'Israel of God' as opposed to the Israel 'after the flesh'), have inherited the O.T. as part of their possessions and privileges. Hence the O.T. is a lesson-book for Christians also. "The words... were written not for his sake alone, but for ours also" (Rom. 4:23). "For whatever was written in former days was written for our instruction" (Rom. 15:4).

But what usage was Paul, as a Christian, to make of the O.T. in his own life and in shaping the life and thought of other Christians? His attitude towards the O.T. is a simple one, though its application is complex. He still regards it as the word and will of God, as the one thesaurus of truth. But to apply this estimation is not always easy. It is this high regard for the old scriptures which makes them the bar at which Christian claims can be justified. They are for Paul, therefore, a divine authority that at all times will bolster an argument, provide a basis or at least a guide in new situations where precedents are otherwise lacking, and furnish inspiration as well as direction of life for the

134. See H.F.D. Sparks, The Old Testament in the Christian Church, pp.11, 94.
whole community of the new Israel.

The principles according to which Paul treats the O.T. in his teaching and writing have often been studied but never exhaustively. Consequently serious discussions of his handling of the O.T. often seem fragmentary and superficial, if not hap-hazard. A thorough, scientific examination of the motives underlying his usages of the O.T. is a prime desideratum. Some contend that "to understand his use of Scripture is to understand in no small degree his theology."

Within a brief compass we list several outstanding features that characterize the use of the O.T. in Pauline exegesis and homiletics. (1) He draws quotations for the most part from the *septuagint*. Some scholars contend that he never quotes immediately from the Hebrew, though this seems difficult to maintain. Since his readers spoke Greek and since the *septuagint* was the bible of Diaspora Judaism, it is not surprising that Paul adopts it as his usual text. In the circumstances under which some of his letters were written, neither Hebrew nor Greek texts may have been accessible. Thus (2) quotation from memory may be a rather frequent practice with him. Evidence of such a habit is difficult to assess, for its recognition depends largely on errors in the citations and what may be attributed to a faulty memory may in fact be due to one or more of several

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136. There have been other expressions of judgment to the contrary in this matter. Otto Michel concludes that we simply cannot prove that Paul recommends the O.T. as a book of edification to his converts, *Paulus und seine Bibel*, p.128; but cf. also p.123. Eric Wahlstrom says, "... We cannot find a single passage where he directs his converts to use it as a guide for their own Christian life", *The New Life in Christ*, p.144; but such a passage as I Cor. 10:18 surely contradicts this, "Consider (βλέπετε, note the impv.) Israel according to the flesh." Cf. also Rom. 4:23; 15:4; I Cor. 10:6,11. Delling says that Paul rejects the external authority of the O.T. for the internal authority of Christ, *Der Gottesdienst im Neuen Testament*, p.92.


141. (See the next page).

142. (See the next page).
a recension of the Greek Old Testament which lies behind or at least is close to other causes. He probably knew the translation of Theodotion. (3) Alteration of the original text, sometimes involving both Hebrew and Greek, is practiced by him occasionally. This includes (a) the addition of words not in the original, as in Rom. 10:6-7 where he cites Deut. 30:12-13 thus, "Do not say in your heart, 'who will ascend into heaven?' (that is, to bring Christ down) or 'Who descend into the abyss?' (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead)." Here he treats the bracketed words, which he himself has inserted, precisely as though they are part of the original passage. The same thing occurs also in I Cor. 15:45 — Gen. 2:7. (b) Substitution of his own or other words or phrases for those in the O.T. Thus, in Rom. 14:11 he replaces the verb "swear" (Ἱαόν, Ἰανώμ) with his own "live" (ζωέ) in citing from Isa. 45:23; cf. I Cor. 3:20. (c) Abridgement of the original text, as in I Cor. 1:31 and II Cor. 10:17 where he quotes or rather summarizes Jer. 9:22-23 in only five words, ο δια μνῃ ἐν κυρίῳ καταγγέλω (30 words in Heb., Kittel; 61 in Greek, Swete). (d) Blending of texts, as in Rom. 11:8, where he combines quite indiscriminately words from Isa. 29:10 with Deut. 29:3; cf. also Rom. 9:35-36, which quotes from Hosea 2:22, 1 (LXX, 2:23, 1:10); Rom. 9:35 (10:11); where he merges phrases from Isa. 28:16 and 8:14; II Cor. 6:16, which combines and condenses Lev. 26:11, 12 and Ezek. 37:27; Gal. 3:8, which is a mixture of words

141. (From page 326): "Of the 78 (O.T.) quotations in Paul's epistles, more than half give the exact text of the LXX and the majority of the others are also of the LXX type, even where the LXX deviates considerably from N.T.," Krister Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, p.159; see Deissmann, St. Paul, pp.101, 105.

142. "On the whole, however, the Pauline (O.T.) material gives the impression of an author quoting from memory", Stendahl, op. cit., p.159.

143. T.W. Manson, Dominican Studies, 2:137, sees a trace of Theodotion's interpretation in I Cor. 15:54; cf. Stendahl, Ibid., p.160, n.1.
from Gen. 12:3; 22:18; and 26:4. There seem\textsuperscript{144} to be some 12 (or 13) cases of textual compounding of O.T. quotations in our six Pauline letters. \textsuperscript{(4) Disregard of the original context.} One of the chief weaknesses of Paul's usage of the O.T., and especially of his exegesis, is his unconcern for what the writer of the passage under consideration had in mind, i.e., for the original context of scripture. This is apparent in almost all of his O.T. citations. He regards the entire O.T. as a book of predictions concerning Jesus as the Messiah and the Messianic age now introduced. Hence, a large number of his quotations are used as Messianic prophecies, whether the original passage was so intended or not. Thus, for example, in Rom. 9:27-28 he treats the words of Isa. 10:22-23, which probably referred only to an Assyrian invasion (most likely one by Sargon in 722 or 711 B.C.), as a general statement of Israel's spiritual fortunes and applies them particularly here to its attitude to the gospel. Passages, which in their original setting contained nothing at all pertaining to the future, are looked upon by the apostle as pointing to the Messianic times and people. Thus, for example, the command in Deut. 25:4, "You shall not muzzle an ox when it treads out the grain", is cited (I Cor. 9:9) as precedent that the Christian minister is entitled to support in the church! Klausner described Paul's treatment of this particular passage as "thoroughly talmudic casuistry". It is because of this attitude towards the O.T. that Paul feels unhampered in altering the original sense --- and occasionally the text --- so freely, that is, to make it suit his argument, for all of his reasoning involves Christ and the Church as foreshadowed in the O.T. Consequently Isa. 64:4, where

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{[144]} See references in Toy, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.289-292.
\item \textsuperscript{[145]} See G.R. Gilbert, \textit{Jesus and His Bible}, Appendix I, "Paul and His Bible", pp. 129-149. Gilbert notes Paul's treatment of the O.T. as (1) literalism (pp.139ff) and (2) fancifulness (pp.135ff).
\item \textsuperscript{[146]} Cf. Bernhard Weiss, \textit{HTNT}, 2:383.
\item \textsuperscript{[147]} B. Weiss, \textit{Ibid.}, 2:384.
\item \textsuperscript{[148]} Toy, \textit{op. cit.}, p.143.
\item \textsuperscript{[149]} See Toy, \textit{Idem}.
\item \textsuperscript{[150]} Joseph Klausner, \textit{From Jesus to Paul}, p.457.
\end{itemize}
the prophet says that no one has heard or seen a God besides the Lord who works for those who wait for him, is used by Paul to affirm, in I Cor. 2:9, that the unseen and unheard things which God had prepared for those who love him are now revealed to Christians by the Spirit. The apostle here not only substitutes new words in place of the original ("loves" for "waits for") and switches the word order ("hear-see" in Isa.; "see-hear" in Paul), but changes the sense of the original passage to fit what he wants to say about the "prepared mysteries" of God which were formerly concealed but now revealed. According to Isaiah, it is another God (who works for those who wait on him) which is unheard and unseen; according to Paul, it is the works (already prepared by God) which up to then had been unheard and unseen. Sometimes, due to ignoring its historic connections, he (a) gives an O.T. passage a new or different meaning. An example is Rom. 12:19 (cf. Heb. 10:30), "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord" (Deut. 32:35). The antithesis which Paul draws between vengeance by God and vengeance by man is certainly not found in Deuteronomy. Or again, the words of Gen. 15:6, "And he (Abraham) believed the Lord; and he reckoned it to him as righteousness", are taken by Paul in Rom. 4:3, 9 and Gal. 3:6 to mean that faith consists in trust in God as opposed to works. This is a concept that advances beyond Genesis, where faith itself seems to be regarded as a work. The quotation from Ps. 32:1-2 in the same paragraph in Rom. 4:7-8 likewise imparts a similarly new idea, for the ground or occasion of forgiveness for the psalmist is repentance of one who is upright in heart, while for Paul one is recognized as righteous not by his own actions, but by God's mercy "apart from works." Perhaps the most famous instance is Gal. 3:16 where he treats the collective noun "seed" as though it were singular, and so interprets the term of "Christ" in the promise to Abraham that to him and to his "seed" would be the divine blessing.

Some think this to be "like all those interpretations in Talmud and Midrash which are based on the presence or absence of the letter Waw" in a word (in the mishnah שֵׁנָה is the plural of שֶׁנָה). Sometimes he (b) gives an O.T. passage a meaning which seems completely opposite its original sense. This appears to be the case in Rom. 4:17 where he interprets the "many nations" of the promise to Abraham in Gen. 17:5 ("I have made you the father of many nations") as implying spiritual descendants, i.e., all who share Abraham's faith. "This is an illustration of Paul's argument that the promise to Abraham was not conditioned on circumcision, and not limited to the Jews — a position the reverse of that taken in Genesis and elsewhere in the Old Testament." So in Rom. 10:6 he cites Deut. 30:12-14 which speaks of righteousness as realized by obedience; but Paul employs the passage as proof of just the opposite — that righteousness is realized by faith. Some scholars feel that he not only uses certain O.T. references in a possibly legitimate "opposite" sense, but upon occasion a few in a non-permissible, historically "contradictory" sense. For example, in Rom. 11:2, he speaks of Elijah as pleading with God against Israel, because Israel had killed the prophets, torn down the altars and were seeking to destroy the prophet himself. In I Kgs. 19:10, however, it is not Israel but followers of Baal who so acted. Thus Paul, so it is alleged, commits a real error in an effort to change historic fact to suit his theory — even though his handling of the passage be labelled as "for illustrative purposes." In reply, be it noted that I Kgs. 19:10 calls these "Baalites" "children of Israel," i.e., they were not foreigners but converted Israelites who were persecuting their former faith. Occasionally he (c) returns to the original sense of the Hebrew, laying aside the Greek. So in I Cor. 14:21, while he has changed the situation to which the passage from Isa. 28:11-12 originally applied, he has preserved the sense of the words largely according to the Hebrew. The LXX here is

almost unintelligible.

Paul's sovereign freedom in handling the O.T. is seen at its height in Rom. 9:33 and 10:11. Here he twice quotes the same sentence from Isa. 28:16 within the brief space of only twelve verses, but fails to quote it identically. In Rom. 9:33 the subject is positive and the verb negated ("and he who believes in him will not be put to shame"), while in 10:11, the subject is negated and the verb is positive ("No one who believes in him will be put to shame").

Another principle at work in Paul's use of scripture is his tendency towards universalizing O.T. texts. He thereby converts passages with restricted possibilities of application into gnomic or paragnomic quotations of wider usefulness. In Rom. 9:25-26 he takes the words of Hosea 2:23, 1 which refer solely to Israel and extends them to the Gentiles: "Those who were not my people I will call my people", etc. The words of Isa. 29:14 about Judah's wise men, "And the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the discernment of their discerning men shall be hid," becomes in I Cor. 1:19, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the cleverness of the clever I will thwart." Again he makes changes that differ both from the Greek and the Hebrew to transform Prov. 22:9 (Heb., "A kind man shall be blessed;" LXX, "God will bless a man who is cheerful and a giver") into "God loves a cheerful giver" (II Cor. 9:7). Notice here how he has condensed the LXX reading and changed the tense from the future to the present in order to secure an even more general proposition. The same generalizing tendency is attempted in a narrative in Gal. 4:30 where he substitutes "the handmaid" for "this handmaid" and writes "the son of the free woman" for "my son Isaac."

Perhaps all of this is another way of saying that he endeavors to abstract the O.T. concreteness to which attention was first called in chapter two in connection with the G.T. He thereby converts passages with restricted possibilities of application into gnomic or paragnomic quotations of wider usefulness. In Rom. 9:25-26 he takes the words of Hosea 2:23, 1 which refer solely to Israel and extends them to the Gentiles: "Those who were not my people I will call my people", etc. The words of Isa. 29:14 about Judah's wise men, "And the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the discernment of their discerning men shall be hid," becomes in I Cor. 1:19, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the cleverness of the clever I will thwart." Again he makes changes that differ both from the Greek and the Hebrew to transform Prov. 22:9 (Heb., "A kind man shall be blessed;" LXX, "God will bless a man who is cheerful and a giver") into "God loves a cheerful giver" (II Cor. 9:7). Notice here how he has condensed the LXX reading and changed the tense from the future to the present in order to secure an even more general proposition. The same generalizing tendency is attempted in a narrative in Gal. 4:30 where he substitutes "the handmaid" for "this handmaid" and writes "the son of the free woman" for "my son Isaac."

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with Rom. 1:17 and Gal. 3:11 (quoting Hab. 2:3-4; cf. Heb. 10:37-38). There is also his tendency on occasion to reverse the process and (6) to "concrete" the abstract: Psalm 94:11 states, "The Lord knows the thoughts of man that they are vanity", but Paul makes it read, "The Lord knows that the thoughts of the wise are futile" (I Cor. 3:20). Here the apostle has narrowed down the universal "man" of the Psalm to the less numerous genus, "the wise", which better fits his specific circumstances in Corinth. And perhaps this last observation is his guiding principle in most scriptural applications — "to fit the situation better," in brief, "to become all things to all men" (I Cor. 9:22).

Paul has other homiletic usages for the O.T. He uses it for (7) illustration of his propositions, as his treatment of Abraham and David, in Rom. 4:1ff shows. In this section Abraham serves to demonstrate what is meant by being reckoned as righteous on the basis of faith in God. Likewise the many personages introduced into Rom. 9:11 serve an illustrative purpose; so do the institutions and narratives from Israel's wilderness experience in I Cor. 10:1ff, and the patriarchal figures in Gal. 4.

He also uses the O.T. for (8) proof purposes. In the broadest sense nearly all of his quotations can possibly be characterized as proofs. To cite a supporting line of evidence from God's word was tantamount to proving a proposition. (Evidence — and a sign — of the "proof" character of certain of his quotations is such formulas as "for it is written", "just as it is written", etc.) Thus in I Cor. 10:26, he quotes Ps. 24:1, "The earth is the Lord's, and everything in it", as evidence that it is lawful to eat all things. Note also Rom. 3:4 (citing Ps. 51:4 as proof that man's faithlessness does not nullify God's faithfulness); 9:25ff (quoting

157. "In the Hellenistic world the phrase 'It is written' was then (Paul's time) the formula with which people referred to the terms of an unalterable agreement; Paul uses it in exactly the same way. What is written cannot be called in question; every quotation from Scripture is a proof from Scripture." Deissmann, St. Paul, p.103f; see his Bible Studies, pp.112f, 249f.
Hos. 1:10; 2:23 as evidence of God's mercy); 11:26f (using Isa. 59:20-21; Jer. 31:33 as evidence for the ultimate salvation of Israel); I Cor. 1:19 (where Isa. 29:14 serves to demonstrate the folly of mere human wisdom); 3:19f (quoting Job 5:13 and Ps. 94:11 as evidence of the same folly of human thought); 6:15 (using Gen. 2:24 to prove the sinfulness of sexual immorality); 9:9 (repeating Deut. 25:4 as evidence of God's regulations for the welfare of his ministers); etc. Yet some of his quotes only confirm, e.g., Rom. 3:10ff; perhaps also Rom. 15:21, citing Isa. 52:15.

Another very important Pauline usage of the O.T. is for (9) warning and exhortation of his churches. An outstanding example of this usage is I Cor. 10:1-13 where the apostle makes a lengthy comparison between the privileges received in baptism and the Lord's supper by the Christians and those enjoyed by the Israelites. Some of the Corinthians apparently assumed that having once shared in these ordinances, the benefits bestowed thereby could not be lost. But Paul points out that, in spite of the somewhat similar special privileges which the Israelites of old enjoyed when they were baptized into Moses while passing through the Red Sea and when they ate the supernatural food (the manna) and drank the supernatural drink in the wilderness, many of them because of disobedience were overthrown and destroyed. Special divine treatment does not assure against succumbing to temptation. The experiences of that early generation functioned as an example to warn later Israelites and serve now to warn Christians —— against surrendering to idolatry, sensuality, and dissatisfaction with the Lord and their leaders. These stories in Exodus (15:21; 14:22-29; 16:4, 35; 17:6; 32:4, 6) and Numbers (11:4, 34; 14:29-30; 16:41, 49; 30:11; 21:5-6; 25:1-18) are not simply of historical or antiquarian interest, but are God's word: Christians will have the same temptations; these things "were written down for our instruction" (I Cor. 10:11). Another bit of admonition based on the O.T. is in II Cor. 8:15.

Here the apostle exhorts to liberality in giving on the assumption that there should

be an equality of possessions effected through sharing among Christians, the same kind of equality as prevailed at the Israelites' distribution of manna in the wilderness, for "he who gathered much had nothing over, and he who gathered little had no lack" (Ex. 16:18). Other hortatory applications of O.T. references are in Rom. 11:25-27 and II Cor. 9:9.

We have alluded already to his use of the O.T. as a source book of (10) prophesies respecting the Messianic age. The passages are too numerous to discuss singly. In common with the rest of the N.T. writers, Paul does not always confine his discovery of references concerning things messianic to those portions of the O.T. which were interpreted in the same manner by contemporary Jewish students. Such a passage (Isa. 1:9) as is quoted in Rom. 9:29 is even prefaced with the introductory formula "just as (the prophet) foretold" (προειπηκνεύν, "predicted"). In Gal. 3:8 the curious expression προευγησιαλογαραμον, "foregospelled", introduces the prophecy from Gen. 12:3; 18:18. There is a problem here whether he supplied his own messianic interpretations to O.T. passages at his own discretion or whether he followed a sort of common stock of such passages current in the church from a very early date to which he himself might add a few supplementary "prophecies" from time to time. This problem will be more fully considered below in connection with the "Testimonies". It is interesting that he applied O.T. words (spoken concerning God or by God of himself) to Jesus, e.g., I Cor. 1:29-31, where he cites Jer. 9:23 apparently of Jesus.

We have commented previously on the apostle's use of (11) allegory --- that use of mystical interpretation which explains the additional or spiritual ("allegorical") sense which is held to underlie the literal significance of persons, events, things, or sayings (Gal. 4:24). He probably drew the method from the O.T. itself (Hosea 12:4 seems to lay stress on the spiritual meaning of Jacob's struggle with the angel --- 159. B.F. Westcott relates that of 94 passages from the O.T. which are quoted in a messianic sense by the N.T. writers, he was able to trace only 44 interpreted in the same way in Jewish writings, Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, p.159.

160. So Joseph Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, p.430.
Gen. 32:24-30) or from the apocryphal books (note how the book of Wisdom, 10-12 emphasizes the spiritual side of the recorded history of mankind and of Israel), or from contemporary Jewish writers (Philo was an extreme allegorist; Josephus adopts the method, cf. Antiquities, Preface 4; 3:7:7, in Palestine Jochanan ben Sakai, Akiba, and Gamaliel II are mentioned as prominent rabbinical allegorists of the first century; Klausner says that the method is typical of tannaitic exegesis and he cites instances of Paul’s use of this talmudic and midrashic technique), or even from its extensive use among Hellenistic writers. In his earlier letters there are three passages in which he carries out the allegorical method at some length --- I Cor. 10:1-13; II Cor. 3:7-4:6; Gal. 4:21-31. We have called attention to I Cor. 10:1-13 above. Here Paul uses the greatest acts of salvation in the O.T. (the redemption of Israel from Egyptian bondage, involving the miraculous crossing of the Red Sea and the supernatural sustenance afforded by God to his people during the perilous wanderings in the wilderness) to show that the N.T. counterparts to these “salvation acts”, namely, baptism and the Lord’s supper, do not guarantee immunity to Christians from subsequent temptation and succumbing to sins (such as idolatry, immorality, disobedience to the leaders of God’s people, and grumbling against God) any more than the earlier acts did to Israelites. The really startling statement in the passage is that the rock which “followed” Israel through the wilderness was Christ. Even if he is repeating a Jewish traditional legend at this point, it is still allegory.

II Cor. 3:7-4:6 is a more difficult passage because Paul uses some of his “figures” here to suggest more than one idea. When Moses spoke with God, his

161. See A New Commentary on Holy Scripture, Part I, p. 689.
162. The Obery Relation of St. Paul, p.192.
163. From Jesus to Paul, pp. 454ff.
face took on such a brilliant aspect that he found it necessary to cover himself with a veil, not simply in order to hide that brilliance, but because it was only an effervescent glow and he did not desire the Israelites to see the end of that fading illumination — "to go on watching him 'til there was no more glory to watch." Paul takes the vanishing Mosaic splendor to be emblematic of the transitoriness of the Mosaic law. He treats the veil as symbolizing obscurity and concealment which intervene between men and God. Such a veil lies over the minds of Jews who read the law (as letter not spirit (?), 3:14-16) or of Jews and other unbelievers whose eyes are veiled (blinded) by Satan (4:3-4). The gospel ministration is thus superior to the law in its permanence and revelation.

In Gal. 4:21-31 Paul admits that he is allegorizing (4:24). Ishmael and Isaac represent two different classes of mankind. Both are sons of Abraham, but their difference originates in the separate circumstances surrounding their birth from different mothers. Ishmael was born of Hagar (a young slave woman) in the course of nature; Isaac, of Sarah (a free woman) in her old age, according to promise. These two women are two distinct covenants, that of law and that of promise, and their offspring are two different communities: lineal descendants of Abraham and those who, like him, live their lives by faith. Paul goes further and applies his allegory to the antagonism between the two sons or their descendants. He sees a parallel to this antagonism in the persecution of Gentile Christians at the hands of Jewish Christians, and quotes from the Genesis story (21:10-12) to show that, as then, so now, the slave woman and her descendants stand rejected (Gal. 4:30).

In each of these three sections Paul's attempt at allegorizing is restrained. Even in Gal. 4 the thought remains reasonable throughout. History is nowhere entirely abandoned, though non-traditional or new principles and connections are drawn from old and familiar historical situations. It is this restraint which

166. Alfred Plummer, ICC on II Cor., p.97.
differentiates Paul from the fancifulness in so much of Jewish allegory, especially in the midrashic literature. (12) Extensive Old Testament Quotations. Paul sometimes reproduces extensive sections from the O.T. but within briefer compass than in their original form. One way in which he does so is (a) to summarize a sizable continuous passage from some one of the books. This is actually what he does in the three allegorical sections just examined. II Cor. 3:7-4:6 is based on the narrative in Ex. 34:29-35, while Gal. 4:21-31 depends on the records of Abraham's family preserved in Gen. 16-18, 21. The first piece of allegorical exegesis observed above in I Cor. 10:1-13 rests on even larger blocks of narrative material in Ex. 13-17, 32 and Num. 11, 14, 16, 20, 31, 25. These last sections from Ex. and Num., however, do not constitute a single continuous whole in their original setting. There is not a single complete "story" related in Paul's letters. These three allegorical passages are about as near as he comes to the use of such stories. In this respect his teaching methods are very unlike those of Jesus. On the other hand, this does not mean that he never recounted orally any of the O.T. narratives to his converts.

Another Pauline method of pressing large amounts of O.T. material into brief space is his use of (b) catenae of quotations. In these catenae he builds up a logical sequence by means of a chain of texts which act as proofs or illustrations. In most cases the citations come from various and even widely scattered places in the O.T. Thus in Rom. 3:10-18 he cites from Ps. 5:9; 10:7; 14:1-2; 36:1; 53:1-2; 140:3; and Isa. 59:7-8. Verse 20 also echoes Ps. 143:2. Except for the first and last of all these, none in the original really affirms the precise proposition that the apostle has in mind, namely, the sinfulness of all men. Yet, they do contribute overtones to his picture of evil among men. Other catenae of O.T. references are concentrated into Rom. 9:25-29 (Hos. 1:10; 2:23; Isa. 1:9; 10:22-23); Rom. 167. See Olaf Moe, The Apostle Paul, 2:76.
10:15-21 (Deut. 32:21; Ps. 19:4; Isa. 52:7; 53:1; 65:1, 2); Rom. 11:8-10 (Deut. 29:4; Ps. 69:22-23; Isa. 29:10); Rom. 15:9-12 (Deut. 32:45; Ps. 18:49; 117:1; Isa. 11:10); II Cor. 6:16-18 (Lev. 26:12 and Ezek. 37:27; Isa. 52:11; Hos. 1:10; and Gal. 3:6-14. This last passage is the most heatedly argumentative of all the seven catenae just cited. The Galatian Christians were being "judaized". From the fount of Judaism itself, the scriptures, Paul refutes the errors of his mistaken opponents. The Galatians had become Christians not by obedience to a written law but by obedience which derived from faith. In the same way Abraham had "believed God and it was reckoned to him as righteousness" (Gen. 15:6), so they are the real sons of Abraham. It was even foretold in scripture that the Galatians, as part of the Gentiles, would be "rightwised" in this way (i.e., by faith), for to Abraham was the promise made, "In thee shall all the nations be blessed" (v.3; Gen. 12:3; 18:18). To share Abraham's type of faith is to inherit all the blessings promised to him. These blessings could not be obtained by means of observing the precepts of the law, for it is written, "Cursed be every one who does not abide by all things written in the book of the law, and do them" (v. 10; Deut. 27:26); and no one ever kept "all things written in the book of the law", a necessary deduction from the assertion, "He who through faith is righteous will live" (v.11; Hab. 2:4). The law is not concerned with faith but with doing, for "He who does them shall live by them" (v.12; Lev. 18:5). The law cannot produce righteousness (faith does that), but only a curse. Now it was precisely this curse which Christ removed when he hung on the cross, and redeemed men from the curse by becoming a curse himself, for it is written, "Cursed be everyone who hangs on a tree" (v.13; Deut. 21:23). Thus "in Christ Jesus" the "blessing of Abraham"

168. It should be noted that in Rom. 10:15-21; 11:8-10; and 15:9-12 quotations of a similar content are brought together one from the law, one from the prophets, and one from the writings. This is the rabbinic method of quoting called "to string pearls", (נֹ֣דֶל) which we noticed in chapter I. Cf. Hans A. Vollmer, Die alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus, p.37; Otto Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel, p.83. See other literature cited by Krister Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, p.215, n.4.

and the "promise of the Spirit" have come to the Galatians "through faith". This cento of O.T. references must have been used on many occasions. It is a well forged chain consisting of logical propositions each one deduced from the preceeding one with O.T. citations inserted after each to confirm or prove. The long section in Rom. 10:5-21 is essentially a commentary or a kind of "midrash" on a whole series of O.T. passages. That is, we have here a sort of catena of O.T. quotations with comments interspersed between its members.

(13). Use of Apocryphal Works and Other Jewish Writings. Reliable evidence that Paul made use of extra-canonical books, i.e., works outside the Hebrew canon, is scanty. Attention has been centered mainly on alleged literary parallels between his letters and the works of Philo and also the book known as the Wisdom of Solomon. As to Philo, although there are some striking parallels in Paul, no absolutely convincing proofs of direct obligation of Paul to him have as yet been adduced.

The same cannot be said of the book of Wisdom, for its parallels in Paul are more suggestive of some literary connection. Use of Wisdom has been observed in (a) the condemnation of heathen idolatry (Wis. 13-14; Rom. 1:18-32), (b) the language used with regard to predestination (Wis. 12 and 15:7; Rom. 9:19-23), and (c) the doctrine of eschatology — relation of soul and body and of the soul and Christ at death (Wis. 9:15; II Cor. 5:1-4). In the last of these three instances, however, the influence seems to be rather formal than substantial. These are other lesser parallels. We may dismiss the alleged quotations of Paul from apocryphal writings.

170. C.H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp. 47.
172. So Thackeray, op. cit., p. 231.
173. For parallels to Wisdom in Rom. 1 and 9, see Sanday and Headlam, ICC on Rom., pp. 51-52 and 267-268, respectively. For the parallels to I Cor. 5:1, 4 see Thackeray, op. cit., p. 230 and Plummer, ICC on II Cor., p. 142. For the minor parallels, cf. Thackeray, op. cit., p. 230, n. 3; cf. John A.F. Gregg, The Wisdom of Solomon, pp. lvi-lx.
as unproven, such as in I Cor. 2:9 and Gal. 6:15 (cf. I Cor. 7:19; Gal. 5:6; cf. Eph. 5:14. I Cor. 2:9 probably is simply a very free paraphrasing of Isa. 64:4 which also incorporates a clause from Isa. 65:16, and the allegation made by Euthalius (4th century) that Gal. 6:15 derives from an "Apocalypse of Moses" is doubtless unfounded.

Paul's use of extra-canonical books, therefore, is severely restricted. We may go even further and say that his decidedly limited acquaintance with such works is more marked than his usage of them.

(14). Pauline Formulas of Citation. Paul uses introductory formulas which were commonly in use among the Jews, such as "it is written", "the scripture says", etc. Sometimes he personifies the scripture as in Gal. 3:8, where he writes, "And the scripture, foreseeing..., preached (cf. Rom. 11:2)". Paul often gives the particular writer of the O.T. book quoted (unlike the indefinite scripture references in Philo and Hebrews, as in Rom. 4:6 and 11:9 (David); 9:25 (Hosea); 9:27, 29; 10:16, 20 (Isaiah); and 10:5, 19 (Moses). In the absence of chapters and verses this was the only mode of indicating the approximate location of a passage. Occasionally God is represented as the speaker (Rom. 9:25; II Cor. 6:16).

c. Use of the Old Testament in Testimonies.

Of first rate importance in creating and developing the Christian mind was the use of the O.T. known as "Testimonies". These were collections of quotations from the O.T., mainly, prophetical, to be used in training converts as well as in controversial discussions with Jews. They were in fact the earliest kind of Christian apologetic. They were a sort of collection of "messianic proof-texts" compiled at a very early date and were used by N.T. writers. The hypothesis was

174. A.M. Hunter, Paul & His Predecessors, p.77; but P.B.W. Hunt in his Primitive Gospel Sources (1951) has attempted to remove the "book of testimonies" from its narrow apologetic setting and give it a more general character by distinguishing three types of testimonies: messianic, legal, and apocalyptic. Cf. also Krister Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, p.209, n.3.

175. (See the next page)
worked out most elaborately by Rendell Harris and summarized by him in two volumes entitled "Testimonies" (1916, 1920). Harris suggests that this work was divided into five main sections in order to facilitate its use. He thinks also that the subsequent history of this C.T. anthology can be traced in part right down to a sixteenth century MS. preserved on Mount Athos. An outstanding example of its usage in Paul is said to be in Rom. 9:33. Here the apostle abbreviates and conflates two passages from Isa. 28:16 and 3:14, about "the stone", "Behold I am laying in Zion a stone that will make men stumble, a rock that will make them fall; and he who believes in him will not be put to shame." Now these very lines from the same two passages occur in a somewhat less abbreviated form in I Pet. 2:6, 3 though not in immediate contiguity, being separated by Ps. 118:22-23. The lines from Isa. in Rom. agree with the LXX and differ from it precisely as does I Pet. except for different tenses for the last verb "put to shame". The order of the two citations is partly reversed in I Pet. The juxtaposition and close textual agreement of these two passages seem hardly fortuitous, yet the hypothesis of literary interdependence fails to sustain itself under examination. The simpler and more probable hypothesis is that both authors drew on a twofold testimony already current in the pre-canonical tradition in a version differing somewhat from the septuagint. Other C.T. passages in Paul that may have been culled from such a corpus of C.T. extracts are Rom. 1:17 and Gal. 3:11 - Hab. 2:34 (quoted also in Heb. 10:37-38); Rom. 10:13 - Joel 2:32 (also in Acts 2:21); Rom. 10:16 - Isa. 53:1 (also in Jn. 12:38); perhaps also Rom. 15:3 - Ps. 69:9 (LXX 68:10) (party quoted in Jn. 2:17); Acts 13:33 - Ps. 2:7 (also in Heb. 1:5; 5:5; 6:13).

176. (From page 340): F.C. Burkitt conjectures that the original collection of proof-texts was made by Matthew, the writer of the first gospel, in Hebrew, Gospel History and its Transmission, p.126. Cf. Harris, op. cit., 1:117. Harris says that they were perhaps among the earliest deposits of Christian literature antedating every canonical writing, op. cit., 1:3.

177. The suggestion of a Jewish anthology or collection of excerpts from the C.T. in existence in the first century A.D. which was drawn on by the N.T. writers is older than Harris. Cf. Gustav Volkmar, Die neun entdeckte urchristliche Schrift, Lehre der zwolf Apostel an die Voelker (1885), pp.1-47; Edwin Hatch, Essays in Biblical Greek (1889), pp.203, 209-211.

177. Harris, op. cit., 1:10ff.

178. See C.H. Dodd's investigation, According to the Scriptures, p.43.
Echoes from a testimony anthology may underlie Rom. 8:34 (from Ps. 110:1 (LXX 109:1); cf. Eph. 1:20; Col. 3:1; Heb. 1:3, I Cor. 11:25 (from Jer. 31:31-34 (LXX 38:31-34); cf. Lk. 22:20; Heb. 8:8-12); I Cor. 15:27 (from Ps. 8:4-6; cf. Heb. 2:5-8; I Pet. 3:22; Rev. 5:12); and II Cor. 3:6, 14 (from Jer. 31:31-34 noted above under I Cor. 11:25).

Yet the great service of these testimonies to Paul's converts and churches is not that he used them to "treat the prophecies of the O.T. as a kind of pious fortune-telling" by which to show the exactness of correspondence between forecast and event. C.H. Dodd is probably correct when he insists that these testimonies were used to show the over-all continuity of the creative and redemptive work of God with his own people from its beginning in antiquity until the fulfilment of creation and redemption in Christ. Thus the testimony books are not collections of single sentences, but are pointers to whole sections, summaries and reminders of the content, of larger O.T. contexts in which the single sentences appear. They serve then as devices to facilitate teaching and controversy — to recall and validate the historical and prophetic background and divine foundation of the Christian faith. It may well be that they were not written out at all, but existed in the preachers' and teachers' heads and drawn upon when needed.

Before leaving Paul's use of the O.T. we ought to notice his difference from Jesus here. Jesus appeals to the deeper meaning of Scripture (cf. Lk. 20:37-44), but he never interprets it unnaturally. He usually adopts its obvious sense though he criticizes it freely. Paul does so most of the time, but not always, for he sometimes displays the rabbinical love for everything that "is written". There is, furthermore, an authoritativeness in Jesus' handling of the O.T. that is lacking in Paul. For example, on the matter of divorce Jesus undercuts the later
innovations of Moses (even though they were "scripture") and goes straight back to the original intention of God that marriage is meant to last for life (Mark 10:2-12). The nearest approximation to anything like this in Paul is probably in a passage such as Rom. 10:5-6 where the apostle contrasts the righteousness by law with that by faith and quotes "Moses" (Lev. 18:5 and Deut. 30:12-13) for both positions. That is, the ancient writers did not understand the deeper meaning of the second passage, but Paul does and here boldly asserts that deeper truth. But compared with Hellenistic habits of quotation, he is decidedly at one with Jesus. 

Fultmann asserts that Paul has no poetical, as opposed to prose, citations, but that his use of the O.T. is comparable to the use of poetry by the Greeks. A chief difference with Paul is that his citations serve as proof for his arguments. Yet, like the Stoic diatribe, he sometimes couches his introductions to quotations in question form (Rom. 4:3; 10:8; Gal. 4:30).

We ought to notice also the distribution of his O.T. quotations. By far the greater number occurs in Rom. (about 72). There are some 21 in I Cor., 17 in II Cor., and 13 in Gal. I and II Th. contain no express citations though there are numerous O.T. echoes and allusions. Apart from a bearing on the composition of the Roman church, these figures seem to warrant the supposition that extensive use of the O.T. in Paul's churches was due primarily to judaizing influence. But one must remember that we possess only epistles and not his lectures delivered in the course of a teaching session.

We do not know how much Paul taught publicly from the O.T. or from collections of O.T. testimonies. Nor do we know what portion, if any, of the early Christians owned copies of at least parts of the O.T. for private study. Acts 17:11 says

183. Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt, p.95.
that the Beroean Jewish Christians examined the O.T. scriptures daily, which suggests a study of the synagogue copies. In I Macc. 1:56-57 private copies of the torah were in Jewish homes (cf. Megillah 3:1; Jebamoth 16:7; Acts 8:28), but absence of scripture reading in Col. 3:16 and Eph. 5:19 has been taken to mean that copies of the O.T. were not available. But cf. II Tim. 3:15. The reference to "reading" (anagnōsis) in I Tim. 4:13 has been understood in relation to public worship.

8. Collections of Sayings and Deeds of Jesus

It seems clear from traces in his letters that Paul was dependent on a pre-pauline Christian tradition which preserved a number of the words and works of Jesus, many of them (especially the words) now extant in the canonical gospels. We have noted previously some of the evidence of Paul's knowledge of the historical Jesus, mostly of his deeds. We need to notice his knowledge also of Jesus' sayings. In I Cor. 7:10 occurs a dominical word about marriage; in I Cor. 9:14 another about the maintenance of those who proclaim the gospel; in I Cor. 11:23ff a third, which consists of the narrative of the Lord's supper; in I Th. 4:15ff a fourth, which is less certain than the other three, about the manner of Christ's return to earth; and in Acts 20:35 a fifth saying that "it is more blessed to give than to receive" (cf. also I Cor. 7:10, 25; 14:37). All of these are prefaced by an introductory reference or formula explicitly identifying them as "words of the Lord." But many more sayings of Jesus are included tacitly in Paul's letters without preface or reference as to their source. For example, in Rom. 12-14 such citations, echoes, and silent adaptations of Jesus' teaching have been observed: 12:14, "Bless those who persecute you; bless and do not curse them" (apparently an echo of Matt. 5:44-Lk. 6:28; cf. Did. 1:3); 12:17, "Repay no one evil for evil" (cf. Matt. 5:44-Lk. 6:28; cf. Did. 1:3); 12:17, "Repay no one evil for evil" (cf. Matt. 5:44-Lk. 6:28; cf. Did. 1:3).


187. Probably the most thorough attempt to study the words and echoes of words of Jesus in Paul is Alfred Resch's Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu (1904) --- a work that in places becomes fantastic in the author's search for dominical verbal allusions in Paul.

188. I cite these from A.M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, pp.55-57.
5:39ff; I Th. 5:15; I Pet. 3:9; 12:21, "Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good" (cf. the teaching in Matt. 5:38-42 on non-resistance); 13:7, "Pay all of them their dues, taxes to whom taxes are due, etc." (cf. Jesus' comment, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's" (in Mk. 12:17 - Matt. 22:21 - Lk. 20:25)); 13:8-10, "Owe no one anything, except to love one another; for he who loves his neighbor has fulfilled the law, etc." (a summary of the law known possibly also to the rabbis, but the command to owe no debt except love and the summarization of the law under the twofold command of love to God and man Paul doubtless owes to Jesus; cf. Mk. 12:28-34 - Matt. 2:34-40 - Lk. 10:25-22); 14:3,4,10 and 13, strictures against "judging" (note especially 14:13, "Let us no more pass judgment on one another," and cf. Matt. 7:1, "Judge not that you be not judged"); 14:14, "I know and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus that nothing is unclean in itself" (cf. such passages as Mk. 7:15 and Matt. 15:11); and 14:17, "For the kingdom of God does not mean food and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (cf. the beatitudes in Matt. 6:31,33 - Lk. 12:29,31). There are many other instances of Jesus' sayings being silently adapted by Paul in his letters exactly like these.

Now it has been observed that the express sayings of Jesus are used by the apostolic writers not to buttress a kerygmatic premise or point of doctrine but for practical and parenetic purposes, and the same seems to be implied with reference to the undesignated sayings. This seems, however, to be over-stating the case. For example, the trouble at Corinth concerning the Lord's supper was deeper than "every-day Christian problems." I Cor. 11:26 is quite "kerygmatic" as he describes the heart of the Corinthians' trouble --- their failure to "remember" and to "proclaim" the "Lord's death until he come"; hence there was no Lord's supper to it when they met for such (11:20). Cf. also I Th. 4:15f. Moreover, though the parallels of the undesignated sayings are not as exact or as striking in the doctrinal sections of 189. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, p.52.
the letters, still there are numerous similarities in phraseology and ideas between
Jesus and Paul. Consider the following instances; Rom. 3:24, "They are justified
by his grace as a gift, through the redemption (apolytrosis) which is in Christ
Jesus" (cf. Matt. 20:28 - Mk. 10:45, "...to give his life as a ransom (lytron) for
many"); Rom. 3:31, "Do we then overthrow the law by this faith? By no means! On
the contrary, we uphold the law" (cf. Matt. 5:17, "Think not that I have come to
abolish the law and the prophets; I have come not to abolish them but to fulfill
them"); Rom. 5:9,9, "...while we were yet sinners...we are now justified" (cf.
Lk. 18:13,14, "God, be merciful to me a sinner!..... This man went down to his house
justified"); Rom. 6:11 "...Dead unto sin and alive to God" (cf. Lk. 15:24, "For
this my son was dead, and is alive again"); etc. These are not quotations, but the
origin of the ideas and many of the words seem unmistakable — and the context of
these dominical ideas and words shows that their usage by Paul is not "for practical
and parenetic purposes."

It does seem likely, however, that Jesus' sayings were used mostly in areas
where ethical guidance on moral problems was needed. After all, he had said little
to expound and elucidate the meaning of his death, burial and resurrection — the
major kerygmatic facts. Before these occurred, how could he do so (beyond forewarn-
ing) — and be understood! It seems further that very early collections of his
'sayings" (and "doings") were made for the use of missionary preachers and teachers.
Sporadic traces of such collections are found in I Clement (13:2), Polycarp to the
Philippians (2:3), and the Did.(1:3). After all, it was a Jewish custom to re-
member a rabbi's teaching (cf. Aboth 2:8), and since Jesus' words may well have been

190. See Resch, op. cit., pp.35-154 for a list of the parallels written and un-
written (agrapba) to Paul's letters. For parallels of ideas between Jesus
Ibid., pp.128-160.
191. A.M. Hunter, Paul & his Predecessors, p.52ff.
cast into a kind of poetical form that made for quick and easy memorization, it is not impossible that by the time of Paul's missionary activity the tradition of Jesus' insissima verba was preserved in collected form(s). It is entirely possible that the primitive Christian catechism already noticed, was based largely on these verba Christi. This is supported by the general hortatory nature of both "catechetical" and "dominical" instruction as preserved in Paul's letters. In this respect Paul follows the "halakic" tradition of his race rather than the "haggadic". Thus he preserves no more of the narratives from the life of Jesus than he does stories from the O.T. in his letters. This does not imply that he omitted either or both in his oral teaching. Dibelius supposes that Paul had some collection of the words of Jesus in his private possession. That may well have been. If so, they were faithfully preserved and passed on in the form in which he received them. No more than in the case of the logia preserved in the synoptic gospels does he try to invent or force a word of the Lord to fit situations for which none was uttered, e.g., the questions of terms for admitting Gentile converts to the Christian community, the problem of Christians speaking with tongues, etc.

As he had done with the O.T., Paul made extensive use also of the words of Jesus. It is interesting to notice that when he has the opportunity to draw upon both, he cites first from the O.T. In I Cor. 9:8, where he defends his practice of refusing support for preaching the gospel, he cites Deut. 25:4 as the first piece of "divine", as opposed to "human" (9:8), authority. Only when he is about to leave off authenticating and defending his action does he remember a quotation from Jesus and cites it (9:14). Of course the order may be chronological, or he may have intended the saying to form a climax, and thus is quoting the highest obtainable authority to clinch the argument.

It seems certain that he does not regard the words of Jesus simply as another law

193. So Alfred Seeberg contends, Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, pp.1,41; so also E.G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, pp.23-24, 460.
194. Since the source used in Matthew and Luke known as Q was a compilation of dominical sayings for hortatory purposes, its relation to the catechetical passages in Paul's letters becomes acutely interesting. (For notes 195, 196, and 197 see the next page).
or legal code elevated to a level of equality or superiority with the O.T. injunctions. They are a different kind of teaching device, for these sayings are not merely commands revealed from God but are revelations of the being who enunciates them. They embody the thought and life of him who spoke them, and thus are expressions of his very nature and life. Therefore, the imperative in Jesus' words at the same time includes the indicative and vice versa. Thus, too, Paul in Rom. 13:8-10, like Jesus, makes love the fulfilment of law, since Christ himself had performed in fact (in his life and death) what he calls for in demand (love).

Were these words written or committed to memory? Probably the latter. Who supplied them to Paul? Barnabas, Peter, Luke? We can only ask.

9. Worship Forms and Formulas

In the next chapter we shall see in greater detail how Paul used worship to formulate and advance the Christian mind. Here we wish simply to call attention to certain forms and formulas which functioned significantly for this purpose. Among these are prayers, hymns, eulogies and doxologies, salutations and benedictions, and perhaps others.

10. Prophecies and Apocalypses by Early Christians

Paul held prophecy in high esteem (I Cor. 14:1,5). He himself made use of prophecies and apocalypses in the worship services (14:6) in order to "build up" the whole church (14:4). For this purpose, he found them of greater value than the ability to speak in tongues (14:5). He seems to imply that the gift for producing prophecies

197. So C.T. Craig, IB, 10:102. (From page 347).
199. On the role and influence of apocalyptic on the N.T. and its writers see Ethelbert Stauffer, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, chapter 1.
and apocalypses was at least as common as that for hymns, lessons, tongues and interpretations (14:25). These prophetic productions were primarily intended for believers and their education, and not for unbelievers (14:22).

The problem of the origin of these prophecies and apocalypses lies partly in the native capacities and sensitivity of the early Christians and partly in the heightened spiritual experiences of the moment under which they were received and expressed. Even so, it is difficult to determine just how Paul knew some things so certainly, for example, the future of both the physical universe and individual Christians (Rom. 8:18-24), or of the Israelitish nation (Rom. 11:25-26), etc. Cf. I Cor. 13:12; 15:22-28, 42-53; II Cor. 5:1ff; I Th. 4:14-17; II Th. 2:1-12. There seems to have been at least three sources of material open to these early Christian seers: (1) some could read the future as a prophet (cf. I Th. 3:4), (2) some could read history as a prophet (Rom. 9:11-12), while (3) others could read another’s heart as a prophet (I Cor. 14:24). The framework and some of the images in these prophetic utterances were drawn from Jewish and even pagan sources, as well as Christian.

