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| ✞ |  | *An* |
| *Introduction* |
| *to St Paul* |
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Scripture quotations, except quotations from others, are from

the New Revised Standard Version, unless indicated otherwise.

# PAUL’S LIFE

## SOURCES FOR PAUL’S LIFE

1. **introduction**
   1. “There are two sources for his life: biographical details in his own letters and accounts of his career in Acts (beginning with 7:58).” (Brown *Introduction* 422)
   2. “. . . readers should review the discussion of Acts in Chapter 10 above, especially as to whether a companion of Paul could have been the author (pp. 322-27).” (Brown *Introduction* 423)
2. **degrees of adequacy of the letters**
   1. proto-Paulines
      1. Fitzmyer accepts “seven uncontested letters”: Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthi­ans, Gala­tians, Philippi­ans, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 27)
   2. deutero-Paulines
      1. Three letters are “Deutero-Pauline (i.e., written by a disciple of Paul)”: Ephesians, Colossians, and 2 Thessalonians. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 27)
         1. “Details in the Deutero-Pauline . . . Epistles are of dubious value . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 3)
         2. In practice, Fitzmyer uses their data as confirmatory evidence.
   3. pastorals
      1. The pastoral letters are “at best pseudepigraphi­cal”: 1-2 Timothy and Titus. Fitzmyer takes no data from them. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 27)
   4. Hebrews
      1. Hebrews, too, “is not treated as Pauline.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 27)
3. **how to relate the letters and Acts**
   1. “. . . preference must be given to what Paul has told us about himself, for Luke’s story [is] colored by his pronounced literary tendencies and theological concerns.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 3)
   2. “There are three views of how to relate these sources.” (Brown *Introduction* 422)
      1. “Virtually complete trust in Acts.” (Brown *Introduction* 422)
         1. “The traditional lives of Paul are guided strongly by Acts, fitting and adapting information from the letters into the Acts framework.” (Brown *Introduction* 422)
      2. “Great distrust of Acts.” (Brown *Introduction* 422)
         1. Some scholars heighten “the differences between Acts and the letters into contradictions (e.g., Becker, Knox, Jewett, Lüdemann).” (Brown *Introduction* 422)
         2. “. . . some scholars have constructed Paul’s career entirely or largely leaving out” Acts. (Brown *Introduction* 422)
      3. a “mediate stance” (Brown *Introduction* 422)
         1. reliability of Acts
            1. con

“There is no doubt that Acts has offered a theological interpretation of Paul, adapting his role to fit an overall view of the spread of Christianity “to the end of the earth” (Acts 1:8).” (Brown *Introduction* 423)

“Moreover, the author may have had only a sketchy view of parts of Paul’s career, so that he telescoped and compacted complex events.” (Brown *Introduction* 423)

* + - * 1. pro

“Nevertheless, there is simply too much correspondence between Acts and autobiographical remarks in Paul’s epistles for one to dismiss the Acts information: The author knew a great number of facts about Paul.” (Brown *Introduction* 423)

See the next handout, “Paul’s Letters and Acts Compared.”

* + - 1. “A mediate stance uses Paul’s letters as a primary source and cautiously supplements from Acts, not hastening to declare apparent differences contradictory.” (Brown *Introduction* 422)
      2. Knox (*Chapters* 32): “We may, with proper caution, use Acts to supplement the autobiographical data of the letters, but never to correct them . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 422 n. 1)
         1. This principle “has won wide acceptance . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 422 n. 1)
         2. It is “a valid principle provided we allow that autobiography is sometimes slanted (even unconsciously) . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 422 n. 1)
  1. “. . . this third stance [422] will be presented here . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 422-23)
     1. “Material in Acts related to Paul’s teaching can at best be used for com­parative purposes . . . and is more properly part of Lucan theology.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 27)