Most of the early prophecies and apocalypses in the Pauline congregations were probably delivered (1) orally to the community assembled for worship and

202. Also to some extent (at least among Jewish Christians) to their "apocalyptic" background, Stauffer, Iden.
204. See Heinrich Weinel, St. Paul, pp.113-115.
study (I Cor. 14:23-25), or for consideration of problems of ecclesiastical and social concern (cf. Acts 11:27-30; 21:10-11). Many of these may thus have been spontaneous creations (cf. I Cor. 14:24), for while one prophet was delivering his message before the group, another sitting by sometimes received a revelation on the spur of the moment and as soon as possible arose to present it to the group (I Cor. 14:29-32). It may well be that the seer's insights running throughout the poetic strains of Rom. 8:31-39 belong to this spontaneous variety of prophetic creation. On the other hand, there were also (2) written prophetic pronouncements, or at least those which were the result of prolonged deliberation, many of which were subsequently written down. Fragments from several of these are preserved by Paul. Some of them speak of secrets of the end (Rom. 8:13-25; 11:35ff; I Cor. 15:22-28, 42-53; I Th. 4:14-17; Th. 2:1-12); others among them are mystical revelations concerning the wisdom of God (I Cor. 2:6ff; cf. 13:12) or describe the groaning of creation (Rom. 8:19ff). Such prophetic and apocalyptic utterances were used by the apostle to convey the Christian hope and future to his converts. None of those by him, which is still extant, is nearly so elaborate as the canonical Apocalypse of John, or even the non-canonical Apocalypse of Peter and Ascension of Isaiah. These prophecies and apocalypses supplemented, but hardly supplanted, the reading of the O.T. in worship.

11. Accounts of Prominent Events and Persons (other than Jesus) in the Early Church

Paul seems to have made little usage of prominent incidents and people in the history of the church before him. Only on rare occasion does he refer to the apostles and other outstanding leaders, and even then he draws mostly inconsequential lessons from their actions and position (cf. Rom. 16:3-7; I Cor. 9:5-6; 206. Cf. J. Weiss, HPX, 1:420-421.
207. As Bultmann supposes, TNT, 1:132.
The absence from Paul's letters of narratives about prominent early Christians is peculiarly striking. The nearest approach to such a thing is his account of the Jerusalem conference in Gal. 1:18-19; 2:1; etc.).

Paul's letters were a major educational instrument in his formation and development of the Christian mind. Along with his use of trusted companions they filled an imperative need for the single apostle to "multiply his presence." In light of modern knowledge concerning the evolution of didactic epistles or epistolary homilies and their adoption by Christians, and concerning the ordinary form and method of ancient Greek letter-writing, it is clear that his letters are not simply tracts or pamphlets issued to the world at large as an "open letter." Though he himself recognized that his letters are "weighty and powerful" (2 Cor. 10:10), they are not simply records of his theological teaching carefully preserved for posterity. On the other hand, they are not

211. George Milligan, St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, pp.121-130; Ernst Renan is hardly correct in his assumption that doubtful points of doctrine or practice were discussed in Paul's day between Jewish synagogues by letters; St. Paul, pp.223-229. The evidence is all very late.
casual notes flung off at random, but contain a wealth of profound thinking in
the expression of which almost every word has been deliberately chosen. His main
concern in his letters is to deal with some given question or concrete situation
in real life. They were his chief means of continuing his teaching, counsel, and
general over-sight of his converts in his absence from them. His letters are
not directed simply to the leaders of the churches but to all his converts (cf.
Phil. 1:1, "To all the saints ... at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons:
also 4:21-22; Philemon is the nearest exception, though here the problem is a
private one which he treats, nonetheless, from a standpoint involving universal
principles and addresses the letter to three individuals and the church "in your
house"). He not only sent letters, but seems to have received them from indi-
viduals and groups (I Cor. 7:1). He expected his letters to be read in the
congregational gatherings (Col. 4:16).

The apostle's expressed or implied aims in writing letters provide insight
into his educational use of them. He used them to substitute for his absence
(II Cor. 10:10-11), to teach (II Cor. 10:9-11; Col. 4:16), to correct doctrinal
and moral errors (I Cor. 5:9; II Cor. 7:8; 10:9; II Th. 2:2, 15), to reprove and
persuade (I Cor. 4:14; II Cor. 7:8-9), to provide assurance of his love and con-
cern (II Cor. 2:4), to test his converts, especially their obedience in the faith
(II Cor. 2:9), and to maintain the unity of all his churches (cf. I Cor. 1:10).
He uses also the replies to his letters to learn of the status of his converts
as to their understanding, relations, problems and obedience (I Cor. 7:1; II Cor.
2:9; II Th. 3:14). He thus contacted and controlled the thinking and living of
all his converts by these missives (cf. I Th. 5:27; Col. 4:16). He probably
could not have managed so diverse an enterprise and borne the daily care of all
his churches (II Cor. 11:28) without these written media of inquiry (I Cor. 1:13;
213. On his epistles and the unity of his churches note A.C. McGiffert, History
of the Apostolic Age, p.460.)
III. Paul’s Pedagogical Presentation and Adaptation of the Kerygma to the Gentiles

A study of Paul’s formation and education of the Christian mind should include also an examination of the formal pedagogical principles involved in his teaching. Some of these have been noticed already in chapters one and two, e.g., his qualifications and aims as a teacher. We propose to consider in this section the elements in his appeal as a pedagogue. Since most of this matter is a psychological study of great extent (and difficulty), we shall confine ourselves to a very brief resume of the salient features. At this point most N.T. students have followed a “hands off” policy on the grounds that Paul’s work and life as a teacher are not founded primarily on human mentality or feelings but on the activity of the Spirit of God. That his work as a missionary is Christo-centric rather than anthropo-centric in origin, aim, scope and motivation is true. But that he did not bother to make an appeal to the whole man whom he addressed is equally untrue. Apart from Deissmann and a few others little has been done in this area. Nothing exhaustive will be undertaken by us here.

Paul’s appeal, so far as it concerns the “human” factor in his hearers, was in a threefold direction: to the intellect, to the emotions, and to the will.

His appeal to (1) the INTELLECT is by way of (a) interest and attention. He mingled with those who were likely to give him attention (cf. Acts 13:14, 42, 44; 16:13; 17:2; 17:17; 18:1; etc.). His own personal character and traits awakened interest, e.g., his enthusiasm (Acts 16:25, 28ff; 14:1; 13:42, 43), courage 20:20, 27), sympathy (14:8; 28:7-10), etc. Sometimes the attention grew into opposition, as at Damascus (II Cor. 11:32-33; Acts 9:23-25), Iconium (Acts 14: 1-7), Lystra (14:19, 20), Thessalonica (17:5), Berea (17:13), Ephesus (20:1-3; 314. See Harlan P. Beach, *St. Paul and the Gentile World*, p.15.

(b) Perception, a second avenue of intellectual appeal in Paul, is "becoming aware", especially through the "natural" sense, of things that exist. The first move of the apostle towards creating a Christian mentality is always to make his hearers "aware" of Christ — through preaching (Rom. 10:14; 16:32). To the Galatians he presented his proclamation of Christ in a way so graphic and vivid that he can describe it as "placarding" or "publicly portraying" Christ (3:1). When he exhorts his converts to imitate the behavior of their leaders, he appeals to the forming of habits on the basis of eye and ear perception. Compare Phil. 4:8-9, "What you have learned and received and heard and seen in me, do" (v.9).

Note the order in Rom. 5:3-5. He also makes great use of (c) memory. This means that he uses old familiar ideas and things to introduce and interpret the new, i.e., apperception, (cf. Acts 13:17-22 and 24-31 where he ties the new personalities and events of the gospel story onto those of the C.T.; so in Acts 17:23ff; cf. the opening verses of most of his letters). He used memory as a foundation to teach both theory and practice (I Th. 2:9; II Th. 2:5; cf. Rom. 6:6; 7:1;
II Cor. 8:9; etc. Cf. the speech in Acts 20, appealing to memory to teach steadfastness (20:18, 19), moral behavior (20:31), and generosity (20:34-35). He appeals to memory to create interest and sympathy (Acts 24:10, 11; 26:26), to win others’ confidence (Acts 27:10, 21, 42-44), to secure a favorable response to his teaching (I Cor. 4:17), and to unite divided Christians (Phil. 1:3-5, 27; 2:4; 4:1-3). In an intellectual vein is his use of (d) imagination. This is evidenced in his use of illustrations, similes, and metaphors. The construction ιδωτι μεταφρασμένον or ιδωτι κατά, (or a variation of it κατά ιδωτι μεταφρασμένον, ιδωτι, etc.) is almost a characteristic of his speech (15 in Rom., 25 in I Cor., 23 in II Cor., 8 in Gal., 14 in Eph., 5 in Phil., 7 in Col., 8 in I Th., 4 in II Th., and 7 in the teaching situations in Acts. While formal illustrations are scarce, metaphors abound, as we have observed before. His use of imagination is realistic. He never abandons his descriptions to mere fantasy, even in describing such exciting incidents as his visions and revelations of the Lord (II Cor. 12). Indeed, from this very passage he draws very practical conclusions (12:7-10). Perhaps his strongest intellectual appeal is through use of (e) logic and criticism (judgment). Paul’s dialectic, or method of reasoning, shares certain traits with the Greeks but is largely rabbinical. He uses argument mainly for the purpose of persuasion. He always keeps his reasoning in contact with "reality" so that even in its most theoretical moments it is much more historical than speculative. Even in passages like Rom. 5:12-21 and 8:18-30, where his speculative faculty receives a vigorous "workout", almost every line is rooted in some verifiable fact of individual or world history and experience.

Paul’s appeal included also (2) the emotions. The apostle himself was deeply (but not pathologically) emotional. Both an intensity of feeling and a personal sympathy are characteristic of him. It is instructive to examine (a) the variety of his emotions. The figures are from H.T. Kuist, The Pedagogy of St. Paul, p.101.
and latitude in his emotional appeal. The following are features of his emotional appeal to his readers: intense climaxes (Rom. 5:1-5; 8:35-39; 13:9-21; I Cor. 15:54-58; II Cor. 6:4-10; I Th. 5:16-21), graphic descriptions (Rom. 7:7-25; I Cor. 4:11-13; 9:19-22; 11:23-28; I Th. 2:2,9-12,17-20; 3:1-10; 4:13-18; Acts 20:18-38), penetrating questions (Rom. 3:27-31; 6:1-2; 14:10; I Cor. 6:1-5 and 11:22; 6:3; 6:15; 9:1-8; 14:26; II Cor. 11:22, 25; 11:29; Gal. 3:1-5; II Th. 2:5; Acts 26:27), somber warnings and threatenings (Rom. 14:10-12 and II Cor. 5:10; I Cor. 10:12-13; 15:34; 16:22; Phil. 3:2), sympathetic expressions (Rom. 1:11-12; I Cor., II Cor. 1:3-6,7; 2:3,4; 3:12; 5:1-4; 7:2-3; Gal. 4:19; II Th. 2:16; cf. Col. 2:2; Phil. 2:28), endearing expression ("brethren", some 58 times in his six earlier letters; "my little children, teknia mou, "my beloved", agapētoi, Phil. 2:12; "Epaphroditus, my brother, and fellow-worker, and fellow-soldier", Phil. 2:25; "Epaphras, our beloved fellow-servant", Col. 1:7; "Luke, the beloved physician", Col. 4:14), passionate exclamations ("O foolish Galatians", Gal. 3:1), affectionate utterances (Rom. 9:1-3; I Th. 2:5-8; II Th. 1:7; cf. Phil. 3:1; 4:1; Col. 4:18; Phlm. 7), pious ejaculations (Rom. 1:25; 7:25; 8:15 and Gal. 4:6; Rom. 9:5; I Cor. 15:57), salutations and benedictions (in every letter; these breathe forgiveness, blessing, peace, assurance), promises (Rom. 6:5; 11:25-26; I Cor. 15:22ff; II Cor. 9:8; etc.), singing and the use of songs (Phil. 2:6-11; Col. 1:15-20; Acts 16:25; cf. Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16), plea for proper social expression of the emotions (Rom. 14:19; 15:25-28; I Cor. 10:24; Gal. 5:22; I Th. 5:13). Sometimes he evoked undesirable emotional responses, such as envy (Phil. 1:15; Acts 14:2,4,5,19), jealousy (Acts 13:45; 17:5,13), hate (Acts 9:29; 13:50; 21:27-28; 22:22-23), and mockery (Acts 17:32; 18:6). Response to his oral appeals in Acts vary between unbelief (19:9) and hate (9:28-30) to wonder (9:20,22; 17:17,20; 28:1-6), surprise (14:10), and belief (13:12; 14:1; 16:13-15,34). His own emotional reactions, which stir similar responses in others ranged between anger (II Cor. 10-13; Gal. 5:12), jealousy (II Cor. 11:20),
fear (I Cor. 2:3; II Cor. 7:5), hate (Rom. 7:15; but never of persons, though of Gal. 4:16, Phil. 3:16), joy (II Cor. 7:9,13,16; Phil. 3:1; 4:1,4; I Th. 5:9; etc.), sorrow (II Cor. 7:5ff; Gal. 4:19), compassion (I Cor. 4:21; II Cor. 11:29; Phil. 2:1; etc.) and love (Rom. 1:6; I Cor. 16:24; II Cor. 11:10; etc.). He appealed to the feelings of others by projecting his own — in both words and actions. "In his words he expressed himself to suit the occasion either fervently, vividly, directly, soberly, gently, sympathetically, intimately, affectionately, ardently, joyously, reverently, enthusiastically, or concernedly, and once censoriously (Acts 23:3). His words were accompanied at times by smiles or tears, strength or weakness, prayer or song, courage or self-control, loud cries or quiet conversations, urgent restraint or welcoming gestures, impassioned eloquence or reasoned persuasion."

We ought also to note the emotional appeal in Paul's use of (b) poetical language. Bultmann may assert the absence of poetical quotations in Paul, but the poetical quality is certainly present. That quality has been well analyzed. It is definitely present in such passages as his prophetic pronouncements in which he scans the end of the age (Rom. 11:25ff; I Cor. 15:42ff, 50-57; I Th. 4:15ff), and in those revelations concerning the wisdom of God (I Cor. 2:6ff) and the travail of creation (Rom. 8:19ff). It is also observed in his calls to action (Rom. 13:1ff; I Th. 5:6f), in the confessions of faith (Rom. 5:1ff; 8:31ff; I Cor. 8:5-6; Phil. 2:5-11), in the song of love (I Cor. 13), and in the glorious witness to the freedom of the Christian man (Rom. 3:21ff), as well as in the story of his vision (II Cor. 12:2ff).

217. Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt, p.95, noticed above.
219. J. Weiss, Beiträge zur paulinischen Rhetorik; HPX 1:406-411, 420-421; Eduard Norden, Die griechische Kunstprosa, 2:499ff; Ernst Lohmeyher, Kyrios Jesus: eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2:5-11; An die Philippfer, pp.50ff.
220. See J. Weiss, HPX 1:420-421.
In Paul's appeal there was also the element of (3) the WILL. From what has been said of his use of feeling, it is clear that he educated the will through (a) feelings. He helped his converts not only to perceive but to feel his "ideas" as these were embodied in his own life. As we shall see, he uses (b) imitation to develop the will because 1/ he himself practiced what he taught and so was an example (I Cor. 4:16; Phil. 3:17; 4:9; I Th. 1:5; 2:10; II Th. 3:9), or rather 2/ the object of imitation, even his own, is that of Christ (cf. I Cor. 11:1), 3/ he always points to the divine basis and motivation that prompts ethical action on the part of the will (Phil. 2:13; "doctrine" always precedes and accompanies "ethics" in his letters), and 4/ the result of his work is to move the will of man to action and to make them also an "example" to others (I Th. 1:6-7). He also employs (c) suggestion to train the volitional faculty in men. This power of suggestion is both direct and indirect. Directly, he throws it into the form of instructions, counsels, hints and warnings. The term parangello is so used by him to give directions on marriage (I Cor. 7:10), decent conduct in worship (I Cor. 11:17f), fidelity to duty (I Th. 4:11), disorderly conduct (II Th. 3:6), and necessity of labor for support and sustenance of life (II Th. 3:4,10-12). Note his appeal to the positive sense of obligation ("ought", opheilo) in securing personal (I Cor. 11:7, 10; II Cor. 12:11), domestic (II Cor. 12:14), and social (Rom. 15:1) conduct. Indirectly, his suggestions are conveyed through the pattern set by Christ (Rom. 15:7; I Th. 1:6), through the example of Paul's own life and relations (I Th. 1:5-7; etc.), through the course set by other Christians and congregations (II Cor. 8:1ff; 9:2; I Th. 2:14), and through individual's or a congregation's own record which he held up as an incentive to their further effort (I Th. 4:1; Phil. 1:9) -- in short by use of the conscience. His most effective suggestion is that the divine inner working of God transforms blind impulsion
into conscious motives and helps translate motives into conduct (Phil. 2:12-13).

A vital element in Paul's appeal to intellect, emotion, and will is diplomacy. Perhaps this feature of Paul's mission work most accurately belongs with his emotional appeal, yet because of its vastness and importance we treat it separately.

Since it is unwise to attempt a tabulation of the nearly innumerable Pauline uses of diplomacy, we shall mention instead a few of the principal features or characteristics of the apostle's diplomatic approach. (1) He himself sought to become all things to all men (I Cor. 9:19-22). This means that he attempted to identify himself with his audiences and converts of every background and type. (2) He strove to treat all Christians and churches alike, particularly in the realm of fundamental principles and demands (I Cor. 7:17; cf. 14:33). (3) He appealed to the already existing knowledge and aspiration towards religion and morality within his hearers --- both Jews and Gentiles. That is, he started to teach and change his audiences just at the point where he found them (cf. I Cor. 2:1-6; 8:1ff; I Th. 1:9-10). In keeping with this policy, (4) he tried to adapt the gospel to every individual and group as nearly as possible. Thus, to the Jew the circumcised are justified on the ground of their faith, and to the Gentiles the uncircumcised because of their faith (Rom. 3:30). To the Roman, the gospel (or Christ) is the power of God (Rom. 1:16); to the Greek, it is the wisdom of God (I Cor. 1:24, 30); to the Jew, it is the righteousness of God (I Cor. 1:30; cf. Rom. 1:17); etc. (5) The apostle further appealed to actual experience both his own and theirs, and not merely to abstract theories and ideas (Rom. 1:18ff; 2:14; 5:1-11; 6:2-6, 17-19; 7:8-25; I Cor. 9:1ff; etc.). (6) He also recognized the abilities and interests of his converts and trusted them to develop these to the fullest on their own "in Christ" (cf. II Cor. 8:10, 19; Gal. 6:4-5). (7) He exhibited love and kindness wherever humanly possible (cf. Rom. 1:11-12; I Cor.

221. In the above discussion I have followed closely the pioneering work of Howard T. Kuist, The Pedagogy of St. Paul, 1925, chapter VI. In several respects the work is rather inadequate, but it is still the most elaborate on the subject.
dispensing compliments (Rom. 1:6; I Cor. 1:5-7; II Cor. 9:1; Phil. 4:14; I Th. 1:2; etc.), encouragement (Rom. 1:11-12; II Cor. 1:7; Col. 3:12; I Th. 4:1; etc.), expressions of confidence (Rom. 15:14; II Cor. 7:4,16; II Th. 3:4), and genuine personal interest and affection in his converts on every possible occasion (Rom. 16:1-23; I Cor. 16:17-19; II Cor. 7:6ff; Gal. 4:19; etc.).

But beyond all these there is a certain kind of Pauline tact which is not easily analyzed. It creeps out in the course of expressing himself in his letters in a rather subtle way. One notices it, for example, where his derogatory remarks are often followed by soothing clauses. Thus in Rom. 2:28-29, his statement that "he is not a real Jew who is one outwardly, (but) ... inwardly ... of the heart, spiritual and not literal", is followed by the words, "Then what advantage has the Jew? ... Much in every way." Note Rom. 3:31, "Do we then overthrow the law by this faith? By no means! On the contrary, we uphold the law;" or 7:7, "What then shall we say? That the law is sin? By no means! If it had not been for the law, I should not have known sin;" etc. Sometimes he prefixes softening words of compliment to forthcoming rebukes and corrections addressed to his readers as in I Cor. 1:4ff (though such are absent in Gal. 1:6ff). In other ways, too, his delicacy of touch breaks through, especially in the opening sections of his letters, as when he refers with conscious partiality only to the rich gifts of the congregation, so that their deficiencies must be otherwise inferred (I Cor. 1:4-9), or when he intentionally writes without particular reference to the congregation addressed (II Cor. 1:3ff; Gal. 1:6ff); or when he tells of his long-standing but frustrated desires to visit his readers (Rom. 1:8ff; Phil. 1:8ff). And the closing sections, quite apart from customary epistolary forms, are equally revelatory of his tact, as the long lists of personal greetings, by name and complimentary epithets attached to them, etc. 222 J. Weiss, HPX, 1:401-402.
testify.

IV. The Pedagogical Methods of Paul

So far as the methods and forms of teaching are concerned, Paul seems to have used two with greatest success, namely, the discourse (i.e., lecture or address) and the discussion — monologue and dialogue. We shall examine both briefly. Certain fundamental educational principles underlie both types of teaching. These have been summarized as follows:

1. Adaptation (the point of contact)
2. Aim (the end in view)
3. Selection of materials (What material shall be selected? Why shall it be used? Where shall it be used? Why shall it be used where it is?)
4. Presentation (the discourse method — subject developed point by point; the discussion method — subject developed by questions and answers)
5. Association (comparison, contrast, parallelism, repetition)
6. Illustration (concrete)
7. Conclusion (reasoning, application)

1. The Lecture Method

As noticed already, we do not possess a single lecture such as Paul may have delivered during a teaching session to his new converts. The "sermon" in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia recorded in Acts (13:13-52) has been described as a probable approximation to such a discourse. One observes how, according to good principles of teaching, he (1) adapted himself to the situation (in the synagogue on the Sabbath, since his audience consisted of Jews and Gentile proselytes.

Roland Allen observes Paul's delicate tact with pagans even when seeking to supplant their idolatry with monotheism, for though the apostle speaks of idols as "vain things" (Rom. 1:21; Acts 14:15) and their worship as "this ignorance" (Acts 17:30; cf. "dumb", I Cor. 12:2), he never makes bitter and virulent attacks upon the objects of his hearers' veneration (cf. Acts 19:37), Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or Ours, pp.87, 89ff, 93, 150. Cf. also Olaf Moe, The Apostle Paul, 2:34; Sydney Cave, The Gospel of St. Paul, p.112.


We do not possess any of his sermons either, it must be remembered. The sermon "outlines" in Acts are mere fragments.

H.T. Kuist, op. cit., p.119.
He accepted the invitation to speak when it was offered him, stood up, gestured, and began speaking in direct address: note the vocatives in 16, 26, 38. His (2) aim constitutes his theme: to show that "Jesus is the Christ" (Messiah) (cf. 23, 25, 27, 28, 30-38). He holds to his aim throughout. He (3) selects his materials to suit the point he is making. His selection is from (a) past Jewish history (17:22), (b) contemporary history (24-30), (c) living witnesses (31), and the scriptures (32-41). He develops his first point by narration, his second by description of four contemporary events, his third by personal testimony, and his fourth by exposition and argumentation, in which he utilizes (a) accepted authority (Ps. 2:7; 16:10; Isa. 55:3; Hab. 1:5), (b) contrast (36-37), (c) deduction (38), (d) comparison (39), and (e) repetition (Jesus’ resurrection, 30, 33, 34, 37). His illustrations are concrete, drawn largely from history (17, 18, 19, 20). He closes with a warning appeal (40-41). His presentation was effective enough to produce on behalf of his audience a desire for his instructing them again (42, 44).

2. The Discussion Method

The epistle to the Romans is regarded by Kuist as "a typical example of a teaching situation carried on according to the discussion method." In many ways Kuist’s analysis of the first eight chapters of Rom., which he regards as fairly faithful in reflecting Paul’s discussion style of teaching, is admirably done. He seems to have made a credible case for his suggestion. The analysis is too lengthy to be reproduced here, but several points may be noticed. In the epistle Paul seems to imagine himself face to face with an opponent with whom he discusses and answers arguments, somewhat like the Stoic diatribe (cf. 3:1ff; 4:1ff; 6:1ff; 7:1ff). No doubt this is the way of presenting the dialectical process in his own thinking, but it may well have been suggested by his actual controversies with Jews and legalistic Jewish

226 Partly from Kuist, p.120-121.
Christians, as well as educated Gentiles. Some of Kuist's analysis is reproduced in slightly abbreviated form below.

The Point of Contact (Adaptation):
The teacher addresses the group:
1:1-7 An interest-arousing introduction.
1:8-15 A prayerful and enthusiastic greeting.

Aim (the end in View):
1:16-17 **Teacher** states the subject: How is righteousness to be attained?

Selection of Materials
I. Presentation (by deduction):
1:18-32 **Teacher** gives an opening speech, setting forth the evils of the Gentile world and reaching the conclusion that the Gentile world is guilty before God. A Jew inserts an (implied) interjection: 
"That guilt does not include us Gentiles."
2:1-2 **Teacher** addresses Jew: (States point he is about to discuss: "Jews and Gentiles are in the same position").
2:3 **Teacher** asks Jew a question: (A leading and personal question intended to provoke thought, and asked in a searching manner).
2:4 **Teacher** asks Jew another question (a leading and personal question to awaken conscience, and asked in a searching manner).
The Jew and his fellows protest (implied).
2:5-29 **Teacher**: "Let us inquire into the truth of this matter."

Major Premise.
2:5-16 God's judgment is against all unrighteousness. The Gentiles are unrighteous (1:18-32), established by four principles:
2:5-6 **Teacher** states an appeal first abstractly (first principle), then concretely (second principle).
2:7-10 **Teacher** continues in an oppositional sentence, developed in parallelisms by repetition and contrast.
2:11 **Teacher** argues third principle from character of God.
2:12 **Teacher** explains this argument.
2:13 **Teacher** argues third principle from experience.
A Jew advances an ad hominem argument against this.
2:14-15 **Teacher** refutes this argument by an appeal from experience.
2:16 **Teacher** clinches his major premise by an appeal to certainty (fourth principle).

Minor Premise. 2:17-29 The Jew has failed to fulfill the law (i.e., he is unrighteous). This is developed by:

2:17-20 Teacher sets forth a hypothetical case.
2:21-23 Teacher asks a series of leading questions (to touch conscience) in a searching manner.
2:24 Teacher appeals to authority (a confirmatory argument from scripture, Isa. 52:3).
2:25 Teacher appeals to authority (an argument from ceremonial law).
2:26 Teacher states a deduction in the form of a rhetorical question.
2:27 Teacher states a second deduction in the form of a rhetorical question.
2:28-29 Teacher clinches his minor premise by an argument from character.

Conclusion delayed by:
3:1 A Jew raises a casuistic objection: "What then is the advantage of being a Jew?"
3:2 Teacher gives a partial answer, being interrupted by
3:3 A Jew who interjects a suggestive question, calling for a negative answer.
3:4 Teacher replies with an emphatic negation supported by an appeal to authority (a confirmatory argument from scripture, Ps. 51:4).
3:5 A Jew raises an **ad hominem** objection (in the form of a suggestive question calling for a negative answer).
3:6 Teacher vehemently denies the idea, and answers it with a counter question.
3:7-8 A Jew retorts by stating a maxim which distorts Paul’s viewpoint.
3:8 Teacher repudiates the maxim and clinches his point by a **reductio ad absurdum** rejoinder.
3:9 A Jew raises a question of comparison.
3:9-18 Teacher answers by a universally sweeping negation which he supports by a convincing appeal to authority (scripture).

Conclusion. 3:19-20 Drawn by an argument from antecedent probability (i.e., from cause to effect): "By works of law no person may hope to be declared righteous in God’s sight."

(Summary to this point (presentation by deduction)

Major Premise: God’s judgment is against all unrighteousness (the Gentiles are unrighteous).

Minor Premise: The Jew has failed to fulfill the law.

Conclusion: The Jew is equally guilty (unrighteous) with the Gentile before God 229).

Thus is a suggested pedagogical analysis of the first part of Rom. 1-8. The same analyst (Kuist) thinks Rom. 3:21-4:25 is developed or presented by **induction**, 229. See Kuist, op. cit., pp.123-126.
while 5:1 - 8:39 is presented by exposition. A more condensed summary of these two sections will be given at this point noting the pedagogical devices employed in these areas of the "discussion".

II. Presentation (by Induction): The teacher here leads the group in a consideration of the means to the end (as stated in the subject) inductively:
1. By defining the issue and relating it to the present knowledge of the group (3:21)
2. By proceeding from the general to the particular (3:22)
3. By restatement (from 3:19) and exposition (3:23-26)
4. By a categorical answer (3:27)
5. By an adversative answer (3:27)
6. By two strong denials (3:27, 31)
7. By a deduction (3:28)
8. By a hypothetical case (3:29-30)
9. By an argument from history based on authority (scripture; 4:1-9)
10. By an argument from priority explained by history (4:9-12)
11. By an argument by antithesis (law versus grace) sustained by authority (4:13-17)
12. By an argument from identity (Abraham’s faith the same as ours) explained by history (4:18-25)

The members of the group took part in the discussion:
1. By asking a question for information (3:27)
2. By raising a question with an implication (3:27)
3. By proposing an alternative possibility (3:29)
4. By raising a leading question (3:31)
5. By presenting a crucial test case (4:1-2)
6. By calling for the explanation of a certain point (4:9)

(Summary 3:21 - 4:25 (presentation by induction)
3:21-31 Exposition of the new system
4:1-25 Proof of this exposition
4:1-8 By argument from history - sustained by authority
4:9-12 By argument from priority - explained by history
4:13-17 By argument from antithesis - sustained by authority
4:18-25 By argument from identity - explained by history)

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III. Presentation (by Exposition):
1. The teacher leads the group in exposition according to questions raised by members of the group in the form of:
   a. Casuistic objections (6:1)
   b. Suggestive questions (6:15; 7:7)
   c. A question calling for a conclusion (8:31)
2. The teacher proceeds to answer:
   a. In the form of analogy (four of them; 5:6-9, 6:17-23; 7:1-6)

230. It does not seem clear that "exposition" is a category separate from and on a par with "deduction" and "induction", for the treatment of the whole of Rom. 1-8 can be described as "expositional" and "inductional" presentation.
b. By relating personal experiences (7:8-25; cf. 5:11-13; 6:3-6, 17-19)
c. By illustrations from history (5:13-14)
d. By symbolism (7:1-6)
e. By a fortiori argument (5:9)
f. By argument by antithesis (5:10)
g. By pointed questions (6:21; 8:24, 31b-35)
h. By counter questions (6:16)
i. By vehement denials (6:2, 15; 7:7, 13)
j. By appeal to authority (7:2-3; 7:7)
k. By vivid descriptions (6:17-23; 7:14-24)
l. By suggestive contrasts (5:16; 6:18, 19, 22; 7:2-3, 5-6)
m. By illuminating comparison (both negative, 8:17b, and positive, 8:17a)
n. By parallelisms (5:18, 21)
o. By explanations (8:1-17; etc.)
p. By earnest entreaties (6:12; 8:12)
q. By confident assurances (9:1, 16-17, 18, 26, 27, 28, 37)
r. By deep emotional exclamations (7:24)
s. By thankful conclusions (6:23; 7:25)
t. By a climactic lyric outburst (8:32-39)

From the foregoing observations of Paul's pedagogical methods we may conclude that (1) he gave instruction in both doctrine and practice; (2) that such instruction was both deductive and inductive; (3) that it occasionally lacked proportion both in treatment and method, due probably to the fact that most of the apostle's teaching was the outgrowth of definite problems and sometimes definite questions (especially in Cor., Gal., and Thess.); (4) that the Pauline pedagogy, therefore, was not formal and systematic in either arrangement or presentation, that is, that it was often occasional and controversial but not exhaustive or scientific; (5) that it contained a variety of literary forms, as well as dialectical processes and devices, as means to attention, clarity, and persuasion; (6) that it was generally analogical, though often more literal and less poetic than, say, that of Jesus; and (7) that it was conditioned by a large degree of intimacy which existed between him and those whom he instructed.

231. See Kuist, op. cit., pp.133-134.
233. See Mathews, Ibid., 4:448.
234. In most of these respects Paul shows indebtedness to both rabbinical and Hellenistic teaching methods, but especially to Jesus (and probably also to the earliest Christian teachers before him).
Worship is the acknowledgment of man's dependence on God, and formally speaking is the self-exhibition of religion — of the sources of its life, of the powers of its being, and of its desires and expectations. Was there such worship in the early church? Was there room for worship when it held so avidly the expectation of Christ's return? Yes, there was not only room for worship in the early church, but worship was its very fiber. There is no being a Christian without worship even in primitive Christianity. Decline of interest in the parousia set in rather soon, and besides, worship is of such a nature that parousial expectations heighten rather than destroy or prevent its expression.

Our specific problem is to determine whether Paul uses the worship service as a medium for educating the Christian mind in his converts. And further, if he does, to determine what are the educational features and usages of worship according to his earlier letters. We do not intend to raise the larger problem of whether worship is a means or an end in the Christian life. We wish only to observe the usages and applications which
Paul may have made of worship in relation to the growth of his converts in Christ. We have seen already that such parts of the worship service as sermons, hymns, prayers, and the creed were used by the apostle to create and shape the Christian mind. These may have been employed altogether from the context of a worship service, but still they were used as means of making and educating Christians. It is surely clear that the worship service was not regarded by him simply as a "recitation" period which provided him the opportunity to check on personal and community spiritual progress, though it is also clear from comments in both Thess. and Cors. that it did furnish him this opportunity (cf. I Th. 5:19-21; I Cor. 11:17ff; 14:1-40). Nor was the worship service simply an occasion for further "indoctrination", though that is always part of worship. It was as much an occasion for his converts to express their Christian mind, as for him (or them) to shape it. Of course to express the Christian mind in devotion helps also to further its development; but to assert that this is the prime, much less the sole, aim in primitive Christian worship seems to need no refutation. We must, however, anticipate what can be said better at the end of this chapter and observe that Paul did draw out of Christian worship some definite didactic procedures and policies which served to advance the development of his converts. It is these inferences from and usages of worship as reflected in his earlier letters that concern us in this chapter.

I. Structure and Elements of the Pauline Worship Service

We must raise the difficult question of the order (and its recoverability) of the various parts of the usual worship service in Paul's churches. An eyewitness account of the whole of a worship service is nowhere preserved within the N.T. For that we are dependent on later reports, such as that of Pliny in his Letter to Trajan the emperor (10:97); this is not apparently a report of
an eye-witness), or of Justin Martyr in his Apology (1:67). Paul furnishes a good deal of information (more than any other writer in the N.T. unless it is the writer of the Apocalypse) about the worship of the churches, especially in the congregation at Corinth, but he nowhere describes the procedures of an entire service of worship. The existence of some kind of order in his services is fairly certain. His heritage from the Jewish synagogue provided him with a pattern of worship conducted according to a rather fixed arrangement of its component parts. Even public pagan festivals and celebrations of worship, of which he had at least heard if never witnessed, also followed an ordered procedure. And there are his own principles expressed in his letters that worship be conducted, as it had not been at Corinth, "decently and in order" (I Cor. 14:40).

But the problem of recovering any such order is complicated by the nature of the evidence. Since we lack a picture of the whole service we cannot be sure of the sequence of all its parts. And even if we had such a complete picture we still would not be sure that its particular order of service was followed in more than the one assembly of Christians with whom it originated, or even that they followed precisely the same order from service to service. Fortunately, for our purposes, the problem is a subsidiary one, since the function of most of the parts does not depend primarily on the place of their occurrence within the framework of the worship service.

Of much greater significance are the elements themselves which can be recovered from the Pauline worship service. These are rather difficult to designate and classify, but in all probability some such features as the following were included in a community session of worship in the apostle's churches: (1) formulas of worship, (2) praise, (3) confession, (4) workings of the Spirit, (5) scripture reading, (6) preaching, (7) prayer, (8) collection (offertory), and (9) the Lord's supper. We do not imply that all of these occur in every worship service
under any and all circumstances, but there is ample reason to believe that most, if not all, of these elements find a place in what might be called the "regular" worship services of the early Pauline churches. But it is not simply the fact of their existence but the manner of his usage of them that interests us in this study. And this is an aspect of their study which is quite often wholly bypassed.

II. Formulas

A number of more or less fixed formulae occurs throughout Paul's letters (and much of the rest of the N.T.) Most of them are obviously worship formulae which are cited from current usage in the congregational worship services. By "formula" is not meant simply a conventionalized statement of faith, though this enters strongly into most of them, but rather fixed expressions of devotion involving prayer, praise, blessing, etc. Thus the introductory words at the opening of all Paul's letters, "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ," judged both from content and style as well as position within the letters, seem to constitute a (1) "call-to-worship" formula. Since the statement appears in all Paul's letters in precisely the same words and in the same location (near the beginning, after the salutation and before his introductory prayer), and since his letters were meant to be read to assembled congregations (probably gathered for worship) we may be rather sure of its adaptation from regular usage in community worship. In fact, the whole series of introductory epistolary parts (call to worship, prayer of thanks and intercession, and introduction of the subject of the letter) may well have been taken over by la On the use of formulas in Paul and the rest of the N.T., see Ethelbert Stauffer, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, chapters 25, 26, 60-63.
Paul from the worship service. This receives additional support from the fact that the diction of these formulas diverges from the usual diction of Paul, thus proving that they are not his creation but are older than he. The same applies also to the (2) "benediction" formulas at the end of the letters. Here the formula is not quite so completely stereotyped as in the case of the "call-to-worship" sentence. The most common (and probably ground) form of the benediction is "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you" (Rom. 16:20; I Cor. 16:23; I Th. 5:28). Sometimes this is expanded by the addition of an "all" to "you" (Rom. 15:33; II Th. 3:13; cf. II Cor. 13:14), or abbreviated to "Grace be with you" (Col. 4:18), or the "you" is altered to "your spirit" (Gal. 6:13; Phil. 4:23; Phil. 25), or as in II Cor. 13:14, "the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit" is appended to "the grace of Christ" --- but the core of the benediction is left unchanged. Paul has very likely appropriated the last words (or the entirety) of the closing prayer or concluding benediction customarily pronounced at the culmination of the Christian worship services. Fixed closing formulas had long been traditional features of Jewish worship in both temple and synagogue, so that the use of such formulas was thoroughly familiar to the apostle and indicates that he was writing with a picture in mind of his readers assembled for a worship service. Before leaving these "beginning" and "ending" formulas, however, it needs to be observed that (in spite of certain superficial similarities) both their usage and content are neither Jewish nor Hellenistic.

2. Ernst Lohmeyer has demonstrated their priority to Paul, ZNW, 26:162ff; see also A. Cabanias, "Liturgy-making Factors in Primitive Christianity," Journal of Religion (1943), 23:43-58.
but have been conformed to new (Christian) needs, demands, and concepts. Evidence lies in the usage of some form of the phrase "our Lord Jesus Christ" in the introductory and closing formularies, which represents a genuine "Christianizing" of both. There is further the combination of terms drawn from Hellenistic and Jewish backgrounds in the expression "grace and peace" — a combination made apparently for the first time by the early Christians.

The (3) praise formulas in Paul are largely quotations of devotional language reproduced from the community worship. These take the form of (a) doxologies ("to him be glory ...", etc.) and (b) eulogies ("praised be ...," etc.). It is scarcely possible at times to distinguish these two classifications of praise, other than the fact that what follows a genuine eulogistic statement is directly dependent upon it in form and meaning, while this may not be true at all of a doxology. Doxological statements in Paul are the following: Rom. 11:36, "For from him and through him and to him are all things. To him be glory forever. Amen;"

Rom. 16:27, "To the only wise God be glory for evermore through Jesus Christ! Amen;"

Gal. 1:5, "... Our God and Father, to whom be the glory for ever and ever, Amen;"

cf. Phil. 1:11; 4:20; and Eph. 3:21. In all six of these passages the ascription of glory is to God, but in Rom. 16:27 and Eph. 3:21 God's glorification is realized through Jesus Christ, and the same seems to be implied from the first part of the sentence in Phil. 1:11 and 4:28. In Gal. 1:5 the glory is credited to God "our Father". Only in Rom. 11:36 does the formula smack of its Jewish origin and overtones in that God alone is the recipient of the gratulations, but here the apostle has been concerned with a long and intricate discussion of God's providence in relation to his people Israel, and "Christ" is mentioned only at the beginning of

5. J.E. Frame, ICC on Thess., p. 71; cf. George Milligan, Commentary on Thess., ad loc; E. D. Burton, ICC on Gal., pp. 423-426; Johannes Weiss, however, is not quite certain that Paul was the first to combine these words, cf. Der erste Korintherbrief, pp. 4f; cf. Ernst Lohmeyer, ZNW, 26:152ff.
chapter 9 (vs 1, 3, 5) and in chapter 10 (vs 4, 6, 7, 9), but not at all in chapter
11. (In the last 48 of 90 verses, Paul fails to mention Christ). The usage of
the doxology in Paul is probably imitative rather than his own creation for
the appearance of similar doxologies in so many different N.T. writers would seem
to suggest that it was no new creation of his. It occurs sometimes at the beginning
of a letter (Gal. 1:5; Phil. 1:11), sometimes at the end of a section within
a letter (Rom. 11:36; cf. Eph. 3:21), and other times at the very end of a letter
(Rom. 16:27; Phil. 4:20). That is, it occurs not indiscriminately, but at points
which mark an initiation, break or climax in his thought, much like the use of
doxologies in a service of worship at the opening, after the performance of certain
acts (such as reading of the scriptures), and at the close of the service. It is
his way of ascribing credit to God through Christ for everything that exists and
remains, even in the worship service. He uses the formula, therefore, with
naturalness but also with great care and discretion: as the first and final (cf.
Phil. 1:11 and 4:20) thoughts in the Christian's mind with reference to the object
of his glorification. The Christian begins, rests, alters, and ends his whole
consciousness with an awareness of God's glory in Christ, and so by a considerate
use of the doxological formula he acknowledges this to be so and declares it before
the world and to God in Christ (cf. Phil. 2:11). Paul's doxologies are actually
brief prayers or the culminating line of longer prayers -- further evidence of
their devotional character and probable transcription from the worship service.

Eulogies in Paul occur at Rom. 1:25, "... The Creator, who is blessed forever!
Amen;" Rom. 9:5, "And of their race is the Christ. God who is over all be blessed
forever. Amen." II Cor. 1:3, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus

Ascriptions of glory to Christ alone in the N.T. are I Tim. 6:16; II Tim.

II Pet. 3:18; Jude 25; Rev. 1:6; 5:13; 7:12; cf. also Didache 9:2, 3.
Christ;' II Cor. 11:31, "The God and Father of the Lord Jesus, he who is blessed forever;' cf. Eph. 1:3, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." It will be observed that all of these, except II Cor. 11:31, appear at the beginning of the section in which they stand; indeed the eulogies in II Cor. 1:3 and Eph. 1:3 appear at the beginning of the writer's thanksgivings for the community at the opening of the letters (cf. also I Pet. 1:3). Here, again, we sense the similarity in content, tone, and position to material in the worship service of synagogue and church. "Eulogy" was known to heathen (and Jew) and Christian alike and both associated the term with a recognition or confession of divine power and acts of atonement, but the heathen praised the gods for removal of bodily punishment, while the Christian eulogized him for the removal of guilt and restoration of fellowship through Christ. The eulogies in II Cor. 1:3 are of this type; the eulogy in II Cor. 11:31 is a praise insertion in an oath; Rom. 1:25 and 9:5, according to the definition of an eulogy stated above, are more nearly doxological than eulogistic, that is, they are not tied directly to a "blessing." In II Cor. 1:3 and Eph. 1:3 the eulogy is to God as "the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." In II Cor. 11:31 it may be "our Lord Jesus Christ" who is blessed and it is just possible that the ascription in Rom. 9:5 is also meant for Christ. Both passages closely link him with God. In Rom. 1:25 it is God as creator who is eulogized in the complete use and style of the Jewish "Berakah".

The praise formulas in the N.T. cover the whole range of divine activity: creation, sustaining, redemption, and future glorification; Paul shares this breadth

8. So Franz S. Steinleitner, Die Beicht im Zusammenhang mit der sakralen Rechtspflege der Antike, no. 2, 6, 9, 18, 19, cited in Delling, op. cit., p. 70.
of doxological and eulogistic praise. Apparently eulogies could be spoken unintelligibly in a "tongue" (I Cor. 14:16), in which case (without interpretation) their worship value was purely subjective on the speaker's part.

There are other liturgical conventions in Paul such as the (4) triadic formulas. These appear frequently in references to the godhead (especially in Paul): God/ Jesus/ Spirit, or Father/ Son/ Spirit, or God/ Lord/ Spirit (Rom. 1:1-4; 8:1-3, 9, 11, 16-17; I Cor. 12:4-6; II Cor. 13:13; Gal. 3:11-14; cf. Eph. 1:11-13; 4:4-6). Of these Pauline passages, the most striking is II Cor. 13:13, where "the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit" assume a genuine "formulistic" order and style. Paul probably took over the expression from prior church usage, perhaps from the baptismal formula (cf. Matt. 28:19) or from church worship, or he himself may have combined or even coined the expressions himself (though surely he was not the first to associate Father/ Son/ Spirit in this manner). At any rate he uses the three-membered statement as a formal prayer of benediction, and does so in such a way as to make it one of the most easily and lastingly remembered statements in the N.T. That is, Paul has used a method, a device, that gives his expression of devotion to God the strongest possible impact.

There is another formula of the triadic form, but used so often in Paul as to merit separate attention, namely, the (5) faith/ love/ hope expression (cf. I Cor. 13:13; Gal. 5:5,6; I Th. 1:3; 5:8; Col. 1:4,5; cf. Heb. 6:10-12). This trio is supposedly a liturgical piece, which may in origin be closely related to the triadic formula noted above: faith characterizes the special relation to God, hope characterizes that to Christ, and love is the power of the Spirit — all three of which and of whom determine the fellowship or togetherness of the Christian.

12. Dolling, op. cit., p. 64.
community. The formula is a triplet of Christian virtues, whose existence outside of Christianity before Paul has not been proven.

Another formula is what may be called the (6) "unitaric". Its theological, liturgical, and literary antecedent is probably the Jewish "Shema" with its strong insistence on the oneness of Jahweh (Deut. 6:4). Paul uses this "solo" type of formula in I Cor. 8:6 as a creedal statement, "For us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through are all things and through whom we exist." A fuller but somewhat similar type of "unitaric" statement appears in Eph. 4:4-6, "There is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope that belongs to your call, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all." It seems clear from this scanty evidence that the "one" formula was not yet used in fixed format in Paul's time. It seems to have been a standard of belief, particularly among Gentilic converts who were contending with the errors and allurements of polytheism and idolatry, and thus probably occupied some position in the worship service of Gentilic churches.