## PAUL’S BIRTH

1. **date of birth**: **ad 1-10**
   1. “young man” (νεαvίας)
      1. Acts 7:58 says Paul was “a young man at the stoning of Stephen . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 424)
      2. Acts 7:58, “Then they dragged him out of the city and began to stone him; and the witnesses laid their coats at the feet of a young man named Saul.”
      3. Νεαvίας (*neanias*, “youth”) means someone “between 24 and 40 years old,” and this corroborates Phlm 9. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 9)
   2. “old man” (πρεσ­βύ­της)
      1. Phlm 9 (post-ad 55) says he is an “old man.” (Brown *Introduction* 424)
      2. Phlm 9 says, “yet I would rather appeal to you on the basis of love—and I, Paul, do this as an old man . . .”
      3. Πρεσ­βύ­της (*pres­by­tēs*, “old man,” “am­bassa­dor”) means “50 to 56 years of age . . . this would mean he was born in the first decade ad.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 9)
      4. The “Age bracket [for “old man” is] usually age 50 to 60; this is a disputed reading.” (Brown *Introduction* 424 n. 3)
   3. conclusion
      1. Fitzmyer says birth was ad 1-10. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 9)
      2. Brown says c. ad 5-10. (Brown *Introduction* 424)
      3. It was “during the reign of the Emperor Augustus.” (Brown *Introduction* 424)
2. **place of birth**: **Tarsus**
   1. Palestinian ancestry?
   2. history of Tarsus
      1. 300s bc: already Tarsus was a prosperous, Hellenistic city. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
      2. 66 bc: the Romans made it capital of Cilicia. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
      3. Mark Antony (83-30 bc; triumvir, 43-33 bc) granted Roman citizen­ship to Tarsus’ resi­dents. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
      4. in Paul’s day
         1. It was “the prosperous capital of Cilicia . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 424)
         2. It was “no mean town.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
            1. Acts 21:39, “I am a Jew, from Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of an important city . . .”
         3. Tarsus was “a thriving cosmopolitan crossroad between the East and the West and a vibrant intellectual center of Stoic and Cynic philosophy.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
         4. “Its rich political and mythic legacy is attested to by inscriptions on coins minted there, its archaeological record, and its rich literary tradition.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
         5. It “had a considerable Jewish colony . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 424)
   3. con
      1. Paul’s letters do not say where he was born. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 9)
   4. pro
      1. Acts says he was born in Tarsus of Cilicia.
         1. Acts 9:11, “The Lord said to him [Ananias], “Get up and go to the street called Straight, and at the house of Judas look for a man of Tarsus named Saul.”
         2. Acts 21:39, “Paul replied, “I am a Jew, from Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of an important city; I beg you, let me speak to the people.””
         3. Acts 22:3, “I am a Jew, born in Tarsus in Cilicia . . .”
         4. Also Acts 9:30, 11:25.
      2. The name Παῦλoς (*Paulos*) connects him with a Roman town. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 9)
      3. “Tarsus had a reputation for culture and excellent schools . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
         1. Strabo (*Geo*. 14.673) claimed that Tarsus’ schools, known especial­ly for Stoicism, sur­passed those of Athens and Alexan­dria. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
         2. Tarsus’ schools “would have been Gentile . . . [But] an essential training in writing, rhetoric, and dialectic may have been made available to Jewish boys in order to allow them to function competitively.” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
         3. Paul had a good Hellenistic education.
            1. “The informal educational opportunities provided by Tarsus reveal themselves in Paul’s appropriation of diaspora Hellenistic Jewish culture.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
            2. “A young Jew growing up in Tarsus[:] . . . His first language would have been Greek; the Scriptures he read would have been in Greek translation (LXX); the literary models for his letters would have been Hellenistic; his vocabulary, rhetorical style, and philosophical outlook would have been Hellenistic . . .” (see “Hellenism.” *New Interpreter*’*s Bible Dictionary*.) (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
            3. “He wrote good Greek, had basic Hellenistic rhetorical skills, quoted from the Scriptures in Greek, and knew Deuterocanonical Books composed or preserved in Greek.” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
      4. Gal 1:21 says that “in his early years as a Christian Paul hastened to go to Cilicia . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 424)
   5. conclusion
      1. Tarsus “is perfectly plausible.” (Brown *Introduction* 424)
      2. Birth in Tarsus “appears to serve no ideological purpose and is therefore historically credible.” (Roetzel “Paul” 405)
      3. “Paul never tells us where he was born; but the information in Acts that he was a citizen of Tarsus . . . is perfectly plausible.” (Brown *Introduction* 424)
      4. “Probably the majority of scholars maintains that Paul was reared and educated [424] at Tarsus.” (Brown *Introduction* 424-25)