Somewhat related is the (?) "All"-formula, which appears in the two passages just quoted (I Cor. 8:6 and Eph. 4:4-6). The passage in I Cor. 8:6 is very similar to Rom. 11:36, "For from him and through him and to him are all things." God is the subject of the Rom. and Eph. passages and of half of the I Cor. sentence, cf. also I Cor. 11:12; 12:6; 15:28; Eph. 1:23; Col. 1:18. In Col. 1:16-17, "in him",

13. See the efforts of Richard Reitzenstein to do so, Historia Monachorum and Historia Lausiaca, pp. 100-102, 242f. He cites a "quadratic" formula (containing only "faith" of Paul's trilogy) from Porphyry's, Ad Marcellum 24 of the third century A.D. as his only evidence!

14. Delling thinks Eph. 4:4-6 may have been influenced by Jewish thought; cf. Philo's emphasis on one temple as based on faith in one God (Specialibus Legibus 1:67), and Josephus' reckonings of one holy city, one temple, one altar, one God, and one people Israel (Antiquities 4:200f).

"through him," and "for him" are predicated of Christ; cf. also Rom. 9:5; Col. 1:19; 3:11; also Eph. 1:10. The variety of prepositional forms which characterize the προτεινω formula in the N.T. indicates that it had not yet attained permanent coinage (cf. εἰ-δέ-εἰς, Rom. 11:36; ἐν-δέ-εἰς, Col. 1:16; ἐν-δέ-εἰς, Eph. 4:6).
The preposition most frequently used in the expressions is ἐν. Also the object of the preposition alternates between "all" and "him"; the subject between "all," "he," and "we". The most common term, however, both as subject and object is "all". It seems clear that here is another formula adopted from the early Christian worship service which attempts to embrace in an easily remembered, concise, but comprehensive form the origin, agency, status, and goal of all existence in terms of the personage and activity of God himself. The passage in which Eph. 4:6 stands has long been recognized as a creedal summary. Rom. 11:36 and Col. 1:16-18 possess a poetic lilt and rhythm which suggest that they were possibly sung or chanted in worship.

Finally, there are certain (8) non-Greek formulas, which are clearly of a liturgical nature and which appear in Paul's letters without a single attempt at translation or explanation, despite their foreign sound and origin. Outstanding among these is that strange Aramaic word (a) maranatha (I Cor. 16:22). Even the meaning of the term is debatable, though there seems to be only two possibilities of translation: as an indicative, "Our Lord has come," or as an imperative, "Our Lord, come!" Philologically the former is more easily explained, and some think


it fits the context better: upon certain persons in the Corinthian church who had not taken the love of Christ very seriously, a curse is expressed (I Cor. 16:23a), and the meaning of their negative attitude toward Christ becomes transparently clear (and serious!) in light of his proximity to them, for "the Lord has come." There may, therefore, be a translation of the meaning of the term in Phil. 4:5, "The Lord is at hand." Rev. 22:20, then, has transformed the expression into an impatient sigh of longing for Christ's future return, "Lord, come." The term probably belonged to the liturgy of the Aramaic churches and was taken over by the Corinthian church through Paul. Whether or not it belongs to the liturgy of the Lord's supper, as has been concluded from its usage in this connection in the Didache (10:6), is not certain. It has been suggested that it is a community expression, which (in spite of what was said above) conveyed a note of prophetic expectancy of Christ's imminent parousia -- a note that characterized most of the primitive Christian liturgy. It has been reckoned also among the primitive confessions of the early church, as well as among its prayers.

The term (b) abba, also Aramaic, entered the vocabulary of the Pauline churches apparently quite early. That may mean that it was earlier used in the congregations in Palestine and held a significant place in their life and worship. Does usage of the term really go back to Jesus (Mk. 14:36)? Paul uses the word twice in Rom. 8:15, "When we cry," Abba! Father! "it is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God," and in Gal. 4:6, "And

18. So Adolf Schlatter, ad loc.
because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, "Abba! Father!" In both passages, unlike "maranatha", he follows the word with a translation, "Father". Why? To enhance its role as a title or even quasi proper name? Because some of his readers (the Romans were mostly unknown to him and the Galatians had received only rapid instruction from him) might not know or recall its meaning? Or simply to impress its meaning more deeply upon their consciousness? Or possibly out of an old habit of saying both linguistic terms whenever he thought of one of them (for after all Aramaic and Greek were both his native tongues)? The two usages of "abba" in Rom. and Gal. are strikingly parallel. Both speak of sonship to God and possession of the Spirit.

26 Delling, therefore, concludes that, like the confession "Jesus is Lord," the abba-call (a result of the working of the Spirit) is a "pneumatic" prayer uttered under the inspiration of the Spirit. It shows the caller to be in a relation of son(ship) to God's fatherhood precisely as the confession shows the confessor to be in a relation of subject(ion) to Christ's lordship. The expression, then, belongs to the vocabulary of worship. But where and when was it used in the liturgy? It may have been 1/ an involuntary cry from an aroused individual here and there in the worship assembly giving vent to his tense feelings of love and thanksgiving for the forgiveness, redemption, and adoption divinely given in Christ, which he had just freshly sensed again in the midst of community worship. It may have been a part of 2/ the prayer(s) offered in the service, perhaps a form of opening address very often employed in praise and petition. There is even the possibility that it derives from repeated usage

25. The translation also appears in Mk 14:36.
26. Op. cit., p. 73; he is using the language of Schlatter, Kommentar zu 1 Kor., p. 386.
27. See Hans Listmann, An die Gläster (HNT), (4:6), p. 27.
of the Lord's prayer in worship. Further, the expression may have been employed at c/ the Lord's supper, since the rite anticipates the eschatological marriage supper for the King's Son (Lk. 14:16ff -- Matt. 22:2ff -- Rev. 19:9) in which case the guests will be also "sons" of the royal "Father". Its use at the Lord's supper would thus indicate recognition of God's fatherhood within his own family, and remind the celebrants of their own sonship. Unfortunately for this suggestion the Lord's supper is thought of in the N.T., not as a family meal in honor of the family father, but of a meal of communion in memory of the son. More likely the word represents a (d) cry at the baptism of a new believer, who here for the first time brings to utterance his recognition of and natural response to his new filial status. But whatever its precise position or usage, the non-Greek term is filled with the highest associations of worship both for Paul and his converts. He uses the term with a fulness of meaning and sensitivity of feeling that indicate extensive and intimate acquaintance, not merely with a devotional term or idea, but with a divine reality.

There is further the recurring Hebrew term (c) amen, which is borrowed from the Jewish synagogue where it was spoken by the assembled congregation, not following the prayer as an "end"-formula, but as a formula of consent or agreement after the benedictions. In the N.T. it is appended to none of the recorded prayers, such as, the Lord's prayer (Matt. 6:6-9 and Lk. 11:2-4) and the heavenly prayer of the elders in Rev. 11:17-18. Yet the Amen does appear after certain doxologies and short, almost stereotyped expressions of desire for God's grace (which are really brief prayers!) even in Paul -- cf. Rom. 1:25; 9:5; II Cor. 1:20 for

29. So Gerhard Kittel, Die Probleme des palästinenischen Spätestjudentums, pp. 53ff; Franz J. Doelger, Antike und Christentum, 3:152f; but Delling (p. 73, n.76) observes that if so, then the Lord's prayer in Pauline communities began with just these words: (cf. Lk. 11:2); cf. however, Kittel, Idem, and art "Abba", Kittel's TWNT 1:5.
32. See Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, 3:456f.
doxologies (II Pet. 3:18; Rev. 5:12; 7:12; 19:4), and for prayers for grace, of Rom. 15:33; Gal. 6:18 (Rev. 22; 20-21, cf. Justin, Apology 1:65:3). These usages of the term establish its liturgical nature and function. But does the term appear after other parts of the service? In I Cor. 14:16 it is closely connected with the praise expressed by individuals in the assembly: "Otherwise, if you give thanks with the spirit, how can any one in the position of him that is without gifts say the "amen" to your thanksgiving when he does not know what you are saying?" It seems apparent from this statement of Paul that the entire assembly expressed the "amen". This "thanksgiving" may have been either in prayer or in song (I Cor. 14:15), so that the amen also follows singing in the worship service. Apparently this usage occurs after the singing of an individual (or a group) to which the rest of the assembly responded with the "amen". It is possible that "amen" was used together with τοι (cf. II Cor. 1:20; Rev. 1:7) so that a stronger form of affirmation and consent results, "yea, so be it." Paul says that both this "yea" and the "amen" are spoken through Christ.

What is the meaning of the term "amen"? Literally translated it means, "So let it be". "... at first, the Amen was invariably a response, spoken by the worshipping people. It implied that they assented to what had been said, and that they appropriated it as their own. They identified themselves with the Leader's prayer, and solemnly confessed the inner unity which bound him and them together. In this single closing word, therefore, there came to expression one fundamental quality of Christian prayer. It was community-prayer." And

33. Ps. 89:52; Sukkah 51b; Taanith 2:5; cf. Ismar Elbogen, Der juedische Gottesdienst, pp. 494-496; W.O.W. Oesterley, Op. cit., pp. 70-73: The earliest probable instance of the speaker of the prayer uttering the "amen" is in Polycarp's prayer; see Macdonald, p. 108.
36. In the LXX the Heb. γένος is rather frequently rendered by the inadequate γένος. See J. Massie, art "Amen", HDB 1:80b.
the same is true of the identity between the audience and expresser of doxology and song through use of this one word.

We do not know if Paul's churches used the two Hebrew praise words (d) Hallelujah ("praise ye Jah") and (e) Hosanna ("save, pray") or not. "Hallelujah" is the keynote of the song sung by the vast multitude in Rev. 19:1-7, which indicates that the word had its place in early Christian worship, but it nowhere occurs in Paul's letters. "Hosanna" occurs only in the gospels (Matt. 21:9-15; Mk. 11:9-10; Jn. 12:13) though its occurrence in the Didache (10:6) suggests that it may have been used in the doxologies of early worship. Perhaps the words were too semitic for his Gentile congregations.

III. Praise

1. Doxologies and 2. Eulogies

We have already noticed the important role of both of these in the worship of the early church, so we need not prolong attention here. In the synagogue the doxology was an adjunct to every prayer, and the custom may have been adopted occasionally by Paul in the worship of his churches. At least the doxologies in Phil. 1:11 and Eph. 3:21 stand at the close of prayer-like passages, though the doxologies in Rom. 11:36; 16:27; Gal. 1:5; and Phil. 4:21 stand on their own apart from such passages. There is more evidence that a doxological utterance was spoken in conclusion to the entire worship service, since doxologies stand at or very near the close of Rom. (16:27) and Phil. (4:20); cf. also Heb. 13:21; I Pet. 5:11; II Pet. 3:18; and Jude 25. As noted already, the


38. Macdonald is probably incorrect, therefore, by insisting that the church "consistently" followed the synagogue in its use of doxology after all prayers. None of the recorded prayers in the N.T. (noticed in relation to "amen" above) contain, close with, or append such a doxology.
Eulogy may have come usually near the opening of the service, though it was not confined to this position as II Cor. 11:31 shows. The variety of the doxological and eulogistic forms in Paul (and the N.T.) is indicative of the freedom that prevailed in their composition, though never is anything incongruous, trivial, redundant or extravagant included in them. They are written in the style of exalted, rhythmical prose and act as a restraint and rebuke upon any form of excess elsewhere in the worship. We cannot now say if any of these doxologies and eulogies were sung in Pauline worship services, though doubtless they were. These were probably the sort of poetic prose which the Spirit inspired various individuals to compose and render spontaneously to the assembled congregation (I Cor. 14:26; Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16).

3. Psalms and Hymns

There was singing in the worship of the Pauline churches. Even Paul himself shared the practice (I Cor. 14:15; cf. Acts 16:25). We should like to know at what place(s) it came in the service, but our information is possibly too scanty to determine that. In I Cor. 14:26 Paul writes, "When you come together, each one has a psalm, a lesson, a revelation, a tongue, or an interpretation. Let all things be done for edification." The order in which the gifts are here named may not represent a fixed liturgical arrangement in the apostle's mind as he writes, but in any case the song of which he speak's comes first. Could it be that following a brief call to worship and an eulogistic utterance of praise, the leader or some gifted individual burst forth into a paean of song in which all might join at its close with a doxology or hearty "amen"? If so, the singing

39. F. H. Chase presents the details of the various doxological forms in the N.T. in *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*.

40. Pliny in his Letter to Trajan (c. A.D. 112) says that the Christians were "in the habit of meeting before dawn on a stated day and singing alternately a hymn to Christ as to a god" (10:97) and Justin speaks of Psalm 45 being sung by Christians to Christ (Trypho 63:14).
of songs came early in the order of worship service. How much time was given to singing we have no way of knowing. Was there at least one psalm or hymn following each part of the service? Was there such at the close of the service just before a final prayer or benediction? Were these Pauline Christians so thrilled with their new-found redemption and life in Christ that they actually parted from one another in their group meetings with a hymn of praise upon their lips? Was the singing of hymns a part of their daily private existence, during moments of more formal devotion, as well as the hours in between? The "praise" singing of Paul and Silas in the Philippian prison at midnight suggests a positive answer to the last question. The others are more difficult to answer.

What is the character of the hymnody in Pauline circles? In origin and style a good deal of it is obviously based on the pattern of psalms and hymns in the O.T. We do not know that the early church used the Psalms of David as a praise-book, but many of these O.T. psalms (in the Greek translation of the Septuagint of course) may have been sung in Christian worship. When Paul mentions "a song of praise" (psalm) in I Cor. 14:26, however, it is generally agreed that he means, not an O.T. psalm, but some new Christian song, and it has been supposed that the "praises unto God" which he and Silas sang at Philippi were "Christian songs improvised under the tense experience of the moment." But not all hymns would be new, original, and spontaneous creations flung off under the intense pneumatic inspiration and rapture of adoring worship. Many (no doubt, most) of them were deliberate, carefully-constructed hymnal compositions, done by those with divinely given talents for this need and under the leading of the Spirit before they came to the worship service. Does not I Cor. 14:26

41. Assumed as true by Macdonald, p. 113.
42. Macdonald, p. 114 -- an extremely difficult if not impossible feat, as any one who has tried it (even the simple type of "semitic" song) knows!
imply just this: "When you come together, each one has (already "all ready") a psalm ..."? What has sometimes been asserted regarding the impromptu character of the origin of most early Christian hymns fails to convince. For example, it has been said, "In these early worship-gatherings that were so vitally quickened by the Spirit... it must often have happened that a worshipper would rise and pour himself out in praises of Christ, making use of that rhythmical prose in which the religious praise of that age, and of the ages before it, found its most common outlet.... Many of these first Christian praises would have small literary value. Improvisations of the moment, they would serve to express the quickened emotion of the speaker and to stir responsive chords in like-quickened worshippers about him; yet they would quickly be forgotten as soon as some new interest swept the meeting. But occasionally there would be produced something worthy of a longer life; and this would arrest the attention, and would fix itself in the memory of this man or that, who might give utterance to it again on some later occasion, and perhaps in some richer and more artistic form." This seems on the one hand to make worship such a trivial matter that few remembered little if any part of what was thus sung (or said), and on the other hand, presupposes a feat that has never been repeated in the history of the church — the coinage of numerous new psalms and hymns in poetic prose on the spur of the moment. Many scholars now think that not even the more elevated passages in Paul's letters were shaken out of his sleeve in so facile a manner, but are the products of concentrated deliberation, perhaps the outcome of years of spiritual reflection and struggle. How much more the bulk of primitive Christian hymns used in his congregations. We must remember the long continued practice of writing psalms among the post-exilic Jews, e.g., the Psalms of Solomon, the Psalms in the Greek Daniel, in Judith, in Tobit, and in the

44. See J. Weiss, HFR, 1:207.
Assumption of Moses. These "Jewish psalms were certainly not uttered at random," but were conscientiously produced. We may be sure that the custom was continued and made the primary method of psalm-composition used by Christians. This does not deny, however, that in every case Christian hymns contained some new and original elements.

These hymns are written in a stately, rhythmical prose. Their style is "solemn, exalted, hieratical." The language is not a metrical structure, but abounds in the balancing of thoughts rather than words and phrases, somewhat in the mood and manner of Hebrew "parallelism." After all, the earliest Christian hymns were probably patterned after the non-metrical models of the Septuagint in which semitic "parallelism" is the dominant characteristic. It has been asserted that Paul contains little or no poetry, but most students of semitic literary forms (and Greek ones for that matter) fail to concur in this judgment. It is true that not much emphasis is laid by Paul (and the rest of the N.T.) on the "musical" forms of the hymn -- not at all as in the case of Greek hymns which were mostly works of artists originating in the latter's highest poetic piety and consciously designed to be worthy of the gods. Thus we cannot

46. W. H. Raney has sought to identify various types of semitic parallelism in the N.T. and particularly in John's gospel. He distinguishes antithetic (pp. 29-30) from constructive or synthetic (pp. 31-35), as well as synonymous, climatic (pp. 23-29), and alternating parallelism (p. 36) in his work, The Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Christian Cultus.
affirm any direct influence of Greek hymnody on primitive Christian worship, though the larger structure of N.T. hymns sometimes sounds like that of certain prose hymns of the non-Christian world. That is, the "outline" structure of pagan hymns often consists of three parts: address, praise, and petition. An instance of this is seen in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 11:2, where the goddess is given some four or five titles, each one of which is followed by several clauses of adulation, glorifying the person and deeds of the goddess. These constitute the address and praise. The rest of the prayer (some 5 lines out of 23 in Latin!) consists of the petition to the deity. Another example is Cleanthes' (contemporary of Aratus, third century B.C.) *Hymn to Zeus*: (1) address (1-3), (2) praise (4-31), and (3) petition (32-37). So in the N.T. a somewhat similar order can be detected in certain hymnodic passages, e.g., Eph. 1:3-14 — (1) address (3), (2) praise (4-14), (3) petition (seems to be lacking, unless 16-19 be included and considered as such); cf. also Eph. 1:17-23. But there are several outstanding differences. (1) In the N.T. the border between address and praise is often very fluid (as is clear from the example just cited, cf. Eph. 1:3 and 4). (2) Moreover, the third of the divisions named above ("petition") is almost universally lacking in N.T. hymns. There seems to be ample reason for this in the observation that heathen (and Jewish) hymns stand to Christian hymns in the relation of desire and fulfillment. That is, Christians no longer need to praise God *in order to get him* (future) to be beneficent, to forgive their sins, to grant them a token of eternal life, and to bestow his divine presence upon their lives; rather they praise him *because he has done* (past and present) all

51. For the divisions, see Johannes von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 1:537.
52. Delling, p. 62.
these (and more) already in Jesus Christ. Hence, petition is not commonly a part of Christian hymns. (3) It ought to be observed, too, that, even had such order been followed carefully in N.T. hymns, the obvious precedents and parallels which lay more readily to hand, especially for a Jew like Paul, in O.T. psalms and hymns ought to be considered as the more likely source of inspiration. Observe the structure of the following psalms and hymnodic compositions from the O.T. which clearly show traces of the type of threefold constructional arrangement mentioned above: Ps. 89—(1) verses 1-4, (2) 5-45, (3) 46-52; Ps. 104—(1) verse 1, (2) 2-5, (3) 6; Ps. 115—(1) 1-3, (2) 4-13, (3) 14-18; Ps. 150—(1) 1, (2) 2-5, (3) 6; Neh. 9—(1) 5-6, (2) 7-31; (3) 32-38, among others. (4) While the boundary between hymns, confessions, and prayers is not always fixed, yet in the N.T. the lines seem more carefully drawn especially between hymns and prayers than in the examples of pagan hymns noticed above. This we venture to assert is due to the more objective nature and historical basis of the content of hymns in the N.T. and to the difference of concept in the function and aim of Christian prayer. We shall return to these matters later. Before leaving the question of style we must record that pagan hymns generally express a more individualistic piety, even those originating from a sort of community environment, than is true of Christian hymns. Compare in this respect, e.g., the Orphic Hymn 29:17-30 or 30:8f with any of those snatches from hymns preserved in the N.T. below. The designations given the musical productions of the early church in Col. 3:16 and Eph. 5:19, "psalms", "hymns", and "spiritual songs", may be used by Paul completely without distinction, and so contribute nothing to our understanding of the nature and use of hymns by him in his early letters.

As to the manner in which Paul taught his converts to sing hymns in worship, we know from I Cor. 14:26 that the individual who was endowed and/or quickened
by the Spirit (hence not every Christian who was present) arose in the assembly and presented some "spiritual song" (Col. 3:16), possibly spontaneously, but more probably the product of previous reflection, if not adaptation from another author(s). There is the possibility, too, that the spontaneously delivered hymn, the "spirit-given song", was sometimes in a strange tongue and so was unintelligible to the \( \delta \varepsilon \eta \varepsilon \tau \eta \varsigma \) or "plain man" without an interpreter or translator. But Paul also taught his converts to sing collectively as a group as Col. 3:16 (and Eph. 5:19) shows, "Let the word of Christ dwell in you ( \( \epsilon \mu \nu \alpha \nu \) ) richly, as you teach and admonish one another in all wisdom, and as you sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs with thankfulness in your hearts to God." This congregational singing was dedicated to "spiritual songs" -- those whose origin was due to the creating of the Spirit and whose content embraced "spiritual" matters. They were to sing \( \epsilon \nu \tau \vec{n} \chi ' \omega \nu \tau i \) -- "with thankfulness", or perhaps "pleasantly", "so as to charm both singers and hearers." Further, they were to sing \( \epsilon \nu \tau \vec{n} \kappa \rho \delta \alpha \iota \varsigma \) (or \( \tau \vec{n} \kappa \rho \delta \alpha \iota \) \( \epsilon \mu \nu \alpha \nu \) -- not "purely inwardly", but undoubtedly like the Hebrew \( \mathfrak{b} \mathfrak{r} \mathfrak{b} \mathfrak{r} \mathfrak{b} \mathfrak{r} \mathfrak{r} \mathfrak{r} \mathfrak{r} \) "with all your heart", "heartily". There was to be no dead ritualistic formalism in Pauline worship. No mention is made of choirs or choruses. Greek hymns were sung by choruses composed of girls or boys or \( \epsilon \mu \nu \alpha \nu \delta \alpha \iota \) 

Moreover, Philo describes the singing of hymns in the synagogue in Alexandria. He says that an individual in the audience might rise and sing a new hymn of his

53. Cf. Tertullian, *Apology* 39:18, "Each one present is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from the holy scriptures or one of his own composing."
55. This designation "spiritual" differentiates Christian from heathen hymns. Delling, p. 85.
58. See references in Wilhelm Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 2:695, 28f for boys, 1:450, 4f and 2:662, 13 for girls; and *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3148, 39 and *Inscriptions in the British Museum*, 481, 192 for \( \epsilon \mu \nu \alpha \nu \delta \alpha \iota \). Cited in Delling, p. 82, ns. 29–31.
own or an old one of some one else, but that often (especially at night celebrations) choruses of men and women would sing and accompany their music with appropriate movements of their hands. Such a recital or performance among Pauline Christians was possibly rare, though Rev. 5:8-14 may be an echo of antiphonal praise practised in the early church and testified to by Pliny's Letter to Trajan (Eph. 10:97). Whether such antiphonal response were between leader and people, leader and choir, or choir and people we do not know. Nor do we know a great deal about Paul's use of instrumental music. The word "psalm", which he uses in I Cor. 14:26 and Col. 3:16 (the verb form appears in Eph. 5:19) may imply not only the influence of O.T. models, but may "express the suitability of the songs spoken of to be accompanied with music." Paul nowhere explicitly mentions the use of musical instruments in worship, but his usage of the term "psalm" (a song intended to be accompanied by a musical instrument) and the presence of the zither or harp in the heavenly worship in Rev. 5:8 suggest that he may have employed instruments in his worship services.

59. De Vita Contemplativa 80.
60. There was the O.T. precedent of antiphonal singing in I Chron. 29:20; Ezra 3:11; and Ps. 105:45. Ps. 118:19-29 was probably meant to be sung antiphonally by the Levites and the worshippers. See M. Herold, art. "Antiphon" in Schaff-Herzog, Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, 1:203a. Clement of Alexandria calls the worship service a theios choros -- a form of sacred dramatic song. (Stromata 7:7:49) cf. Origen, Contra Celsum 7:47.
61. At a little later date a favorite method of singing was for a single person to "recite" the hymn, while the congregation, or the choir representing it, simply responded at the end of every verse with a short refrain. Anton Baumstark, art "Hymns (Greek Christian)", ERE 7:5b.
64. See Johannes Quasten, Musik und Gesang in den Kulten der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit, p. 104.
65. For a very forceful statement against the use of instrumental music in the primitive church, see H. Leo Boles, Is Instrumental Music Scriptural? J. M. Nielsen thinks the temple used instruments with singing but that the synagogue method was simpler, being recitative and without accompaniment; the church adopted the latter. The Earliest Christian Liturgy, p. 283.
Happily there are preserved in Paul's letters a few examples of the type of psalms and hymns which he probably introduced to his young churches. Perhaps none of these is actually a complete psalm or hymn. Some are obviously mere fragments which came to mind at writing whenever there was need for some statement of praise to God. Just how frequently he employed the O.T. book of Psalms in worship we cannot tell. He quotes expressly at least 21 times from them in our six epistles, more than from any other O.T. writing except Isaiah — (at least 25 explicit citations) and much in this last prophetic book is of a psalm-like character. But we may be sure that the canonical psalms were utilized in Pauline worship, both spoken and sung (or chanted). For example, in Rom. 15:9ff when he speaks of the Gentiles glorifying God for his mercy, he cites four O.T. passages of praise, the first and third of which are from the Psalms (11:49; 117:1) the other two passages are Deut. 32:43 and Isa. 11:10). He nowhere seems to quote an O.T. psalm alone as praise per se. This may be due to lack of occasion for it in our letters or to accident. But in addition to the plain citation of passages or "stanzas" from the O.T. psalter, there may well have been the practice of blending together psalm-like or poetic O.T. passages to create new psalms. I Cor. 15:54-55 may be a fragmentary example of such, in which Isa. 25:8 is combined with Hos. 13:14 to produce a triplet of (Christian) triumph:

"Death is swallowed up in victory,
O death, where is thy victory?
O death, where is thy sting?"

The passage just referred to in Rom. 15:9-12 is precisely such a praise anthology drawn from four different O.T. sources. Cf. further such praise combinations as Rom. 11:34-35 (Isa. 40:13-14 and Job 55:7, 41:11), I Cor. 2:9 (joining Isa. 64:4 66. Cf. IOC, *ad hoc.*
and II Cor. 6:16-18 (assembling lines and phrases from Ex., Lev.,
Isa., Jer., Ezek., and Hos.).

Somewhat in the vein of the O.T. psalms, but more exalted than most of them,
is Paul's adulation of God and his infinite wisdom in Rom. 11:33-36,
"O the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God!
How unsearchable are his judgments and how inscrutable his ways!

For who has known the mind of the Lord,
or who has been his counselor?

Or who has given a gift to him
that he might be repaid?

For from him and through him and to him are all things.

To him be glory forever. Amen."

This is an example of how a hymn sometimes grows out of the preaching that precedes
it, for the stanza climaxes and closes the thought in the first half of Romans.
It marks a stage beyond that of merely quoting or combining O.T. hymnal passages,
for here Paul (from Isa. and Job) (3) interweaves O.T. lines into the body of a
Christian hymnodic composition — apparently of his own creation. It will be
noted, too, that the O.T. flavor is strong throughout the whole in that no mention
of anything specifically Christian appears; a Jew could easily have used the hymn,
even minus the O.T. additions, as his own in the synagogue.

There are other examples, however, of (4) more thoroughly Christian hymns
in Paul's letters. Foremost among these is

(a) Phil. 2:6-11:
1. "Who being in the form of God,
thought it not robbery,
to be equal with God;"
2. but made himself of no reputation,
   taking upon him the form of a servant,
   and being made in the likeness of men;

3. and being found in fashion as a man,
   he humbled himself
   and became obedient unto death
   even the death of the cross.

4. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him,
   and given him a name
   which is above every name;

5. that at the name of Jesus
   every knee should bow
   Of things in heaven, and things in earth and
   things under the earth;

6. and that every tongue should confess
   that Jesus Christ is Lord,
   to the glory of God the Father."

The arrangement in six stanzas of three lines each is that adopted by Ernst Lohmeyer. The lines are mostly triple-accented. Christ is the theme of the hymn throughout and surely we can truly speak of this passage as a hymn. "The first three stanzas describe the Humiliation; the latter three the Exaltation;

68. In his Der Brief an die Philippfer, pp. 90ff, cf. also his Kyrios Jesus (Sitzungsbericht der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Historische Klasse,1926, Heft 4)

(Footnote 67 is from page 392).
and the whole is exactly divided between these two themes, the second being introduced by the emphatic Wherefore. There can be no question that we have here a highly-finished and exquisitely-balanced work of art; and one so packed with thought that its two sentences suffice to unfold the mighty cosmic drama of Salvation." Is Paul the author? Lohmeyer, Lietzmann, and others think that it represents a tradition in the church older than Paul (perhaps from the hand of some great unknown poet-prophet) and that he may have become acquainted with it through its use in the worship service. Cullmann presupposes an Aramaic basis for the hymn. On the other hand, Stauffer thinks that Paul himself composed the passage as it now stands, though Delling proposes that the apostle may have taken older hymns or hymnal patterns and reworked, expanded, and woven them together to produce the present form. This would demonstrate to what small degree personal and community piety are to be differentiated. How was it used? Both Lohmeyer and Lietzmann associate the passage with prayers at the Lord's supper. This is a likely possibility, since the death and raising up of Christ occupy the center of the hymn's message. But as the Lordship of Christ is the actual climax and goal of the poem, it may well have been used for most any part of the public worship service, especially as the opening or closing hymn. And even more so than its use at the Lord's supper is its appropriateness for usage at a baptismal service, for does not the

69. Macdonald, p. 120.
70. Der Brief an die Philippier, p. 91.
71. Hans Lietzmann, Messe und Herrenmahl, pp. 178ff.
72. A. M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, p. 46; Martin Dibelius, An die Philippier (HNT), pp. 72-82, esp. 72-74.
73. O. Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, pp. 22; Lohmeyer cites the evidence behind this supposition, Kyrios Jesus, pp. 8ff.
74. Ethelbert Stauffer, Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments, p. 97.
candidate share (and dramatically reproduce) the humiliation of Christ's crucifixion and burial and the "exaltation" of his resurrection and ascension when the candidate, dead to sin already (by crucifixion of the flesh) is buried beneath the water in baptism and rises therefrom to sit in heavenly places with Christ? And is it not the moment in the candidate's life when he bends the knee and makes the confession "Jesus is Lord" (the apex of the hymn) his very own? What passage in all the N.T. would have been more fitting to sing or chant or even to recite at this tremendous moment in the new believer's life than this great hymn of Christ's triumph — shared by the believer — in Phil. 2:6-11? Or again, with the confession of Christ's lordship as its glorious finale, the hymn must have lent itself also, to wondrous usefulness by Christian individuals and small groups under threat of severe persecution for refusal to profess Caesar as Kyrios.

Possibly another source for the study of hymns in the early Pauline churches is (b) Col. 1:15-20:

"He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation;
For in him all things were created,
In heaven and on earth,
Visible & invisible,
Whether thrones or dominions,
Whether principalities or authorities —
All things were created through him and for him.
He is above all things, and all things in him hold together.

He is the head of the body, the church;
He is the beginning, the first-born from the dead,
That in everything he might be pre-eminent.

For in him all the fulness of God was pleased to dwell,
And having made peace through the blood of his cross,
Through him to reconcile to himself all things,

Whether on earth
Or in heaven."

This is a highly concentrated Christological passage couched in the most elegant language and embracing some of the most sweeping concepts in human thought. It is altogether likely that a primitive hymn to Christ is at least the foundation of the section, and we may say further that in its present form, it reflects a good deal from Paul's kerygma, if indeed it is not heavily indebted to his preaching. The hymn divides itself into two parts, the first concerning itself with Christ's relation to the universe, the second with his relation to the church. There also seems to be a bit of poetic play with reference to Christ in the phrases "in him", "through him" and "for him" in both sections of the poem. A device consisting of short, balanced phrases is inserted in the very middle of the first part and rounds out the lines of the second, thereby adding poetic variety and musical rhythm to both divisions. Each part may be arranged in eight lines (or possibly six, depending on the treatment of the phrase-device). The accent is only slightly more irregular than the passage in Phil. 2, being more reminiscent of the stress in an O.T. type of psalm. Some scholars hold the poem to be pre-Pauline and to have originated from Jewish materials -- an impossible suggestion. Norden thinks that it stems from some circle of Hellenistic Judaism. Kaesemann holds the passage to be a community homology.

76. See Delling, p. 87.
77. As noted in chapter three, C. F. Burney thinks Col. 1:15-18 is a midrash based on Gen. 1:1.
80. Ernst Kaesemann, "Eine urchristliche Tauffliturgie" in Festschrift fuer Rudolf Bultmann, pp. 156f.
into which a pre-Christian gnostic hymn has been worked. C.A.A. Scott thinks that the fundamental motif behind the hymn — the identification of Christ with the divine wisdom — goes back ultimately to Jesus. But whatever the ultimate origin of certain portions of the material and vocabulary, the arrangement, manner of phrasing, and treatment of ideas is Paul's. The passage seems less stereotyped than Phil. 2:6-11, so that we may accept it with greater confidence as a Pauline hymnal production, or at least Pauline revision if he took it over from one of his communities — say, Corinth with its yen for cosmic "wisdom" speculations. The hymn is of such a majestic nature that its adaptability would recommend it to most any occasion of worship, public or private.

A third example in literature traditionally associated with Paul is (c) Eph. 1:3-14. This section is a "prayer-hymn" or "hymnal prayer" of thanksgiving, constructed of a single sentence with three members (1:3-10, 11-12, 13-14). A thrice repeated refrain, "to the praise of (his) glory", marks the hymn, appearing once in each of the three major sections (vs. 6, 12, 14). The hymn is addressed to God but through Christ. The latter appears in nearly every clause of the work. The phraseology is involved, the thought compact, and the style very exalted. Another hymnodic passage is (d) Eph. 1:17-23. Again, we have a "hymnal prayer" of the single-sentence type of structure, overcrowded with participles, relative clauses, etc. The language, content, and style is much like Eph. 1:3-14. The most famous hymnal passage in this letter, however, is (e) Eph. 5:14:

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82. Delling calls attention to the similarity of the "hymnal prayer" in Apuleius' Metamorphoses 11:2 to that in Eph. 1:3-14 — both single-sentence structures of three members, with participles and relative clauses, etc.; also that of Aelius Aristides' Address to Zeus iiff to the Eph. passage. Delling notes the great difference in content, however: the heathen hymn in Apuleius hopes to attain to a revelation of God, but that in Eph. is addressed to a revealed God; the former stems from desire, the latter from certainty. Op. cit., p. 83, and notes 40 and 41.
"Awake, O sleeper
And rise from the dead,
And Christ shall give you light."

This has long been regarded with certainty as a verse from an early Christian hymn, and it is a widespread opinion that the hymn was originally used at baptismal services as a song of welcome into the new life in Christ for the convert who was just rising from the water. In that case it must have been sung by the congregation present or by a chorus. The verse is introduced by a technical formula of quotation, "Wherefore it says," as though the words were well known to the readers.

In (f) I Tim. 3:16 appears another citation which is likely a hymn, though it is still debated whether it may not be instead a creedal confession. In Pauline literature we may call attention further to such passages as (g) I Cor. 8:34, (h) I Th. 3:8, (i) I Th. 4:16-17, and (j) II Th. 7:6-10a, which have been suggested as hymnal excerpts; also (k) Rom. 8:31-39, "the hymn of the love of God" and (l) I Cor. 13:1-13, "the hymn of the love of man," which also contain a real poetic ring. Some even think that Rom. 8:31-39, I Cor. 13, 88 89

88. See Martin Dibelius, An die Kolosser und Epheser (HNT), pp. 69ff; T.K. Abbott, ICC on Eph., ad loc; E.F. Scott, Epistle of Paul to the Colossians, Philmon, and Ephesians, ad loc.
90. Ernst von Dobschuetz, Die Thessalonicherbriefe, ad loc; cf. George Milligan Commentary on Thessalonians, p. 41.
92. See Dibelius, An die Thessalonicher I-II (HNT), pp. 41-43; J.E. Frame, ICC on Thessalonians, p. 230, 231; Alfred Plummer Commentary on II Thess., p. 20.
93. Eduard Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa, 2:509. It has been contended, however, that the latter two are not hymns. Weinel calls I Cor. 13 a "three-versed Hymn on Love," St. Paul, p. 199.
94. W. H. Raney, The Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Christian Cultus, p. 63. (Raney thinks I Cor. 13 is a community prayer!); Heinrich Weinel, St. Paul, the Man and his Work, pp. 196-197.
the Lord's prayer, and other passages were written to be sung in worship whenever possible.

What of Paul's usage of hymns? What role does he assign them in his effort to create the Christian mind? He uses them as (1) means of worship. Praise to God in song is one of the most powerful expressions of devotion. He employs hymns written as prayers — both thanksgiving (Eph. 1:3-14) and petition (Eph. 1:17-23), as doxologies (Rom. 11:33-35), and as creedal confessions (cf. Phil. 2:6-11), but perhaps most of the hymns which he uses have no other characteristic nor purpose than praise (Rom. 8:31-39; Phil. 2:6-11; Col. 1:15-20). Teaching and learning with Paul are not mere intellectual exercises but are to issue into acts and at the top of these stands grateful praise to God. He also uses hymns (2) to teach. Of nearly all the Pauline hymnal fragments noted above one can say that each is a sort of "creed in verse." Kerygma is the main element in their content. The deeds which God has wrought out in Christ in the "history of salvation" — specifically the death and resurrection — by which new life is granted to men, constitute the factual content of the majority of the hymns which he quotes (Rom. 8:31-39; Phil. 2:6-11; Col. 1:15-20; cf. I Cor. 15:54-55; also Eph. 1:13-14, 17-23; 5:14; I Tim. 3:16). As with his doxologies and eulogies, so with his hymns — he covers the whole gamut of God's creative, sustaining, redemptive, and glorifying work in Christ.

90. See Westcott and Hort, Appendix, 2:319-320, on the poetic form of the Lord's prayer; C. F. Burney, The Poetry of Our Lord, pp. 112f.
91. There are other songs in Rev. (some of the new -- Christian -- ones, 1:4-7; 5:9-14; 12:10-12; 19:1f; 5:8), possibly in The Fourth Gospel (cf. Haney, op. cit., passim), etc.
92. Carl von Weizsaecker infers from the fact that a "psalm" is mentioned alone in I Cor. 14:26 (apart from prayer) that praise was, as a rule, more prominent than prayer in Paul's worship services, AA, 2:259.
93. If Eph. is really Pauline.
93a. Hans Lihtmann notes that the earliest creeds were drawn up in a form resembling very closely that of hymns, Festgabe fuer Adolf von Harnack (1921), pp. 226-242.
94. There was O.T. precedent for the inclusion of the most significant events of the history of salvation -- Israel's "kerygma" -- in formulated statements of praise to God; cf. Neh. 9:6-38; Ps. 135, 136, 147:12-20; etc. See Friedrich Heiler, Prayer, pp. 319ff.
Hymns were a powerful means of preaching and teaching the gospel to his converts, for their continual repetition week after week in the worship services long after the apostle was gone from a community meant that they would be memorized and so held in mind — even though his sermons and discussions might be forgotten or proven ineffective through neglect or misunderstanding. Moreover, though profound, their thought is simple and their content is factual. This factuality and simplicity would recommend them to both ignorant and learned alike. Paul himself recognizes the power of songs and hymns to train his converts when he writes to the Colossians (3:16), "Let the word of Christ (note the expression δ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ) dwell in you richly, as you teach and admonish one another in all wisdom with (by means of) psalms and hymns and spiritual songs ...." That is why he here relies upon the "hymnary" as a means of teaching and exhortation in his absence. The apostle further expects hymns (3) to provide occasion for the exercise of divine gifts (1 Cor. 14:26) — the gift of poetic composition (spontaneously or meditatively) and the gift of rendering them by vocalization or instrumentalization (Col. 3:16; Eph. 5:19) whether privately, collectively, or by an individual or chorus before the congregation. Finally, Paul relies upon singing of hymns (4) to give strength, inspiration, direction, vision, challenge, and courage to Christians, especially in times of adversity, confusion, disappointment, doubt, and persecution. He himself had experienced the powerful uplift and renewal of confidence that accrues from singing hymns, even as a prisoner in a Roman dungeon at darkest midnight (Acts 16:25). He also knew that individual Christians could admonish and bolster the faith of one another by singing hymns together (Col. 3:16). It was not a case of "singing in the dark to keep up courage," but of singing because (and that) the Light of the world had penetrated the darkness and had
reached unto them. Hymns and hymn singing, therefore served Paul both in making and in expressing the Christian mind.

Did the apostle adapt his hymns to his congregations? Possibly so. Rom. 11:33-35 and II Th. 1:7b-10a are used with groups which probably included large Jewish elements. The theocentric (rather than Christocentric) quality of Rom. 11 and the Jewish apocalyptic form of II Th. 1 would appeal to such groups.

Did he further adapt his hymns to the occasions? From what we have observed above the answer is a positive one. It was part of his policy of becoming all things to all men (under all conditions).

IV. Confession of Faith

We have examined already the content and noted briefly the occasions for usage of the primitive creedal confession of faith in the Pauline churches, so that we shall consider at this point only one or two more questions regarding it.

1. The Problem of the Use of a Confession of Faith in the Pauline Worship Services

We have observed elsewhere the possibility of the use of the primitive creed, "Jesus (Christ the Son of God) is Lord" in the worship services of Paul's young churches. This needs closer consideration. If the creed were so used, then likely some evidence of the fact appears in the N.T. and perhaps even in Paul's letters. Was the creed confessed only at baptism and on such occasions where extraneous circumstances demanded it, such as persecution, debate with heretics, attempts to win unbelievers, etc., or was it used perhaps as a regular feature of each assembly for community worship? Was it repeated only on such occasions as called for its confession by individuals, or was it also repeated in unison by the whole worshipping community? Was it ever used perhaps as a sort of pass-word upon entering the company of Christians assembled for worship,
especially at their frequent gatherings for observance of the Lord's supper? Was it repeated daily by the individual Christian in his own private devotions?

The N.T. furnishes us few answers. What clues it does provide point only to the individual's declaration of faith. There is no solid evidence in the N.T. that the creed was confessed by the assembled multitude of Christians in their gatherings for worship, at least not as a separate item of the service. In this status the creed long remained, unused and unintegrated with the other items of worship. As Kelly puts it, "... Even when they (the earliest creeds) found their niche within the liturgy, the function of declaratory creeds proper long remained secondary."

But is that all that we can say on the matter? Though the creed may not have been confessed as such by all at one point in the worship service, still it does appear within the service, not as a separate feature, perhaps but tied in with other parts of the liturgy. Thus, we have just seen its appearance in certain formulas of worship (such as the opening or closing benedictions) and in the elements of praise (certain doxologies, eulogies, and hymns, cf. especially Phil. 2:6-11). Further, it appears in the prayers in Paul's services (cf. I Cor. 1:2, "All who in every place call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ;" 1:9; II Cor. 1:3; II Th. 1:12, etc.), particularly in the opening and closing petitions (e.g., Rom. 1:7 and 16:20), as well as in the preaching and teaching -- the sermons and lessons probably always contained some reference to Jesus as Lord as we have seen in the last two chapters. Moreover, whenever one of his letters reached the congregation addressed and was read and reread in the assemblies -- no doubt their regular worship gatherings -- the hearers' attention would be drawn here and there to the content and usages of the primitive creed, as often as he repeats or alludes to it in his letter. Then, too, 95.

at the observance of the Lord's supper the confession may well have been used in the introductory words addressed to the gathering and in the prayers offered by the leaders presiding (note the "creedal" title Lord in I Cor. 11:23-29), at the table. Indeed, Wilhelm Maurer would derive the early confession from the shout of jubilation offered by the Spirit-possessed at the Lord's supper celebration. To these we possibly ought to add the confessions which occurred in relation to baptism, since such services also carried with them a strong element of worship. And, too, such "first confessions" may have been not infrequently heard from unbelievers in attendance at regular services of worship, who, as the services proceeded, from what they heard and saw became convinced of the reality of Christ's lordship (I Cor. 14:23-25) and so before the service ended, rose and confessed their faith in him as Lord. Thus, the creed takes its place in the Pauline worship service, but probably not as a separate entity.

2. The Relation of Creed, Hymns, and Prayers in Paul

A second problem we have hinted at already: the close relation of the early confession to prayers and hymns. In all three the style and diction are strikingly similar. Certain factors conditioned this kinship, such as motive, common ideas, and background. The three were employed for a common purpose, expressed a common kerygma, and derive their style and diction largely from a common source, namely, the O.T.

V. Workings of the Spirit

The manifestations of the Spirit in the worship service are difficult to treat, because all parts of the service, accurately speaking, are works of the Spirit. Perhaps we should speak of the exercise of spiritual gifts, though

96. Bekenntnis und Sakrament, 1:12.
97. Some see the foundations in Hellenistic literature as well.
again all Christian gifts are derived from the Spirit. Yet in I Cor. 12:7-10 Paul speaks of certain "spiritual manifestations", many of which evidently make their most common appearance during the worship of the community, namely, the utterance of wisdom, the utterance of knowledge, prophecy, discerning of spirits, kinds of tongues, and interpretation of tongues. He lists also three other gifts which probably were not usually (though they probably could be) exercised in a worship assembly, namely, faith, healing, and miracles. For the last half century scholars have been emphasizing the large part played by the Spirit in the worship of early Christianity during its classic period, which came to a close about the time of Paul's death. The church began at Pentecost with an incredible deluge of the Spirit's endowments and activities and these seem to have been continued for several decades. Some very serious and scholarly monographs on the church's worship in this ancient period have overpainted the picture, however, and portrayed the average worship service, especially in a center like Corinth, as a virtual madhouse of emotional frenzy in which bedlam prevailed because unrestrained human passions ran riot -- all in the name of Spirit-inspired functions which were allegedly being exercised by Spirit-filled Christians. To be sure, Paul has to rebuke and regulate the affairs of worship at Corinth because things done in the name of the Spirit were getting out of hand and bringing bad repute on the church (cf. the "madness" of I Cor. 14:23), but the fact that he does so shows that their excesses were exceptional, not

98. Rudolf Bultmann thinks that Paul's concept that all Christians have received the Spirit at baptism contradicts his ideas in I Cor. 12 that Christians have received spiritual gifts which vary in value from person to person (NT, 1:159, 162-163). But Paul nowhere implies that certain Christians have received no spiritual gifts at all, and the conceptions are no more contradictory than, e.g., the fact that all persons capable of acting as human beings have mental capacities (sheer gifts!), but some persons have considerably larger or more specialized mental "gifts" than others.
normative behavior in a worship service. And the same judgment applies to the Thessalonians who went to the other extreme and apparently sought to throttle many of the legitimate activities of the Spirit in worship. Yet Paul makes the possession of the Spirit the test of one's Christian life, "Any one who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him" (Rom. 8:9). And in I Cor. 12:4-6 he speaks of the divine gifts in such a comprehensive way (charismata, diakonias, and energemata) as to imply that all which was said, felt, and done in the worship service was to be ascribed to the Spirit's control. Now wherever the Spirit is at work in the early church, there is liberty (II Cor. 3:17). This liberty is seen quite clearly in the worship of the Corinthians (note especially I Cor. 12-14), though they were expected not to abuse their freedom. The problem of liberty within the areas of the Spirit's manifestations led to the enunciation of one of Paul's most important principles for the education of the Christian mind: that all things are to be done for the "building up" (οἰκοσομοῦν) or edification of the church, both of individuals and of the whole (I Cor. 14:3-5, 26, cf. 12:7). This principle, as we shall see, is both the governor and guarantee of liberty in the exercise of spiritual gifts in worship (and elsewhere).