## PAUL’S NAME

1. “**Saul**”
   1. Paul says he was “of the tribe of Benjamin” (Rom 11:1; Phil 3:5). That corroborates Acts’ saying that his Jewish name was “Saul”: Saul was the first king of Israel, and a Benjaminite. (Brown *Introduction* 424)
   2. In Hebrew, “Saul” is שָׁאוּל, pronounced “Shah-oól.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 2)
   3. Greek transliterations (Fitzmyer *Paul* 2)
      1. In the conversion accounts (Acts 9:4, 17; 22:7, 13; 26:14), שָׁאוּלis Σαoῦλ (*Saoul*).
      2. Elsewhere in Acts (Acts 7:58 on), שָׁאוּלis Σαῦλoς (*Saulos*).
2. “**Paul**”
   1. “Jews at this period, especially in the diaspora (i.e., outside Palestine), often had two names, one Greek or Roman, the other Semitic.” (Brown *Introduction* 424)
      1. They were sometimes “similar sounding,” e.g., Silas/Silvanus. (Brown *Introduction* 424 n. 4)
   2. In his letters, Paul always calls himself Παῦλος. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 2)
   3. The Greek form of “Paul­” is Παῦλος (*Paulos*). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 2)
   4. Latin *Paulus* (or *Paullus*) was a “fairly common” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 2), even “well-known” (Brown *Introduction* 424) Roman family name (*cognomen*).
      1. “Caesar” is the cognomen in “Gaius Julius Caesar.”
   5. *Paulus* meant “little.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 2)
3. “**Saul**” **and** “**Paul**”
   1. From birth he was proba­bly called “Saul” by Jews and “Paul” nor­mally. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 2)
   2. In Acts he is “Saul” up to 13:9 and “Paul” from 13:9 on. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 2)
      1. Acts 13:9, “Saul, also known as Paul, [was] filled with the Holy Spirit . . .”
      2. “It is pure coincidence that Saul begins to be called Paul in the account in Acts where the Roman proconsul Sergius Paulus is convert­ed (13:7-12); for it is hardly likely that Paul assumed the name of this illustrious Roman convert . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 2)
         1. proconsul: governor of a province, appointed for 1 year by the Senate.
      3. The name change at 13:9 “is probably due to dif­ferent sources . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 2)