Paul discusses specifically the problem of the workings or manifestations of the Spirit in worship in I Cor. 12-14. He does so because the situation in Corinth is a problematic one, and hence the existing situation there, as noted above, is not considered normative by him. But his suggestions for the correction of abuses may be taken as indications of what he customarily considers that a Christian service of worship ought to be and do. A qualifying limitation, however, must be added to this assertion: we do not know, even after his corrections, whether or not the total situation in Corinth is typical for all
his churches or whether we have here perhaps a very special situation which even Paul recognizes as such, and so applies his suggestions accordingly. That is, the possibility remains that even his corrective suggestions must be taken as special and exceptional. And the part of Corinthian worship that is most in doubt as to its universality is the curious manifestations of the Spirit. I Cor. 12:28 would seem to imply that God had intended for prophecy, miracles, healings, and tongues to be as much a part of the church's life as apostles, teachers, helps, and governments — if by the clause "God has set some in the church" he intends the universal church and not simply the Corinthian congregation. Yet outside of I Cor. 12-14 Paul never again mentions healings and tongues (even Acts gives relatively little attention to either in connection with Paul; cf. 28:7-8 and 19:6 respectively) and only once does he allude elsewhere to miracles (Gal. 3:5, cf. Acts 15:12; 19:11) and only once or twice to prophecy (Rom. 12:5; I Cor. 11:4-5; cf. Acts 19:6; 21:9).

99 We must look into several of the more significant gifts exercised by these early Pauline converts at worship. Paul claims such gifts as revelation, gnosis or knowledge, prophecy, and teaching as his own (I Cor. 14:6), and indicates that these were also shared by members of his congregation in Corinth (I Cor. 12:8-10 and 14:31, knowledge and prophecy; 14:26, revelation and teaching). There were other gifts, too, such as that of song (as we have seen already) and the gift of tongues, which required for its greatest benefit, the additional

99. See the efforts to classify the spiritual gifts mentioned by Paul in I Cor. 12:4-11, A. J. Grieve, art "Charismata", ENC, 3:369a. T. C. Edwards, Commentary on I Corinthians, p. 314, groups them thus: (1) intellectual power (word of wisdom, word of knowledge), (2) miraculous power (faith, healings, and powers), (3) teaching power (prophecy), (4) critical power (discerning of spirits), and (5) ecstatic power (kinds and interpretation of tongues). Grieve divides them into (1) gifts of power, (2) of sympathy, (3) of administration, and (4) of utterance, Idem.
gift of interpretation. These latter were also gifts possessed by both Paul (I Cor. 14:15, 18, 5) and various Corinthians (14:2ff, 26-28).

1. Teaching

In worship the teaching gift probably came in several forms: exposition of scripture, an address made by some speaker, the reading of an epistle written by the apostle himself, or even the message delivered in the interpretation of some speaker in tongues (cf. I Cor. 14:19). Paul says that when the Corinthians come together for worship each has a "teaching" (didache; "lesson" RSV), and he classifies this gift with the more spectacular charismata such as tongues, interpretations, and revelations. Yet in I Cor. 12:29-30 he seems to imply that these gifts are not actually distributed to every Christian, at least not to all alike in the same degree and manner. Apparently what happened is that each Christian came to the service with a thankful and joyful heart and in a meditative frame of mind. Then during the service several — perhaps many — found themselves desiring to give a brief statement about a problem or subject on which they had been pondering for some time and about the conclusions which they had reached on the matter. Or this desire to share a short "lesson" with the group may have been suggested to the speaker by something in the service, so that it was a rather impromptu bit of instruction. Doubtless most of these lessons centered on Christian doctrine or life. They were regarded as Spirit-prompted.

From the evidence in I Cor. the opportunity seems to have been open to everyone, hence it must have been thought of as something temporary and different from the special and permanent gift of teaching which belonged apparently to only a limited number of persons (cf. I Cor. 12:28,29, "God has set ... teachers". "Are all teachers?"). Col. 3:16, however, might imply that every Christian shared to some extent the didactic gift.

2. Gnosis

In I Cor. 14:6 Paul alludes to "knowledge" (γνῶσις) as though this were one of his modes of communication in worship. Perhaps this is the same as the gift of "the word of guosis" mentioned in 12:8. It may mean simply an intelligent grasp of the gospel, or a divinely given insight into the meaning and implications of some phase of the kerygma, though this latter probably better describes the "sotia" of which Paul speaks so often (I Cor. 12:8, cf. Rom. 11:33, I Cor. 1:17, 19, 20, etc.). Gnosis seems to involve "acquaintance with" and "memory of" a thing; sophia has much to do with "understanding." Gnosis, therefore, involves the ability to get and retain facts—in this case the facts of the gospel message and its multiple meanings. This was not a mere fact of memorization, but a Spirit-given power to remember and hence to know, a power that had not been known in this manner to the individual before. But it is something more than an increase in native ability; it is an increase in knowledge itself. It is not a kind of knowledge that breaks forth eruptingly, beyond the control of the possessor. Nor is its acquisition probably wholly without human effort, though there is an element in its acquisition which human effort alone cannot achieve. It is therefore, a knowledge closely related to faith, and its gravest danger is indulgence in speculation and myth. Thus real (divine) gnosis is not possible without the Spirit (cf. I Cor. 2:11-12, 14). Further, gnosis endangers (at least in Corinth) the fellowship of Christians with one another and with God (cf. I Cor. 4:19; 8:1, 3). Just how gnosis is to be distinguished from revelation is not altogether clear, unless

102. J. Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, p. 300. Weiss distinguishes the "word of wisdom" and "the word of knowledge" in I Cor. 12:8 by referring the former more to the sphere of "didache" and the latter to the "mysterious" and "apocalyptic", Idem.
we conclude that revelation involves the process of learning or knowing what the
divine will and action is, while gnosis concerns more the content of what is
thus discerned. Gnosis, therefore, must have been tied closely to the teaching
in the primitive Pauline churches and their worship.

3. Revelation

It has been contended by some that the revelation of which Paul speaks in
I Cor. 14:6 came to those equipped for this gift, not in the worship service,
but at some time prior. Be that as it may, the revelation was presented to
the group assembled for worship (I Cor. 14:26). The "revelational" act seems
to have been a pneumatic process (I Cor. 2:10; Gal. 1:12; cf. Rom. 16:25), but
the message revealed was presented by the recipient in understandable language
(I Cor. 14:6). Revelations were thus received in the form of spontaneous --
perhaps mysterious -- declarations within the individual's consciousness but
completed only by the recipient's presentation of these declarations in terms
comprehensible to the mind of others. They were spiritually wrought and reason-
able, but differed from teaching and probably from gnosis by their spontaneity.
Revelation is generally received in a single act (cf. I Cor. 14:30), while the
content of teaching belongs to the stream of community tradition (cf. Rom. 6:17;
I Cor. 15:1ff; II Th. 2:15). Yet revelation in its essential content was free
from subjectivity, and where it was not, it probably gave opportunity for the
exercise of that gift which is called "the discerning or discriminating of the
(true from the false) spirits" (I Cor. 12:10). Revelation was uncovering or
making known what formerly was hidden.

The revelations in the early church concern mostly questions about the com-
munity or its life. It might be a disclosure concerning such practical matters
as the choice of missionaries (Acts 13:2), a visit of an individual on behalf
103. Delling, op. cit., p. 35 -- on the assumption that the verb, I Cor. 14:30
refers to prophecy.
of the church (Gal. 2:2), or a glimpse of the future involving the whole cosmos (Rom. 2:5; I Cor. 5:2-3; I Cor. 15:51f). They did not add original material to the content of the basic and historic kerygma. Consequently they did not alter any of the essentials of the Christian faith. Perhaps that was the primary test employed by "discerners of spirits" in their testings of the validity of pronouncements (cf. I Cor. 12:3; I Jn. 4:2-3). Revelations did not concern merely the future (Rom. 8:18; I Cor. 3:13; II Th. 1:7; 2:3-8), but the present (Acts 13:2; Gal. 2:2) and even the past (Rom. 16:25; cf. Eph. 3:3). Apparently "visions" and "revelations" were not altogether synonymous (II Cor. 12:1), probably in that "revelation" is the broader term, not necessarily involving an actual visualization in connection with the message communicated.

4. Prophecy

Prophecy is another gift of the Spirit (I Cor. 12:10). Like teaching, its full effectiveness necessitated an audience of hearers or readers. It was well adapted, therefore, for use in worship. Paul seems to use the term in several different senses: (1) it is not necessarily foretelling the future; (outside of Acts (cf. 21:4, 11) it is possibly not so used in connection with Paul); (2) in I Cor. 14:1-3 it signifies speaking by the impulse of the spirit, words of instruction, warning, and consolation; (3) in I Cor. 14:24 it seems to mean the power of reading men's hearts or minds. By way of summary we may say that prophecy is "preaching the word with power" (cf. I Cor. 14:3, 24). It is the power of seeing and making known the nature and will of God; it is a gift of insight into truth, and power in imparting it. It is, therefore, a didactic gift closely allied with teaching itself, and thus prophets and teachers are

104. As Kirsopp Lake asserts, Beginnings of Christianity, 5:218.
107. Robertson and Plummer, ICC on I Cor., p. 266.
often associated together in the early church (see passages immediately below and Acts 13:1). It was shared by a goodly number of individuals, as its frequency in the N.T. shows. It is always evaluated extremely highly by Paul, appearing first (Rom. 12:6-8) or second (I Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11) in every list of functions and offices associated with his name. Yet its absence from the array of gifts in I Cor. 14:26 is striking, and has led some to speculate that prophesying may have been so despised at Corinth that those who possessed the gift were reluctant to come forward often, but surely so much talk of prophesying and its abuse in I Cor. imply extensive acquaintance with the gift (mentioned some 16 times in some form or other in I Cor. 12-14 and twice more in 11:4-5).

Prophesying posed a genuine problem to the church (as it did to the Israelites in former days), namely, the presence of false prophets who simulated the methods and mannerisms, if not the message, of the true prophets. It may have been the role of "discerners of spirits" to determine the good prophet from the bad. Just what tests were used for this purpose we do not know. We have hinted above that the content of their prophetic message was probably the first criterion. Validity as proven by the passage of time may have been a second test, especially with futuristic prophecies. "Were they specific predictions which did or did not occur?" was the simplest statement of this rule (cf. Acts 11:28; 21:10-11, 33, also 13:6). It is difficult to say what significance personal character of the speaker also may have had in such tests (cf. II Pet. 2:1-22; Jude 4ff).

Prophesying in its broader sense was valuable to the whole community for "edification, exhortation and comfort" (I Cor. 14:3-4). These last three terms indicate the scope of its content and the areas of appeal — mind, will,

108. Ibid., p. 320.
109. Hans Lietzmann assumes that the whole assembled congregation decided which prophetic utterances originated from the Spirit and which did not, An die Korinther I-II (HAT), p. 69.
110. It is interesting to compare this threefold function of prophecy with the threefold function (which he notes in Rom. 15:4) of the O.T. for Christians, namely, instruction, patience, and encouragement.
and emotions, respectively. The familiar manner in which Paul treats prophesying seems to indicate that it occurs often in the worship services, though he does not indicate that it was a part of every service (we have noted its absence from I Cor. 14:26). Instances of futuristic prophecy are extant in Paul's own earlier letters: cf. Rom. 2:16; 8:18ff; 11:25-26; I Cor. 15:22-28, 51-54; II Cor. 5:1ff; I Th. 4:16-17; 5:2-3; II Th. 1:7-10; 2:3-12 et al. Prophecy may well have been one feature of his preaching. To be sure, many of his futuristic "pictures", particularly of the end of the world, are not his own personal prophetic "creations" but are shared, at least in great part, by his predecessors and contemporaries in the faith. This insight into the future added awesomeness and urgency to his message. It put a stamp of finality on his kerygma. It gave a sense of capability to himself as a preacher -- that he could foresee the future and so gave weight to his preaching (and teaching). Yet the fact of his sharing most of these great futuristic visions as common property with other preachers and the church gave him a guarantee against subjectivity and mystical speculation. Perhaps conformity to this shared eschatological message quickly became a test of the truth or falsity of prophets when they spoke of matters falling within the great realm of end-events. There seems to be almost no extant "predictions" in his letters about events involving personal and "secondary" matters, unless his indications about going to Rome (and Spain, Rom. 15:24, 28) or about the offering for the Jerusalem poor (Rom. 15:25; I Cor. 16:3ff; etc.) be so interpreted. Just how much this "predictive" element in these prophecies was due to the keen abilities of these early Christians, studying human nature and the events of history (the O.T. would serve them as a marvelous guide in both these respects), we cannot say. But their gift was no mere natural endowment. It was the Spirit's power that gave them eyes beyond the keenest human insight and superior to the 110a. Compare here Max Warren, "Eschatology and Worship," Theology Today (1950), 6:481-489.
sharpest sensitivity of historians' instinct concerning the future.

Of prophecy in the sense of proclamation of the will of God there is too much evidence in Paul to tabulate. Almost every line contains something of the "edification, exhortation, and comfort" described in I Cor. 14:3 as the function of prophesying. This was a continuation but also a surpassing of the O.T. prophetic tradition. That is, much of what was futuristic "motive" material in all three areas of edification, exhortation, and comfort for the O.T. prophet has become partly realized motivations for the Christian prophet. This means that the latter does not exhort his hearers to repent so as to hasten the Messianic age, but rather because the Messianic era has already dawned (cf. II Cor. 7:1; Gal. 5:25).

There were abuses of the gift of prophesying which were disrupting the church's worship in Corinth. Apparently a prophetic talk lasted only a few minutes, so that a goodly number of different prophets were able to prophesy within the limits of one service, but no sooner had one risen and begun to speak than a second prophet sitting near by was also granted a message by the Spirit, and without waiting for the former to finish, rose and began to speak. Thus two, and sometimes more, were prophesying to the assembly at one time (I Cor. 14:29ff). This confusing situation testifies to the role shared by the congregation and to the freedom prevailing in public worship. Paul suggests that only one prophesy at a time, and if something be revealed to a fellow prophet in the course of another's prophesying, then the former should hold his peace (I Cor. 14: 29-30), for the "spirits" of genuine prophets are subject to the prophets (I Cor. 14:32). This injunction is given in order to insure order, decency, and peace amidst the former confusion in this Pauline church's worship (I Cor. 14:33). It also informs us that this matter of prophesying was no abandonment of the prophet's inner person to uncontrollable and irresponsible ecstasy nor submersion in unconfirmable mysticism;
contrast ἐν πνεύματι of the prophet's speech (Eph. 3:5; Rev. 1:10) with ἐν ἐκστάσει of the visions (Acts 10:10; 22:17). In I Cor. 11:5 Paul makes it clear that women shared in the prophesying in the worship service, and in 14:31 advocates that all persons who desire be permitted to prophesy.

How Paul employs prophecy as a means of educating the Christian mind is partially clear from its very nature. It is a form of teaching. It serves to arouse tremendous interest in his message and even conviction within his hearers (cf. I Cor. 14:24-25). He encourages all who themselves possess the gift of prophecy to exercise it, so that it becomes a means of expression for the faith of many and reaching others through these prophetically endowed converts. However, it has its dangers of subjectivity, necessity of control in its expression, spuriousness which demands the testing of all prophecy, and of creating disunity in the church.

5. Glossolalia

Probably the most difficult of the spiritual gifts to understand is glossolalia. It really involves two gifts, namely, "speaking in tongues" or "kinds of tongues" (glossolalia proper) and "interpreting of tongues." We shall notice both of these.

a. Speaking in Tongues

Whether speaking in tongues is a phenomenon typical of the worship of all his congregations we do not know. Among his letters it appears only in I Corinthians. Just how many references are made to the gift in Acts is a problem not yet wholly


solved. The nature of the gift of speaking in tongues has been variously defined, such as (1) the organ of the physical tongue and its various motions; (2) the rapid repetition of "unusual words" such as "hallelujah", "maranatha", "abba", "amen", etc.; (3) the miraculously given ability to speak in foreign languages when preaching, teaching, or worshipping; and (4) ecstatic speech resulting from the attempt of worshippers to express in human language their experience of divine power in Christ. According to the last view, they were literally creating a new terminology or language to express their new experiences (cf. I Cor. 13:1), but actually it resulted in their utterance of a stream of unintelligible jibberish. Tongues then were unintelligible (except when interpreted) even to the speaker. It is therefore unedifying and unfruitful to the church, though it may have a certain devotional value for the speaker himself — apparently by his attitude of ecstatic devotion, but not by conscious reception or expression of ideas — (I Cor. 14:3, 4, 17, 28), and it may function as a positive sign (of the marvelous divine power in the performer?) to any unbeliever who might be present at the service (14:22) though it may also have an adverse effect on the unbeliever (14:24-25). It is unintelligible because, unlike prophecy, it is addressed to God and not to men (I Cor. 14:2-3), and so is a gift inferior to prophecy (14:4-5). The utterance of the speaker in tongues is not a sermon or a lesson, but (being devotional) is a prayer or a psalm (I Cor. 14:13-15) or a thanks-giving (14:16). Paul himself practiced speaking in tongues a great deal (14:18),

113. So H.A.W. Meyer, Commentary on I Corinthians, 14:2; see J. Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, pp. 335ff.


116. Cf. J. Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, pp. 335-339; the above theory is discussed on pp. 337-338.

117. Cf. Delling, op. cit., p. 44.


and refused to forbid the exercise of this sometimes troublesome gift (14:5, 39), yet he is aware of the limits of its inherent value (he names it last with its adjunct "interpretation" in the several lists of spiritual gifts in I Cor. 12:8-10, 28, 29, and 14:26), and so cautions his converts at Corinth about its dangers and the circumstances surrounding its most effective usage.

As in the case of prophecy, so with speaking in tongues, several persons were often found to be speaking at the same time during the service. Since tongues were not intelligible the result was a senseless babble of sounds and confusion. To an outsider it presented an appearance of madness (I Cor. 14:23). Paul begins suggested corrections by setting a limit to the number of those allowed to speak in tongues during a single worship service — "two or at the most three" (14:27). These are to speak one at a time. If no interpreter is present, they are not to speak at all (14:28). Thus he extracts (119) some semblance of regulation out of the turbulent chaos and gives a certain order to the service.

As to the value of tongues for educating the Christian mind, it had almost wholly a personal impact. It was "a sort of spiritual soliloquy" addressed partly to self and partly to God. Its value for others hinged almost wholly on an interpreter. Only part of the congregation possessed the gift (12:30), and since it was impossible to share it (without an interpreter) with those who did not possess it, its educational value was greatly restricted. This means that it was quite unlike all the other spiritual gifts in that its limitations made it largely individualistic and even self-centered (cf. "let him speak to himself and to God", 14:28). It is not surprising, therefore, that the exercise of this extraordinary gift in public worship was probably short lived. The danger in its usage lay

119. Bultmann thinks that Paul regards the speaker in tongues as the "Spirit-endowed" par excellence, ¶ 1:158.
120. Robertson and Plummer, I Cor., p. 306.
in the fact that it was more for display than for edification. Its value was as
a private devotional medium; it was an outlet of the "spiritual emotions". It
also acted as a sort of sign to the unbeliever of the mysterious presence and
power of God — but only if one speaker spoke at a time (14:22-23). Paul's
evaluation of the gift is that in church he had rather speak five words with his
understanding than myriads of words in a tongue — "that I might teach others
also" (14:19).

b. Interpretation of Tongues

This gift was dependent entirely on the occasions when someone spoke in
tongues, so that its exercise in worship is the most restricted of all the spirit-
ual endowments. Its meaning hinges on the meaning of the gift of tongues, but
whatever its precise nature, its prime function was to make known in intelligible
language the message contained in the psalm, prayer, or thanksgiving of the speaker
in tongues. After each glossolalia speaker has finished, Paul advises that if
an interpreter is present he rise and give the message contained in the speaker's
cryptic words.

Its value for training the Christian mind is obviously greater than the gift
of tongues, but apparently severely limited by virtue that the number of accredited
interpreters was very small; sometimes there was none in attendance at the service
(I Cor. 14:28). The interpretation was more like a lesson in comprehensible
language and so of mental and moral value to all.

What shall we conclude as to Paul's overall view and usage of the spiritual
gifts among his converts? First, he regards them as wholly supernatural endow-
ments (and not, apparently, as natural gifts raised to an extraordinarily high power).
Secondly, like all other gifts, they are not necessarily de facto guarantees of
moral and spiritual advancement in the possessors themselves. "It seems to be clear
that these endowments, although spiritual, did not of themselves make the possessors of them morally better. In some instances the reverse is the case; for the gifted person was puffed up and looked down on the ungifted. Moreover, the gifts which were most desired and valued were not those which were most useful, but those which made most show."

Thirdly, their prime purpose is to build up the church (I Cor. 14: 4, 5, 12) by edification (teaching), exhortation, and comfort (14:3, 19, 31) of one member by another (12:25). That is, they are (educational) means not ends in themselves. Hence, fourthly, the spiritual gifts are to be exercised in decency and orderliness in the services of worship (14:40) because God is not a God of confusion but of peace (14:33). Fifthly, the final and sure test of the origin and value of a spiritual gift is, Does it promote the glory of Jesus Christ? (cf. 12:3; 14:33).

VI. Reading of the Scriptures

It has been generally assumed by scholars that in the early church the O.T. scriptures were read regularly in the gatherings for worship, much as was the custom in the Jewish synagogue. But recently this assumption has been challenged as being without real foundation in fact, since the N.T. contains no mention of O.T. scripture readings in (either Gentile or Jewish) Christian worship services. Further, it is contended that not a single sermon from the missionary preaching in the N.T. is based on an O.T. text, but rather the "proof-texts" are simply introduced into the course of the sermons as more or less auxiliary or ancillary parts.

123. See Friedrich Heiler, Prayer, p. 306.
125. Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, 4:145-171, Adolf von Harnack however, thinks that private reading of the O.T. was an important factor in promoting biblical knowledge in the first century, Bible Reading in the Early Church, pp. 32ff, 47. On a very early reading of gospel material at the worship services, see Walter Bauer, Der Wortgottesdienst deraeltesten Christen, p. 54; against it, see Paul Glaue, Die Vorlesung heiliger Schriften im Gottesdienste, pp. 23ff.
126. So Gerhard Delling, op. cit., pp. 89ff.
It is contended that Paul himself completely renounces a written authority (even written collections of Jesus' words and deeds) because his preaching does not rest on men. That is, for him the decisive factor in the matter of the Christian "tradition" is not formal and outward authority but inner and faith-regulated authority. But this position is not only false but dangerous. Whether he used a written O.T. (and gospels) or not, he certainly uses written epistles (which he himself wrote) and he fully intends their instructions, commands, exhortations, and promises to carry an authority all their own (cf. Col. 4:16). Indeed, he expects the very lives and conduct of his readers to be molded by the external authority of these letters. This is a very effective aspect of this epistolary teaching device as he applies it, for example, to the Corinthians -- he embodies his own authority in the letter which he writes, and if that is set aside or disregarded, he warns that he will appear in person to wield his personal authority for chastisement or commendation as needed (I Cor. 4:21). If he so treats the words of his own letters, which he does not regard as scripture, how much higher "authority" does he attach to the O.T. writings. Further it is a false distinction to speak of the O.T. as an "external" authority over against his own "inner" authority, as if the two were altogether hostile and irreconcilable. Moreover, the observation that Paul failed to use the O.T. as a textual starting point in sermons is based on the absence of sermons in Acts to Christian audiences. It is just as true to say that there are no sermons to Christians in Acts not based on the O.T. But homiletic fragments from at least two sermons may be extant in his letters which are probably so based: Rom. 1-3, (cf. 1:17 a quotation of Hab. 2:4) and 9-11 (cf. 9:6-7, a statement (or idea) involving the whole O.T.; note the very expression "the word of God", which certainly refers at least to that preserved

127. Ibid., p. 92.
128. A fact that Delling is forced ultimately to recognize, p. 94.
in the O.T.). Furthermore, there may be evidence in Paul's own letters of the reading of the O.T. in the church worship service. In II Cor. 3:14 he mentions the reading of the "old covenant" by the Jews; this could indicate private reading, but more likely the reference is to public reading or both. In II Cor. 3:15 he writes, "Yes, to this day whenever Moses is read a veil lies over their minds; but when a man turns to the Lord the veil is removed." The latter part of the verse obviously has Jewish Christians in mind, and seems to imply that now when Moses is read, the veil is removed. Since few individuals, even among Jews would possess a copy of the "old covenant", the reference probably is to public reading of these writings in the church services. Again, in Gal. 4:21 Paul writes, "Tell me, you who desire to be under the law, do you not hear the law?" These words seem to "presuppose a Torah-reading" in the community gatherings. Delling seeks to nullify the force of these words by pointing out that Paul is here trying to prevent these very addresses from putting themselves under the law, but this still does not deny that these Gentilic Christians were accustomed to "hearing" the law -- presumably in a public gathering, and further, Paul does not forbid their continuing to do so! He desires only to bring them into a proper understanding of what they read or hear. It is also objected that such reference as II Cor. 3:14-15 and Gal. 4:21 occur only in the four great Pauline letters and so he uses the O.T. only in communities standing over against Jewish-Christian influences (Rom., Cor., Gal.); but these are all predominantly Gentilic churches (unless Rome is an exception) and so points up for us what was apparently a custom

129. op. cit., p. 90.
130. L. G. Champion thinks that Paul's use of LXX vocabulary in his liturgical formulas (which he took over from Christian worship services) indicates that he used the LXX in worship, but it is correctly observed also that this may be due only to Paul's memory of LXX vocabulary (Champion, Benedictions and Doxologies in the Epistles of Paul, cited by Delling, op. cit., p. 91).
in Pauline worship services, namely, the reading of the O.T. even before Gentile Christians. To be sure, we have not proven its usage, but neither has anyone disproven it! It has been asserted that even in the synagogue the Greek version was not read but recited from memory. If this is true, the practice may well have been continued in the early Pauline churches. It is possible that a policy of using only extracts from the O.T. was followed. These extracts were the Testimonies which we have discussed previously, and it may well be that these passages were read from memory and committed to memory on the part of the audience by virtue of their frequent repetition. But more probably extensive passages were simply read from the LXX itself to the assembled community, probably accompanied by a brief running commentary. How else can we account for Paul's supposition of a fairly extensive and intimate knowledge of the O.T. contents on the part of the readers of his letters, and even some acquaintance with rabbinic exegetical methods as in I Cor. 10 and Gal. 4? The O.T. was the substructure of his kerygma and he possesses no Marcionite hatred for it as contradictory to the Christian gospel. His opposition was to its legalism, or at least its legalistic treatment -- and he even quotes the O.T. to prove his case against its legalistic usage! The whole matter constitutes a highly complex and difficult problem involving his views and usage of the O.T. in his own life and thought as well as in his teaching and ministry.

133. Krister Stendahl contends that a first-hand serious study of the O.T. itself, and not simply "testimonial extracts" from it, underlies the approach to and use of the O.T. in Matthew, The School of St. Matthew, pp. 34-35, 217. Something of the sort may well have been true, though on a much smaller scale, in Paul's congregations.
A second problem is the position occupied by reading of the scriptures in the order of the worship service. We can be fairly certain of only one or two matters — it probably came before the address or exposition, which may often have been based on or at least somehow related to the scripture reading; therefore, it most probably preceded the Lord's supper. Its relation to prayer will be noticed elsewhere.

VII. Preaching

Was there something like preaching in the worship services of Paul's Gentile congregations? We have assumed elsewhere that there was. He speaks in his letters of preaching (present tense) to his converts, as though the term is not meant to describe only the initial presentation of the gospel to new hearers (I Cor. 1:23; 9:16; 15:11; II Cor. 4:5; Gal. 2:2; Col. 1:28). The synagogue already had the custom of following the last scripture reading with a paraphrase which generally was a sort of talk or lesson consisting of exegetical content, and then some sort of address if a speaker were present. Paul frequently used the custom in synagogues to introduce his message. The heathen world also had its "preaching" in hymns, and aretology, but the latter, that is, the philosophic lecture on virtue, was probably never delivered in a context of worship. It is more than probable that the synagogue preaching-lecture is carried over by Paul into the church's worship. It is possible that the "lesson" which he mentions in I Cor. 14:25 may be related to this community preaching, as well as the "prophesying" of 14:1. The duty of "admonishing" the members of a congregation, which rests especially with the leading authorities (I Th. 5:12), is also very probably a part of or a reference to one of the functions of early preaching. Thus the "prophets" and "teachers" (I Cor. 12:28) likely shared the privilege before the church, and especially the "evangelists"
As to the content of Paul's own preaching in his early churches, our letters furnish ample evidence. Apart from monotheism, spirituality of God, and the basic expectation of high morality in light of a final judgment his preaching shares surprisingly little with that of the synagogue. It really runs counter to much in Jewish homiletics, e.g., Jesus as the Messiah, the church as the continuing successor to Israel and the present rejection of the Jews, the abrogation of the Mosaic law, views on marriage—celibacy, access of the Christian to the mind and will of God, the role of the spirit in the realization of Christian ethics, and the RE-turn of Christ. These and other important ideas have little in common with the preaching of the synagogue. Nor does it have very close affinities with heathen proclamations apart from certain superficialities of style and occasional terminology.

The "sermon" is the intellectual high point of worship in Paul's churches, but his reliance in preaching is equally strong on the will and emotions as his letters reveal. Appeals, threats, commands, promises, predictions, and questions all lie side by side in his preaching-lectures with the simple indicative. Some of his most effective training of the Christian mind was done in such preaching in his profound, moving, challenging, and searching type of heart-to-heart personal "talks" to his converts delivered in the midst of the community worship services. His sermons injected a note of intellectualism into the worship which rescued the service from any inclination to over-emphasis on emotionalism, ritualism, or sacramentalism. His sermons to Christians, as reflected in the homiletic passages in Rom. 1-11 and I Cor. 1-3, 15, etc. were in line with his admonition that his converts "in thinking be mature" not childish (I Cor. 14:20).
VIII. Prayer

1. Influences on Paul's Prayers

Prayer is one of the major items of the primitive Christian worship services. We need to know what factors influenced Paul's use of prayer in worship in his efforts to develop his converts in their life in Christ.

a. Pagan Influences The heathen Greek prayer liturgy used in public worship consisted of two parts. In the first, the priest pronounced the various and numerous names of the deity (or deities) to be addressed; in the second, the various requests to the god(s). Both parts were interrupted by short prayer calls directed to the people. There is no trace of infiltration from this pagan prayer-liturgy in the use of prayer in Christian worship. Perhaps the nearest approach to this sort of procedure in Paul is his request for prayer in his letters to the various churches.

b. Jewish Influences There are, however, several Jewish influences in Paul's prayers, especially from the O.T. These lie not only in vocabulary and arrangement of material within the prayers, but the attitude of the supplicant and even occasionally the thought content of the petitions. But again, there are also fundamental differences which outweigh the similarities such as the relating of prayer to Christ and the Spirit, the adopting of an attitude of thanksgiving for divine promises now realized rather than one of beseeching for their future fulfilment, the freedom of any individual to express himself in prayer during the congregational worship services, etc.

c. Christian Influences The impact of the primitive Christian view of prayer on Paul is clear. He directs the address in his prayers to God as the

\[134\] Cf, especially I Kings 8:15-53; Dan. 3:9-4ff; also in the Apocrypha: Tobit 3:13ff; Judith 9:16; I Macc. 4:30ff. But see E.T. von der Goltz, *Das Gebet in der seltesten Christenheit*, pp. 107f., on the absence generally of Jewish terms and ideas in Paul's prayers.
Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (Rom. 1:8; II Cor. 1:3, cf. Col. 1:3; Eph. 1:3) and speaks his prayers through Christ (Rom. 1:8). He utters the "amen" (to prayers?) also through Christ (II Cor. 1:20). He prays through or in the Spirit (I Cor. 14:15). The Spirit (and Christ) intercedes to God in his prayers with sighs too deep for words (Rom. 8:26-27), thus the Spirit is regarded as the source and inspiration of his praying (Rom. 8:15-16; Gal. 4:6). Things which he formerly prayed for as a Jew — features of the coming Messianic era — he now already shares and so he offers thanks for their present fulfilment in Christ: deliverance from the power of sin (Rom. 6:17-18) and the law (Rom. 7:25), victory over sin and death (I Cor. 15:57), resistance against Satan (Rom. 16:20), fellowship with and in God's Spirit (II Cor. 13:14; Phil. 2:1), and membership or citizenship in the kingdom of God (Phil. 3:20; Col. 1:13). Paul owes the spirit, content, purpose, and motivation of his own prayer-life to Christian influences.

2. Externals

There are several matters concerning prayer which make only a peripheral contribution to the development of the Christian mind yet ought to be noted. As to (a) posture in prayer, we can say very little. In the O.T. there are four postures: 1/ standing (Gen. 18:22; I Sam. 1:26); 2/ sitting (II Sam. 7:18, though a doubtful instance); 3/ kneeling (I Kgs. 8:54; Ps. 95:6; Dan. 6:10); and 4/ prostration (Num. 16:45; I Kgs. 13:42). In case of Paul we can vouch for only kneeling (Acts 20:36; 21:5; Phil. 2:10; cf. Eph. 3:14) and possibly prostration (cf. I Cor. 14:25), though Jesus had authorized standing to pray (Mk. 11:25). In the O.T. the hands were: 1/ lifted up (Ps. 63:4) and/or 2/ spread out (Ex. 9:39; Is. 1:15). In the NT only the former of these customs is mentioned (I Tim. 2:8). The matter of (b) the direction of the body in prayer shows a break of Christians with tradition. Orientals generally faced
It has been suggested that Christ's ascent (Acts 1:12) and parousia (Matt. 24:27) are connected with the east and so Christians would be expected to pray faced towards that direction, but the whole N.T. never relates prayer with any special geographic location or direction. It is the attitude of the heart and not the specific direction of the body that matters. As to the connection of (c) fasting to prayer, we may observe that fasting plays only a minor role in primitive Christianity. It is reported first in Antioch (Acts 13:2-3), not in the primitive community in Jerusalem. Yet Paul does employ it upon certain outstanding occasions, such as ordination of elders in Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch (Acts 14:21, 23). In these instances it is joined with prayer. He again connects the two in I Cor. 7:5, but only in relation to individuals. In II Cor. 6:5 and 11:27 he also relates the two with reference to himself. He and the whole N.T. seem to know nothing of community fasting. The practice was thus confined from the beginning. There is the possibility that a trace of abstinence from sexual intercourse in relation to prayer is seen in Paul in I Cor. 7:5. Whether this is thought of in connection with private or family or community prayer we cannot say. In relation to (d) times and places of prayer, Paul provides little guidance beyond recommending an attitude of continuous prayer (I Th. 5:17; cf. Eph. 6:18), which includes all times and places.

3. Internals

Of much greater significance than the outer forms are the "inner" matters of prayer. Foremost is that of (a) the attitude of the supplicant. Among Greeks generally and often among Jews this attitude was one of self-seeking.


137. Cf. Theognis 171ff.
which often made prayer little more than magic. Greek philosophy criticized this attitude because of its primary concern with externals. Thus for the pagans, prayer sprang from a concept of God that reduced both petitioner and players in a game who seek to outwit one another. Christians pray from a child-like sense of absolute trust in God as Father, not demanding but confident that God will provide "the good." Another aspect of the Greek attitude toward prayer was uncertainty, which is seen in such matters as the many titles used in the addresses in prayer, etc. In Paul the attitude concerning prayer is one of the utmost unselfishness, for he has trained his congregations in united prayer. For him group prayer is an essential expression of the individual and community worship life. The intercessions for which he asks in his epistles he expects, not only from individuals but from the entire assembled community (cf. I Th. 5:25; II Th. 3:1; Col. 4:3). And even his requests to the churches for prayer about matters pertaining to himself are not simply for the benefit of himself or those close to him, but for the profit of the whole church (cf. Rom. 1:10-12; 15:30-32; Col. 4:3). His demands for incessant prayer conceive of the community as outwardly separated but inwardly bound together by a chain of prayer (I Th. 5:17). When the individual Christian prays, therefore, he does so as part of and for the benefit of a group — the church. Pagans and Jews employed group prayer, but knew little of its advantages and power. Heathen prayer seems to

138. See examples of prayer as magic by which the supplicant more or less "tricks" and compels the gods in granting his requests in Karl Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae, 1:26 (Pap. II, 88ff. Hymn to Apollonius) and 2:139f (Pap. XVII b, Hymn to Hermes); also Johannes Leipoldt, art. "Gebet und Zauber im Urchristentum" in Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte, 54:1-11.

139. Cf. Plato, Phaedrus 279 b, c; Euthyphro 14 b.

140. Apuleius, Metamorphoses 11:2.

Iwo known no request which releases man from his individuality (or singularity) and egocentricity, but in Christ this request is supplied in the prayer for the kingdom (Matt. 6:33) or the gospel (Col. 4:3).

Equally important as the attitude of the petitioner is (b) the content of the prayer. Among the pagans, prayer was generally intended to secure some material benefit or some almost completely personal advantage. In Paul (and the N.T. generally) it is quite otherwise. Foremost in the prayers uttered in his congregations are 1/ prais e and thanksgiving. Unlike the thanksgivings in pagan prayers, which were spoken out of fear of losing the deity's good favor or out of hope of gaining further favor, Paul offers thanksgiving because of what God has done in Christ apart from ulterior motives. The boundary between praise and thanksgiving is fluid so that distinction is not always kept. Paul considers the goal of all apostolic work to be the "increase of thanksgiving, to the glory of God" (II Cor. 4:15). He even commands that thanks be made in all the prayers of his converts (I Th. 5:18; Phil. 4:6; Col. 4:2). Examples of his expression of thanks in his community prayers are preserved in the prayers in the introductory sections of his letters (Rom. 1:8; I Cor. 1:4ff; I Th. 1:2ff; II Th. 1:3; cf. Phil. 1:3-5; Col. 1:3-5). More of Paul's prayers are devoted to thanksgiving than to petition. Even his performance of the most practical and menial tasks was to evoke more and more thanksgiving to God. The prime instance of this is his raising the monetary fund for the poor saints in Jerusalem: "For the rendering of this service (the fund-raising) not only supplies the wants of the saints but also overflows in many thanksgivings to God" (II Cor. 9:11-12). The main object, content, and motive of this tremendous thanksgiving in prayer is the gift of God to men in Christ, particularly the gift of divine love in

142. See Paul Wendland, Die hellenistisch-romische Kultur, pp. 107, 413f; Heller, Prager, 68-69, 85.
143. Cf. Rom. 6:17; 7:23; I Cor. 15:57; II Cor. 2:14, etc.
Christ's death and resurrection (Rom. 7:25; I Cor. 1:4; 15:57; II Cor. 9:15). This fact must have come out clearly at the prayers of thanksgiving uttered at the Lord's supper for the loaf and cup, emblems of the body and blood which constitute the great gift (I Cor. 11:24-25). It is probably the absence of thanksgiving which defines the "unworthy manner" of partaking that profanes the body and blood at the supper (I Cor. 11:27). One of the simplest repeated prayers in Paul is the expression of gratitude: "Thanks be to God" (Rom. 6:17; 7:25; I Cor. 15:57; II Cor. 2:14; 8:16; 9:15). Paul often and readily expresses thanks for concrete achievements in the lives and communities of his converts: for their acceptance of the gospel (I Th. 2:13); their faith (Rom. 1:8; I Th. 1:3; II Th. 1:3-4; Col. 1:4), their gifts from God (I Cor. 1:4-5), their labor (I Th. 1:3), their loyalty (II Th. 1:4), their sharing (Phil. 1:5), and their love (Col. 1:4).

Again, essential elements in Paul's prayers are 2/ petition and intercession. Judging from the fragmentary prayers preserved in his letters it seems most probable that petition and intercession generally succeeded praise and thanksgiving, or perhaps were spliced between opening and closing sections of praise and thanksgiving. Paul recognizes the role of petitions when he writes the Philippians, "Let your requests be made known to God" (4:6). In pagan prayers used at public worship the welfare of the state was a prime petition, included for the benefit of the rulers and people. This is true too of Paul in Rom. 13:1ff (cf. I Tim. 2:1ff; also I Clement 60:4-61:2), but for a different reason, namely, to expand the sovereignty of God, not merely for the welfare of men (cf. "For there is no (civil) authority except from God," Rom. 13:1). In his earlier letters his petitions and intercessions center about himself and associates, his converts, the

144. J.M. Nielsen would apparently derive the expression from Christian rather than Jewish (or pagan) sources; cf. on. cit., p. 401.
145. See Dittenberger, on. cit., 1:352, 7f.
whole church, and God. The personal nature of all four categories is at once striking. As to a/ himself he prays: for his health and welfare (Rom. 15:30), for the realization of forth-coming visits to his converts (Rom. 1:10; 15:32; I Th. 3:10-11), for deliverance from enemies (Rom. 15:31; II Th. 3:2), for the success and acceptance of his fund-raising campaign (Rom. 15:31), and for his success in preaching the gospel (II Th. 3:1; cf. Col. 4:4). As to b/ his converts, he petitions: for them to be filled with knowledge of God's will and wisdom (cf. Col. 1:9, 11), for the directing of their hearts to God (II Th. 3:5), for them to be strengthened (cf. Col. 1:11), for their improvement (II Cor. 13:9) and maturity (cf. Col. 4:12), for them to be worthy of the Lord (cf. II Cor. 13:7; Col. 1:10) and of God's call (II Th. 1:11), for their comfort (II Th. 2:17), for their sanctification by God (I Th. 5:23), and for spiritual fruitage to attend them (Rom. 15:12; Gal. 6:16; I Th. 3:12-13; 5:23; II Th. 1:11; 2:17; 3:5, 16; Phil. 1:11; Col. 1:10). As to c/ the church, he prays: for the spread of the gospel (II Th. 3:1; Col. 4:3-4) and for the unity of all the churches (Rom. 15:5-6). 146

As to d/ God, he prays: for Christ's return (I Cor. 16:22 (maranatha); cf. I Th. 5:13; 5:23; Phil. 1:10) and for the glorification of Christ's name in his converts (II Th. 1:12).

We note a lack of specific intercessory prayers for his helpers and for the sick, suffering, etc. However, such intercessions seem to underlie a passage like Phil. 2:27-28, where he recounts God's mercy on himself and his readers in restoring Epaphroditus from his illness; and, wherever he assures his converts that he remembers them in prayer night and day (I Th. 3:10; 5:17), we may be sure that intercessions for all the needy occupied a foremost position (cf. II Cor. 1:11). That his converts knew this, may be the reason for his failure to mention it.

Then, too, the working of miracles (Rom. 15:18-19); I Cor. 12:3-10, 28-30) may have

had some effect here. Some have noted a second lack in his prayer requests and intercessions, namely, for unbelievers. But pleas for these persons are included in his prayer for the furtherance of the gospel (cf. II Cor. 1:11; II Th. 3:1 and Col. 4:3-4; also Eph. 6:19) and in his intercession for his persecutors (cf. Rom. 12:14; I Cor. 4:12) and enemies (Rom. 15:31; II Th. 3:2). In Rom. 10:1 he prays explicitly for the salvation of the Jews, his own race, who were part of the outside unsaved world.

We encounter a problem at this point as to whether Paul's prayers in public worship include also a confession of sins. There is, apparently, no evidence that they do. Macdonald concludes otherwise, but is unable to find any evidence for his position in the entire N.T. It is of course possible that its absence is purely accidental.

c. Purpose of Prayer

Paul nowhere defines the purpose of prayer but it is clear that for him it is primarily worship, or means of expressing a sense of worship to God both by the individual and the community (cf. Rom. 15:6, "May God ... grant ... that together you may with one voice glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ"). Further, it is not for the purpose of changing the will of God but to aid in discovering what the will of God is (Col. 1:9; 4:12; cf. Rom. 15:32; I Th. 5:17-18). Finally, it also enables Christians to do the will of God as they know it (II Cor. 13:7; Col. 1:11).

4. Opportunities and Occasions for Prayer

When does Paul encourage the use of prayer by his converts? Apart from such general admonitions for them to pray "without ceasing" (I Th. 5:17) or "at all times" (Eph. 6:18), he seems to expect them to provide for prayer in more concrete ways and situations. He certainly uses it in (a) the community gatherings. All the prayers extant in his letters were of course intended to be read in such gatherings, and this raises the question as to where the prayers usually came in Christian public worship services. In the synagogue the prayer usually occurred after the scripture reading (with the appended doxology) and address or sermon. If the early Christians adopted the general synagogal order of worship then Paul probably trained his converts to conduct their worship accordingly. Justin Martyr, some 80 years later, indicates that this was the order adopted in his day — but 80 years in the early church with all its fluidity and transiency is a very long time and many changes in such incidentals may well have occurred. Moreover, prayer was not confined merely to one period in the service but the very opening and closing expressions of worship, were prayers of invocation and benediction respectively. In fact every part of Christian community worship contains prayer. We have noted already the new contribution of the early church to the concept of prayer by insistence on its community aspect. Paul shares this emphasis. Whether there was silent prayer in Paul's church assemblies we do not know.

There is also the matter of (b) private prayer, about which the whole N.T. surprisingly says almost nothing. In I Cor. 7:5 Paul, in giving advice on marriage, suggests that husbands and wives should not withhold their mutual conjugal rights from one another "except perhaps by agreement for a season, that you may devote

149 Macdonald thinks that this was "the invariable order in early worship", a rather dogmatic assumption, op. cit., p. 89.
yourselves to prayer." It is possible that this passage refers to some kind of public prayer service attended by the entire Christian community, but it seems more natural to take it as referring to personal devotions, or at least of prayer by no more than husband and wife. How often this practice occurred we have no information. Christians doubtless were expected to pray daily, and more probably several times a day, hence Paul's admonitions to continue prayer.

The practice of expressing (c) thanks in prayer at meals seems attested by Rom. 14:6, "He also who eats, eats in honor of the Lord, since he gives thanks to God." Of course this custom of giving thanks in prayer would apply before partaking of all food, whether at meal-times or not. It has been suggested that I Cor. 10:26, "For the earth is the Lord's, and everything in it" (from Ps. 24:1; cf. 50:12) may contain words used in a blessing before meals in private homes.

There is also the probable employment of prayer in (d) preaching by the apostle. This would be true especially of the opening and closing sections of his homiletic addresses, as we may infer from the format of his letters (in most of which a prayer stands at the beginning and end), and at the conclusion of certain major sections within his letters. Thus, Rom. 1-8 and 9-11 close with doxological and devotional lines (8:31-39; 11:33-36) and I Th. 1-3 and 4-5 are both climaxed by benedictional prayers (3:11-13; 5:23-24). The same applies also to II Th. 1-2 and 3 (2:16-17; 3:16). That is, both didactic and hortatory sections of I and II Th. close with prayer (cf. the plea for prayer at the close of the

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A sort of all-night prayer vigil.