## PAUL’S ROMAN CITIZENSHIP

1. **Acts evidence**
   1. Acts says Paul had Roman citizen­ship from birth. (Brown *Introduction* 424)
   2. Acts 16:37-39, “But Paul replied, “They have beaten us in public, uncondemned, men who are Roman citizens, and have thrown us into prison; and now are they going to discharge us in secret? Certainly not! Let them come and take us out them­selves.” 38 The police reported these words to the magistrates, and they were afraid when they heard that they were Roman citizens; 39 so they came and apologized to them. And they took them out and asked them to leave the city.”
   3. Acts 22:24-29, “the tribune directed that he was to be brought into the barracks, and ordered him to be examined by flogging, to find out the reason for this outcry against him. 25 But when they had tied him up with thongs, Paul said to the centurion who was standing by, “Is it legal for you to flog a Roman citizen who is uncondemned?” 26 When the centurion heard that, he went to the tribune and said to him, “What are you about to do? This man is a Roman citizen.” 27 The tribune came and asked Paul, “Tell me, are you a Roman citizen?” And he said, “Yes.” 28 The tribune answered, “It cost me a large sum of money to get my citizenship.” Paul said, “But I was born a citizen.” 29 Immediately those who were about to examine him drew back from him; and the tribune also was afraid, for he realized that Paul was a Roman citizen and that he had bound him.”
   4. Acts 23:27, “This man was seized by the Jews and was about to be killed by them, but when I had learned that he was a Roman citizen, I came with the guard and rescued him.”
   5. “Also 25:6-12 since only Roman citizens were supposed to appeal to the emperor.” (Brown *Introduction* 424 n. 5)
      1. Acts 25:9-12, “Festus, wishing to do the Jews a favor, asked Paul, “Do you wish to go up to Jerusalem and be tried there before me on these charges?” 10 Paul said, “I am appealing to the emperor’s tribunal; this is where I should be tried. I have done no wrong to the Jews, as you very well know. 11 Now if I am in the wrong and have committed something for which I deserve to die, I am not trying to escape death; but if there is nothing to their charges against me, no one can turn me over to them. I appeal to the emperor.” 12 Then Festus, after he had conferred with his council, replied, “You have appealed to the emperor; to the emperor you will go.””
2. **How was Paul a citizen**?
   1. Were Tarsus’ resi­dents Roman citizen­s?
      1. Mark Antony (83-30 bc; triumvir, 43-33 bc) granted Roman citizen­ship to Tarsus’ resi­dents. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
      2. “Some have suggested that Tarsus’ inhabitants received that privilege . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 424)
   2. “. . . but citizenship may have come to Paul through his family rather than through the status of Jews in Tarsus.” (Brown *Introduction* 424)
   3. Perhaps Paul “was the descendant of one or more freed slaves from whom he inherited citizenship.” (van Minnen, P. *JSNT* 56 (1994): 43-52.) (Brown *Introduction* 424 n. 5)
3. **historicity**
   1. pro
      1. Paul’s “intellectual gifts and learning suggest a privileged background . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
   2. con
      1. A privileged background does not “prove that he was of aristocratic status or a Roman citizen.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
         1. “Paul probably had humble beginnings. He was taught to work with leather and to make tents, probably by his artisan father, a skill he would later proudly employ to support his apostolic mission.” (1 Cor 9:6-18; 2 Cor 11:7-15; 1 Thess 2:9) (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
         2. “As a tradesman he would have been among the lower social classes, but a step higher than one who had become a citizen by being freed from slavery.” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
      2. The letters are totally silent about Roman citizenship. (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
         1. “even when he feared execution was imminent”
            1. 2 Cor 1:8-9, “We do not want you to be unaware, brothers and sisters, of the affliction we experienced in Asia; for we were so utterly, unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself. 9 Indeed, we felt that we had received the sentence of death so that we would rely not on ourselves but on God who raises the dead.”
         2. “or was beaten with rods, a Roman form of punishment”
            1. 2 Cor 11:25, “Three times I was beaten with rods. Once I received a stoning. Three times I was shipwrecked; for a night and a day I was adrift at sea . . .”
         3. “or when it would have been advantageous to mention his citizenship”
            1. Phil 3:4-6, “If anyone else has reason to be confident in the flesh, I have more: 5 circumcised on the eighth day, a member of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews; as to the law, a Pharisee; 6 as to zeal, a persecutor of the church; as to righteousness under the law, blameless.”
      3. His “radical monotheism . . . would have made it impossible for him to participate in the civic cults, pay homage to the Roman gods, or share in the imperial cult . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      4. “The ascription of Roman citizenship to Paul serves the theological agenda of Acts by insisting that Paul was a faithful Jew and Roman citizen to underscore his innocence and respectability at a time when the Jesus movement had come under suspicion for its unwillingness to participate in the imperial cult, its refusal of military service, and its secret meetings.” (See “Roman Empire” and “Rome, Early Christian Attitudes toward” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*.) (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
   3. conclusion
      1. “P. van Minnen argues strongly for historicity . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 424 n. 5)
      2. “. . . Acts’ claim does not appear credible.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      3. “Nonetheless, there may be a grain of truth in Acts’ claim. Instead of belonging to one of the few Jewish families in the East enjoying the privileges of Roman citizenship, Paul was probably a member of a politeuma (πολίτευμα), a Jewish community given the right to govern itself by Jewish law, tradition, and institutions. Roman emperors commonly, though not universally, accorded such autonomy to Jewish communities, exempting them from military service and participation in the imperial cult.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)

## JEWISH EDUCATION

introduction

Hebrew and Aramaic

upbringing in Jerusalem?

under Gamaliel?

rabbi?