Such advice is not specifically Christian in origin; see examples from Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Naphtali 8, Ketimboth 61 b, and Jebamoth 62a in J. Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, p. 174, n.4; Hans Liethmann, An die Korinther I-II (HBT), pp. 29-30 lists other parallels both Jewish and pagan.

See the command of the Didache (8:2-3) to pray thrice daily: morning, noon, and evening.

James Moffatt, Commentary on I Cor. p. 143. Expressing thanks in prayer at meals was an old Jewish practice of long standing; see chapter I, p. 19.
hortatory section in Rom., 15:30-33), as though he is falling easily into an old habit in his dictation.

Then, too, prayer is cast into the form of (e) songs and hymns in early Pauline churches, as we have seen previously in our study, cf. Rom. 8:31-39; Eph. 1:3-14, 17-23. And we may recall also, the suggestion that the Lord's prayer was intended to be sung in the worship of the early church. The elements most prominent in these hymnal prayers are thanksgiving and doxology. In all three passages in Rom. 8 and Eph. 1, the person of Christ and the historic facts of the kerygma, centering in the death and resurrection of Jesus, are the core of the eucharistic prayers (note especially Rom. 8:33-34; Eph. 1:7 and 1:20 in the three hymns just noted respectively). But there is also petition in these hymns, particularly in Eph. 1:17-23, which is introduced as a prayer (v. 16) for wisdom and revelation (1:17) and for knowledge concerning the Christian hope and inheritance (1:18) as well as for the power of God (1:19).

Prayer found a special role in the ancient church at (f) the Lord's supper. There were expressions of "thanksgiving" for the loaf and the cup, thus these were literally "eucharistic" prayers. Jesus set the precedent here in his prayer of thanks for the bread and the fruit of the vine at the institution of the rite (I Cor. 11:24-25; Mk. 14:22-23). If the "maranatha" prayer of I Cor. 16:22 was used in connection with the Lord's supper, then the service contained a prayer of petition. But it is quite possible that the prayers for the emblems in the supper also contained petitions, much like the prayer for the cup recorded in the Didache (9:1-5), which contains a request that "thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom."

While we have no direct evidence, we may be sure that prayers were used at (g) baptism. Likely they occurred both before and after the act, and possibly
by the candidate during the act. Many feel fairly certain that the great prayer-exclamation, "Abba, Father" was the first cry of the candidate upon his emergence from the baptismal waters.

Finally, we must name informal gatherings in Paul's churches (h) at any possible hour of day or night specifically for prayer (I Th. 3:10; Col. 4:2; Eph. 6:18 cf. I Tim. 5:5; II Tim. 1:3). They were probably held more or less regularly, but occasionally they must have met for special prayers in times of crisis and great need, such as illness, famine, threats to the unity of the churches, persecution, etc. (cf. Acts 4:23-31; 12:3-17). It seems odd to us that Paul mentions prayer in such emergencies so seldom (Rom. 15:31; II Th. 3:2; not at all in II Cor. 6 and 11).

5. Certain Problems Relative to Prayer in Paul's Congregations

a. Is Prayer Ever Addressed to Christ?

Opinions differ greatly on this tremendous question. The facts concerning the matter do not seem to be so clear as are sometimes assumed. In Rom. 10:13 Paul speaks of (1) "calling on the name of the Lord," and while the reference might conceivably be to the Father and not the Son, he makes his allusion perfectly clear in I Cor. 1:2 when he mentions "all those who in every place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." But does "calling on the name of the Lord Jesus" refer to prayer addressed to Jesus? It has been suggested that it refers instead to the confessing of Christ's name. To confess Christ is to become a Christian; hence, it is said, the expression is a verbal circumlocution for the designation "Christian," a term which Paul never employs in his letters. There are also the cases of (2) individual or personal prayers addressed to Christ, such as that of the

dying Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit" (Acts 7:59) and Paul's own petitions concerning his thorn in the flesh, "Three times I besought the Lord about this" (II Cor. 12:8). But these all pertain to private and personal matters. There is possibly a (3) public prayer addressed to Jesus in the word "maranatha", "Come our Lord" (cf. Rev. 22:20, 17) This last may be an ejaculatory type of prayer, yet it very likely stems from public worship. A clearer example of a prayer meant for a public gathering at worship is that benedictional petition preserved in I Th. 3:11-13 in which Christ is addressed on an equal par with God. This instance seems to have been overlooked by those who deny the presence of any prayer in public worship addressed to Christ. If Paul employs such, surely his converts do also — even though Christ is not the only addressee and the prayer is couched in the third person. Even more striking still is the somewhat similar benedictional prayer in II Th. 2:16-17, where "our Lord Jesus Christ" takes precedence over "God our Father" in the order of indirect address. This order fits what we have observed already in connection with the creed of the ancient church: that one comes to know God through Christ. As we shall see shortly, this applies also to our approach to God in prayer.

We may conclude then from our limited evidence that prayer was not generally directed to Christ in either public or private devotions in the Pauline churches. Infrequently, however, prayers were addressed to Christ, especially those of a concise, ejaculatory nature, and still others of a more formal character were directed to him in conjunction with God, at least on a few occasions. But both types appear to have been the exception.

156. Delling asserts that, since the functions assigned to God are withheld from Christ, the prayer in Rev. 22:20 is a petition only in form; its fulfilment is wholly in God's hands (p. 112).
b. Was Prayer Made in Jesus' Name in Paul's Congregations?

The answer to this question is that while prayer was probably not regularly addressed to Christ in Paul's church, it seems to have been made through Christ. Thus in Rom. 1:3 Paul expresses his thanksgiving to God "through Jesus Christ." He admonishes the Colossians thus, "Whatever you do, in word or deed, do everything in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him" (3:17). In this passage our very formula appears in connection with action and speech, and prayer certainly shares the qualities of the latter and perhaps of both. Moreover, in the same verse the two phrases "in the name of the Lord Jesus" and "through him" are used as equivalents, so that it is almost certain that in Paul's churches prayers were offered in Jesus' name. And surely the "giving thanks to God the Father" which is done "through him (Christ)" means but one thing: that Paul's converts are specifically admonished to pray through Christ, i.e., in his name. In harmony with this the prayer in Acts 4:24-30, Clement's prayer (Clement 59:4-61:3), the eucharistic prayers of the Didache (9:1-10:6) and the prayer of Polycarp (Martyrdom 14:1-3) provide evidence that the custom of praying to God "through thy (holy) child Jesus" was practiced even beyond Paul's churches. (Note also John 14:13; 15:16; 16:23 and Ignatius, e.g., Trallians 13:3). Then, too, it must be remembered that any one who lives "in Christ" does everything and prays everything "through Christ" or "in the name of Christ."

c. Does Paul Use the Lord's Prayer in the Worship of His Churches?

This problem is another on which the evidence is scanty. It is quite possible that there are several allusions in Paul to his knowledge and usage of the prayer. (1) The use of the Aramaic word Abba in Rom. 8:15 and Gal. 4:6 seems to recall the opening words of the Lord's prayer (in the Lukan form). Since both these

are largely Gentile churches, particularly Galatia, the presence of the Aramaic word may best be explained by its adoption from its frequent liturgical use (cf. "maranatha") in the Lord's prayer. Of course the Greek-speaking Christians added the translation ὁ πατήρ (2) In II Th. 3:3, "But the Lord is faithful, he will strengthen you and guard you from evil (or the evil one)," Paul may be echoing the petition of the Lord's prayer in Matt. 6:13, "But deliver us from evil (or the evil one)." The verb "guard" may have been substituted for "deliver" by Paul because he had just used the latter in the preceding verse. Again, (3) Col. 3:13, "Forbearing one another and, if one has a complaint against another, forgiving each other, as the Lord has forgiven you, so you also must forgive," seems to recall the petition in Jesus' prayer, "Forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors" (Matt. 6:12).

On what occasions was the Lord's prayer used by Paul and his converts? It has been conjectured that the expression "we cry Abba, Father" refers to (1) the corporate recitation of the Lord's prayer by the newly baptized. If so the prayer was a part of the worship connected with baptism. We have no direct evidence that it constituted (2) a regular feature of the usual public worship in his churches. The variations in the wording of the three forms that have come to us (Matt., Lk., Didache) indicate that it possibly may not have been used as a fixed formulary of prayer, and too, the freedom of speech exercised in the worship of many of Paul's congregations may have overruled any felt need for such a fixed form of prayer. On the other hand, Paul is too keen a pedagogue to have

160. A. M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, p. 60.
been unmindful of the teaching opportunity and mind-developing power of such a settled form of prayer-thoughts, especially for raw Gentilic neophytes in the faith, so that it may well have been used at least intermittently in his congregational worship. He possibly also recommended (3) a private use of the Lord's prayer, but our evidence again is lacking. Its use in Didache 8:2 is probably to be so understood: "Pray thus three times a day". We may be sure, again, that Paul's usage of the prayer with the individual was as a model, not as a fetish or obligation to be performed apart from a sympathetic attitude in the one who prays it. Thus it would be both a medium of worship and of teaching.

How does the apostle use prayer in worship to advance the Christian mind? Prayer pervades his worship assemblies. He begins and ends with it and gives it great prominence in between. He makes of it a free and spontaneous means of expressing the Christian's very nature and thoughts, open apparently to everyone. He regards it not primarily as a means of mental reception but of mental and moral stimulation and expression. His converts apparently are to "catch on" to the Christian attitude and manner of prayer by observing the prayer-life of older Christians and of that of Jesus as they would be told of the latter's praying and prayers, especially that one known as "the Lord's prayer." The apostle makes wide and varied usage of prayer for all occasions and purposes. He is generally quite specific in his prayer requests (cf. Rom. 15:20-32; II Th. 3:1-2). He employs prayer as a vital link between his far flung converts and congregations. In this way disunity is prevented and a spirit of personal concern and fellowship is built up. It is his great medium for cultivating the expression of the new nature of his converts in virtuous moral behavior. They are taught by prayer to express their problems, needs, progress, and thanksgiving, as well as their consciousness of and interest in those matters belonging to others and to the
whole church. He nowhere seems to have taught them to pray for non-Christians, though that may be included in the expectation that they love all men (I Th. 3:12). They are taught both by precept (Rom. 1:9; Col. 4:2; I Th. 5:17) and example (Rom. 1:9; Col. 4:12; I Th. 1:2; 3:10) to maintain a constant attitude of prayerfulness and to be unselfish in their requests (I Th. 5:25; II Th. 3:1-2; cf. Rom. 15:30ff). He expects both private (cf. I Cor. 14:14-15, "praying in the Spirit"; Phil. 22) and public (cf. Rom. 15:30, "strive together ... in your prayers") prayer of his converts; the latter is to be intelligible to all assembled (I Cor. 14:13-15).

IX. The Collection

Paul mentions that the Corinthians were to put something aside on the first day of the week as a contribution for the poor saints at Jerusalem. They were then to store up their gifts until he and others should arrive to take the contributions on to Palestine (I Cor. 16:2-3). He says that this is the same procedure as he had directed the Galatians to follow (16:1). It is not clear from these directions, however, that they were expected to bring their weekly contribution to the assembly and there offer it as a part of the worship service, though that is probably what he expects them to do. And it may well be that the meals which he mentions in I Cor. 11:21 and the food brought for them (gifts for the ἀνάπαυσις?) would also be shared with the poor, sick, imprisoned, etc. (cf. Justin, Apology 67). Of this, however, we have no proof.

X. The Ordinances

1. The Lord's Supper

a. The Nature of the Supper.

It is not essential for our present purpose to embark upon an elaborate investigation of the numerous and complex problems surrounding the origin(s) of the Lord's supper in the primitive church. In modern times newer theories have been

Since the term "eucharist" as a technical designation for this act of Christian worship is found first in the Didache and actually expresses only one aspect of the act, we have refrained from adopting it here.
proposed, but the problem is far from solved. Of acute importance is (1) the
question of a pre-Pauline type of supper. It is alleged by some scholars that
such a celebration is involved in the action which is described as "breaking of
bread" (the only form of designation used in Acts, cf. 2:43, 46; 20:7; 27:35).
This was a celebration, so it is said, which lacked the cup, or at least
relegated the cup to a secondary position, and consisted mainly of a fellowship-
meal in which the invisible presence of the exalted Lord was the prime motif --
not his death. That is, the meal did not specifically commemorate his death;
indeed, it seems originally to have had no connection with his death. In effect,
it was a continuation of the Jewish "chaburah" meal (table-fellowship enjoyed
by a group of close friends who met to discuss religious questions of mutual
interest and to administer charity from their common fund) just as Jesus had
done with his disciples so often during his life time. This is the earliest
form of the Lord's supper and is generally associated by proponents of the
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theory with the Jerusalem church. Paul's manner of celebrating the supper,
as described in I Cor. 11:23ff, in which he makes an important connection of it
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with Jesus' death, is his own creation, so the theory runs; he made this
connection as a result of a special revelation which he "received from the Lord"
(I Cor. 11:23).

To be sure, from the passages in Acts we cannot say definitely whether the
writer was thinking simply of table-fellowship or of the Lord's supper or both.
The passage in Acts 27:35 probably has primary reference to physical nourishment,
though the term is used only of Paul and not of the pagans with him. Just why
Acts employs only the expression "breaking bread" is difficult to gather, though

163. So Hans Lietzmann, Messe und Herrenmahl, p. 228, and A.B. Macdonald, op.
cit., pp. 123ff, especially 144-150; cf. C.T. Craig, "From Last Supper to
Lord's Supper," Religion in Life (1940), 9:163-173; Joachim Jeremias,
"The Last Supper," JTS (1949), 50:1-10; Die Abendmahlsbrote Jesu.
164. Lietzmann, op. cit., p. 65.
the following observations need to be remembered: (a) Some circles may have shunned the use of wine altogether, a reluctance testified to by the Acts of Thomas 120 and Acts of Peter 2. (b) The phrase may be due to the common Jewish manner of designating a meal as "to eat bread" or "to break bread". The writer of Acts may have been influenced by the reports of "eating" and "meals" sometimes held in conjunction with the supper (cf. I Cor. 11:20-22). (c) The expression may be merely an abbreviation for the longer designations of the act, as seems to be the case in Didache 14:1 where the words "to break bread" occur, though thanks are given in 9:1 for a loaf and cup. Thus "to break bread" is the use of a part for the whole (cf. Ignatius who uses the same expression, yet speaks of both elements, Eph. 20:2 cf. Smyrneans 3:2; a similar usage occurs even in Paul in I Cor. 11:29 when he speaks of the "body" in relation to "eating and drinking" without mentioning also the "blood").

So, it is asserted, (2) Paul's observance of the Lord's supper represents an innovation at the points where he relates the emblems to Jesus' death and in the words, "This do in remembrance of me" all as a result of a revelation from the Lord. Thus the more primitive form of the Lord's supper is a fellowship-meal; its later form is a memorial-meal. But allowance has to be made at once that Paul is extremely tolerant and even hospitable to both types, for while in I Cor. 11 he speaks of a memorial type supper (and depreciates the troublesome social aspects of the meal), in Acts 20 he shares in a fellowship type, and the attempt has been made to discover in I Cor. 10:14-22 also a description by him of the latter type (the meal is one of fellowship with Christ (10:16) and with one another (10:17) and the phrase "cup of blessing" (10:16) is used, which is the technical Jewish designation for the cup of wine over

166. See Delling, op. cit., pp. 131-132.
which a blessing was pronounced at the "Chaburah" meals). Surely, however, I Cor. 10:16 is not entirely free of allusions to Christ's death, for the communion established is not with Christ as such, but with his blood and body. Why single out these two elements unless they have somehow played a significant role in his activities, as in fact they did when separated one from the other in his death? Nor is I Cor. 11:17-32 devoid of all reference to the social aspects of the meal, for in 11:17-22 it is just the unchecked anti-social practices of certain Corinthians at the supper which he condemns, because their selfishness makes for factions (11:18-19), greediness and immorality (11:21), and humiliation of the unfortunate (11:22). Hence, while we cannot prove the existence of the pre-Pauline celebration of the Lord's supper, there is no reason to doubt it: Paul does not claim or reveal that he altered the Lord's supper, nor could he so easily have foisted his theory about the supper on the whole church, and it is difficult to account for the preservation of the records of the supper's institution by Jesus and his relating it to his death except on the assumption that they really describe its origin. One wonders if the extremes to which the debate has come may not contain its own solution, that is, that the Lord's supper from the start included both features of a fellowship-meal and a memorial-feast. At least both aspects are clearly included in Paul's view of the matter and it is only attempts to conform the facts to a theory that seem to have divorced them.

b. The Relation of the Lord's Supper to the Rest of the Worship

There were two main sources from which the overall features of the early Christian worship services derive, namely the Jewish synagogue, which supplied


168. Paul's words in I Cor. 11:23, "I received from the Lord," cannot possibly refer to revelation; cf. A.M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, p. 90; cf. Bultmann, TNT, 1:150.

169. See Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, pp. 91-92.
the old Word-of-God type of worship (with its praise, reading and interpretation of scripture, preaching, and prayer), and the new Christian action called the Lord’s supper. It has been proposed rather recently that these two were eventually welded together into one service, but that they were not so joined from the beginning. Evidence that the two types of worship services were distinct is seen in the earliest chapters in Acts: the Word-of-God service in Jerusalem was held in the temple; the Lord’s supper service was celebrated in private homes (2:46; 3:1). Moreover, the reference of Pliny to Christian worship points in the same direction (Epistle 10:96 ff). But the situation both in Jerusalem at the start and in Pontus and Bithynia under Pliny are due to rather peculiar circumstances which forced restraints upon the Christians in each place.

More recently, the other extreme has been advocated: not that two originally distinct types of worship services were eventually merged into one, but that one original type was eventually divided into two separate services. That is, from the beginning in the primitive church, the Word-of-God service and the Lord’s supper were combined at all gatherings of Christians. The evidence cited to support this position is Acts 22:7, but this passage concerns the events only on a Sunday. That this was true of every gathering for worship, especially on other days, by no means follows. It is quite possible that worship was held on both the Sabbath as well as Sunday at this early period, though among Gentiles this is less likely. Perhaps more nearly accurate is the position that from the start some gatherings of the Christian community for worship included both the Word-of-God service and the Lord’s supper, and some only the Word-of-God service. It is quite possible also that some gatherings included only the Lord’s supper, though we have no specific evidence for this, unless it be I Cor. 11:18, 20.

As to the Word-of-God service in conjunction with the Lord’s supper, some think 170. Lietzmann, Messe und Herrenmahl, 256-263, esp. 258; Macdonald, pp. 75 ff. 171. Oscar Cullman, Early Christian Worship, pp. 27-32.
that speaking in tongues, interpretation, prophecy, and gnosis were not enacted in such services, not at least at the supper.

c. Times and Places of the Observance of the Lord's Supper

The Lord's supper was probably observed usually in the evening (Acts 20:7) when most of the laboring Christians were free to participate and in accordance with the hour of its original institution (I Cor. 11:23). The designation "supper" (Σείρυννον) also probably points to its evening celebrations. That it was observed on the first day of the week is altogether probable (Acts 20:7; Didache 11:1; cf. Pliny, Epistle 10:96-97; Justin, Apology 67) though only at a later date is it mentioned that this was because of Christ's resurrection on the first day of the week (cf. Barnabas 15:9).

The supper must have been held in some large room of a private home in the "house churches" mentioned so often in Paul, and most likely included the entire congregation (cf. Didache 14:1). That the celebration was held in groups smaller than the whole congregation is possible, but all evidence is lacking.

d. Pedagogic Functions of the Lord's Supper in Pauline Worship Services

The question of primary interest to us is how Paul used the Lord's supper within the context of worship to foster the Christian mind in his participating converts. There were at least five usages or emphases which he drew from its celebration. He uses it for (1a) preaching. He says quite plainly in I Cor. 11:26, "as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim (καταγγέλλετε) the Lord's death (a vital part of the kerygma) until he come" (the parousia, another vital part of the kerygma). This proclamation of Christ's death in the supper may conceivably take place in a number of ways: (a) through an introductory speech setting forth the facts, meaning, and application of

172. Delling, op. cit., p. 133.
173. So Bultmann, TNT, 1:144-145.
Christ's death, (b) through some relevant bit of liturgical wording in the course of the service (such as Lohmeyer proposes Phil. 2:5-11 may be), (c) through a recounting of the institution of the supper precisely as Paul does in I Cor. 11:23 ff, or (d) the apostle by the word "proclaim" may have in mind the whole celebration as a setting forth of Christ's death in dramatic symbolism -- a sort of "representation of the crucifixion" which carries its own powerful message more effectively than an oral sermon (cf. Gal. 3:1). Indeed, it is "an acted sermon, an acted proclamation of death which it commemorates." As proclamation of the essential kerygma, the supper, therefore, is also a (lb) confession or confessing of Christ and of the participants' faith in him.

Further, the supper for Paul is also of use for (2) teaching. He introduces the passage in I Cor. 11:23 ff with (a) language drawn from the technical terminology of Jewish didactics: "I received, παρέλαβον (from the Lord)" and "I delivered, παρέσωκα (to you)." What he says following therefore belongs to the "teaching tradition" (cf. Rom. 6:17) of the early church. He envisages and names both teacher (the Lord, I) and students (I, you) in the teaching-learning situation. In I Cor. 11:22-25 the exhortation, "Do this in memory of Kyrios Jesus," pp. 65-67.

175. The phrase is from E.C. Ratcliffe, art. "Eucharist" in Encyclopaedia Britanica (1955), 8:793b.
176. Robertson and Plummer, ICC on I Cor., p. 249. The importance of the Lord's supper as 'enacted kerygma' needs tremendous emphasis. Like the passover for the Jew, it enabled the Christian to realize afresh what God in Christ had done for him and for the entire church. The act of the Lord's supper as a recital and re-presentation of the facts of the kerygma thus influenced the entire service of worship for Pauline converts and churches, cf. Hans Lietzmann, Messe und Herrenmahl, p. 126. It reminded the Christian of his "exodus," "baptism in the sea," and entrance into a new "commonwealth" under a new "lordship," cf. W.L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, p. 28 f; Harald Sahlin, The Root of the Vine, pp. 93-94.
177. There seems to be no proof in the N.T. that only Christians attended the Lord's supper (though perhaps they alone partook of it). If outsiders really were present, then the supper as an act of confession had even greater meaning.

me," is meant for (b) refreshment of memory concerning Christ and the circumstances surrounding his death. As just observed perhaps the story of the institution was related at each celebration in order to remind the participants of the history of the act and of Christ the center of it all. Further, (c) the teaching techniques in the rite are noteworthy: the accompaniment of words with appropriate actions (taking the loaf and cup in hand, breaking the loaf, distribution of emblems), the repetition of important instructions (the injunctions in 11:24-25, cf. the words in v.26 about eating and drinking with those in 24:25), and use of conciseness both in indicatives and imperatives. In connection with these techniques we may observe that the entire supper is (d) a sort of "object-lesson" and therefore a capital "teaching device." The loaf and cup are directly before the eyes of the worshippers when thanks for both of them are expressed and likewise when the important words are spoken, "This is my body which is for you" and "This cup is the new covenant in my blood." Apart from metaphysical and sacramental speculation, the fact and impact of Christ's death, because of these techniques, were almost bound to "get across" to the sympathetic, attentive participant. The shaping of the Christian's mind, therefore, has one of its most dependable molding mediums in the Lord's supper. The oral and objective teaching at the supper is done in relation to (e) the meaning attributed to the loaf and cup: my body -- for you; my blood -- or the new covenant in my blood -- the supernatural food and drink of all Christians (1 Cor. 11:24-25; 10:3-4,6), and to partaking of them: a participating or communing in the body and blood of Christ (10:16). Note the παρευθεία in 11:32, implying moral training as

178. It is not very important for our aim to enter into the problem of determining Jesus' exact words at the institution of the supper. Cf. Joachim Jeremias, Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu; Johannes Behm, art. "Klaō," Kittel's NT, 3:730ff.

179. The acts involving the loaf and the cup, both on Jesus' part (and on ours), has been well described as "realistic symbolism," C.H. Dodd, "Jesus as Teacher and Prophet" in G.K.A. Bell and Adolf Deissmann (eds.), Mysterium Christi, p. 60.

distinct from mere oral or theoretical instruction.

Paul further uses the supper for (3) exhortation. The words of Christ (repeated only in Paul's version of the instituting) exhort (a) to remembrance of the Lord, "Do this (as often as you do) in remembrance of me." The apostle includes this exhortation to memory twice, no doubt because his young converts were prone "to forget to remember." Those scholars seem quite wrong who insist that such a command makes of Jesus an institutionalist, for that is precisely what is avoided by directing the memory to Jesus ("This do in memory of me"), thus deflecting the attention from the rite itself. The supper thus is a means to center attention, worship, and fellowship on Christ. This "memory" exhortation is, consequently, an extremely important one. But the apostle in I Cor. 11:27-29 exhorts (b) to examination -- to personal and communal introspection and objective self-evaluation, "Let a man examine himself, and so eat of the bread and drink of the cup." This is an effort to overcome the unworthy participation of some Christians in the supper (11:27), whose unworthiness consisted of the kind of selfishness that made a mockery of the whole supper (11:21). Small wonder, then, that the apostle admonishes (c) to the practice of unselfishness towards the brethren throughout the celebration, "So then, my brethren, when you come together to eat, wait for one another ... lest you come together to be condemned" (I Cor. 11:33).

The apostle also employs the Lord's supper as an occasion for (4) fellowship. From the description which he gives in I Cor. 10 and 11 it is no sad and gloomy funerary memorial service. It is a memorial, but of one who still lives and is present at the very festival as host (it is the "Lord's table," I Cor. 10:21, and the "Lord's supper," 11:20). He depicts it as a "communion"

181. Which is probably as important as the observation that it also grounds the observance of the supper on the authority of Christ. Cf. Ratcliffe, op. cit., 8:793 b.
(koinonia) with Christ's body and blood (10:16) and with Christ himself (10:17; cf. 10:20 b). It also provides the means for fellowship among Christians who share the same relation to a common Lord. (10:17, "we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the same loaf;" the loaf is the body of Christ).

The supper, therefore, is a time of joyous association, because the individual eats and drinks in the presence of Christ and his fellow Christians. It may be objected that in I Cor. 11 Paul militates against the "social fellowship" aspect of the Lord's supper and even declares that the Corinthians were observing no Lord's supper (11:20). But it is the abuse against which he rails, and it seems likely that it is the agape which he has most in mind in forbidding (11:22,34), but not the Lord's supper proper (11:23, 28, 33).

The highest usage of the Lord's supper is for worship. The service itself contains (a) several elements of worship. It begins with 1/ prayers over the loaf and the cup. These are prayers of thanksgiving. But if the "maranatha" prayer of I Cor. 16:22 and Didache 10:6 really belongs to the Lord's supper as has been supposed, then there was also petition in these prayers. We have observed already the 2/ preaching and 3/ teaching elements in the supper which are always a part of worship. There is also the 4/ recitation of a sacred text -- the repeating of the acts and words of Jesus from the night of the origin of the rite. The account of these acts and words was possibly repeated at every celebration of the supper. They are another of those instances when Paul seems to elevate the words of Jesus to a level with, or rather above, the O.T. If the hymn in Phil. 2:5-11 belongs with the supper, then there is also the element of 5/ praise. Hence, what we have in the Lord's supper is a concentrated worship.


182. We may even find the element of the collection (offertory) in the service if the bread and wine (and other gifts for the Agape) were brought and offered to make the emblems possible, cf. Justin Apology, 67.
form of a whole worship service. Yet the supper itself contains an additional aspect of worship not found in the five features of worship just mentioned, namely, the fellowship which participates in Christ’s body and blood (I Cor. 10:16), remembers him in his death, (11:24-25), shares in his own presence at the table as the presiding host (Lord), and awaits his final coming “in person” (I Cor. 11:23). All this means that (b) the supper itself is an act of worship. It is for this reason that it seems to have been a part of the regular services of worship throughout the N.T. period. The supper added to the service what praise, prayer, reading, preaching, and teaching could not — the presence of Christ in a personal and intimate fellowship with the believers. Was the worship centering in the Pauline Lord’s supper a liturgy? Was it sacramental worship? These hotly debated questions probably did not exist for the apostle. It was a formal observance, not slip-shod and haphazard. Christ was present and gave to the worship offered him there a new feature — his own redeeming fellowship.

2. Baptism

What of the relation of baptism to worship? We have seen elsewhere that a fragment or two from certain hymns preserved in Paul’s letters may well have been sung at baptismal services (Phil. 2:5-11; Eph. 5:14). Possibly too, a brief instructional speech, much like Rom. 6:1-11 or Col. 2:12-3:4 or even the bulk of I Peter, may have accompanied the act, together with a recitation of the events relative to Jesus’ own baptism (Mk. 1:9-11 and parallels) and/or his commission to his disciples to baptize (Matt. 28:18-20). We may be confident that

135. Cf. I Cor. 10:1-4, as Christ was present in Israel’s rites in the wilderness, so is he in those of Christians; 10:16, as pagan meals make participants “fellowshippers” of demons present at the meals so the Christian supper makes its participants “fellowshippers” of the present Christ; 10:17, Christians partake of the same loaf — and Christ is that loaf; cf. A. H. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, pp. 94-95.


132. E. G. Selwyn, Commentary on 1 Peter, pp. 365ff, on such a usage of a large part of I Pet.
prayer was uttered in conjunction with baptism; if not, at least the prayer formula, "in the name of the Lord Jesus (Christ)" was used (I Cor. 1:13, 15; 6:11). Moreover, the baptismal act, in which the candidate was laid gently beneath the wave as though buried in a watery grave and then raised up again into the open world of life and light, must have brought vividly to mind Christ's own burial and resurrection and aroused a deep sense of gratitude and devotion not only in the candidate and baptizer but in all who witnessed. Like the Lord's supper, an awareness of Christ's presence would be strong for the candidate was at that very moment being baptized by the Spirit into Christ (I Cor. 12:13). He (the candidate) was moving out of the land of bondage by exodus into the promised land of freedom and plenty (I Cor. 10:1-2). With the promises of forgiveness of sin (I Cor. 6:11; Col. 2:12-13), the gift of the Spirit (I Cor. 12:13), and the beginning of (eternal) life in Christ (Rom. 6:4, 11; Col. 2:12-13) -- all related to the moment of baptism into Christ -- the act is filled for the new Christian and for his on-looking seniors in the faith with profound awe and mystery as well as inexpressible (and irrepressible) love and joy. Baptism is thus always in Paul's hands a great epidramatic act of worship and of instruction (in graphic "object-lesson" fashion) which depicts the central object and cause of Christian worship -- the crucified and risen Christ. Like the Christian life itself, therefore, the Christian mind had its very inception in an imitable moment of overpowering devotion.


To sum up: The aim of the worship services in Paul's churches is oikodome, "building up" of the individual Christian, the local congregation, and the whole church. The Christian mind found its source of power, sanity, and inspiration in the worship of the church and gradually developed, under Paul's direction, a general sense and instinct for what makes for edification and what does not. The Spirit, Paul's counsel and instructions, and the actual experience of worship were the guides in this matter. The character of Paul's worship is perhaps best described by the two terms "freedom" and "restriction" — freedom to worship as impelled by the Spirit, but restraint as demanded by the need for decency and order in worship and in the Christian life.

190 After Cullman, Early Christian Worship, p. 33.
Part II — THE FACTORS IN PAUL'S CHRISTIANIZING OF THE GENTILES

SECTION II — PROCESSES USED BY PAUL IN EDUCATING THE CHRISTIAN MIND


It is our purpose in this chapter to show how Paul uses conduct as well as thought to shape the Christian mind. Thought and action with the apostle are always closely inter-twined, so that it is not always easy to determine which influences which or to what extent the influence may be mutual. Behavior not only reflects the mind and thinking of the individual Christian, but serves as a key to the formation of both. Paul's ethics shows how he taught his converts to think about Christian living, and their ethical conduct reveals how he trained them to apply ethical thought to practice. It is not, therefore, our goal to examine merely the ideas in Paul's ethics, but rather to observe how he employs these ethical ideas (and ethical practices) to further in his converts a consciousness of their being "in Christ."

1. Pauline Ethics: The Problem of Christian Freedom, an Ethics without Rules

1. Nature of Paul's Ethics

Paul's ethics is (a) non-systematic. He does not even sense a need for system. Clear evidence of this is given in the lack of classification and order in a section like Roman 12-15, the most considerable body of ethical teaching in the whole New Testament outside the Gospels. Yet there is a unity in the apostle's ethics springing from the singleness of thought, action, and power which motivates his life in Christ. Paul's ethics is also (b) non-ascetic.

yet it contains a strong disciplinary power that injects a genuine self-control into every area of thought and life. It is (c) non-utilitarian, though still it produces the most profitable and useful manner of life. It is (d) non-legalistic ("Christ is the end of the law," Rom. 13:8, 10), yet is based on the "law" of Christ (cf. I Cor. 9:21; Gal. 6:2).

All of these negative observations about Pauline ethics are true because it is (e) Spirit-prompted, that is, it is in a real sense originated, motivated, and controlled by Christ through the Spirit. This leads us directly to the problem of the nature of the Christian life. Does one live and behave in a certain manner in order to be a Christian or because he is a Christian? Is Christian conduct a proof or consequence (or both) of the Spirit in the believer's life? That is, what is the relation of the Spirit of Christ in the Christian to the latter's conduct as a Christian? Can a Christian deliberately conform his life and behavior to an external pattern, whether divine or human, written or unwritten, social or individual — and remain a Christian? What is Paul's procedure with his converts and congregations in these important matters? These are tremendous questions whose answers are basic to all that follows.

The nature of Paul's ethics is closely related to his view of the nature of the Christian life. He considers the new spiritual life in Christ as a moral life. Further, he regards ethics as the "spontaneous expression of the nature of the new life". This means that the type of conduct characteristic of a Christian is not to be forced upon him from the outside but originates from and is regulated by the new nature which the Christian now possesses by virtue of

the Spirit of Christ who resides within him. The new spiritual nature of the Christian is free to act as it will and whatever it does must be reckoned to be the way a Christian behaves, that is, as Christian ethics. This is the well-spring of the Christian freedom of which Paul speaks so often. The Christian, however, is not "autonomous," i.e., a new law (nomos) unto himself (auto), for this implies that man by his own nature is free and thus able to choose his own actions and destiny without reference to any external factor whatsoever. Rather the Christian is "pneum-autonomos" or "Christ-autonomos," that is, not man in himself, but the "spirit-person" or "the man in Christ," is free and independent. This is true because the Christian is a new creature (II Cor. 5:17) and so possesses a new nature, and this new creation and nature are not products merely of human agency but of divine. The result is that while the Christian thinks, wills, feels, and acts as he desires, yet in actuality it is God in Christ who is working in him both "to will and to do" (Phil. 3:13). There is no restraint felt in this intimate relationship for the will of the Christian is in accord with the will of the Spirit. It is the "spirit-person", "the man in Christ", the "Christian", who is "autonomous", a law unto himself. External law of any kind, has become superfluous for him. The Christian life, therefore, grows out of and is determined by the gospel (Christ). One (the man in Christ) is the root, the other (Christian ethics) is the fruit. That is, Christian goodness is "grace" goodness.

2. Motives Appealed to by Paul in Training his Converts in Christian Behavior

Having asserted that the new nature of the Christian as a "spirit-person" or "Christ-person" is such that external factors are not indispensably necessary to regulate his life, what was Paul's role in relation to his recent converts? If they stepped forth from the baptismal pool as a sort of independent unit in the body of Christ with a new spiritual nature and power controlling their lives in Christ apart from external factors, is there then no further place for teaching, discipline, and warning which are imposed or suggested from the outside? If whatever a Christian does is Christian ethics, produced by the fact that he is now "in Christ," is there no room or need for advancement in his thought and behavior? Indeed, there is! While the Christian is a new creature" from the start of his new life "in Christ", he begins as only a "babe" 12 (I Cor. 3:1; cf. Rom. 2:20). He has perhaps as much "spiritual nature" from the start as he will ever possess, but his usage and expression of it is infantile --- immature, untrained, undeveloped. This does not imply that growth in Christian thought and action is either inevitable or simply the product of human endeavor alone. "I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the growth" (I Cor. 3:6). Human and divine forces interplay throughout the formation and development of the Christian mind. Motives and standards outside the Christian have a useful role to fill in bringing the expression of his thought and life more nearly to maturity, and Paul makes ample use of both. The "standards" of Christian ethics are the tests or canonæ by which one tells whether or not his thoughts,

attitudes, relationships, and behavior are Christian or those belonging to a Christian, whether he possesses the nature and life of a Christian, and whether he expresses this nature and life like a Christian. Here one asks, What are the marks by which one's life can be pronounced Christian? The "motives" connected with Christian ethics are the incentives which help to produce such thoughts, attitudes, relationships, and behavior. A "motive" is that which, when appealed to, impels, incites, or encourages expression of the Christian's new nature and life in a Christ-like manner. Here one asks, "What are the needs which men most urgently desire fulfilled? But having distinguished between "motives" and "standards" in Christian ethics, we must hasten to add that what serves as a motive also very often functions as a standard and vice versa. For instance, the example of Christ may be appealed to in order to arouse a desire to be (more) like him in some particular or general respect. At the same time, the example of Christ in the same particular matter may serve as a sort of measure to show how inadequate is one's own or others' ethical expression or practice in this regard.

We shall notice first the principal motives appealed to by Paul to promote Christian thought and life in his converts. These seem to group themselves about God, Christ, the missionaries, the converts and non-converts, the community, and the parousia. There are perhaps also others harder to classify but we shall group them with these six. In relation to (1) God, the apostle appeals most often to (a) his love and mercy (cf. Phil 2:1, "incentive of love"). Christians are "the beloved of God" (Rom. 1:7; 1 Th. 1:4; II Th. 2:13), God is a God of love.

14. We shall see later that this latter customary view of Christ as a standard is really inaccurate, or at least not Pauline.
15. Note Olaf Moe, Apostle Paul, 2:413.
(II Cor. 13:11) and proof of his love is that, though they were sinful and helpless, God sent his son to die for them (Rom. 5:6-8) and to justify them "by his grace as a gift" (Rom. 3:24). This is summed up in the clause "the son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal. 2:20). This divine love has been poured into Christians' hearts through the Holy Spirit which has been given them (Rom. 5:4). This gift of God's love in the gift of his son is used by Paul to assure the Romans that because of it, God will supply all the needs of Christians (Rom. 8:32) and enable them to become more than conquerors over the most formidable obstacles possible (Rom. 8:37, 39). The apostle can use it, therefore, as a motive for the Corinthians to give cheerfully, for God loves a cheerful giver (II Cor. 9:7). The very life and conduct of Christians are motivated and controlled by this divine love in Christ, "for the love of Christ (subj. gen.) controls us, because we are convinced that one has died for all" (II Cor. 5:14). It is God's love for us that arouses our love for him, not vice versa (Col. 3:12 and 14, "Put on then, as God's ... beloved ... love;" Gal. 5:22; cf. Rom. 5:8; 15:7; I Jn. 4:11, 19). God's election and calling of Christians (made known to them in their response to the Gospel, II Th. 2:13-14) --- his translation of them into the transcendent world of his kingdom and glory (I Th. 2:12) --- is a supreme expression of his love (I Th. 1:4, "For we know, brethren beloved by God, that he has chosen you;" cf. Rom. 8:33 and 35; 11:28, "As regards election they are beloved ..." (of the Jews); Col. 3:12, "God's elect, holy and beloved;"

This transcendent love of God, (II Th. 2:13), which is seen in his election (I Th. 1:4), is adopted at once by Paul as a motive for the Thessalonians to love one another for they were taught by God (in his electing of them) to do so (I Th. 4:9; cf. Eph. 5:2). The love of God for man is one of Paul's strongest incentives to high ethical conduct, for
it leads to repentance (Rom. 2:4, "God's kindness, chreston, is meant to lead ... to repentance"), to the abandonment of selfish living for oneself (II Cor. 5:14-16), and to triumphant endurance in tribulation, distress, persecution, etc. (Rom. 8:35, 37, 39). It is almost always God's love for men to which Paul appeals; he rarely uses man's love for God as a motive for conduct — indeed he rarely ever mentions God as the object of human love (only in Rom. 8:28; I Cor. 2:9; 9:3; 16:22; cf. Eph. 6:24).

Paul also uses (b) the will and promises of God to stimulate Christian behavior. Thus in II Th. 2:13-15 he poses the divine purpose in choosing them through the gospel as an incentive to the Thessalonians to stand firm in the faith. The promises of God concerning his wrath against evil and blessing on goodness are used by Paul to urge reflection and reformation of life in his converts and non-converts alike (cf. Rom. 2:2, 5-10; II Cor. 5:10, etc.) He informs the Thessalonians that their sanctification (involving abstinence from immorality) is "the will of God" (I Th. 4:3) — as though these last words add indisputable finality to his instructions. Very powerful is his appeal to the Romans to present their complete persons as a sacrifice to God and to be transformed in mind in order "that you may prove what is the will of God" (Rom. 12:1-2). Here the divine will is both the incentive and the goal of Christian ethics. As we have noticed already, Christians are urged to work because in reality God is willing and working (carrying out his will) in them (Phil. 2:13; cf. II Cor. 8:5).

18. Be it noted that Paul in Rom. 12:2 assumes that Christians have the ability to discover for themselves what the will of God is, especially in ethical matters. This they do by virtue of the fact that they have the mind of Christ (I Cor. 2:16; Phil. 2:5) and possess his Spirit (Rom. 8:5; I Cor. 2:4-5, 11-15). Cf. C.A.A. Scott, New Testament Ethics, pp. 82-83.
The promises of God are appealed to with considerable frequency, especially the eschatological promises related to Christ's future return, but not infrequently the appeal to Christian thought and action is commended by reference to the partial realization, both in the individual and the community, of certain of these promises here and now. Thus in II Cor., he twice describes the Christian's (and church's) present possession of the Holy Spirit as an "first-installment," "down-payment", or "earnest" (1:23; 5:5; cf. Rom. 8:23), by which he implies that the Spirit will be given in fuller measure at a later time — all for the purpose of securing smoother relations between the apostle and his converts by assuring the latter that he is an apostle and they are converts by virtue of possession of the promised Spirit by both. One of the clearest examples of using the "realized eschatological" promises of God as a motive for Christian ethical behavior is in I Cor., 6:9-11, where the long list of evil-doers (among whom had been some of his converts) is declared excluded from the kingdom of God, and then he forbids a return to such practices by reminding his readers that they themselves were washed, sanctified, and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit, i.e., they are forgiven, have been right-wisened, and share God's manner of life in Christ and the Spirit — all eschatological gifts of the promised Messianic "kingdom", which evil-doers cannot "inherit." Even more dramatic is the list of (O.T.) assurances in II Cor., 6:16-18 where God promises to live in and move among his people, to be their God and they his people, to welcome his people, and to be a father to them and they sons and daughters to him. On the basis of all these the apostle exhorts to moral and spiritual purity in II Cor. 7:1, "Since we have these promises, beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from every defilement of body and spirit, and make holiness
perfect in the fear of God." It seems clear that these promises are to be understood both in a realized and futuristic sense. Compare Gal. 4:28 ("we are the children of promise") with 4:31 ("we are children ... of the free woman") and admonitions based on these in Gal. 5; also Rom. 4:20-21.

Paul finds also a motive to Christian living in (c) respect for God's person and reputation. Sometimes this takes the negative form of 1/ fear of the superiority and perfection of God (Rom. 3:18; 11:20; II Cor. 5:11; 7:1; Phil. 2:12; 3:22). At other times it is the 2/ glorification of God that prompts the aim at a nobler manner of life (Rom. 1:21; 15:7; I Cor. 6:20; 10:31; II Cor. 1:20; 9:13; I Th. 2:12; II Th. 1:8-9, 12; cf. II Cor. 3:19). In I Cor. 6:20 the high ethical living expected of a Christian is actually equated with that Christian's glorifying God in his body. Part of this glorifying and sharing the glory of God occurs now (e.g., I Cor. 10:31, "So, whether you eat or drink, or whatever you do, do all to the glory of God;" I Th. 2:12, "...Lead a life worthy of God, who calls you into his own kingdom and glory"), part of these will occur at the end (II Th. 1:10, "When he comes on that day to be glorified in his saints"; Rom. 8:18, "I consider that the sufferings of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory that is to be revealed to us".), but both time elements are used with equal effectiveness in stimulating the Christian mind to ethical thought and practice. The "glory-of-God" (subj. and obj.) motive in Paul has extensive and profound ethical application. Respect for God's person and reputation is the motivating force that prompts obedience to most of the 3/ commands which the apostle issues in the divine name. The commands may derive from a/ the Old Testament

(cf. II Cor. 6:17, quoting Isa. 52:11 about the separation of God's people from their heathen captors and applied by Paul concerning the ethical and spiritual problem involved in the intercourse of Christians and non-Christians: "Therefore come out from them, and be separate from them, says the Lord, and touch nothing unclean; then I will welcome you;" cf. also I Cor. 4:6; 9:8-10), or from b/ the words of Jesus (cf. I Cor. 4:12; 7:10; 25; Acts 20:35), or from c/ the apostles, being based either on their apostolic commission from Christ (I Th. 2:6, "...though we might have made demands as apostles of Christ, II Cor. 5:20; cf. I Cor. 14:37, "If any one thinks that he is a prophet, or spiritual, he should acknowledge that what I am writing to you is a command of the Lord", 21 11:17; 13:3; II Th. 3:6"), or on the apostles' illumination by the Holy Spirit (I Cor. 7:40, "But in my judgment....I think that I have the Spirit of God;" cf. II Cor. 11:17). But no matter what the medium through which the divine command comes, Paul does not hesitate at times to point to God, its ultimate source, and to rely on his converts' respect for God's person and authority to help them obey the injunction in their lives. It is this note of divine authority which, when appeal to the divine love fails, brings discipline and order into the immoral, purposeless, and haphazard lives of his converts (I Cor. 4:20-21; 9:8; 12; 10:9; II Cor. 10:8; 12:21; 13:4, 10; Gal. 6:7; II Th. 3:6). Paul links this divine authority to God's sovereignty (Rom. 1:18, 20), and employs that sovereignty (Rom. 1:16, 20), and employs that sovereignty as a boost to moral behavior (Rom. 14:10-12; I Cor. 10:22; 25-26;) and a deterent to immoral (Rom. 1:5-11; I Cor. 1:27-31). It is out of respect for God's sovereignty and reputation that Paul asks the Thessalonians "to lead a life "worthy of God" (I Th. 2:12) ---

22. ICC on II Cor., p. 185.
23. ICC on I Cor., p. 227.
they share his name, power, and privileges; they must also share his character. The persecutions and sufferings that befall them are only his righteous judgment "making them worthy of the kingdom of God" (II Th. 1:5; cf. 1:11). Thus, too, his converts are urged "to please God" with their conduct (I Th. 4:1) and reminded that "the who are in the flesh cannot please God" (Rom. 8:8).