1. **introduction**
   1. “. . . we know little about his schooling.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
   2. But “he received a formal Jewish education of some sort.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      1. He had “broad knowledge of the Greek Scriptures . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
         1. “thorough knowledge of . . . the Jewish Scriptures” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
      2. He had “skillful use of such exegetical methods as reasoning from the lesser to the greater (e.g., Rom 5:15-21) . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      3. He had “thorough knowledge of Judaism . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
         1. “familiarity with Jewish law, traditions, myths, and legends” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
   3. His “thorough knowledge of Judaism . . . needs to be explained.” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
2. **Hebrew and Aramaic**
   1. pro
      1. letters evidence
         1. “In calling himself a “He­brew” [Phil 3:5b, “a Hebrew [*Hebraios*] born of Hebrews”], he may have meant that he was a Greek-speaking Jew who could also speak Aramaic . . . and could read the OT in the original.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 9)
         2. He prefers the LXX, however. (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      2. Acts evidence
         1. Acts 21:40-22:2, “When he [the tribune] had given him permission, Paul stood on the steps and motioned to the people for silence; and when there was a great hush, he addressed them in the Hebrew language [*Hebraïdi* also means Aramaic], saying: 22:1 “Brothers and fathers, listen to the defense that I now make before you.” 2 When they heard him addressing them in Hebrew, they became even more quiet.”
         2. Acts 26:14, “When we had all fallen to the ground, I heard a voice saying to me in the Hebrew language, ‘Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me? It hurts you to kick against the goads.’”
      3. Aramaic was “widely used in his day in Syria and Asia Minor . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
   2. con
      1. Paul’s letters “give no hint that he knew Aramaic . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      2. “Attempts to detect Arama­isms in Paul’s Greek . . . have not been successful . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
   3. conclusion
      1. “. . . very likely Paul knew Hebrew (or Aramaic or both).” (Brown *Introduction* 426)
3. **upbringing in Jerusalem**?
   1. pro
      1. c. ad 1-10: Acts says “that Paul came to Jerusalem at a very young age . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
         1. Acts 22:3, “I am a Jew, born in Tarsus in Cilicia, but brought up in this city . . .”
         2. Acts 26:4, “All the Jews know my way of life from my youth, a life spent from the beginning among my own people and in Jerusalem.”
      2. c. ad 34-36: “Seemingly he was well connected with the religious authorities in Palestine.” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
         1. “. . . his persecution of the church (Phil 3:6; Gal 1:13) can scarcely have been a solo enterprise.” (Brown *Introduction* 448 n. 2)
         2. In Acts 9:1-2 the high priest gives “Paul letters to the synagogues in Damascus.” (Brown *Introduction* 448 n. 2)
         3. “. . . it is probable that the disciple of Gamaliel remained in the Holy City; that would make it more understandable that the authorities should have given him a police commission.” (Bonsirven 203 n. 27)
      3. sister and nephew in Jerusalem
         1. Acts 23:16, “Now the son of Paul’s sister heard about the ambush; so he went and gained entrance to the barracks and told Paul ”
         2. The sister may have been older or younger. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 9)
         3. “Had parts of the family moved here from Cilicia, and were there sections of the family resident in both places?” (Brown *Introduction* 426 n. 10)
         4. The sister and nephew were “loyal to him. . . . Were they believers in Christ?” (Brown *Introduction* 426 n. 10)
   2. con
      1. Paul’s “de­pendence on rabbini­cal tradi­tions [is] more alleged than proven . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
      2. “The symbolic focus on Jerusalem . . . [is] a Lukan theological construct.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      3. c. 26-30 bc: silence about knowing Jesus
         1. Some (“Feine, Ramsay, J. Weiss, Sabatier, etc.”) think Paul saw Jesus in Jerusalem. (Bonsirven 203 n. 27)
         2. Paul never indicates he knew Jesus person­ally. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
            1. “The letters do not suggest that Paul had seen Jesus during the public ministry or at the crucifixion . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 426)
            2. “It cannot be deduced from 2 Cor 5:16 . . .” (Bonsirven 203 n. 27)

2 Cor 5:16, “From now on, therefore, we regard no one from a human point of view; even though we once knew Christ from a human point of view, we know him no longer in that way.”