But if Paul places God's sovereign demands upon his converts, he also appeals to (d) God's power to meet every divine command and human need and situation, that is, he uses the power of the Holy Spirit working in the Christian as a motive to Christian ethics. The gospel itself is "God's power for salvation" (Rom. 1:16; I Cor. 1:18; I Th. 1:5) and this "eternal power" is known even to the heathen (Rom. 1:20), which fact makes their evil conduct inexcusable (Rom. 1:18-19, 20b). The faith of the Christian rests in the power of God (I Cor. 2:4), a power which is the very essence of Christ (I Cor. 1:24) and which characterizes the nature of the kingdom of God (I Cor. 4:20). This power of God, the Holy Spirit, enables the Christian to think and live as he does; because God establishes the Christian "in Christ" (II Cor. 1:21); it is God who gives his Holy Spirit (Rom. 5:5; I Cor. 1:22; I Th. 4:8) and so establishes "the (Christian's) heart unblamable in holiness" (I Th. 3:12), even granting him hope, joy and peace by the Spirit (Rom. 15:13). Paul's method in this regard is to remind his converts repeatedly of this tremendous divine power available to their moral living: "The Lord is faithful; he will strengthen you and guard you from evil" (or the evil one, τοῦ πονηροῦ, II Th. 3:3);

24. C.A.A. Scott calls "the ambition to please God ... one of the strongest motives for ethical effort and achievement" in Paul, New Testament Ethics, P. 95.

25. See here Ferdinand C. Baur, Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ, 2:169ff.
"He who began a good work in you will bring it to completion" (Phil. 1:6); "I can do all things in him who strengthens me" (Phil. 4:13), etc. He includes such appeals to divine strength quite often in his prayers: "May you be strengthened with all power, according to his glorious might, for all endurance and patience with joy (Col. 1:11);" cf. Eph. 3:20, "Now to him who by the power at work within us is able to do far more abundantly than all we ask or think..." perhaps the outstanding example is II Th. 1:11, "To this end we always pray for you, that our God may make you worthy of his call, and may fulfill every good resolve and work of faith by his power" (cf. I Th. 3:12-13; II Th. 2:16-17). He encourages his Corinthian converts to give to the collection for the poor saints on the grounds that "God is able to provide you with every blessing in abundance, so that you may always have enough of everything and may provide in abundance for every good work.... He who supplies seed to the sower and bread for food will supply and multiply your resources and increase the harvest of your righteousness" (II Cor. 9:8, 10) --- a notable appeal to God's strength as the grounds for moral obedience. This use of God's power as a motive to ethical conduct is given climactic expression in I Cor. 10:13, "God is faithful, and he will not let you be tempted beyond your strength, but with the temptation will also provide the way of escape, that you may be able to endure it." It is this divine power that enables the Christian to triumph over evil (II Cor. 2:14) and turn his own physical and moral weakness into might (II Cor. 12:7). This same power of God which raised Jesus from the dead will also raise the Christian (I Cor. 6:14; cf. Rom. 6:5, 8), indeed it already has raised him spiritually at baptism (Rom. 6:11; Col. 2:12; 3:1; I Cor. 6:11), so that he can no longer participate in gross sins of the flesh (I Cor. 6:12-20; cf. 6:9-11), being dead to sin but alive to God (Rom. 6:11) --- a tremendously
empowering incentive to the morally weak Christian. Even when there is need for "excommunicating" the obstinately immoral, Paul appeals that it be done, not by his own or the congregation's authority alone, but "with the power of our Lord Jesus," after judgment has been pronounced "in the name of the Lord Jesus" against the guilty (I Cor. 5:3-4).

In the second place, the apostle points also to Christ as reason for the practice of Christian ethics. Christ's sacrificial death and love constitute the prime appeal in this regard. "The son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me" is the moving dynamic of the apostle's own life (Gal. 2:20) and he makes it the same compelling force in the lives of his converts. Christ's love and death are closely bound together for the apostle, for the death is the demonstration and proof of the love (Rom. 5:8). Along with the resurrection they comprise his gospel (I Cor. 15:3-4). But they also comprise the basis of the Christian life and moral practice (Gal. 5:24; 6:14; cf. Rom. 6:1ff; Col. 2:20-3:5). Those who belong to Christ have "crucified the flesh with its passions and desires" (Gal. 5:24), they have put to death what is earthly in them (Col. 3:5), and they have done this and still do so that they may live (and walk) by the Spirit (Gal. 5:25), being alive to God in Christ Jesus (Rom. 6:11). The relation between Christ's love and death is employed by Paul as an incentive for unselfish living: He says that the reason "Christ's love acts as a control" on Christians is because they "are convinced that one

27. Note how Paul here personalizes Christ's love (subj. gen.) — the only place where he does so. Cf. Burton, ICC on Gal., pp. 139ff; J.B. Lightfoot, Commentary on Galatians, p. 119b.
28. Olaf Moe calls this motive "gratitude", Apostle Paul, 2:413, but surely gratitude enters into almost all the motives.
has died for all," and then he adds, "And he died for all, that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sakes died and was raised" (II Cor. 5:14-15) — clearly a use of the purpose of Christ's love and death as an inducement to shift the center of life out of oneself towards Christ in an unselfish move. The apostle interprets the Christian's baptism in terms of Christ's and the candidate's own death, burial, and resurrection (Rom. 6; Col. 2) and uses the interpretation as the incentive to high ethical living: "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 newness of life." "Do not yield your members to sin as instruments of wickedness, but yield yourselves to God as men who have been brought from death to life" (Rom. 6:4, 13; cf. especially Col. 2:20-3:5). Over and over Paul relates the breaking of sin's strangle hold upon man to Jesus' death in such a way as to make Christ's death the motivating force for pure ethics in the individual and community --- beginning in thought and moving on to relationships and actions. Thus, God "sending his own son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin (or, as a sin offering, περί αμαρτιῶν, ἐν ἐνία τῶν άμαρτίων) he condemned sin in the flesh, in order that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit. For those who live according to the flesh set their minds on the things of the flesh, but those who live according to the Spirit set their minds on the things of the Spirit" (Rom. 8:3-5). Again, in connection with the problem of eating foods


30. The proposition is one especially used in sacrificial connections in the LXX where sin-offerings are frequently called "for-sins." See H.G. Moule, Cambridge Bible on Romans, p. 139.
which cause offense to a brother with a weaker conscience, Paul twice appeals
to the stronger in the matter to desist from such practices, not on the ground
that it is not right for the stronger or that he is too forward in the exer-
cise of his liberties, but simply because the weak brother is made to stumble,
i.e., to consider that he is associating with deliberately sinful brethren
(the "strong"); and further, the really fundamental wrong is that the weak
brother who sensed sin and guilt from the association (and hence a retro-
gression in his spiritual life) is a "brother for whom Christ died" (Rom. 14:15;
I Cor. 8:11). So Paul concludes, "Do not let what you eat cause the ruin of
one for whom Christ died," for to do so is "no longer to walk in love" (Rom.
14:15). Another instance of appeal to Christ's death as incentive for ethics
is Col. 1:21, 22, "And you who once were estranged and hostile in mind, doing
evil deeds, he has now reconciled in his body of flesh by his death, in order
to present you holy and blameless and irreproachable before him (God)." Com-
pare here the remarkable usage in Eph. 5:2, "And walk in love, as Christ loved
us and gave himself up for us," and the Christian appeal to moral living in
5:3ff because of or on the basis of this great sacrifice. It is also striking
that in the midst of the discussion in I Cor. 15 about a general resurrection
which is based on the fact of Christ's death and resurrection, Paul argues in
15:32 the other ethical implication that may have been drawn by the Corinthians
from a failure to tie Christ's (or a general) resurrection to moral behavior,
namely, "If the dead are not raised, 'let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we
die,'" cf. 15:33-34. In Rom. 8:32, Christ's death is used to prompt trust in
God's liberality, "He who did not spare his own son but gave him up for us all,
31. See Robertson and Plummer, IGG on I Cor., p. 172.
will he not also give us all things with him?" In I Th. 4:14 his death is the basis for inducing comfort for Christians whose friends and loved ones had died (cf. 4:13), while in I Th. 5:10-11 it is the ground for eliciting encouragement and edification among the Thessalonians, i.e., the death is pressed in its moral meaning for the training of the thinking and behavior of his converts. Perhaps the supreme usage made of Christ's death as a motive to ethics is Phil. 2:5-11, where the apostle makes it a moving incentive to humility, unity, and benevolence on the part of his Philippian converts (cf. 2:1-5), though here attention is focused not only on the death, but also on the incarnation.

Paul points further to (b) Jesus' example in order to advance the level of conduct in his congregations. In his admonition to "the strong" to bear the infirmities of "the weak" he points to the procedure of Jesus who "did not please himself" in such matters (Rom. 15:3). The apostle uses Jesus' compassion in giving to awaken a similar reaction among the Corinthians to the needs of the poverty-stricken saints in Jerusalem (II Cor. 8:9; note how v. 10 goes straight to the matter of their completing the offering which they had begun). He expects the manner of Christ's forgiveness of them all to serve as a stimulant and canon for the mutual forgiveness of every Colossian: "As the Lord has forgiven you, so you also must forgive" (3:13; "each other", v.12). We have already pointed to Phil. 2:5-11, which is an elaborate usage of Jesus' whole earthly existence as an incentive to higher Christian living. This passage is fitted into a strictly ethical context. Christ's humility and loving condescension are so striking and extreme in their self-abandonment as portrayed here that one almost automatically and unconsciously is moved, out of his own
sense of sin and shame, to greater humility and compassion. The motivating power of Christ's example towards nobler Christian character is unusually powerful in this passage.

It is not clear from our records that Paul employed very extensively the words of Jesus to stimulate his converts' Christian behavior. At least he seldom quotes directly the words of Jesus, though when he does so, it is usually concerning an ethical problem (I Cor. 7:10, divorce; I Cor. 9:14, ministerial support; I Th. 4:22ff, marriage and business; cf. Acts 20:35, ethical sharing with the poor) or the ethical repercussions produced by the application of some doctrine (I Cor. 11:23, the Lord's supper; I Th. 4:15, parousia(?)). That is, in Paul "traces of the words of Jesus are found in parenetic contexts and the sayings are used especially in matters of church discipline." Yet it seems surprising that in I Cor. 7, Paul auspiciously fails to cite either the words or example of Jesus, in support of his views on marriage and celibacy.

Paul also uses Christ's (a) pre-existence and incarnation as ethical incentives. We have alluded already to the moral challenge offered in Phil. 2 by an elaboration and ethical application of these aspects of Christ's nature and existence. In Col. 1:15-20, a somewhat similar provocation to practical morality is attempted. Christ is described as "the first-born of all creation," i.e., prior to creation and sovereign over it (v.15), and the one in whom "all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell" (v.19). Yet this very being is the one who has reconciled all things in heaven and earth to God, and made peace by the blood which he shed on the cross --- all for the purpose of

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34. R.R. Ottley, The Doctrine of the Incarnation; see his article "The Incarnation", HDB, 2:453b.
reconciling men of hostile mind and evil deeds to God that he might present them "holy and blameless and irreproachable" before God (v. 21-22). The whole of Col. 1:21-2:7 is really an effort to describe the moral impact on human thought and deed of the eternal and "temporal" existence and work of Christ which are set out in 1:15-20. Unlike Phil. 2 there is little emphasis on imitation in Col. 1:15ff. Rather the motivating force in Col. lies in the presentation of Christ's priority and pre-eminence in existence, status, and function as designed for the express purpose of reconciling evil men and presenting them holy before God. Such noble efforts on behalf of such ignoble recipients is intended to move the latter to nobler moral efforts of their own.

It is striking how several passages referring to Christ's (pre-existence and) incarnation seem almost to specify the ethical disposition that the writer intends for the doctrine to evoke, namely, a similar surrendering obedience to God on the part of the Christian. Thus in Rom. 8:3, the ultimate result of God's "sending his own son" is that the Christian might "give up" the desire to live by the flesh and live by the Spirit instead; in Cor. 10:4-5, though the Israelites had Christ in their form of baptism and the Lord's supper, still they perished because of evil, and so will Christians without their "forsaking" similar evils (10:6ff); in Cor. 8:9, the "giving up" takes on a literal meaning in the form of contributions to the poor saints, in accord with the spirit of Christ's transition from wealth to poverty (in the incarnation); and in Gal. 4:4, God "sent forth his son" that we might "give up" law and live by the Spirit as sons. In most of these passages an "in-order-that" or "so-that" phrase

35. See Martin Dibelius, An die Kolosser, Epheser, pp. 15-16.
37. ICC on II Cor., p. 241.
makes the application of the motive fairly clear (Rom. 8:4; II Cor. 8:9, 11, (14); Col. 4:5. Cf. eis with the inf. in I Cor. 10:6; also Rom. 15:7-9; Col. 1:22, 38).

Even more moving is the appeal to (d) respect for Christ's lordship as an impetus to ethics. The abolition of legalism in the Roman church will come about by remembering that it is the honor of the Lord which prompts the doing of all things (Rom. 14:6, 8, 9), and that the Lord Jesus sanctions the cleanliness of everything (14:14). It is the Lord Jesus (and the Spirit) to whom the apostle appeals as an incentive to prayer (Rom. 15:30). Respect for the Lord's (final) judgment is intended to prevent premature and non-permissible judging of one another by the Corinthians (I Cor. 4:5), as well as to assure the saving of the Christians from condemnation along with the pagan world (I Cor. 11:32). It is regard for the Lord which arouses moral respect for one's body and detestation of immoral misusages of it, because it belongs to the Lord (I Cor. 6:13) and is united to him (6:17). Unadulterated concern for the Lord prompts greater devotion to him and less to such mundane matters as husbands and wives — which of course will result in celibacy (I Cor. 7:32-35). Regard for Christ's lordship as "the Lord" is the principle that banishes idolatry and solves the problem of eating food offered to an image of some non-existent "god" or "lord." (I Cor. 8:6, 1-13; 10:21-22, 14-30). "Giving oneself to the Lord" is the impelling factor behind the Corinthians' monetary giving, so that the Lord motivates their attitude of liberality and actual sharing (II Cor. 8:5). The Lord is the cause of Christian growth in love (I Th. 3:12) and of strengthening and protecting of the Christian (II Th. 3:3). It is Christ's lordship which prompts worthy living on the part of the Christian (Col. 1:10), and which is the source

of every worthy word and deed (Col. 3:17, 23-24, cf. Phil. 2:13) as well as relationship (Col. 3:18, 20, 22).

Though the love of God and Christ's works and words are the primary motives behind the formation and development of the Christian mind and life, there are other vital though subsidiary motives, which we shall now examine.

Paul appeals occasionally to (3) the concern and character of the missionaries as inducements to morality. He seems to expect that (a) their authority over the converts will promote a certain level of conduct in the latter. Thus where both doctrinal and moral misunderstandings arise, he appeals to the fact that his call to be a missionary (an apostle) did not come from men, not even from the leaders of the church, but from the Lord, so that his pronouncements embody a more than ordinary authority (II Cor. 10:8; Gal. 1:2). The purpose of this authority is moral and spiritual — for edification of the church, not its destruction (II Cor. 10:8; 13:19; 13:10); hence it grants the right for its possessors to make demands upon those over whom it is exercised (I Th. 2:6). The exercise of the authority can be used to produce (a) fear (II Cor. 7:15) and (b) grief (II Cor. 7:8-11) as well as (c) joy (II Cor. 1:24) in the converts, each of which he employs as incentives to ethics. The apostle seems to have resorted most frequently to an appeal to authority with the Corinthians. He wrote them at least one very severe letter which provoked a critical upheaval in their relationships to him (II Cor. 7:8ff). He says that his letter produced a grief in them which in turn wrought "repentance that leads to salvation and brings no regret" (7:10), and that among other things both longing for and alarm concerning (love and fear!) the apostle ensued (7:11), so that

Yet Paul never appeals in his letters to the "apostolic decree" of Acts 15 despite the weighty "apostolic authority" attaching to it, not even in a morals case like I Cor. 5 (cf. Olaf Moe, Apostle Paul, 2:436) ---assuming the trustworthiness of Acts 15, on which see G.H.C. Macgregor, JB, 9:195-207.
they obeyed him and received even his messenger, Titus, in fear and trembling (7:15). More than once he threatens to make his appearance among the Corinthians as a disciplining father wielding a rod of correction over his rebellious children (I Cor. 4:21; 1:23 — though both of these passages reflect the usual streak of Pauline tenderness that accompanies such dire paternal threats). This exercise of apostolic authority is well evidenced in the stern demands and rather dogmatic instructions (as well as warnings, practical counsels, and direct interventions and regulations of church life) which Paul repeatedly lays before his converts — as if he expects little questioning of what he suggests to them (cf. e.g., Rom. 12-14; I Cor. 5; etc.). He recognizes, however, that even his powers and privileges as an apostle have their definite limits and whatever does not make for the edification of all, oversteps these limitations (II Cor. 10:8, "...our authority which the Lord gave for building you up and not for destroying you..."). Consequently, for the benefit of his converts, he sometimes forewent his rights as an apostle (I Cor. 9:4-6, 12, 15, 18; II Cor. 11:9; II Th. 3:9). This was in accord with his basic principle of "becoming all things to all men" (I Cor. 9:19-23). Yet he was interested primarily in arousing not fear and grief but joy (and love, cf. II Cor. 11:11; 12:15) in his converts, so that in the midst of the most "grievous" of his experiences at Corinth, which caused grief to both them and himself, he declares, "And I wrote as I did ... for I felt sure of you all, that my joy would be the joy of you all. For I wrote you out of much affliction and anguish of heart and with many tears, 41. Olaf Moe, however, observes that Paul gives moral guidance, not as a master to his pupils or a father to his children, but like an older brother talking to his younger brothers; he addresses his converts, not "my sons" but "my brethren," Apostle Paul, 2:407f.
not to cause you pain but to let you know the abundant love that I have for you" (II Cor. 2:3-4). He expects his condescension on their behalf from his superior position as an apostle, as well as his discrete usage of his superior knowledge and power, to evoke joy and gratitude to God within their hearts (Phil. 2:12-13, esp. vs. 17-18).

This suggests another method of ethical motivation employed by the apostle, namely, (2) the example of the missionaries and other Christians. Here we must be careful to distinguish between the usage of the example of other Christians as a "standard" and its usage as a "motive." The former is concerned mainly with what they did, the latter more with why: the one treats the example as a rule to measure ethical conduct, the other as a challenge to produce ethical conduct. The lives of the missionaries constituted one of the major existing evidences of Christianity in the world. Further, their lives were one of the most powerful influences for molding the life and conduct of recent converts in this their nascent period. Paul does not shrink from pointing to his own character and manner of life not simply as a guide, but also as an inspiration and desideratum for his young "trainees". The attractiveness, which the Christian character of the missionaries held for former heathen, lay largely in the contrast of that character with the shallow quality of the old heathen manner of life and behavior. Paul accepted responsibility for the gospel which he preached and for his own example --- the gospel which he lived --- not because all other practicable helps and incentives were lacking, but because it takes life to beget life. The word has to become flesh. Thus he says of the Thessalonians, "You became imitators of us and of the Lord." It is striking that he puts the

missionaries on a par here with the Lord who objectified and personalized the word of God before men. It seems perfectly clear to us, therefore, that the Corinthians, for example, learned the meaning of Christian love and the way to practice it, not merely by being commanded to love, but by seeing the portrait of Christ's love, as outlined in such statements as I Cor. 13, reproduced before their very eyes in the actual person of Paul and his fellow missionaries. The apostle uses firm assurances of his love for his converts as the prime basis and cause of their response to his appeals for moral action. (Note that his very last line to the Corinthians in the first letter (16:24) reaffirms this love for them; II Cor. 11:11; 2:4; 13:15; I Th. 2:7-8). A capital example is his appeal to Philemon where his love outdoes his authority, "Accordingly, though I am bold enough in Christ to command you to do what is required, yet for love's sake I prefer to appeal to you...." (vs. 8-9). Such appeals were effective because his love was a reality embodied before them in his every thought and action. So by the same processes of personal contact they would absorb the other great Christian virtues and learn to exhibit each in their daily lives. The principle behind all this was the dynamic impression made by powerful Christian personality, which elevated the character of these new Christians so influenced to extraordinary heights. In this way the religious "sanctification" (Rom. 15:16; I Cor. 1:2; 6:11; cf. I Th. 4:3; 5:23; II Th. 2:13) of all Paul's "saints" was assured an ethical content from the start. Because the missionaries' lives were characterized by a very sincere and highly winsome manifestation of self-discipline, sacrifice, prayer, worship, purity, etc., the lives of those whose confidence they won and whose conduct they trained, received and reproduced. 43 See the discussion of Theo Preiss, Life in Christ, pp. 39-40.
these elements very largely out of vis-à-vis contact, that is, by a type of communication that involved a sort of personal contagion. The moral lives of the missionaries thus functioned as a motive sufficiently adequate to inspire, sustain, and develop at least a modicum of Christian morality in their converts; the greater motives of God and Christ surpassed but also confirmed this lesser motive. It is for this reason that Paul occasionally refreshes the memory of his congregation concerning the manner of his appearance and behavior among them: I Cor. 2:1-5; Gal. 3:1; 4:13-15; I Th. 2:9; II Th. 2:5. In I Th. 2:1-12 he is very specific in recalling to his readers the character of his appearance in their midst: "But we were gentle among you, like a nurse taking care of her children. So, being affectionately desirous of you, we were ready to share with you not only the gospel of God but also our own selves, because you had become very dear to us" (2:7-8); "You are witnesses, and God also, now holy and righteous and blameless was our behavior to you believers" (2:10).

Paul also employs (4) the moral obligation of the converts to themselves and to others, both Christian and non-Christian as an inducement to Christian ethics. In connection with (a) themselves, he appeals to their innate desire for growth and advancement. Thus to the Corinthians he contrasts their present infantile state of immaturity with the state of advanced maturity which should be theirs in an effort to further their growth out of a sense of shame resulting from their awareness of failure at this point (I Cor. 3:1-4; 14:30; II Cor. 6:15; cf. Heb. 5:12-13; I Pet. 2:1-2). Yet he usually seeks to mitigate such appeals to shame by describing their "childhood" as dear to him (I Cor. 4:14).

Closely allied is his appeal to their own experience and memory, both of failure and success. Thus, most of the events noted in his letters are for the purpose of commendation of activities among his converts (often a bit of both!),

depending upon the way they reveal a moral or immoral tendency. He uses these past experiences and memories to encourage higher moral accomplishment. The principle involved here is: one cannot afford to fall below the level of one's own former achievements, so that past moral actions inspire to still greater future moral actions. The motive is used not only with individuals but with groups also. Thus he exhorts the Thessalonians, "As you learned from us how you ought to please God, just as you are doing, you do so more and more" (I Th. 4:1) and "indeed you do love all the brethren throughout Macedonia. But we exhort you, brethren, to do so more and more" (I Th. 4:10).

Thus, too, the Galatians are appealed to on the basis of memory and experience, both of which reveal their retrogression from their former high status in their recent abandonment of grace for law as the basis of their salvation and ethical conduct (cf. I Cor. 11:2; Gal. 3:1-5, "Having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?"; 4:8-9, 15; Phil. 2:12) I Th. 2:1-12; etc.).

Closely akin to the use of memory and experience is that of individual and group progress. Here appeal to the actual use of personal and group ability is made to promote the Christian life. Thus the interrogative expressions of Paul "Are you ignorant?" and "Do you not know?" are appeals to the readers to push their present grasp of matters still further. These questions (apart from their being a rhetorical device) psychologically cast a very stimulating doubt, if not on their abilities to know and act at least on their usage of these abilities. Paul refers in I Cor. 6:5-6 to the lack of progress among the Corinthians in making provisions for their own cases of litigation. He takes the

45. See W.M. Ramsey, Historical Commentary on Galatians, p. 326.
46. J.E. Frame, ICC on Thessalonians, pp. 82, 301.
47. C.A.A. Scott notes Paul's appeal not simply to memory but also to reason (that is, consistency between thought and conduct) as a motive for ethical effort and achievement (cf. Gal. 5:25; Col. 3:1,3, 5, 8; Eph. 5:8-9), New Testament Ethics, pp. 86-90.
absence of courts and men able to judge as a sign that the Corinthians are not capable of so judging, "I say this to your shame. Can it be that there is no man among you wise enough to decide between members of the brotherhood, but brother goes to law against brother, and that before unbelievers?" The same needling approach seems to underlie his reasoning in I Cor. 4:8; 5:1-2; 11:22; 14:20; 15:34; II Cor. 6:12-13. But often his appeal to the progress of his converts is more positive and complimentary, "Now as you excel in everything — in faith, in knowledge, in all earnestness, and in all love for us — see that you excel in this gracious work also" (II Cor. 8:7). Note how in this passage he exaggerates the accomplishments of the Corinthians in the several areas where they do excel in order to arouse a desire in them to excel in other areas also (here, in giving). Thus, the progress of a group in one area or direction is used to spur their progress in another area or direction. (cf. I Cor. 11:2; II Cor. 7:4, 11, 14; 8:24; 9:2-3). Sometimes, however, he uses their attainments in a matter to incite still further attainment in the same field. Thus as an incentive to continued obedience from the Philippians, he recommends to them their past record in obeying and urges them on the basis of their record to press forward in their work and obedience (Phil. 2:12; cf. I Cor. 15:58; II Cor. 8:10-11; Gal. 5:25). It is remarkable that he uses this procedure with the Thessalonians who had been converts so brief a time when he wrote them (I Th. 4:1,10) and seems to refer to it even in Romans with readers whom he had never visited (15:14-15; cf. 5:1ff; 6:12-14, 20-22).

Paul further appeals to 4/ respect for oneself as a Christian. This means not merely the human self but the self as made a new creature in Christ. Immorality is thus prohibited because "the immoral man sins against his own body" (I Cor. 6:13) in that, one who joins himself to a prostitute "becomes one body with her"
while he has already become one spirit with Christ (cf. 15:16). The Christian's self-respect, therefore, rests on the fact that his "body is the temple of the Holy Spirit" (6:19). This motive takes such forms as an appeal for Christians to "walk worthy of God" (I Th. 2:12), "worthy of the gospel" (Phil. 1:27), "worthy of the Lord" (Col. 1:10), and "worthy of their calling" (Eph. 4:1; cf. II Th. 1:11). In each of these passages "worthy" is defined in ethical terms. All four passages seem to be another way of saying "walk worthy (ethically in thought and deed) of oneself as a Christian." Rom. 16:2 expresses the idea succinctly, "as befits (or becomes) saints." In showing respect for oneself as a Christian, one is not to overrate himself, "for if anyone thinks he is something when he is nothing, he deceives himself" (Gal. 6:3), and he is not to deceive himself (I Cor. 3:18; 6:9; 15:33; Gal. 6:7; II Th. 2:3). Though he is to esteem others better than himself (Phil. 2:3) and is to boast of the Lord (I Cor. 1:31; II Cor. 10:17) yet there is a legitimate type of boasting "in oneself" (Gal. 6:4). Even so, he is to think of himself "with sober judgment" (Rom. 12:3) and "to conduct himself becomingly" (Rom. 13:13). He is not to let what is good to him be spoken of as evil (Rom. 14:16). To a certain extent this motive may be identified with that called noblesse oblige — the obligation of honorable and generous behavior associated with the high rank and origin of the Christian. That is, to be true to oneself as a Christian acts as an impulse to goodness.

50. Compare here especially I Th. 4:3 and 7. The power of the motive is revealed by the new attitude not only towards adultery but also towards porneia, which Christians were the first to arouse among Gentiles. See C.A.A. Scott, New Testament Ethics, pp. 117ff; Ernst Von Dobschuetz, Christian Life in the Primitive Church pp. 367ff; M.S. Enslin, The Ethics Of Paul, 149-156.
Thus in light of the fact that the Christian is a child of God (Rom. 8:14-17; Gal. 4:5-7) and an heir of God and joint-heir with Christ (Rom. 8:17; cf. I Cor. 6:9-10; Gal. 3:29; 4:7; 5:21), as well as God's building (I Cor. 3:9), temple (I Cor. 3:16; 6:19; II Cor. 6:15), and field (I Cor. 3:9), and a citizen of the kingdom of God (I Th. 2:12; II Th. 1:5; Phil. 3:20; Col. 1:13), his origin, status, and destiny invoke in him a level of action commensurate with their loftiness. The greatness of his new nature --- of what he has and who he is --- not only inspires but produces great moral action. Application of this appeal to respect for oneself as a Christian may be studied with profit in relation to the apostle's idea "for conscience's sake." In order to avoid a division between inner sense of rightness and outer action (i.e., to maintain one's moral integrity), he advocates being subject to the executive powers of government (Rom. 13:5). Conscience is not a standard here, but a propulsion to civic (and Christian) obedience. Likewise in I Cor. 10:27, he counsels eating meat at a dinner at which one is an invited guest without raising any question as to its origin, even though one may be fairly certain that it has been offered to an idol in some heathen temple. There is to be no hiatus between what one knows to be right and what he does. Since an idol is nothing (I Cor. 10:19), meat offered to an idol is nothing so far as morality goes; hence, one may eat of such meat in good conscience, and so in self-respect.

There is not space to follow out Paul's appeal to what the Christian possesses (I Cor. 3:18-23; II Cor. 4:7ff) as a motive to careful and constructive ethical usage, nor appeals to consistency and conformity (Rom. 15:27; cf. Gal. 2:14) between the individual Christian's thought and action, nor to

52. See Robertson and Plummer, ICC on II Cor., p. 125.
such motives as appeal to freedom and individualism (cf. Gal. 5:1ff), wisdom, righteousness, etc., nor to what has been designated as the "desire for a complete personality."

Paul also uses motives with regard to (b) others, both fellow-Christians and heathen. As to fellow-Christians, he appeals to respect for their wellfare and especially their reputation. Thus in Rom. 15:1-2 he counsels not the pleasing of self but one's neighbor, particularly the weak neighbor, "for his good." He cites the same principle to motivate the proceedings in regard to eating meat offered to idols. While a Christian is perfectly free to eat such meat, he must remember the welfare of his fellow-Christians for not all things build up. "If your brother is being injured by what you eat, you are no longer walking in love" (Rom. 14:14). "Let no one seek his own good, but the good of his neighbor" (I Cor. 10:24; Rom. 14:21). In Corinth the motive is applied to disentangle the problems of disunity (I Cor. 4:6-7), cases of litigation (6:7-8), immorality (6:15-17), inner marital relationships (7:3-5), worship, involving both the celebration of the Lord's supper (11:22, 23) and the exercise of spiritual gifts (11:12-30), the offering for the poor (II Cor. 8:10-15), and even his own preaching of the gospel (I Cor. 9:19ff). So, too, it is one's "brother" who is not to be transgressed and wronged by adultery (or defrauded in business) in I Th. 4:6. Love is the fulfilment of the law because it does no wrong to a neighbor-Christian or otherwise (Rom. 13:10). One is not to cause the ruin of any fellow-Christian (Rom. 14:15) but is to work instead for the edification of the latter.

54. James Moffatt, Commentary on I Cor., p. 37; J. Weiss, HFX, 2:566-569.
The impetus to ethical action provided by the enhancement of the welfare and reputation of other Christians is a vastly sweeping one in Paul — because it is the principle of love — the motive power behind all Christian action.

The apostle makes a special appeal to 2/ respect for the conscience of fellow-Christians. This is enunciated most clearly in respect to scruples about eating and drinking. Some Christians in Rome were apparently vegetarians and observed certain (fast?) days. Paul lays down the principle that one is not to judge or despise such a person and his opinions (Rom. 14:4, 10, 13) and is not to put a stumbling-block or hindrance in his way (14:13), for "it is not right to ... do anything that makes your brother stumble" (14:21). That is, one is not to defile another Christian's conscience by intentionally violating the latter's ideals of Christian thought and behavior (I Cor. 8:7ff; 10:28-39), for in doing so he really wounds the conscience of his brother and sins against him (I Cor. 8:12). This personal allowance for and adaptation to the conscientious opinions and scruples of the brethren has tremendous bearing and propulsion on the course of individual and community conduct.

Paul uses the 3/ suffering of other Christians as a boost to the morale and moral advancement of his own converts. He notes that the Thessalonians had received inspiration from the churches in Judea under trial from their Jewish countrymen and that the Thessalonians had thus successfully withstood the persecution of their own compatriots (I Th. 2:14). The desperate poverty of the saints in Judea is


used to move Christians in all his Gentile churches to assist in relieving these burdened fellow-believers (Rom. 15:25-27; I Cor. 16:1; II Cor. 8:4, 14; 9:1; Acts 24:17). He even pits the generous giving of one group against that of another in order to induce the latter to greater liberality of spirit and offering (II Cor. 8:1-5; 9:1-4). The principle is applied as a reason and impulsion for honest work rather than thievery: that one "may be able to give to those in need" (Eph. 4:28).

As to the heathen, the apostle appeals to 1/ the best in pagan morality as a level below which Christians dare not fall. Thus he shames the Corinthians (who in their glorying in wisdom and freedom had openly tolerated a flagrant case of incest in their midst) by describing their immoral situation as "of a kind that is not found even among pagans" (I Cor. 5:1; cf. Eph. 5:12). Each of the Thessalonians is to take a wife for himself in holiness and honor, and the moving impetus behind the action is that thereby they may be "not in the passion of lust like heathen who do not know God" (I Th. 4:5; cf. I Cor. 7:2).

He appeals also to 2/ the opinion of "outsiders". Looked at in another way this is an appeal to one's influence on the heathen. On the basis of this appeal he proposes that the Corinthians revamp their treatment of the gifts of the Spirit in worship, lest outsiders or unbelievers visiting their services should think them mad (I Cor. 14:23). So, too, the Thessalonians are urged to a quiet life,

58. Ernst von Dobschuetz rightly observes the general absence of certain motives to Christian conduct as prevailed among the pagans, such as appeals to astrology, omens, and magic, or to dreams (though cf. Acts 16:7-10; 18:9-10), inconsistent dualism with its thorough-going asceticism, and nationalism, art. "The Most Important Motives for Behavior in the Life of the Early Christians" in The American Journal of Theology, 15:506-509, 513-518.

59. Note the remarks of Edwin Hatch on the level of morality in antiquity, especially in Corinth, Influence of Greek Ideas upon the Christian Church, p. 139; also Franz Cumont, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, p. 42; R.S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, pp. 17ff, 45ff, 90-106.

60. See ICo on I Cor., p. 108.
minding their own affairs and working with their own hands. The prime motive is that they "may command the respect of outsiders" (I Th. 4:11-12; cf. Col. 4:5). In this living of life becomingly in relation to pagan neighbors, Paul assumes that an instinct to order life has a primary place in the Christian nature and in the social sense of responsibility thus created. There is real ethical motivation in this sensitive obligation of the converts to consider how their conduct will affect the unbeliever (even though every comparison with the heathen is to be avoided) — to "give no offense to Jews or to Greeks" (I Cor. 10:32). Hence, the persistently immoral are to be driven from the midst of the Christians and no one is even to eat with such a person (I Cor. 5:11-13). The reactions of such associations were dangerous to the church's life within and its reputation without.

The apostle further makes use of the motive of (5) the community and the common good, that is, the principle of honoring service to the community and of subordinating oneself to the good of all. This includes all that makes for 1/ the peace of the community — both the Christian fellowship and the larger aggregation including non-Christians in a given locality as well (Rom. 14:19). An instance is seen in the problem of a/ marriage and divorce involving Christian and non-Christian partners. If the unbelieving partner is willing they should continue together; if not, the Christian partner should grant the other a divorce — "for God has called us to peace" (I Cor. 7:15), and celibacy and marriage are to promote good order (I Cor. 7:35). Another instance is the matter of b/ Paul's right to financial support from the church, which he forewent "rather than put an obstacle in the way of the gospel of Christ" (I Cor. 9:12). The motive lies

32. See J. Weiss, EPX, 2:564-566.
behind the admonition to the Thessalonians "to respect those who labor among you and are over you in the Lord," because such leaders are the guarantee of order and fellowship in the Christian community, so that all "can be at peace among themselves" (I Th. 5:12-13; cf. I Cor. 6:1-8). The peace of the community depends everywhere on what makes for its "upbuilding". This is especially true of the church, the Christian community, and is one of Paul's widely used motives. Thus each one is to please his neighbor "to edify him" (Rom. 15:2; I Th. 5:11) and the gifts from God are to be exercised for the edification of all, not merely of their possessions (I Cor. 14:3, 4, 5, 12, 17, 26; II Cor. 10:8; 12:19; 13:10; Eph. 4:12; 16, 29). In the interest of the peace and common good of the community Christians "aim at what is honorable not only in the Lord's sight but in the sight of all men" (II Cor. 8:21); cf. also the appeal to community solidarity in I Cor. 5:6.

The plea involves also all which makes for 2/ the unity of the church.

Notice is to be made of those who create dissensions and difficulties in the community (Rom. 16:17), for they deceive the simple-minded and so disrupt the church. A Christian is to give no offense to the church (I Cor. 10:32) but is to be eager "to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. 4:3). Paul describes several of his ethical regulations as his "rule for all the churches," from which a certain unified moral practice ought to result in the interest of the church's unity (I Cor. 4:17; 7:17; 11:16; 14:33). The first difficulty which the apostle seeks to rectify by a consideration of the scandalous observance of the Lord's supper in Corinth is the "divisions among you" which appear when they assemble as a church for the celebration (I Cor. 11:18ff). Obedience to injunctions assumes added incentive in light of the unity of the congregation which

these are intended to promote. There is to be no class consciousness among Chris-
tians for all have been baptized into one body of Christ, the church, and so all are one in Christ Jesus (Gal. 3:27-28; Col. 3:11; cf. Rom. 3:22, 29; 10:12).

Dissensions and parties are wrong because they split the unity of Christ's body (I Cor. 1:10ff).

He seeks to promote generosity and liberality by encouraging mutual sharing between his converts and among his churches. The Jewish Christians have supplied the Gentiles with spiritual blessings; the Gentile Christians should, therefore, share their material blessings with their poorer Jewish brethren (Rom. 15:27; II Cor. 8:14-15; cf. I Cor. 9:11). This mutual sharing of talents and possessions serves to supply the wants of all who are in need, enriches those who give, and the spirit of obedience and benevolence thereby illicitly overflows in many thanksgivings and glory to God (II Cor. 9:11-12). A motive that impels mutual sharing is the principle of return based upon investment: "He who sows sparingly will reap sparingly, and he who sows bountifully will also reap bountifully" (II Cor. 9:6; cf. Gal. 6:7-9).

To further along "community ethics" he points occasionally to a sense of fair play and justice. He expects his converts to do as much as has been done for them (Gal. 4:13). He never quotes the "golden rule" of Jesus, though its meaning and content appear in certain of his principles which inspire behavior, such as, "Repay no one evil for evil (the negative form of the "rule"?), but take thought for what is noble in the sight of all" (Rom. 13:17) or "Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good" (Rom. 12:21). When he says, "The commandments are summed up in this sentence, "You shall love your neighbor as your-
sel", he has touched one of the major springs of community life which surpasses

64 Lightfoot, Commentary on Galatians, p. 174a.
mere justice and fair play. The standard — "as you love yourself" — reminds, however, of the "golden rule." A sense of just and equitable dealings underlies the thoughts about reaction to governmental personnel in Rom. 12:7, about mutual marital relations in I Cor. 7:3, about associations of Christians with one another in Rom. 12:18; II Cor. 13:11; Gal. 6:2; cf. Eph. 5:21, and about the relations of the leaders and the "led" within the congregations in I Cor. 16:16, 18; Gal. 6:6; I Th. 5:12-13.

Community ethics is also fostered by an occasional 5/ threat of excommunication. The clearest example is in I Cor. 5. The man who insisted upon living in an incestuous relationship is to be "driven from the midst" of the other Christians (5:13). They are to assemble and "in the power of the Lord Jesus ... deliver this man to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (5:4-5). To hand a man over to Satan is a punishment that means to anathematize him (to put him under a curse, ) and Paul can anathematize those who do not agree with him (Gal. 1:8) and expresses a willingness for himself to be anathematized if thereby he can assure the salvation of his own countrymen (Rom. 9:3). Excommunication from the group involved a greatly feared but unseen reality — the power of Satan and his demonic hordes in the world controlling all men except those "in Christ" (cf. 2:8-15). "Sending a man out of Christ's group meant sending, out under control of the powers of evil, out of reach of the power of the Spirit." It is possible that this "handing over to Satan" meant actually voting for the offender's death, though not his eternal damnation, because God's

64a. The "community" element enters strongly here in that "it was the assembled congregation that made the decision on conclusive exclusion," Bultmann, TNT, 2:233.


Pneuma in him has fortified him against the final victory of Satan. But there was a resort to social ostracism as well (I Cor. 5:11). Both the social and religious aspects of excommunication make it a powerful instrument for ethics in Paul's hands.

The last of Paul's ethical motives which we shall notice here is connected with 6/ the parousia of Christ. Eschatology is always a motive, never a standard of ethics. Several other events are associated with Christ's return, and the apostle appeals at some time or other to all of them. He appeals to the (a) parousia itself in I Cor. 1:7; 4:5; I Th. 1:10; 3:13; 5:23; II Th. 2:1ff; cf. Rom. 13:11-14; as in one way or another the reason for certain attitudes and actions from his converts. In I Cor. 1:8 the (b) end (of the world) is closely tied to the guiltlessness of persons in fellowship with Christ, cf. especially Rom. 6:21, 22; I Cor. 7:29; 10:11; 15:24. He appeals further to the (c) resurrection, both of Christ and of (all?) men as a moving force to ethical behavior: Rom. 6:4-5, 11-13; I Cor. 6:14; 15:22-58; cf. I Th. 4:18, the conclusion of the paragraph 4:13-18. Of course the resurrection referred to in Rom. 6 is that of the Christian at baptism, but this "resurrection" contains meaning and power only in light of the past resurrection of Christ and the future resurrection at the end (cf. Rom. 6:5, 8; Col. 2:12, 3:4). The

66. Ibid, p. 75.
69. Cf. C.A.A. Scott has noticed the infrequency of Paul's appeal to the eschatological motive in reference to specific ethical teaching, New Testament Ethics, p. 91. So has von Dobschuetz in note 68 above.
most prominent "parousial" motive in Paul, however, is the (d) judgment. This divine judgment is either favorable or adverse and the principle behind it is that one's sentence will correspond to one's deeds (II Cor. 5:10; 11:15; Gal. 6:7). Everyone must appear before the judgment assize of God (Rom. 2:16; 14:10; I Cor. 4:5; II Cor. 5:10) and the sentence that God passes will be either commendatorial (Rom. 14:18; I Cor. 4:5; Gal. 6:8) or condemnatorial (Rom. 2:2-3, 5; Gal. 6:8). Adverse divine judgments include dominical vengeance (I Th. 4:6; II Th. 1:8), tribulation and distress (Rom. 2:9), eternal destruction (II Th. 1:9), and separation from the presence of the Lord (II Th. 1:9). Favorable judgments include rest (II Th. 1:7), eternal life (Rom. 2:7; Gal. 6:8), and sharing in the divine glory (Rom. 5:2; 8:18; 24-25; Col. 3:4). The drive behind the eschatological motive lies, therefore, in its offer of rewards and punishments, according to the quality of one's living, and these rewards contain a seriousness all their own because of their finality.

The majority of references just cited in connection with the judgment occur in an ethical context. The motive of the apostle is to produce Christian thinking and living by attraction of positive inducements (I Th. 1:10), but if necessary, also by repulsion of negative appeals (cf. II Cor. 5:11, "the fear of the Lord"). The motive gains additional force by his habit of presenting both the good and bad pictures side by side at the same time (e.g., Rom. 3:5-11), as well as pointing to the part that the righteous will share in judging the world of both men and angels (I Cor. 6:2-3), and in observing that the judgment in part is already in the chastisement that God sends upon

the believers here and now (I Cor. 11:32). The whole eschatological motive gains force in his noting the uncertainty of time left before these final events "set in" (I Cor. 7:26-28).


Many of the Pauline motives and standards of the Christian moral life are the same; the difference lies in their usage. We shall not cover the same grounds again which we have just traversed, but attention must be directed to the measuring rods by which a Pauline convert could test and thereby determine if and to what extent his thought and behavior were moral and Christian.

There are (1) internal standards. These include (a) the deity, God or Christ or the Spirit. A careful statement is necessary here. The indwelling of Christ or the Spirit in the Christian does not create a duality consisting of the Spirit and the (old) self, nor is the Spirit simply "an inward monitor who informs the Christian of the solutions of ethical problems and decides for him what course of action to follow." The Christian and the indwelling Christ or Spirit agree in their decisions because the new nature of the Christian is of the same sort as that of the indwelling Christ or Spirit (II Cor. 5:17; cf. Rom. 8:9). "The Christian, by virtue of the indwelling Christ or


76. Many of the foregoing motives served not only the advancement of Christian thinking and living in believers, but also acted at times as incentives in the conversion of non-believers. See Harnack, M and E. 1:478-482.

77. Wahlstrom, op. cit., p. 149.
Spirit, knows of himself what is right and proper." So concludes one modern student of the matter, though this does not thereby solve the problem of fundamental disagreement on vital questions (doctrinal and moral) among equally "indwelt" Christians. Paul claims to have "the mind of Christ" (I Cor. 2:76), which goes with being "a man in Christ." Thus one is able to "judge" his own thoughts and actions and determine if they are Christ-like, that is, kata Christon or "Christian." In this sense the Christian life becomes, for Paul, its own standard. It is the presence of God or Christ or the Spirit, however, which prevents this judgment from becoming a purely subjective and human activity.

Since the new life in Christ is its own moral standard, (b) the holiness of the Christian life is used by Paul as a norm of conduct among his converts. That is, the Christian is expected to live in accordance with a standard of behavior imposed by the nature of this new life. We have seen Paul's reference to this standard in Rom. 16:2, "as befits saints." God has called the Christian into a state of holiness and made him holy. This produces a life opposite to the uncleanness of the Gentiles (I Th. 4:3-7). The Christian is "sanctified" by the Spirit or the Lord (Rom. 15:16; I Th. 5:23) in Christ Jesus (I Cor. 1:2; 6:11). This includes his whole being, so that he is to live up to the moral

78. Wahlstrom, op. cit., p.152.
79. M.S. Enslin asserts that this means, not "thinking like Christ," but that Christ actually thinks in Paul, The Ethics of Paul, p.117.
level which the new life makes possible for him. Since he is holy (dedicated to God), the standard of his moral life is set by his own holiness (I Cor. 6:9-11; I Th. 4:3-7; cf. Col. 3:12). His action is to come up to his nature and status.

There are also (2) external standards. These might seem to be unnecessary if the Christian really possesses a nature which determines his actions from within and which becomes the latter's own standard apart from any external factors, for if Christians all possess the mind of Christ then immorality, disunity, and all other evils are no longer likely. Such vile actions are not the result of the mind of Christ or of being "in Christ". Yet Paul's converts and congregations continue to experience these evils. Why? Because his young trainees fail to express in their own lives the essential nature of the new life and because they start out with the immaturity of beginners or babes in Christ and some of them fail to grow. It is because of this beginners' immaturity that Paul finds it necessary to use more tangible norms of moral conduct in order to give his converts some idea of what Christian thought and life are like — of what their own new nature and characters are like — and to regulate the life of his congregations. The Corinthians even found it necessary to submit a number of questions to Paul by letter (I Cor. 7:1) most of which involve some standard of behavior and its application. We shall group the more important Pauline standards of Christian morality under the following headings: God, Christ, other Christians, the Christian community, and non-Christians.

82. See Olaf Moe, Apostle Paul, 2:408-409.
As to (1) God, there is (a) the imitation of God. Christians, as Children of God (Rom. 8:16; etc.) should imitate their father. Only in Eph. 5:1 does the exhortation to imitate God occur. The two preceding verses (4:31-32) show the ethical context and content of the admonition. There is also (b) the will of God which is the ultimate norm for the whole Christian life. It is the guide and test for both the mental (Rom. 12:2) and practical existence of the Christian (cf. II Cor. 8:5; I Th. 4:5; 5:18; Col. 1:9-10; 4:12; Eph. 6:6).

The question of the role of the O.T. law arises here: Does Paul ever appeal to it as a standard for Christian morality? What is the relation of the morality demanded by the law to that which Paul expects from his converts? Paul's position is that the prime function of the law was not to produce a high morality, for it only served the opposite — to show that human power alone cannot produce such. It did function as a standard to show what such a moral life might be, but in doing so it also revealed the disappointing moral life which now actually is. The O.T. law is not defective. It was designed to reveal sin (Rom. 3:20; 7:7; Gal. 3:19) and to lead men to Christ (Gal. 3:24), not to produce righteousness in individual and community life. The law is not then a standard for Christian life and morality, for the Christian lives and acts on a different ontological and ethical basis. He is "in Christ"

84. See Donald M. Davies, "Free from the Law", *Interpretation* (1953), 7:156-162, esp. 158f.
85. Rom. 2:6-15 is the nearest Paul comes to saying one must keep the law. Frederic Godet, *Commentary on Romans*, pp. 117-118, says that the new life is begun in grace, but afterwards it must reveal the fruits of grace, i.e., observance of the law. C. H. Dodd, *Commentary on Romans*, pp. 30, 34, thinks that Paul in Rom. 2 only accommodates himself to the legalists' argument in order to show that, even on their own grounds, they are wrong.
and lives by the power (not merely by the law or the example) of Christ (especially his Spirit and love). The Christian has no need for the O.T. law for he not only does right, he is right — a fact not contemplated by the O.T. law itself. The law furnishes some idea of what behavior of a child of God is like, but its description is more implied than defined, and that largely in a partial, negative, and commanditorial manner. Furthermore, the ideal, the scope, the dynamic of the norm of ethical living described and demonstrated by Jesus and the early Christians really transcend those of the norm put forth in the law. For example, the high-water level of the ethical standard in the O.T. law is probably the matter of love for God and neighbor (Deut. 6:5; Lev. 19:18). The norm for this love is expressed in the words "as (you love) yourself," but Jesus may well have raised this norm (which he adopted and approved as the central feature of the "law"-standard, but which really is not "law," cf. Mk. 12:31 and par; Matt. 7:12) by asking his disciples to love "as I have loved you" — i.e., more than one loves himself (Jn. 13:34). Paul probably knows this new and higher level of the standard (cf. Rom. 5:6-10; 1 Th. 4:9; Eph. 5:2), which Jesus demonstrated in his own life and death (Rom. 5:6-7). This love is to be practiced toward all persons without distinction (cf. Matt. 5:43ff; Rom. 13:8-10). The Christian can use the law but only to show up the negative on the lower level and to point out by contrast an ideal (the holiness of God, Lev. 19:12) which the law can reveal but cannot attain. Because, however, the

88. The combination of the two O.T. commands to love may not have been original with Jesus. They appear together three times in Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Issachar 5:2; 7:5; Dan. 5:13; cf. Israel Abrahams, Pharisaism and the Gospels, 1:18ff.
89. So J. H. Bernard, ICC on John's Gospel, 2:527. I do not here raise the complex problem of the historicity of these words in John. Enough that the idea may be reflected in Paul!
Christian lives and functions on an entirely new and different basis from that of law. Paul makes almost no use of the O.T. on its legal side, and mentions only once the ten commandments, and even on this occasion shows how they are fulfilled and surpassed by the Christian motive and approach to life (Rom. 13:8-10). He seems never to appeal to the law as a standard of conduct for his converts. In a few instances he cites the law to confirm his own advice (cf. I Cor. 9:8), but never as a moral canon, not even in dealing with the case of immorality in I Cor. 5. Thus because the law is fulfilled and "ended" in Christ, is surpassed by his norms, and endangers the converts of ingratiating themselves by its use into God's favor, the apostle lays it aside as a standard for Christian living. He takes this position because, for the Christian, it is no longer a matter of "Thou shalt" but "Thou art."

As to (2) Christ, Paul refers directly to his (a) words only rarely (I Cor. 7:10; 9:14; 11:23ff; I Th. 4:15; Acts 20:35), though there are several echoes of dominical sayings in his instructions (cf. Rom. 13:14, 17, 20; I Cor. 13:2; Phil. 4:6; I Th. 5:2). Yet the apostle does not treat Jesus' words as a standard of the new life, certainly not as a new law, nor Jesus as a new "norm" giver.

90. Jesus removes the idea of "law" from the O.T. commands by emphasizing, "the letter" but the "attitude of spirit," cf. Matt. 5:20-48. C.A.A. Scott says Christians are led by the "spirit-principle" in their thoughts and life, New Testament Ethic, p. 83.
91. Thus he prevents the ethical decisions made by the Christian from becoming mere unaided intuitions divorced from all moral or historical contexts, C.A.A. Scott, New Testament Ethics, p. 82.
92. His prime use of the O.T., therefore, is to add additional support to other proofs, not to define the nature and life of the Christian (except prophetically), Olaf Moe, Apostle Paul, 2:4-10.
94. See the distinction cited in C.A.A. Scott, New Testament Ethics, p. 82, n.1.
95. The view of Harald Sahlin, therefore, may be challenged that Jesus was a new Moses, issuing a new law, etc., according to Matthew's Gospel, Root of the Vine, pp. 82f. Against this idea, cf. Strack-Billerbeck, 4:121.
Some see in II Cor. 11:7 an attempt of the Corinthians to regard as such a new legislator and the necessity for Paul's rebuke and correction of them. For Paul, Jesus is not a "teacher", but the Lord, and Jesus' sayings are not new laws to be enforced, but are part of the gospel which redeems and prompts or stimulates new ethical ideals and actions --- not just demands them. For the apostle to have cited often the words of Jesus in relation to his converts' behavior would have endangered their being regarded as new laws and so, though both apostle and converts had laid aside the O.T. law, would have brought back the same old problem in another guise.

In a few passages Paul also presents (b) Jesus and his works as examples for Christians. Most of these, however, are presented from the viewpoint of the heavenly Christ, involving his obedience, humility, unselfish services, and love as witnessed in his incarnation, death for sinners, and resurrection. In these respects he becomes the great example for those who are his. So in Rom. 15:3 "he did not please himself," and Christians should act likewise. In II Cor. 8:8-9 he became poor in order to share his wealth, a pattern for Christians. In Phil. 2:5ff, his humility and benevolence in his condescension to our level supply us with a guide for living. In Col. 3:13 the liberality of his forgiveness is the norm for mutual forgiveness among believers. But it is his attitude that underlies these acts which is the real norm for Christians'
lives, not simply his acts as such. Believers are to be "in Christ" and thus share his nature and attitude; then they can and will reproduce a life and mentality somewhat like his. The example of Christ is, therefore, no merely external norm to be imitated but is a test for checking the inner set "of head and heart in one's life" in Christ. Hence Paul exhorts to an imitation of Christ only in I Cor. 11:1 and I Th. 1:6, and in both passages it is the apostle himself --- not Christ! --- who is the immediate pattern of imitation. There is some question whether one can really imitate another --- to let another decide what his thoughts and actions shall be --- unless of course one makes the thoughts and actions his very own from within. Since the new life is a life "in Christ," it will possess the character and attitude of Christ, though these must be developed in the new Christian or they will lie dormant and unexpressed, and the character and attitude of the old life will reassert themselves. That is why Paul reminds such fallow Christians, unknown to him personally, as he knows from experience would be found in the church at Rome, to "awake from their slumber" and activate their new Christian selves (Rom. 13:11-13).

As to the use of (3) other Christians as (exemplary) norms for young converts, the same problem is involved as with the example of Christ. The use of (a) the apostle himself as example appears in his letters (I Cor. 4:16; 11:1; I Th. 1:6; II Th. 3:7; cf. Phil. 3:17; 4:9). What his converts are to imitate
in him is generally expressed in the context: 1/ his own personal behavior among them (I Cor. 4:17; I Th. 2:10), 2/ the relation of love, respect and harmony between Apollos and himself as opposed to the Corinthians' strife over them both (I Cor. 1:12; 3:4–6; 22), 3/ his willingness to abstain from meat for his weaker brother's sake, although he is free to eat even meat sacrificed to idols (I Cor. 8:13), 4/ his readiness to forego his own ease and even his own rights and "become all things to all men" in unselfish service and consideration of others (I Cor. 9:19–22), 5/ his own sparing use of speaking in tongues in worship (I Cor. 14:13), 6/ his becoming like his converts (without the law, though he once was under it) for their sake (Gal. 4:13), 7/ his labor among them, even though he might have claimed support (I Cor. 4:12; 9:3–18; II Cor. 11:7ff; I Th. 2:9; II Th. 4:7–11), 8/ his dependence on Christ alone and his forsaking of everything for Christ's glory (Phil. 3:8, 17; cf. 4) 9/ his multitudinous sufferings born with patience and joy (II Cor. 11:23ff; 12:7ff) and 10/ his failure to press his claim to collect his dues (Phil. 8, 19). When Paul points to himself as an example to be imitated or a standard for comparison, he specifically mentions the points which are to be imitated or compared. It is the same usage as noticed with Jesus as a norm. Perhaps that is why he uses no calls to imitation in letters to churches which he did not found and which, therefore, did not know him personally (Rome, Colosse, Gal.) He is a standard not of what he is or does of himself alone, but of what he is and does in Christ, of what God is and does in him as a Christian. It is the attitude of love that underlies all Christian actions which is the thing to be imitated in him.

So too he uses (b) examples of others. There are 1/ individuals such as a/ Timothy, whose conduct will remind the Corinthians of Paul's "ways in Christ" (I Cor. 4:17; cf. 15:10; Phil. 2:19ff), b/ Titus and the unknown brother whose work merits reception in Corinth (II Cor. 8:16ff), and c/ Epaphroditus, who is to be honored because of his devotion, toil, and suffering (Phil. 2:25-30). There are 2/ groups such as a/ the Corinthians, whose liberality in giving serves as a standard for the Christians in Macedonia (I Cor. 9:2) and b/ the Thessalonians, whose acceptance of the gospel and imitation of the Lord and the missionaries became a pattern for all others who believe (I Th. 1:6ff; II Th. 1:4). The function of the example set by one person or group is that of encouragement for others to express their own new nature and life "in Christ" according to their own peculiar ability and situation. The example is not to be slavishly followed, because no two lives even "in Christ" are exactly alike.

Paul handles other standards, two of which pertain to (4) the community. Here is included what is (a) useful or edifying. One of Paul's basic pedagogic principles lies in this norm: to build up the church. So in Rom. 12:4ff the various gifts distributed among the members of the church are meant to maintain and strengthen the one body (the church) and one another individually. More specifically, the norm determines what the Corinthians are to do about the confusion arising from all speaking in tongues at once: "Let all things be done for edification" (I Cor. 14:26); and "To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (I Cor. 12:7; cf. 14:4, 12, 17; I Th. 5:11). So too

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109. This principle served both as a motive and a norm and was used by pagans as well as the early Christians. Cf. J. Weiss' pagan illustrations, Der Erste Korintherbrief, p. 158, n.
in connection with the exercise of the individual's liberty in Christ; the guide in the matter is "what is good for the group:" "All things are lawful for me, but not all things are helpful" (I Cor. 6:12, 10:23a), "All things are lawful, but not all things build up. Let no one seek his own good, but the good of his neighbor" (I Cor. 10:23b, 24). This is a flexible standard and has its limitation in application, for it is not always easy to decide what does edify, benefit, or serve the brother or brethren in the Christian community.

There is a second corporal standard, namely, (b) the universally Christian, which Paul brings out clearly in his Corinthian correspondence. It involves a universal way of life for the whole church and is most often characterized by the expression "in all the churches". Thus it is not a policy for the Corinthians alone that each one is to remain in the position where he was when called to be a Christian, but "this is my rule in all the churches" (I Cor. 7:17).

Likewise in connection with veiled women in the worship services, he informs the same congregation that neither he nor "the churches of God" recognize any other practice (I Cor. 11:16; 14:33). These are typical of his "ways in Christ, as he teaches them everywhere in every church" (I Cor. 4:17). So in Galatians, he is anxious to show to his opponents and momentarily confused converts that his understanding and practice of the gospel in his own life and that of his churches were the same as the understanding and practice of it held by the other apostles as was proved to the world when these latter gave him the right hand of fellowship in the council at Jerusalem (Gal. 2:9). So, too, the Colossian heresy not only relegated Jesus to a subsidiary role in God's work of creating, sustaining, and redeeming the world, but it broke with the practices of the church by inculcating both asceticism and licentiousness upon its adherents (cf. Col. 2:8-3:17).
Paul resorts also to (5) the non-Christian community for an ethical standard or two, such as "the natural." This does not mean that the Christian's use of this standard is based on what is universal among men and not on what is specifically Christian. It only means that this standard, which is used among Christians, is also accepted universally as an ethical norm. Paul can and does speak of "the good" in a general way (Gal. 4:13), or of a way of living as "natural" (Rom. 1:26, 27; cf. I Cor. 11:14), "becoming" (Rom. 13:13), "seemly" (I Cor. 7:35), or "decent" (I Cor. 14:40). On the other hand he describes certain actions as "against nature" (Rom. 1:26), "not fitting", "not proper" (Rom. 1:28), "nameless" (I Cor. 5:1), or "shameful" (I Cor. 11:6; 14:35; cf. Rom. 6:21; Eph. 5:12). He describes this standard of the natural and universal most fully perhaps in Phil. 4:3. In this verse several aspects of the Christian and of the best heathen ethical norms are the same. But the standard of the "universal" and the "natural" is of limited application because sin, also, is "universal" and "natural". Thus, the vice lists in Paul contain "universals" which converts must not be and do, while the virtue lists are what their new nature is and does. Their former life is negative, "like the heathen" (I Th. 4:5) or "according to the flesh"; their present life is, positive, "like Christ" or "according to the Spirit". The standard of the "natural" or the "universal" has, therefore, both a positive and a negative side. The negative side --- what Christians are not and do not --- appears often in Paul (cf. I Cor. 5:11, 6:1ff; 10:21; II Cor. 6:14-7:1; I Th. 4:3-7; etc.); the positive side somewhat less often (cf. Rom. 2:14; Phil. 4:8).

Closely tied up with the "natural" is (b) the conscience. Does Paul treat it as a standard? Probably not. The conscience may be a test of actions if it

itself has been well trained in the specific area of actions involved, but generally speaking the conscience itself needs to be tested by other norms! For this reason it can be either weak or strong (I Cor. 8:7, 10, 12; 10:25-29; cf. Rom. 14:1ff) and so its evaluation and measurement of attitudes and actions vary from time to time within an individual depending upon the degree of his own maturity. In Paul, as in all the N.T., conscience is not a capacity or faculty, and its very nature, like that of the law, is partial and incomplete. That is, it is merely preventive, but not curative. It tells one what not to do or what to stop doing --- that such is wrong --- but it does not tell one what is the right or good. It must, therefore, be supplemented by positive faith and reference to the perfect "standard" which is Jesus Christ.


1. Relation of the Christian to Sin and Righteousness.

When one becomes a Christian he is "justified" or "forgiven" (Rom. 3:24; 5:1; etc.), that is, he is "made just" or "made righteous," not merely in a fictitious way nor simply by a transfer of Christ's donated "merits" or righteousness over to his sinful "account", but in a genuine way. He is really declared just, not by the standard of the law or obedience to it, but by the standard of God's grace offered in Jesus' death (cf. Rom. 3:20, 24; Gal 3:11; 5:4). At the same time he is "made alive" (cf. Rom. 6:13; Eph. 2:1ff) and

111 Olaf Moe, Apostle Paul, 2:410.
114 Cf. C.A.A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, pp. 53-75.
115 As Headlam and Sanday, ICC on Romans, p. 36, assert.
117 "Man is made not declared righteous" (Mg), Ezra P. Gould, Biblical Theology of the New Testament, p. 66.
given a "new nature" or made a "new creature" (II Cor. 5:17). This new life and creation are features of the Christian from the start. Yet in spite of God's forgiveness and endowment of the beginning convert with a new nature in Christ and with the Spirit, still the Christian is capable of and prone to sin (Rom. 6:12, 15-19; 7:7-25; Gal. 5:16-26; 6:7-10, etc.). This is due to the fact that though the sinful flesh (or the old man) has been crucified with Christ (Rom. 6:6; Gal. 2:20; 5:24; 6:14), it has not yet been redeemed (cf. Rom. 8:23), and also to the sinful environment (cf. Rom. 7:21; Gal. 1:4; Eph. 6:12) and enslaved universe (Rom. 8:20-22; I Cor. 21:6-8; etc.) in which he lives with the allure of temptations and the Tempter pulling at him (I Cor. 7:5; Gal. 6:1; I Th. 3:5; II Th. 3:3). Paul knows that the Christian begins his new life with the inadequacy and immaturity of the new-born babe. The recent convert does not yet know how his own new nature in Christ will express itself in thought and deed, and he knows how it ought to express itself only up to the degree of the "theoretical" teaching which he has been able to imbibe and/or "practical" example of other Christians which he has been able to observe. If his acquaintance with both has been brief or superficial the expressions of his new life will probably be problematic and equally superficial. And unless the convert's knowledge of both "theory" and "example" increases, his new life in Christ is in serious danger of remaining in the infantile stage (I Cor. 3:1-4; cf. Heb. 5:12-14). This increase of "knowledge" is not merely of a theoretical type, but is also that borne of


120. Paul thus uses "babe" in the opposite sense from Jesus. With Paul it implies a stage of immaturity; with Jesus it signifies a desirable quality of the character of an adult.
practical experience in living the new life. He advances upon the record of his own past, but only by pressing forward intending to do so (cf. Phil. 2:12; 3:13-14). This progress, however, does not change the new nature. An adult person is no more a human being than is an infant. The Christian does not become more and more a child of God, though his moral life will express itself more and more like one.

The Christian then has been set free from his former bondage to sin and has become a servant of righteousness (Rom. 6:13-23; 7:5-6), yet the sinful passions in him are not permanently killed or abolished, but must be subdued again and again (Rom. 6:12-13; Col. 3:5). The dominant hold of sin over him is broken because Christ broke that hold when he died (death is the penalty and wages of sin, Rom. 5:12, 6:23; Gal. 6:7-8; Gen.) and rose again, and the Christian now daily shares that victory in his life in Christ, beginning with his own death, burial, and resurrection with Christ at his baptism (which also brought him into Christ, I Cor. 12:13). The major battle (which was Christ's) in the warfare is thus over, but the Christian will fight many battles of his own (with Christ, of course) before the struggle is finally ended --- for him at death (cf. Rom. 8:5-9; Gal. 5:16-18; I Th. 5:9; Eph. 6:10-17). The new power, the Spirit, in the Christian's life now helps the Christian to express the righteousness which characterizes his present manner of life. The Christian's nature is no longer

122. We must add, however, that the whole "process" of knowing is viewed as a divine gift, a result of the Spirit's presence in the believer (I Cor. 2:11-15).
123. Compare Wahlstrom, op. cit., p. 245, "The Christian is not to become something which he is not now, but he is to realize more and more fully the nature of the new life which has been given to him."
125. See Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 84ff, 234-242.
merely "sarkikos" or "psychikos," but also "pneumatikos" (I Cor. 3:1-3), and his actions reflect the change.  

2. The Christian’s Relations Toward Existing Institutions.

a. The Development of Christian Attitudes and Actions.

Although the Christian begins his new life in Christ with a new nature capable of expressing itself in new thought-forms and behavior-patterns, he will do so, however, only partially, inadequately, and superficially without training. Even experience at Christian living cannot wholly compensate for the absence of Christian training, any more than the "natural man" can dispense with bodily and mental training for the best "natural" or merely human life. Further, Paul foresees the possibility that his converts would allow the new nature to lie dormant or to become indolent, while their old carnal nature regained the upper hand and "asserted" itself to the detriment and decline of the new life. The apostle, therefore, seeks to guide his converts into the general experiences of the Christian life, and expects them to go on from there. He expects them to make progress in Christian thought and activity (Phil. 3:13-14). This progress is a realization of the nature and possibilities of the new life. His training, therefore, does not consist so much in inculcating numerous and isolated factual details or even examples and commands, as in suggesting what are the great relations and attitudes which constitute the Christian nature and life. And he does this not only by teaching theory, but also by encouraging his converts actually to express


127. That Paul expects growth throughout the Christian life, rather than a completeness of existence from the first, is well demonstrated by A. B. Bruce, St. Paul’s Conception of Christianity, pp. 350-358.
these relations and attitudes in practical activities and then by showing these persons whether and why their relations and attitudes do or do not express the Christian's new nature and life. This is a highly personal concept of life and of teaching. Neither life nor teaching is anywhere conceived as formalistic or legalistic. Advancement depends upon the practical (moral) expression of the individual's own new life, not simply on his increase of knowledge or stricter conformity to more and more rules of conduct.

Development in the formation and expressing of Christian attitudes is gradual. The Corinthians had been Christians for some time but still manifested quite non-Christian attitudes and actions with reference to their leaders and to one another, and so do many other of Paul's converts.

Growth in Christian attitudes and behavior depends not only upon the possession but the actual expression of the new spiritual nature in Christ. Paul first ascertains that the individual is "in Christ" and so possesses a new nature. Next, he proceeds to inculcate in him new and fuller ideas about the meaning of the new life and behavior. Then he seeks to follow up these with supervision of the individual's (and congregation's) practical expression of his new nature and to detect and suggest possible improvements. Such possible improvements, however, remain "suggestions". Only when behavior clearly belies the new Christian nature that supposedly gave it expression, as in the cases of divisions, flagrant immorality, etc., in Corinth, does the apostle's "suggestions" crystallize into overt commands.

The new relations and attitudes have, therefore, if not their origin, at least their first expression in the mind of the Christian (cf. Rom. 12:2).

128. Also progress is not the same for every individual or group. Growth is realized in various ways and areas. Cf. F. C. Grant, "The Significance of Divergence and Growth in the New Testament", Christendom (1939), 4:575-587.
Consequently it is of great importance that the Christian have the mind of Christ (I Cor. 2:16), for this assures him that he will have also the attitudes and sustain the relations of Christ in his own thinking and living.


It has been observed recently that there is no recognition of any positive value in human institutions in Thessalonians and Corinthians, and that such begins only in Rom. 13:1-10 in relation to the state —— after Paul has corrected his ideas about eschatology and Christ's second coming. This assertion may or may not be accurate. What is true is that Paul and his converts had adopted attitudes towards various human institutions several years before the writing of Romans.

(1) The Family.

Paul singles out and discusses the various members of the family only in Col. 3:18; 4:1 (cf. Eph. 5:22; 6:9). It is clear from Col. 3:17, which acts as an introduction to the whole section, that he expects even the simplest family relations to be determined on the basis that the individual member (or entire household) belongs to Christ. This too is the significance of the addition "in the Lord" appended in Col. 3:18. Paul's thought leads at once to (a) husbands and wives and the problem of marriage and divorce. How does he help shape the Christian outlook of his converts on this issue? His longest discussion of the subject is in I Cor. 7, though he alludes to it in Col. 3:18-19 and I Th. 4:3ff.

Marriage concerns not simply the individual but is an intimate fellowship that

unites two persons into one body or self (Eph. 5:1; I Cor. 6:16). A Christian attitude must be based on this fact. Further, for Christians, marriage can be contracted only "in the Lord" (I Cor. 7:36), that is, only with another Christian. The marriage relations, therefore, are wholly "in the Lord." This new "body" (or person, self, etc.) will naturally share in the new nature of both Christian parties who constitute it, and so the relations and activities which it experiences, while in part unique and different from all others in life, yet share the same quality and characterization as all others in Christians --- that is, all activities of this marital unit or "self" are simply expressions of the new nature (or natures) "in Christ." Monogamy and faithfulness of partners constitute the only possible basis of Christian marriage, because any other alternative destroys the "one body" created by the two parties (I Cor. 6:16). Each person, therefore, is to have his own mate (I Th. 4:4), and their marital relationship is to last until the death of one of them (Rom. 7:2-3; I Cor. 7:10-11, 39). Paul fails to mention even the exception of unfaithfulness (Matt. 5:32) as grounds for breaking the marriage vow. Marriage, then, is not for the satisfaction of lust but is to be executed in sanctification and honor (I Th. 4:4). In fact, Paul raises the whole question of marriage from the mere physical to the moral level by pointing out that the aim, even of conjugal activity, is not to be self-gratification or the conferring of a favor but the payment of a debt (I Cor. 7:3, 29.9356.767); thus refusal of conjugal "dues" amounts to fraud, i.e., withholding what is owed.

133. Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, pp. 163-165; H. L. Gouge, Westminster Commentary on First Corinthians, p. 51; Robertson and Plummer, ICC on 2 Cor., pp. 126f.
136. But M. E. Andrews asserts that to Paul marriage was not a holy state, Ethical Teaching of Paul, p. 82.
137. Robertson and Plummer, ICC on I Cor., pp. 133-134.
As to the relation of husband and wife within marriage, the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of man and God is the head of Christ (I Cor. 11:3; cf. Eph. 5:23-24). Further the man was not created for the woman but the woman for man (I Cor. 11:9), and so the woman ought to wear a (sign of) authority on her head (because the man, her husband, is her "head"; I Cor. 11:10). Yet "in Christ Jesus" there is neither male nor female for all are one in Christ (Gal. 3:28), and though originally woman was made from man now every man is born of woman (I Cor. 11:8, 12), and so neither is independent of the other (11:11). Moreover, the husband is to love his wife as he loves his own body and as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for it (Eph. 5:25, 28-30). The woman is to keep silence in the church service (I Cor. 14:34), though some seem to have prayed and prophesied in public (I Cor. 11:5). If they wish to ask a question, they must do so of their husbands at home (I Cor. 14:35, though there is some question about the genuineness of this statement). Husbands would need be good teachers to fill this role.

The problem of celibacy is touched upon by Paul. He may have been faced with both an ascetic and libertine group in Corinth and elsewhere (e.g., Colosse). The ascetic motto was: "It is good for a man not to touch a woman;" the libertine: "All things are lawful." Paul admits that to remain unmarried would be an ideal state (I Cor. 7:1, 7), but celibacy is a gift from God in precisely the same way that marriage is a divine gift (I Cor. 7:7, 17), and so absolute sexual continency is not one with a superior status to marriage morally or otherwise. Celibacy

140. Donald W. Riddle, Paul, Man of Conflict, p. 110 and literature there cited.
141. G. R. Stevens, Pauline Theology, p. 316; but see W. E. Andrews, Ethical Teaching of Paul, pp. 81-82, 85.
142. For W:34-35 appears in several manuscripts after 14:40 (D G93 d e f q Ambra Südul), which suggests a textual difficulty. The style is also affected by the introduction of women we wish to learn into a context about prophesying. The passage, however, suits 14:40 no better than it does 14:33, and there is at least one common feature between the prophets and the women in assembling, namely their public speaking, hence, the verses may well follow 14:33. Otherwise, they are probably to be considered a gloss. Cf. Kirsopp Lake, Eerdmans, Johannes Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, p. 842; James Moffatt, Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, pp. 113f.
is neither the will of God for all nor will it work for all. Married persons
myself practice celibacy within their marriage relations, but the apostle thinks
that several considerations might be noted with profit in reference to such a
procedure. It might best be: (1) by mutual consent, (2) temporary, and (3) for a
good (spiritual) purpose (I Cor. 7:5) The situation described in I Cor. 7:35-
may possibly refer to a custom which became prevalent later in the church,
that a couple would marry, but agree not to engage in sexual intercourse.
But in some instances the agreement proved difficult to keep, and the question
arose whether it was right to break this vow of celibacy and let their marriage
take its natural course. Paul suggests that either course is right (I Cor. 7:38),
again apparently on the ground of God's gift to the individuals (7:36-37).
Can a widow or widower remarry? The same principle applies (I Cor. 7:8-9). Not
even widowhood possesses any special "merit"!

As to divorce, the principle is straightforward and unequivocal: "To the

142. Some scholars think that Paul himself was an ascetic because of a dualistic
view of flesh and spirit, e.g., Otto Pfeiderer, Paulinismus, p. 259; Paul
Wernle, Beginnings of Christianity, 1:205-206; H. J. Holtzmann, Neutesta-
mentliche Theologie, 2:155; Rudolf Bultmann, NTW, 1:102f. But see G. B.
Stevens, NTW, pp. 447-451; C.A.A. Scott, New Testament Ethics, pp. 124-125;
cf. Erich Tescher, "Zur Witwerschaft des Paulus und der Auslegung von I Cor.
143. Compare M. E. Andrews, Ethical Teaching of Paul, p. 82.
144. Cf. J. Massie, "Did the Corinthian Church Advocate Universal Marriage? etc.",
JTS (1901), 2:527-538.
145. See J. Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, pp. 205-209; EX, 2:281, 534; James
Moffatt, Commentary on I Corinthians, p. 97-100; Samuel Belkin, "The Rel-
igious Background of Paul", JBL, 1935, 54:41-60; M. E. Andrews, Ethical
Teaching of Paul, pp. 86f. Also Wilhelm Boussset, Schriften des Neuen Testa-
ments, in loc.; Hans Lietzmann, An die Korinther I-II, in loc.; Kirsopp Lake,
146. It is possible that the passage refers to unmarried but "engaged" persons,
or to a father and his unmarried daughter. In either case the general prin-
ciple remains: Do as each will according to his gift; marriage is no sin (I Cor.
147. But on the contrary, see e.g., Carl Weiszaecker, Aus, 2:388-390.
(1940), 22:78-87; David Daube, "New Testament Terms for Divorce", Theology
married I give charge, not I but the Lord, that the wife should not separate from her husband (but if she does, let her remain single or else be reconciled to her husband) — and that the husband should not divorce his wife" (I Cor. 7:10-11). For two Christian partners in marriage divorce is impossible. Paul does not explain why, but it seems clear from the nature of the Christian life and marital relations in Christ: the "one body" (in this case "in Christ") brought about by marriage is shattered or impaired by divorce. To divorce is to destroy part of this "new creation" in the Lord; to remarry is to attempt to take on or to form another "marital body" although one really shares in another such "body" already (considering that marriage is really destructible only by death, or possibly unfaithfulness). But what of mixed marriages where only one partner is a Christian? If the Christian is willing, he should continue the marital relationship; if the heathen partner desires a divorce, the Christian should consent to it, "for God has called us to peace" (I Cor. 7:12ff). In the latter case the Christian partner is not bound (7:15), though it is not at all clear that this means freedom for the Christian to remarry. On the contrary Rom. 7:2-3 and I Cor. 7:39 imply that one is free to marry again only upon the death of the living spouse.

How is the Christian to regard (b) parent—children relations? Paul says little about them. In general practice a child's status was little different from that of a bond servant (Gal. 4:1ff). He notes the usual custom that parents "lay up for their children", not vice versa (II Cor. 12:14). He regards his own converts as his children and himself as their father through the gospel (I Cor. 4:14-15; Gal. 4:19). He defines the believer's relation to God in terms of a child—father

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150 G. B. Stevens, Pauline Theology, p. 317.
association, yet for Paul "childhood" is a state out of which one is to grow -- an incomplete and restricted state," comparable to servitude under the law (I Cor. 13:11, 14:20; Gal. 4:1ff). It is not clear from Col. 3:20-21 and Eph. 6:1-4 that all the children of believers are "in the Lord." Several early manuscripts omit the words and it seems just as possible to associate the phrase "in the Lord" with "parents" as with "obey" or with "this is pleasing". In any case it is the spirit or attitude and manner of the obedience that is described, not the sphere of its performance. The attitude that parents are to adopt towards their children is a non-provocative one lest the children become discouraged (Col. 3:21; Eph. 6:4). They are to bring them up "in the discipline and instruction of the Lord" (Eph. 6:4), which certainly means the formation and education of a Christian life and mind in them too. Children are therefore, to be accepted as a responsibility as well as a privilege and joy, and are to receive their life and training in Christ partly under parental inspiration (cf. I Cor. 7:14). Christian parents are to instruct their children in the faith and discipline them in behavior.

Children probably had little to do in the average worship service beyond looking and listening and simple worship in prayer and praise.

Since slaves were generally a part of the household, we include our treatment of (c) master-slave relations here with the family. Paul does not suggest the abolition of slavery, not even in his returning of Onesimus, the runaway slave, to his owner. Instead he recommends the adoption of an attitude toward slaves

152. Wahlstrom, op. cit., p. 209.
155. T. K. Abbott assumes the last, ICC on Ephesians and Colossians, p. 293.
(not merely towards slavery as such) which transforms the bitterness and horror of the institution and lays the groundwork for its ultimate abandonment. Like all other relations he views it under an "in Christ" aspect. Where both master and slave are Christians, then, they are brothers "in Christ" and the master himself has a higher master, Christ, to whom he is responsible for every detail of life (Col. 3:24; 4:1; Eph. 6-9). The master in exacting service of the slave must then expect nothing more or different than Christ expects of both. Likewise the slave will seek to render service for his master as though he were working for the Lord himself, for in his performance of household duties he really is "serving the Lord Christ" (Col. 3:22-23; Eph. 6:6-8). Apparently this attitude of Christian slaves is to be maintained even under pagan masters. Paul counsels that every Christian is to abide in the station where he was called. Slaves will remain slaves, though if they can secure their freedom they should do so (I Cor. 7:20-21). The important question is not the status in which one is called, but whether or not he is "in Christ", for the slave "in Christ" is the Lord's "freedman" and the Christian freedman is a "slave" of Christ (I Cor. 7:23). The freedman not "in Christ" is a slave of sin (Rom. 6:16-20; cf. Jn. 8:34).

What role did slaves have in the church? Did they ever preach, teach, or lead in worship? Or was their life always a quiet one, bearing their witness only in the home or modestly by their decorous behavior in public? Did a slave ever occupy a place of leadership in the church above his own master? We have

160. So Willibald Beyschlag, NTT, 2:224.
no answer to these questions. The Christian mind in the slave was formed and expressed itself much like that in his master. It may well be that the Christian mind came to highest expression in some of the early enslaved converts and that they were entrusted with responsible positions of leadership in the Pauline congregations.

In the sections in Ephesians and Colossians concerned with family relations, the treatment of husband-wife, parent-childen, and master-slave relations is couched in the "Haustafeln" style. The pattern may be reflected also in I Cor. 7 where the three groups appear again. In Ephesians and Colossians little new is added except the "in the Lord" motif (which is the "key" to Christian morality, after all!). In I Cor. 7 the discussion brings out more clearly the original element behind the Christian mind: (1) dependence on the "in Christ" relationship (32, 39), (2) the determinative importance of the gifts from God prescribing the abilities and limitations of each individual (7, 17), (3) the impact of impinging circumstances upon the practical expression of the Christian mind in all ethical areas (26, 27 — the impending distress, shortness of the time), (4) the need for a careful and proper evaluation of the nature and purpose of all things, noting the permanence and impermanence of both nature and purpose of all (31), and (5) the ultimate goal of all disciplining and expression of the Christian mind and nature: "to promote good order and to secure ... undivided devotion to the Lord" (35).

In connection with family life is the matter of (d) sexual morality. What sort of problem did the matter pose for the apostle in his congregations composed largely of new converts fresh from heathenism? Because of the great frequency of the subject's occurrence in Paul, it has been asserted that sexual
irregularities constitute one of the most serious and troublesome problems in the Pauline communities. But this conclusion has recently been challenged on the basis of a more careful study of the relevant terminology in Paul's vice lists and parenetic sections which formed the basis of the original assertion about his pre-occupation with sexual problems in his congregations. A more studied classification of the terms in the vice lists reveals that the words of most frequent occurrence are not those denoting sexual irregularities, but are such as denote envy, enmity, and strife. That is, "Paul's chief problem was strife and disorder among his converts, not sexual irregularities."

Apart from the vice lists, the apostle discusses the problem of sexual irregularity only in I Cor. 5 and 6 and I Th. 4:3-8. Much of the material in the vice lists is quite stereotyped, and so may have been intended to apply only in a general way. It is often difficult to tell from the manner in which they are included in the text just how realistic and specific a situation these lists do represent or imply. Moreover, judging from the letters there was very little trouble with the problem in Rome, Galatia, Philippi, or Colosse. And what he wrote in I Cor. and I Th. must have solved the difficulties in those churches for he does not return to the subject in II Cor., and II Th. "Instead, therefore, of being 'the most serious problem that confronted Paul', it would seem that only in two churches did it give him any trouble. And in neither of these places did he need to repeat his admonitions."

165. Ibid., p. 217.
Yet we ought not to minimize the seriousness of the difficulty which Paul faced with this issue. There appears to have been a libertine party at Corinth, and possibly also at Colosse, who looked lightly upon the whole question of sexual relations and functions. Paul points to certain basic principles which furnish us a clue as to what a Christian’s thinking and practical attitude on the subject might well be --- not simply because the apostle says so, but because such principles and practices express the mind and nature of all Christians. Apparently the Corinthian libertines held that the spirit was already saved by Christ, so that what one does with the flesh does not matter; he might even be obliged to destroy the latter by abuse. In Corinthians 5 and 6 Paul offers some observations and principles about immorality. It is (1) an injury to the Christian individual --- (a) to the whole man; it is the pre-eminent sin against a man’s body (as against the libertines, 6:18); (b) to one’s spiritual life and union with his Lord (6:15-17); (c) to one’s liberty — to be subject to sexual passions is not freedom but slavery (6:12), so that, "though all things are lawful," they are not helpful, and (d) to the Christian’s moral integrity (cf. 6:18). Further, immorality is (2) an injury to the Christian group: "A little leaven ferments the whole lump of dough" (5:6; cf. I Cor. 12:7). Moreover, it is (3) an injury to the Lord, (a) because he dwells in the

Not, however, because of any personal reasons on his part, as has been suggested, M. S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, pp. 191f; E. V. Arnold, Roman Stoicism, p. 246. Against this, cf. J. Weiss, APX, 2:580.

See the discussion of Willibald Beyschlag, NTT, 2:217-222. Also Wilhelm H. Luetsgert, Freiheitspredigt und Schwärmmeister in Korinth (1906), whose views on the ascetic-libertine extremes in Corinth are summarized by J. H. Ropes in The Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians.

"The 'body' as he (Paul) understands it is not merely the material body, the house of the soul ..., but it is the imperishable of personality," J. Weiss, APX, 2:581 (underscoring ours).
whole body like a temple, and to sin against the temple is to sin against him who dwells within (6:19; cf. 3:16-17; II Cor. 6:16); (b) because the Christian is not his own, but his entire being (not merely his spirit) belongs to the Lord who bought him with a price (6:20), hence the body is meant for the Lord and the Lord for the body (6:13); and (c) because the body is a member of Christ —— immorality makes it a member of a prostitute (6:15-16). Also in the case of a married person, there is an implied injury to the marital "unit" (the one body of 6:16), which is the product of his (or her) "lawful" marriage (cf. Eph. 5:31), because one's immorality establishes a second "unit" with a third party. Above all, there is (5) abandonment of one's overall purpose in the new life in Christ: to glorify God in one's (whole) body (I Cor. 6:20). From any angle, therefore, the Christian cannot express his new life and mind in immoral patterns (I Cor. 6:18, "Shun immorality"), and anyone so immature as to persist in expressing himself thus —— no matter whether it be with sex, idol worship, strong drink, robbery of property, greed, or reviling —— is to be driven out and social contacts with him, even to eating, are to be discontinued (Cor. 5:11, 13). In I Th. 4:3-8 a somewhat more positive description of the Christian attitude to morality is made though even here the negative aspect is strong: (1) sanctification is equated with "abstinence from immorality"; (4:3) and (2) the marriage is viewed as a means to that end (4:4); (3) the marital union, however, is to be formed in "holiness and honor, not in the passion of lust like the heathen" (4:4-5); (4) the pivotal concept around which all Christian thought on the matter revolves is that "God has not called us for uncleanness, but in holiness" (4:7). From this last principle derives

170. It has been suggested that Paul's mode of reasoning here could be used against continuance of relationships with a pagan partner, Sydney Cave, The Gospel of St. Paul, p. 197.
the Christian view of all family relations.

(2) Work and Business.

How is the Christian to regard work and the business of daily life? Since he is caught up into the supernatural world "in Christ", what relation is he now to sustain to activities so purely "mundane" as daily toil performed for his physical livelihood? If Christ's parousia is not far distant, does this justify the Christian's cessation from work? What are to be his attitudes and relations towards fellow workers and those who refuse to work? What of his ownership of property and wealth? How is a Christian to regard money? And how does Paul form a "Christian mind" in his converts on these problems?

Paul lays down the fundamental principle that (1) material possessions, like spiritual ones, are to be recognized as gifts from God (I Cor. 2:12; 4:7; II Cor. 9:6-8; cf. I Cor. 10:26). A second principle lies in the recognition of the nature of things: (2) all earthly things are doomed to pass away (I Cor. 7:31). The Christian's attitude towards labor (whose immediate end is the production of "things", cf. Eph. 4:28) is colored by these presuppositions.

Even in light of a possibly imminent return of the Lord, Christians should continue at their tasks, for these too are gifts of God (I Cor. 7:17ff), and are meant to be exercised to the last. (3) The Christian is to work the same as any other person, in order (a) to maintain himself and his own family (I Th. 4:11-12; II Th. 3:11-12), (b) to have something to give to those in need (Eph. 4:28; II Cor. 9:8), and (c) to command the respect of outsiders (I Th. 4:12). Labor is not performed for its own sake or for purely selfish ends, but other

persons --both Christians and unbelievers --constitute part of its purpose.

The real goal of labor, however, is (d) to the service and glory of God: "Whatever you do, do all to the glory of God" (I Cor. 10:31). This added a special dignity and necessity to labor for the believer. So the Christian is taught to work and whoever does not work, is not to eat (II Th. 3:10). His labor is to be performed in quietness (II Th. 3:12), and he may rightly expect some return for his labor (I Cor. 9:7). He is not to be weary in doing good (II Th. 3:13). All that he does is to be done "in the name of the Lord Jesus" with a spirit of gratitude "to God the Father through him" (Col. 3:17). There is to be no glorying in what one has to do by necessity, but only in what one wills to do freely (I Cor. 9:16). Paul's own reward was his delight in his work (preaching, I Cor. 9:15, 18) and the produce (his converts -- their new faith, character, and life) of that work. This forbids fraudulent dealings in business, which with sexual immorality, constitute the chief besetting sins of the pagan world (cf. I Th. 4:6). Property-ownership seems to be taken for granted. Philemon's loss, sustained through the escape of Onesimus, is recognized as a legitimate claim, which Paul promises to make good (Phile. 18, 19). All his congregations have an exemplary pattern of the meaning of consistent and diligent application of a Christian to toil in the person of the apostle himself (I Cor. 4:11; 9:6; II Cor. 11:27; I Th. 2:9; II Th. 3:7-9; Acts 18:1-3). His suggestions and example helped his converts indirectly to develop their outlook toward work, but their own actual toil in conjunction with these was the immediate formulator of their Christian attitude in this respect.

175. See Olaf Moe, Apostle Paul, 2:425.
178. See Willibald Beyschlag, NTT, 2:225.
179. Ernst von Dobschuetz, Christian Life in the Primitive Church, p. 56.
(3) The Brotherhood of Christians

How does the apostle create a consciousness of the corporateness of the believers among themselves? How does he guide the expression of this sense of brotherhood into practical ethical channels? What is the relation of this group to the larger pagan community in which it is set; and how does he arouse a sense both of separateness and obligation of the Christian body toward the pagans?

The church is "the body of Christ" (Rom. 12:4-5; I Cor. 10:17; 12:12-27; Col. 1:18; Eph. 1:23; etc.) a significant fact with a three-fold consequence, namely, (a) its thorough-going dependence upon Christ, (cf. I Cor. 10:17, (b) the intimate relationship of its members one with another (cf. Rom. 12:5; I Cor. 12:12, 24, 25), and (c) its separate existence as a new and distinct entity or order in the world (I Cor. 10:32). The nature and function of the church in relation to God, to itself, and to the world are based on its being the body of Christ. Thus the life of its members shares the character of its head. This character is primarily that of love and derives its source and content from the love of Christ for his body the church (cf. Eph. 5:25, 29-30, 32; 4:16)

Christians, then, are to love one another (Rom. 12:9-10; 13:8; I Cor. 13, etc.). It is this mutual love that (along with the Spirit) acts as a cohesive force among the brethren, binding them together into the one body. Of the usages of the word "love" in Paul where an object is expressed, the Christian's love for his brethren numbers almost half the occurrences (46 out of 114). On the contrary the Christian's love for God or Christ is definitely expressed only 5


times. Even the love of God or Christ for men appears in only 25 instances. It is, however, actually God's love which expresses itself in the love of the brethren for one another (Rom. 5:5), so that this brotherly love is no mere sentiment or attitude, but an activity. It is not a mere aspect or even standard of the Christian life but is the very nature of that new life. It is a spontaneous manifestation of the Christian's new self in Christ. The Christian can now turn his attention to his neighbor because he himself lacks nothing "in Christ" (cf. I Cor. 3:21-22; II Cor. 6:10). What he does, therefore, for his neighbor is done, not for any benefit or reward on his own part, but strictly for the good of his neighbor; it is a wholly unselfish and self-abandoned activity. The Pauline description of this brotherly love is laid out in greater detail in such passages as Rom. 12:9ff and I Cor. 13. This love means that everywhere the Christian assumes responsibility for his brothers: (1) for their physical needs when necessary (Rom. 12:13, 20; I Cor. 16ff; II Cor. 8:8; Gal. 2:10; cf. Eph. 4:28), (2) for their instruction (Rom. 15:12; Col. 3:16), and (3) for their exhortation, encouragement, and "building up" (Rom. 14:19; I Th. 5:11; Col. 3:16). Actually this concern for other Christians results in a mutual interest among the brethren in nearly all areas of the practical expression of the Christian life: speaking (Col. 3:9; Eph. 4:25), judging (Rom. 14:13), receiving (Rom. 15:7), serving (Gal. 5:13), bearing burdens (Gal. 6:2), submitting (Eph. 5:21), caring (I Cor. 12:25), comforting (I Th. 4:18), forbearing and forgiving (Col. 3:13; Eph. 4:32), teaching and admonishing (Col. 3:16) — all summed up in doing good (I Th. 5:15)

183. Statistics according to Wahlstrom, op. cit., p. 235; occurrences with no object expressed number 36.
and loving (Rom. 12:10; 13:8; I Th. 3:13; 4:9): "Let all that you do be done in love" (I Cor. 16:14). This is the practical outworking of that attitude which looks not to one's own interest but to the interests of others (Phil. 2:4) and counts others better than oneself (Rom. 12:3; Phil. 2:3). It is the mind of Christ expressing itself in the Christian (I Cor. 2:16; Phil. 2:5ff) and the "others-first" policy of the Lord which here has its varied re-animation in the "body of Christ" (Rom. 15:1ff). The one characteristic that marks this sort of responsibility toward all the other members of the church is "sharing" or "giving", which quite often is subsumed under such terms as "fellowship", "love", "grace", etc. One shares all things, good and bad, positive and negative with the brethren. The result is not simply a levelling down of all capacities to the lowest common denominator, but a pooling of abilities and experiences so that everyone receives from others what he himself lacks due to his own personal incompleteness of equipment; and in turn each one is strengthened by his contributing to others through the exercise of his own gifts. No one is without some gift, yet no one has all the gifts (Rom. 12:3-4, 6-8; I Cor. 12:4ff; 28; Eph. 4:11-16). Upon this important principle Paul suspends the teaching and practice of brotherhood among his converts. Because no one is fully able to realize the fullest Christian life alone, he is forced to draw upon the endowments of others and to recognize that the exercise of his own gifts supplies the lack in other Christians' thinking and living. In reality, then, "brotherhood"

184. Sydney Cave, therefore, may be correct in interpreting the Corinthians' failure "to discern the Lord's body" at the Lord's supper (I Cor. 11:27) as meaning that they did not recognize the obligations of Christian fellowship at the supper (i.e., the body here refers to the church) when the rich ate their feast without regard to the poorer members, The Gospel of St. Paul, p. 225.


is the church and the individual Christian expressing their nature as the "body of Christ" and as a "member" of that body respectively. The Christian does not thereby simply live for the brethren but with them (cf. II Cor. 7:3); rather he lives for Christ (II Cor. 5:15) — as well as in him (passim) and with him (Rom. 6:8; Col. 2:13; 3:8; Eph. 2:5). Paul encourages his converts therefore to express their community "belongingness" in every thought and activity. Paul does not really create the brotherhood, he only awakens their fuller awareness of its existence and claim upon them by instruction, demand, project, exhortation, and promise; for, being Christ's body, the church is of divine origin. From baptism onwards one is both indebted and privileged in the matter of community expression and life.

This corporate life in Christ involves not merely each local congregation but all the congregations of the entire church. Certain projects and features of the life of the great "body of Christ" cannot be realized except by co-operation of all the parts. Among these Paul includes the offering for the poor saints (cf. Rom. 15:26-27 and I Cor. 16:1), the preaching of the gospel to the whole world (the church in Rome, though unknown to him personally, is asked to co-operate with him for this end, Rom. 15:24; 28; cf. Phil. 1:5; 4:15-16), the realization of successful teaching and discipline which builds up, orders, and unifies the whole church (Rom. 13:6-8; I Cor. 13:23; 16:16; 18; Gal. 6:6; I Th. 5:12-13), and the preservation of the unity of the whole church of Christ (Rom. 12:5; I Cor. 12:4-7, 25-26; II Cor. 13:11; cf. Col. 2:19; Eph. 4:16). The apostle uses these great co-operative enterprises to awaken a consciousness of the corporateness of believers and to train his converts to give vent to their

187 See C. H. Dodd on the "body of Christ" as a significant factor in Christian ethics, Law and Gospel, pp. 35f.
expression of the same.

Towards "outsiders" Christians are to maintain contacts, even to eating in their homes and temples, but are to remain aloof from their pagan manner of immoral living. The negative accent is perhaps stronger than the positive in the instructions on these relations. Anything that tends to reflect adversely on the church is to be abandoned, and such things as litigation cases are to be conducted among Christians themselves, not before the heathen courts (I Cor. 6:1ff). The emphasis is on winning the outsider by one's manner of life (I Th. 4:11-12). Little is said of forthright evangelistic activity among the pagans. Perhaps his converts were so good at evangelism that they needed no exhortation on the matter.

C. Relation of the Christian to Political Institutions

(1) The State

Only in Rom. 13:1-7 does Paul deal extensively with the Christian's relation to the State. Like everything else in the world the state is both a sinful institution and yet ordained by God. In I Cor. 6:1 the contrast between the "saints" and the "unrighteous" indicates that these pagan courts and judges belong to "the world" which Christians themselves will judge (6:2), and yet according to Rom. 13:1, God himself is the source of every governing authority.

The state is a part of the divinely provided universal law and order of the entire cosmos which makes all moral and political life possible. Hence it is not a terror to the good, but to the evil who rebel against this universal orderliness.


189. See Wahlstrom, pp. 269ff; Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 197ff.
and disrupt the regulated life of the community. Thus the state exists: (1) negatively, to check evil, (2) positively, for the welfare of the community, and (3) because both functions are ordained by God. Paul approaches the question in Rom. 13:1 from the viewpoint of the individual's relationship. Life "in Christ" does not release one from the necessity of subjugation and obedience to the civil government. Paying taxes was an agreed policy of the Christian community (Rom. 13:6; cf. Luke 20:20-25) and so should the principle of obeying rulers likewise be. It has been suggested That Paul used two of Jesus' guiding principles here: (1) "my kingdom is not of this world" and (2) "render unto Caesar..." Christians are to obey the governmental authorities (1) because of God's wrath and (2) for conscience's sake, since God is the instigator of the idea and need for government (Rom. 13:5). Paul does not state that they can also disobey, but the principle "for conscience' sake" will ultimately mean just that in case of a conflict between God's purpose and the desire of the state.

Just what Paul's attitude and policy toward a hostile, persecuting government would be we cannot say. He had experienced punishment already from the civil authorities (cf. Cor. 11:23-25) and he had to flee the governor under King Aretas at Damascus (II Cor. 11:32-33). Still he had known (1) the protection, if not friendliness, of Roman magistrates and, too, (2) there had been no organized and official persecution of the church up to now. But the instructions in Rom. 13 are not primarily derived from these facts. Neither are

193. W. M. Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, pp. 304-307; The Church in the Roman Empire, p. 347 n; M. S. Enslin, The Ethics of Paul, pp. 211 ff.
they intended (3) to absolve the Roman Christians from zealous fanatics who advocated withholding subjection to the government, nor do they originate from (4) his fascination with a grandeur of the imperial idea. Rather they come from (5) his own conception, observation, and experience of the Christian life in himself and in his churches.

We do not know the specific applications which the Pauline policy concerning government really took. The principle in Rom. 13, like that of Jesus, is not specific. Application depends upon each individual. It may be that Paul thinks of the state as in the same realm as that of law. If so Christians need not worry, because their "law" of love will surpass the state's legal demands and expectations of justice and judgment. But the state is also able to exhibit clemency, at least upon occasion, and thus shows itself capable also of a higher function than that of law giver and judge. As a beginning lesson, however, 

195. J. Weiss sees in Rom. 13:1-7 a cool disposition on Paul's part toward the state. Weiss argues that the apostle's precepts tend to show a prevailing inclination to despise the political order in the Pauline churches (cf. C. H. Dodd, Epistle to the Romans, p. 111). Weiss suggests that paying taxes was regarded as degrading to the "saints", called as they were to the Kingdom of God, HPX, 2:590. Nock suggests that Paul's words about submissions to the state, may spring from remembrance of the riots over one "Chrestus", which provoked the expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius. Cf. Suetonius, Claudius 25; Acts 18:1-3, A. D. Nock, St. Paul, p. 217, n.2.


the apostle advocates simply submission. It is an application of his principle of remaining in the station where one is called.

(2) **The Army.**

It is even more difficult to discern what he taught his converts about such an institution as the army. He uses frequent metaphors from its personnel, organization, equipment, and functions and nowhere condemns it. What he thinks of war and of the Christian's relation to it is still a much disputed question. We have no way, therefore, of knowing how he may have shaped and transmitted such views to his converts. We do not know that many of his converts were regular soldiers, though the members of the "praetorion" mentioned in Phil. 1:16 imply that this may have been the case.

(3) **The Courts.**

Paul gives little guidance here. Christians are expected to obey the civil laws and magistrates, (and should they fail to do so they must suffer the consequences), but for heathen judges, to judge between Christians is another matter (I Cor. 6:1, 5-6). Believers are to obey the criminal courts but not to invoke the civil courts. On the other hand, the advice about using some Christian to judge between members of the church does not warrant the institution of Christian courts. Instead, the principle is: to suffer such wrongs rather than take a case into court against some brother (I Cor. 6:7-8).


201. See ICC on I Cor., p. 110.

Money and Property.

The Christian attitude toward wealth is not singled out and specifically treated by Paul. There are no general warnings in Paul's earlier letters, as with Jesus, about the deceitfulness of riches, though there was great wealth in most of the centers where his churches were founded. Most of his converts could claim title to relatively few material possessions. Christians are to maintain an attitude of detachment towards everything earthly because of the transient nature of things (I Cor. 7:31). Hence those who buy are to live as though they had no goods (7:30). Many Christians owned their own houses, some of which the local churches used for community gathering centers — the so-called "house churches" (Rom. 16:5, 14-15, 23; I Cor. 16:19; Col. 4:15; Phile 2). Some Christians owned their own shops and businesses (Acts 16:14; 18:3) or held salaried offices (Rom. 16:23; Acts 13:13; 16:23, 33; cf. Phil. 4:22). Those who were slaves were themselves property of their owners (I Cor. 7:21-22; Phil. 16). The use of wealth in the preaching of the gospel and the welfare of Christians is assumed. Thus Paul accepted contributions from some of his churches while working in other areas which could not provide maintenance for him (II Cor. 11:8-9; 12:13; Phil. 4:15-16). So too he carried out a major fund-raising campaign for the poor Christians in Palestine and returned Onesimus to Philemon, though no longer as a mere slave-possession but also as a brother (Phile 16).

Paul teaches the fundamental attitude and usage of wealth by his own example. He works for his own living and uses the proceeds to maintain himself while he preaches to others (I Cor. 9:15-18), especially those too poor to be of much financial assistance (II Cor. 11:7-9; 12:13). Apparently any surplus he shares with the poorest of the group. Whether food and property are to be shared with...
non-believers he does not say, but probably so in light of his general advice in Rom. 12:20 to feed and water even one's enemy. Stewardship of everything under one's control is an idea which he teaches by personal example more effectively than by theoretical exposition. But sharing one's property, even to the point of giving away all that one has, avails nothing spiritually without the dominating attitude of Christ-like love (I Cor. 13:3).

d. Relation of the Christian to Cultural and Other Institutions.

(1) Observance of Special Days and Seasons.

Again our information is of a general sort. The apostle indicates that some esteem one day as better than another, while others esteem all days alike (Rom. 14:5). He is of the opinion that whether or not a day is singled out for some specific purpose, it is to be observed in honor of the Lord (14:6). However, the attitude which reckons some meritorious worth attaching to the legalistic observance of special days, as is the case in Judaism, has no place in the Christian's view of time and celebration. "A festival or a new moon or a sabbath... are only a shadow of what is to come; but the substance belongs to Christ" (Col. 2:16-17). Christians regard all days alike, though there are indications that even in Paul's time the first day of the week has assumed some importance (I Cor. 16:1; Acts 20:7) -- and no better reason can be given than the one later supplied (first in Barnabas 15:9), namely, that it is the day of Jesus' resurrection.

There are no traces of any annual Christian festivals, such as Christ's birth or resurrection in the Pauline writings (or the rest of the New Testament), though

208. See James van Buren, The Lord of the Early Christians, p. 18. Morton Smith, however, thinks that I Cor. 5:7-8 refers to an annual celebration of passover in the earliest church, Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels, p. 126. But this was not a specifically Christian festival. See James Moffatt on the entire Christian life as a festival, First Epistle to the Corinthians, pp. 56-59.
such a passage as I Cor. 5:7-8 may contain the germ of such occasions.

(2) Food and Drink Offered to Idols.

We have already touched on this problem. It is the troublesome point of interference within the church of pagan idolatry. To heathen worshippers the idol is an object of adoration, and though they worship a non-entity, ethically they are brought into contact with demons (I Cor. 8:5; 10:19-20). That is, Paul actually denies the existence of heathen gods, but admits supernatural powers behind the idols. Now some of his converts out of force of habit continue to regard the idols themselves as realities, and so are harmed to see another Christian, who understands what he is doing, partake of food and drink which have been dedicated to some pagan god or gods represented by an idol. This weak Christian's conscience is wounded, not simply by the shock of seeing another Christian eat such food, but by being induced to do likewise against his conscience (I Cor. 8:10), and so both Christians sin — the scrupulous has his spiritual sensitivity destroyed (8:11) and the "mature" one harms both this offended brother and Christ (8:12; cf. Acts 9:4-5). One is, therefore, to refrain from eating meat (apparently at some cult meal) in a heathen temple if thereby some weaker Christian brother is offended (I Cor. 8:13). But what of a somewhat similar situation with a different setting, namely, eating idol-sacrificial meat as an invited guest at a meal in an unbelieving friend's private home? Since the bulk of meat offered for sale in a public market had already been dedicated to some pagan god before it was

209. From hints in I Cor. 5:7-8; 16:8; Acts 13:21; 20:6; 16, Philip Schaff supposes that the annual celebration of the death and resurrection of Christ, and of the outpouring of the Spirit originated in the apostolic age, History of the Christian Church, 1:430.


211. See Hans Lietzmann's discussion of these "Kultmahl", An die Korinther I-II, (HNT) pp. 49ff; cf. Oxyrhynchus Papyri 110 and 523 containing invitations to such cultic feasts.
put up for sale, one could be fairly certain that the meat even at such a domestic meal was technically idol-sacrificial meat. Should the Christian partake or not? As in the former case, so far as his own interests go, he is free to partake, for everything existing belongs to God (I Cor. 10:26). He ought to partake, however, with thankfulness (10:30) without inquiring as to whether or not it is idol-sacrificial meat. But if someone informs him that it has been offered in sacrifice, then out of consideration for the informer (presumably whether Christian or non-believer) and for the informer's conscience's sake he should not eat it (I Cor. 10:25-30). This is not laid down by the apostle as a legal restriction, but is to be a voluntary abridgement of one's liberty for the sake of others.

3. Use of "Projects" in Training the Mind and Life of Recent Gentilic Mission Converts.

Paul is not only a teacher but a Seelsorger for his converts. This means that he not only informs his converts about the nature of the Christian life but also helps them to realize its meaning and fruitage in their lives. As part of their training in expressing themselves as Christians, he employs certain practical "projects" which serve as pedagogical devices. The apostle doubtless would never have defined them as such, nor recognized them under such a classification. Nevertheless, they are activities which he expects his converts to perform in order to (or, with the result that they) foster the development of the Christian mind and life. We list several of these.

213. Hans Lietzmann interprets it otherwise, _Beginnings of the Christian Church_, pp. 139-140.
Foremost are his (1) teaching or "study" sessions. Here he would explain the O.T. background and the origins of the church, along with the numerous problems confronting the new Christian. Such "sessions" may have come before or after certain of the worship services (cf. Acts 20:7, 11), or more likely at regular hours when the majority were free from other obligations and could attend (as in the hall of Tyrannus, Acts 19:9). Here they probably plied him with questions and problems of a personal and congregational nature (cf. I Cor. 7:1). We do not know that he ever wrote any tracts or "manuals" to guide the thinking of his converts, except his letters during his absence. Such teaching would be done both publicly and privately (not only in gatherings, Acts 20:20), and he expects his ideas and appeals to be heard and heeded. This means that he expects his converts to attend such public discussions as he may have conducted before the entire local assembly. They too were expected soon to have and present their own "teaching" or "lesson" in the regular worship service (I Cor. 14:15), and to teach one another presumably in his absence (Col. 3:16; cf. I Th. 4:18).

There is a sense in which (2) the worship services function as a means or "device" to promote Christian growth, as noticed already. In this connection, his frequent admonitions to thanksgiving is part of this "project". So, too, (3) singing, an essential element of the praise or worship, is regarded as a real means of expressing and developing the Christian mind (cf. Col. 3:16; Eph. 5:19). Hymns were sung not only in worship assemblies, but also privately or in smaller groups, as the case of Paul and Silas in prison at Philippi shows (Acts 16:25). One wonders if Paul ever broke into a solo-chant when coming to a high point in his frequent addresses to his converts or when sharing the warmth of their fellowship in 215. Almost no one seems to have noted very seriously this idea of mutual instruction mentioned in Col. 3:16. This method of teaching probably included women also. But against this see von Harnack, M. and E., 2:65.
their many informal gatherings, such as for prayer or eating together.

Of the pedagogical "project"-type activity is also (4) prayer. He says plainly to the Corinthians that "you must help us by prayer" (II Cor. 1:11). The practice of prayer aids not only the missionaries and others but also those who pray (cf. I Cor. 14:14-17; Phile 22). For this reason he becomes very specific at times as to the matters upon which they are to center their thoughts when praying (Rom. 15:30-33). The converts are to maintain a continuous attitude and practice of prayer (Rom. 12:12; I Th. 5:17, cf. Eph. 6:14; Phil. 4:6; Col. 4:2), not only as a church, but also personally and privately (I Cor. 7:5). Paul himself shows the example of intercessory prayer (Rom. 1:19; 10:1; I Th. 1:2; 3:10; II Th. 1:11; Col. 1:3, 9), which his converts are to practice in their own lives (Rom. 15:30; II Cor. 1:11, 9:14; I Th. 5:25; II Th. 3:1; Col. 4:3, 12). Presumably his converts are to learn how Christians pray by listening to others, and of course by heeding the rather mystical impulse of the Spirit as he assists each Christian at prayer (Rom. 8:26). Too, there are the examples of prayers in his letters.

The aid to personal and community growth is contained in the knowledge that their prayers strengthen the missionaries (Rom. 15:30; II Cor. 1:11; etc.), as well as other Christians and churches (II Cor. 11:1), and help to spread the gospel everywhere (II Th. 3:1; Col. 4:3; Eph. 6:19). This is a "project" with great effectiveness for building the Christian mind because it lends itself to "practice" under all circumstances and times, because it forces all who employ it to think of the problems and their possible solutions relative to the Christian life and community, and because it brings to supreme expression the real inner nature of the new life in Christ. Further, it serves to focus the thinking of scattered and divergent Christians and churches on each other and on common subjects and thus trains all
in the mental art and habit of Christian unity. Perhaps for these reasons, he seems to presuppose that the practice and participation in prayer is not only in private \( (I \text{ Cor. 7:5}) \) but in community gatherings when the whole church is assembled \( (I \text{ Cor. 14:14-17}) \).

The apostle makes extensive use of \( (5) \) counseling as a sort of practical "project" for developing his mission converts. It is a project of unusual possibility and influence. Usually he himself handles the task, offering advice on difficult and delicate questions ranging over much of the field of human thought and behavior. Most of his advice is cast in the form of suggestions and always goes back to some one or more principles that seem to underlie the problematic situation at hand. These principles relate eventually to Christ. He seems however, to expect the individual Christian to exercise his own mind and insight and to elucidate and apply the principles for himself from the point where the apostle leaves off "suggesting". Paul's "counsels", therefore everywhere appear incomplete and partial (which they really are), for he does not offer them as new laws to be obeyed, but only as suggestive and partial guides from one who knows by experience what the inexperienced neophyte has yet to learn. Many of them take the form of forthright commands, though these are really the brusque warnings of an anxious caretaker for his untried and gullible charges. He never uses the terms "advice" or "counsel" (except of God) in his letters, but does an excellent job of giving his "opinion" \( (I \text{ Cor. 7:25}) \) when asked for it or when he sees real need for it. Nearly every portion of his letters shows how he carries out this art of counseling. His advice touches both doctrinal and practical affairs; relation of the O.T. Law and its approach toward salvation and life to that of the

\[ \text{Cf. Olaf Moe, \textit{Apostle Paul}, 2:56.} \]
gospel (Rom. 1-8; Gal. 1-6), the role of baptism (Rom. 6:1ff; I Cor. 10:1ff) and the Lord's supper (I Cor. 10:1ff; 11:17ff) in worship and the Christian life, the nature and purpose of spiritual gifts (I Cor. 12-14), the certainty and meaning of the resurrection (I Cor. 15), the place and function of the apostolic ministry in the church (I Cor. 9; II Cor. 3-5), the evil in immoral living (I Cor. 5) and in litigation cases involving Christians in heathen courts (I Cor. 6), the dangers related to eating meat offered to idols --- practical repercussions of the doctrine of monotheism (I Cor. 8, 10), etc. In his counseling he does not pretend to separate doctrinal from practical affairs, but joins the two in such thorough-going and intimate fashion that neither can dispense with the other. It is particularly difficult to analyze and evaluate a typical Pauline counseling "session" in which he was face to face with his "client(s)" because there is no extant record of one. His letters contain much that would be said in such situations, but exactly how he proceeded when time permitted many more questions (some of them stemming from answers to other questions, others calling for more explanation, etc.), we cannot determine. The spontaneity of the living "conference" or "interview" is lacking from the letters, though its overtones are there. His counsel is offered both to groups publicly (as most of the letters show; cf. Acts 20:20) and to individuals privately (the letter to Philemon is a case in point; cf. Acts 20:20). He always gives an impression of personal friendliness and keen interest in those to whom he is offering help. Even the heaviest doctrinal sections of his letters are punctuated with intimations of personal warmth and concern (cf. e.g., Rom. 7; I Cor. 13:1-2, 11-12; etc). His counsel is amazingly sane and well-balanced, even in areas where he may have been expected to be otherwise, as on the complex problems in I Cor. 7. His suggestions are workable because he keeps the individual
in proper relation to the whole group and to Christ, and because he usually speaks out of experience.

But it is even more important to note that Paul encourages his own converts to act as counselors among themselves. They are to "admonish" one another (Rom. 15:14; Col. 3:16; cf. I Th. 5:11; II Th. 3:15), teach one another (Col. 3:16), and build one another up (Rom. 14:19; 15:2; I Cor. 14:5, 12, 26; I Th. 5:11), and those specially qualified for these tasks are to take the lead in exercising them (Rom. 12:7, 15:14; I Cor. 12:28-29, 14:19; Gal. 6:6). They are to bear one another's burdens (Gal. 6:2) and show care for one another (I Cor. 12:25) — the essential functions of an able counselor. Nowhere in his counselling does Paul set himself up as a "father-confessor" for his converts, and nowhere does he intimate that any of them are to function in a similar capacity for their brethren. Doubtless they mutually suffered the consequences of sins committed by members of the group, but nowhere specifically authorizes any of them to hear confessions of others' sins. Unlike James (5:16) he does not advise his converts to "confess their faults one to another," though this may well be his approach to the matter — the offender is to acknowledge his wrong to the offended and ask forgiveness of the latter, and in any case all are to forgive and love their enemies and those who misuse them (Rom. 12:14ff). But this is a voluntary and personal affair between offender and offended, not a compulsory relation between both these and a third party. Each mature pneumatikos Christian is to hear and ponder the difficulties which confront his fellow believers and to help them find the best possible solutions to their problems (Gal. 6:1-2). It is not simply a process of "advice-giving" but also of providing, or at least offering, personal assistance (Rom. 12:20-21; Gal. 5:13-15).

It is at this point that the organization of Paul's young congregations must
be noted. Information is notoriously incomplete, but from the beginning his
churches included some sort of "senior" members. In what is probably his ear-
liest extant letter, I Thessalonians, he writes, "And we beseech you, brethren, to
respect them who labor among you and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you"
(5:12). The words "who ... are over you" certainly imply some sort of leaders or
"supervisors". The oldest theory of the ministry in the church, of which evi-
dence is extant, is I Cor. 12:28.

Here, after apostles, stand prophets and teachers, and among other practical
durch functions, "helps" and "governments" follow. Rom. 12:6-8 also alludes to
"ministry" and "he who presides" (στί τάκενος, as in I Th. 5:12). The
"presiding" functions of these brethren probably were exercised mainly in worship,
specifically at the Lord's supper. In Phil. 1:1 Paul names "bishops" and "dea-
cons" in the one congregation; in Rom. 16:1 he calls Phoebe a "deaconess." In Eph.
4:11 the same three are listed as in I Cor. 12:28 except that "evangelists" and
"pastors" ("shepherds") are inserted before "teachers." We are not concerned with
the supposed unity, variety, or evolution of the church "officials." It is more

217. See Heinrich Weinel, Paulus als Kirchlicher Organisator; Edwin Hatch, The
Organization of the Early Christian Churches, chapter 2; B. H. Streeter, The
Primitive Church, pp. 70ff.

218. Cf. John Reid, "The Missionary Methods of the Apostles: The Treatment and
Organization of Converts," Expository Times (1900), 11:544-547.

219. See Thomas M. Lindsay, The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries,
p. 60; E. Weiss, BTNT, 2:36.

44:31-45.

221. This is probably one avenue through which the "bishop" gained his pre-eminence
in the second century. See Wilhelm Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p. 340; cf.
44:42, notice also n.105.

222. See B. H. Streeter, The Primitive Church, pp. 73ff, on this question; also
his chapter seven, "The Rise of Christianity" in The Cambridge Ancient History,
11:255-293, esp. pp. 286ff; Edwin Hatch, The Organization of the Early Chris-
tian Churches, chapter 2; John Reid, "The Missionary Methods of the Apostles",
Expository Times (1900) 11:546-547.
important to learn if possible their function in educating the Christian mind.

I Th. 5:12 indicates that part of this task was "advising" or "disciplining" (προφητεύειν ἐκθέω). Closely allied is the function of "exhorting", (which Rom. 12:8 indicates is a gift that belongs in a special way to a specially endowed number of persons, though it seems also that almost any Christian could practice exhortation with his fellow believers (cf. Col. 3:16; Heb. 10:25). Perhaps the difference is that everyone felt free to "advise" his brethren privately but the more gifted in this respect did so publicly. Other functions of these leaders are "prophesying" and "teaching" (Rom. 12:6-8; I Cor. 12:28, etc.). Persons who exercised these functions came quickly to be regarded as forming a definite group of leaders worthy of remuneration for their time and work (Gal. 6:6). It is not clear how many of these functions are exercised by one person. Perhaps that depended partly on personal endowments. Nor is it so clear as some have supposed that these early positions of leadership were merely functionary or charismatic, rather than being also a genuine position filled by election or appointment. Such things as teaching and preaching, worship, discipline, administration, and care of the poor would require regular and systematic attention from the start. By the time the apostle or his co-workers left a newly founded congregation, performers of such functions would doubtless have received a modicum of training for these tasks. How long such persons were to serve in these capacities of leadership we do not know. Perhaps all the early Gentile leaders served on probational terms until well trained and proven. It is also very likely that the Jewish nucleus in an otherwise wholly

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223. Cf. Willibald Beyerleag, NTT, 2:244, on the role of all Christians in ministering in the Church.
225. It seems unlikely that some functions were regarded as "grace-gifts" to be exercised throughout the churches while the locally performed functions were not looked upon as "grace-gifts" at all; cf. Harnack, M and E 1:326-346.
Gentilic community functioned as the earliest leaders. Because of their superior training in monotheism and ethics they would give stability and direction to the individual and community life of the relatively ignorant and undisciplined Gentiles. When, however, these Jewish Christians were quickly outgrown in numbers, tension and unrest would multiply, as is revealed in almost all the Pauline letters. But the fact that the apostle expects his converts to advance to a stage where they can teach, counsel, exhort, and discipline one another in co-operation and supplementation to the gifted and trained leaders among them reveals his provision for and methods of practical community administration and government (Rom. 14:19; 15:2, 4; I Cor. 14 12:26; I Th. 5:11; Col. 3:16). The emphasis is not on system, officials, and regulations; all is freer and more spontaneous than such a concept. The Spirit is vitally at work. Yet it is not simply a case of pneumatic chaos as is usually pictured. Affairs in Corinth, from which such a picture is generally drawn, are regarded by the apostle as abnormal and even un-Christian, so that he seeks vigorously to rectify the situation. The gifts and workings of the Spirit are subject to the control of all who possess and exercise them. The gifts are for the benefit of all, not merely of their possessors. So it is with Paul's project of "pastoral counseling" --- it is a project in which the leaders and the led serve one another as both givers and receivers. The individual learned with the result that within a fairly short time he was teaching and counseling others (Col. 3:16).

The practice of (5) common meals seems also to have been a part of Pauline congregational "projects". The custom was probably taken over from the early

228. T. K. Abbott observes concerning Col. 3:16 that "mutual instruction is what is prescribed" in this verse, ICC on Col., p. 291.
Jewish churches in Palestine, and since the idea of a communal meal shared by 229
the members of a cultic group was already familiar to the pagan world, found ready acceptance among Gentile converts in the Pauline mission churches. Apparently members met during the evening when free from the demands of daily 230
work or business and shared whatever food each brought with him. Sunday was probably a special day for such a meal, though it is quite possible that they 231
were held daily. At least on occasion (Sunday?) the Lord's supper was held in connection with the meal, and many scholars suppose that the two were 232
not altogether distinct by Paul's time. But I Cor. 11:20 makes it clear that a regular meal, shared in common by all or eaten glutton-like by oneself, is definitely not the Lord's supper. It may be objected that what Paul had in mind is the selfish unsharing spirit of those who partake, but the description of the Lord's supper in 11:23ff shows that it is not merely another attitude toward eating but another kind of "supper" which he has in mind. These community meals furnish occasions for informal personal fellowship, worship, instruction, and the practice of brotherly love toward all the brethren, especially the poor (I Cor. 11:21-22, 33-34). The unity of the local Christian community is also 234
furthered by these meals, and when visiting brethren from other congregations are present, the oneness of the whole church is keenly dramatized in their togetherness in eating.

229. George Johnston, op. cit., pp. 5-6; F. A. Spencer, Beyond Damascus, p. 79.
One of the most ambitious projects from the viewpoint of preparation and execution is (7) the collection for the poor saints in Judea. It is a concern of prime importance for the apostle. Reference to it occurs in about every letter written while it was in process. The Christians in Palestine were all the poorer because they were cut off from Jewish aid, possibly also because their ordinary daily business and income were threatened by belief in the nearness of the parousia, and because of the general economic conditions in Palestine. This vast project covered the churches in Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia, and it is quite possible that his allusion to the collection in Rom. 15:25-27 is intended as a hint for the Roman church to join with the other congregations in ministering to the saints. The apostle provides detailed directions to the churches about the scheme (cf. I Cor. 16:1), instructing them to have each Christian ear-mark regularly and proportionately his own personal subscription "on the first day of the week" (I Cor. 16:1). Further, they are to elect (II Cor. 8:19) and approve by letters of credit (I Cor. 16:3) men who shall carry their gift to Jerusalem. When Paul arrives at each place with his company, which increases in size at each stop, these chosen delegates will join the group and convey the offering already gathered before the apostle's arrival (I Cor. 16; II Cor. 9:5). Just how successful this project actually was is hard to determine. In the list of accompanying delegates in Acts 20:4, no one from Corinth is mentioned. This may imply either that the Corinthian collection was so small that there was little or no need for a representative, or that the Corinthians were

240. Robertson and Plummer think Paul is to write the letters of commendation, I Cor. p. 386.
so impressed by his love and success with them that they elected the apostle as their representative to carry their gift. II Cor. 9:2 and Acts 24:17 seem to hint that the undertaking was successful. Too, it is possibly a plain oversight that no one from Achaia is singled out in Acts 20:4. It is hardly likely though, in light of the charges leveled against him by his opponents, that he himself carried part of the offering. He never accepted gifts for himself, at least not from a church while working in its very midst.

The results of the project are more significant than its successful execution. (1) It helped to unite each congregation from within by forcing their attention on needy persons outside, (Corinth, e.g., II Cor. 8:18,22; 9:4). (2) It fostered the unity of all the churches, east and west, Judaic and Gentilic (cf. II Cor. 8:24; 9:13-14). (3) It helped the wealthy to sense their obligation to the poor (Rom. 12:13; note the contrast of "lack" and "abundance" in II Cor. 8:14; cf. 8:4). (4) It helped the Gentilic heirs of the Christian heritage to sense and partly to pay their debt to their spiritual benefactors (Rom. 15:27; II Cor. 8:14; 9:1ff).

There is further (8) the practice of hospitality to which Christians are encouraged (Rom. 12:13). Here is the opportunity to do something concrete and in person about the profession of high regard for the brethren (Gal. 6:10). These Christians regard themselves as an alien "family" scattered throughout the world and living among strangers. Wherever they travel, they ought to be assured of a home with other Christians in the places they visit (Cf. II Cor. 3:1; 8:18; 23-24; Phil. 22). They are also to exercise a practical kindness toward all

242. Alfred Plummer, Commentary on I Th., p. 25.
243. See W. M. Ramsay, Historical Commentary on Galatians, p. 459.
244. On the travel of the early Christians see von Harnack, M and E, 1:462-466.
men including non-Christians (I Th. 3:12) and even one's enemies (Rom. 12:20). This practice of being hospitable is not simply a passive one in which one waits for visitors to seek out the refreshment and protection of one's home and family, but is an active one in which one also takes the initiative and visits and ministers to the sick, the imprisoned, the poor, the oppressed, the sinful, and all who are in need (cf. Rom. 16:2; I Cor. 16:15, 18; Gal. 6:2; I Th. 5:14-15). Here is a "project" designed to furnish ample practical training and expression of the Christian mind. It is what came to be called "Christian charity" (cf. I Cor. 13:1; Rom. 16:3).

The apostle makes it a point to use his converts in (9) the evangelistic and educational work of the Christian mission. Some of these are his "fellow workers," the others are plain men and women with ordinary endowments, but who are expected to serve as "lights in the world" (Phil. 2:15). We have noted previously an absence of exhortations in Paul to evangelistic work among unbelievers on the part of his converts. They all, however, have been his partners in spreading the gospel (cf. Phil. 1:5), by their manner of life (I Th. 4:12), their giving (Phil. 4:15-16), their prayers (Rom. 1:9-13; II Th. 3:1), and their general assistance to those who are specially gifted for preaching (Rom. 15:24, 28; cf. II Cor. 8:18). Even more than in the educational work of the congregations the "average Christian" would be able to share in the church's evangelistic endeavors (cf. I Th. 1:6). To be sure there were special "evangelists," who some suppose preached only to heathen as their title might imply (cf.

Eph. 4:11; Acts 21:8; cf. 8:4, 5, 12, 25, 35, 40, etc.). But the individual Christian would be able to make more and better contacts in his own community and business than a special "evangelist" who was a stranger to the local region. Most special training of his converts in evangelistic work would come probably while engaged in it (Acts 20:4-9). Training for educational work would of necessity be more deliberate and intensive.

The use of various (10) tests also assisted in development of Christians. Paul writes in II Cor. 13:5, "Examine (πειράζετε) yourselves, to see whether you are holding to your faith. Test (σκοπείζετε) yourselves. Do you not realize that Jesus Christ is in you? — unless indeed you fail to meet the test (ἀποκρηφίζετε)." Thus Christians are to practice (a) self-examination to determine their own spiritual progress and fitness and the status of their faith and work (cf. Gal. 6:4). This practice of self-examination is particularly related to participation in the Lord's supper (I Cor. 11:28). But more objective (b) tests from outside oneself are also used. The readiness to give liberally to the poor in the church (II Cor. 8:24), to forgive offenders against oneself and the community (II Cor. 2:6-9; Gal. 6:1 has been interpreted thus), and to work at the exercise of one's gifts in promoting the gospel (cf. Phil. 2:22) are examples of "meeting the tests" brought to bear on one from outside himself.

In reality, these tests are instances of applying what has been said already about standards to the Christian life. Thus Paul rarely defines these "tests" in anything but general terms: what edifies and unifies the whole community, what makes for the glory of God, etc. The real "test" is whether the new nature is actually being realized and expressed; that is, whether "it is no longer I who

250. See J. Weiss on this, NFX, 2:574ff.
251. L. B. Lightfoot, Commentary on Galatians, p. 215b.
live, but Christ who lives in me" (Gal. 2:20). If one passes this "test", both faith (Gal. 2:20b) and works (Gal. 5:6) characterize the living of the convert. There seem to have been no intellectual tests, beyond the simple creed that Jesus Christ is Lord, imposed upon believers.

The (11) exercise of discipline is a further factor in Pauline church life. Character, not creed, is here the immediate goal. Paul lets his converts know that (a) God disciplines them through such things as pain, sorrow, frustrated hopes, long delays, loneliness, altered circumstances, persecution, death of loved ones, failure, moral trials, etc. But Christians are to discipline (b) themselves, as well as (c) one another. As to discipline of self, one (negatively) puts away and crucifies the works of his own sinful flesh (cf. Rom. 6:12; 8:13; 12:9; Gal. 5:24; Col. 3:5-11; Eph. 4:17-32) and (positively) acquires the fruit of the Spirit (cf. Rom. 6:19; Gal. 5:22; Col. 3:12-17; Eph. 4:23-24). Offenses confined largely to the individual (e.g., jealousy, lack of self-control, untruthfulness, etc.) would fall within the province of self-discipline. Paul himself set the pace in this respect before his converts (I Cor. 9:25-27). But the entire congregation is to exercise a measure of discipline over its members. The object of such corporate discipline is to prevent scandal and restore the offender. Private rebuke and remonstrance are to be tried first (cf. I Th. 5:14; II Th. 3:14-15); if this fails, the evil-doer is to be censured by and before the community (Gal. 6:1); if neither of these succeeds and the accused person still remains obdurately persistent in a case of gross sin, the church is to proceed to expulsion and excommunication (cf. Rom. 16:17; I Cor. 5:2, 11, 13) -- sometimes with physical punishment (I Cor. 5:5; cf. 11:30) and/or an anathema (I Cor. 16:22; Gal. 1:8).

But this was the most extreme form of discipline. Usually a rebuke or warning or mild withdrawal of fellowship was sufficient, and any or all these were to be applied as to "brethren" and not as to "enemies" (II Th. 3:15). Apparently it was not necessary to secure a vote of unanimity for such discipline; for a majority vote seems sufficient (II Cor. 2:6). Christ is present in the congregational assembly to confirm the disciplinary action done in his name (I Cor. 5:4; II Cor. 2:10). The aim of discipline seems to have been reformatory and not merely punitive or retaliatory, for if the accused repents he is to be forgiven, comforted, and reassured of the congregation's love lest he "be overwhelmed by excessive sorrow" and Satan gain the advantage over them all (II Cor. 2:5-11; Gal. 6:1). Among elements that enter into discipline, both of self and from others, are prayer (Rom. 12:12; Col. 4:3-4; Eph. 6:18), fasting (cf. Acts 14:28), sobriety in thought and action (Rom. 12:3; I Th. 5, 6, 8), watchfulness (Acts 24:15; Rom. 8:19, 23; I Cor. 1:7; 16:13; II Cor. 4:18; etc.), obedience (Rom. 13:1-7; II Cor. 2:9; 7:15; 10:6), patience (Rom. 5:3; 8:25; 15:4; I Th. 1:3; II Th. 1:3-5; 3:5), work (Acts 13:3; I Th. 4:11; II Th. 3:3-12; Eph. 4:28), almsgiving (Acts 24:17; Rom. 12:13; 15:25-26; I Cor. 16:1-4; II Cor. 9:6-7; Gal. 6:10), temperance (Acts 24:25; I Cor. 9:25; Gal. 5:23), chastity (Rom. 13:14; Gal. 5:24), and meekness (Rom. 12:10; Phil. 2:3; Col. 3:12; Eph. 4:2; 5:2). This "project" of discipline calls for insight, foresight, and sane judgment. It is a task that educates and matures both individual and group.

The apostle continually counsels his converts to keep occupied with useful work. We have discussed elsewhere the significance of this advice. Not only are they to work for their daily bread but each is also expected to perform his work. The implications of this fact need emphasizing; the elements of "democracy" were not entirely lacking in the Pauline churches as is so often asserted.
part in the life and service of the Christian community. There is no indication that the church did or did not aid in providing daily work for its idle members. It did relieve its needy and ameliorate the conditions of its slave members where possible (cf. Philemon). It expects all to carry on the same toil in which they were engaged when becoming Christians, unless one followed a trade incompatible with Christian ideals (e.g., idol-manufacturing , cf. Acts 19:25ff). He does provide "tasks", however, within the church for believers --- prayer, giving, teaching, etc. In this way one "works out his salvation" since the power to will and work are already divine gifts (Phil. 2:12-13).

We simply allude here to his use of (13) miracles. He says that Christ wrought by him "in the power of signs and wonders" (Rom. 15:19). These are "the signs and wonders and mighty works" --- which he wrought among the Corinthians (II Cor. 12:12). Among the spiritual gifts to the church are "miracles" (dynamis), gifts of healings, and various kinds of tongues" (I Cor. 12:28). And he speaks of the one "who works miracles (dynamis)" among the Galatians (Gal. 3:5). In Rom. 15:18 he states the purpose of his working of miracles: "for obedience ("to win obedience", RSV) from the Gentiles." Miracles were not wrought, therefore, indiscriminately by him, not only for their own sake, but for their corroborative and faith-provoking effect in relation to the Christian message. They express something of the new power of Christ that has been released in the "new age" in the world. Consequently their apologetic and educational role is primary. There is nothing

258. Shown in such works as healing and exorcism, though records of Paul's exorcisms fail us. See Harnack, M and E., 1:152ff, especially 161ff.
magical or purely personal involved.

But does the apostle expect his converts to share the gift and function of miracles? He surely does of some of them. Certain among them speak in tongues, prophesy, and heal, the same as an apostle (cf. I Cor. 12:14; Acts 19:6; 21:9). Paul specifically describes few if any of his miraculous deeds. Acts notes that he was able to expel demons (16:18), heal the lame (14:8) and the sick (19:12; 28:8-9), visit judgment upon the persistently evil (13:11), see visions and have revelations (9:3; etc.; II Cor. 12:1ff), and perhaps to raise the dead (Acts 20:9). Most if not all of these could be performed by his converts — healing (including demon expulsion), revelations and visions (I Cor. 12:1-4; Gal. 1:12, 16), and turning impenitent members over to Satan "for the destruction of the flesh" (I Cor. 5:3-5). Only raising from the dead is without parallel; but then Acts 20:9 may really imply that Eutychus was not dead. What Paul expected of the gifted miracle-workers in his congregations is not clear. It may well be that their capacities in this respect were considerably inferior to those of the apostles. But whatever their degree of ability, its exercise is like that of Paul — used only in conjunction with and supplementary to the gospel and the welfare of the whole church (I Cor. 13:7-10). Not everyone possesses these gifts of the miraculous (I Cor. 12:29); indeed, certain of these gifts appear to be rather rare. Consequently he never commands the performance of "mighty" works by his converts — even for the sake of Christ! These are the "lesser" gifts; the "higher" ones — like faith, hope, and love, moral fruits of the Spirit — are to be "desired" (I Cor. 12:31). There is real reason, therefore, to think that these spectacular gifts are simply "propaganda and educational devices" which

259. Against this view, see Hans Lietzmann, The Beginnings of the Christian Church, p. 146.
260. Compare the viper-bite in Acts 28:3, which may not have been a miracle (though cf. Mark 16:18).
could well be laid aside once the first converts and churches had grown into a larger maturity. At least the history of the primitive church witnessed their gradual demise.

But does the apostle actually make use of what may be called (14) moral projects? In a sense most of the above are moral undertakings, yet he may be said to use "projects" whose specific nature and purpose are those of morality development. For example, to both Corinthians and Thessalonians he recommends marriage as a safe-guard against sensuality (I Cor. 7:9; I Th. 4:4) — not a temporary undertaking. So, too, he inveighs against fraudulent dealings in business transactions by urging a continual practice of honesty (cf. I Th. 4:6). Likewise his suggestions about the speaking of truth instead of lying (Col. 3:9; Eph. 4:25) may be so understood. These last two, however, are really more of the nature of "attitudes" to be adopted than of "projects" to be performed. The instruction in Rom. 13:13 and Eph. 5:18, to avoid drunkenness, "for that is debauchery", points out a program of sobriety and temperance for believers to follow (cf. I Th. 5:6,8). Paul further urges the application of tests for checking false prophets and their spurious messages in order to protect his congregations from vagaries in doctrine and aberrations in life. Thus he warns the Thessalonians "not to despise prophesying, but to test everything" (5:20-21). The whole assembled group is to do the testing, as he indicates in I Cor. 14:29, "Let two or three prophets speak, and let the others weigh what is said" (cf. I Jn 4:1; Didache 11:7-12). The "others" here includes all Christians, not merely the prophets. Several tests of the

prophetic aspirant were (1) intelligibility of the message delivered ("that all may learn", I Cor. 14:31), (2) encouragement and consolation inherent in the message (14:3, 31), (3) subjection of the prophetic spirit and its exercise to the individual prophet (14:32), and (4) the edification of all men (especially the whole church) by the prophetic utterance (14:305). If the prophet and his message pass these tests, both are true and Christian. But this "testing of prophets" is largely doctrinal. The moral check lies in the observation of their ethical behavior—speech, actions, and relationships. Yet this type of testing is not confined particularly to leaders within the group, but to all believers, and especially to oneself (I Cor. 11:28; Gal. 6:1). In a real sense they can judge one another only in externals (I Cor. 5:3) for their information regarding the inner lives of each other is partial and inadequate (I Cor. 2:11; 13:9). God is the real "tester" to whom each is responsible (I Cor. 4:5).

264. See Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 228f, on the idea of "testing" spontaneous inspirational utterances.
Conclusion

Because of the excessive length of the foregoing study, our conclusions will be extraordinarily brief. It seems evident from his earlier letters that the apostle Paul did seek, consciously and intentionally, to form and educate a Christian mind in his Gentile converts, and that he employed motives, methods, processes, and other helps towards that aim. These motives, methods, etc., he derived largely from his Jewish and Christian backgrounds, but he also drew some of them, or at least certain features of them, from his Hellenistic environment. Some of them may be his own original creation. In creating or forming the Christian mind, his foremost technique was preaching. In educating or developing the Christian mind, he used teaching, worship, and Christian ethics (the latter two being the exercise and expression of the Christian's new nature "in Christ") as the primary media. Some of the various homiletical, pedagogical, liturgical, and ethical principles, methods, motives, and processes which were everywhere used by the apostle have been surveyed in detail. While it was not a part of our long-range aim, the question does present itself for consideration: How successful was Paul in forming and educating the Christian mind in Gentiles? The answer transports us beyond the limits of our investigation, for later Christianity is some proof of his efforts and their successfulness. Both Ignatius and Polycarp moved about within the apostle's very churches (Ephesus and Philippi) and the writings of both these apostolic fathers presuppose a type of mentality already settled and readily recognizable. Their words pay tribute to Paul and his formation and education of the Christian mind.
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
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<td>American Journal of Theology</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>Anglican Theological Review</td>
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<td>BA</td>
<td>Biblical Archaeologist</td>
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<td>BJRL</td>
<td>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</td>
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<td>BS</td>
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