2 Cor 5:16b “means only that at one time Paul had judged Jesus according to worldly standards.” (Brown *Introduction* 426 n. 9)

* + - 1. If Paul were in Jerusa­lem then, how could he not have known Je­sus? (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
         1. Silence about knowing Jesus “implicitly [casts] doubt on Paul’s continuous presence in Jerusalem in the years ad 26-30 . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 426)
    1. c. 36-40 bc: Paul was “unknown by sight to the churches of Judea . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
       1. Gal 1:22, “I was still unknown by sight to the churches of Judea that are in Christ . . .”
  1. historicity
     1. Van Unnik argues “strongly for Paul’s upbringing in Jerusalem . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 426 n. 10)
        1. van Unnik, W.C. *Tarsus or Jerusalem*: *The City of Paul*’*s Youth*. London: Epworth, 1962.
        2. “. . . but that remains the minority view.” (Brown *Introduction* 426 n. 10)
     2. That Paul spent his youth in Jerusalem is “quite unlikely.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
     3. Brown says it is possible “that in the early 30s (before Stephen died) Paul, who was then in his 20s and had already received solid Jewish upbringing in Tarsus, came to Jerusalem to study the Law—something that Acts 22:3 may be simplifying, romanticizing, and exaggerating.” (Brown *Introduction* 426)

1. **under Gamaliel**?
   1. pro
      1. Acts claims “that Paul came to Jerusalem at a very young age to study with Gamaliel.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
         1. Acts 22:3, “I am a Jew, born in Tarsus in Cilicia, but brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, educated strictly according to our ancestral law, being zealous for God . . .”
         2. Gamaliel I the Elder was a famous teacher of the Phar­i­sees. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
         3. He “flourished in Jerusalem *ca*. ad 20-50 . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
      2. “Pharisee teachers outside Palestine could not have been overly frequent.” (Brown *Introduction* 426)
      3. At “Jerusalem, within the very broadminded and cultivated circle that surrounded Gamaliel, he continued to imbibe Hellenistic influences.” (Bonsirven 200)
   2. con
      1. That Paul spent his youth in Jerusalem is “quite unlikely.” (See immediately above.) (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      2. “The symbolic focus on Jerusalem . . . [is] a Lukan theological construct.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      3. Mentioning “tutelage under Gamaliel. . . would have been advantageous . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
         1. Phil 3:4b-7, “If anyone else has reason to be confident in the flesh, I have more: 5 circumcised on the eighth day, a member of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews; as to the law, a Pharisee; 6 as to zeal, a persecutor of the church; as to righteousness under the law, blameless. 7 Yet whatever gains I had, these I have come to regard as loss because of Christ.”
      4. The letters never mention training under Gamaliel. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
      5. Paul was “unknown by sight to the churches of Judea . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
         1. Gal 1:22, “I was still unknown by sight to the churches of Judea that are in Christ . . .”
2. **rabbi**?
   1. “Rabbis . . . learned manual trades.” Paul worked leather. (Brown *Introduction* 425 n. 7)
   2. leather-worker
      1. Hock, R.F. *The Social Context of Paul*’*s Ministry*: *Tentmaking and Apostleship*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980.
      2. “. . . Paul learned a trade that Acts 18:3 defines as tentmaker.” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
         1. “He was taught to work with leather and to make tents, probably by his artisan father . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
            1. This means “Paul probably had humble beginnings.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
         2. “. . . the traditional view is that Paul worked with goat hair fabric from his native Cilicia . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 425 n. 6)
      3. “Tentmaker” “does not adequately convey to us the wide range of such an artisan.” (Brown *Introduction* 425 n. 6)
         1. A “skilled craft with skins involved leatherworking, making tents and awnings, etc.” (Pliny, *Natural History*, 19:23-24) (Brown *Introduction* 425 n. 6)
         2. Murphy-O’Connor (*St. Paul*’*s Corinth*) “argues for the last as Paul’s special métier.” (Brown *Introduction* 425 n. 6)
      4. As a missionary, “Supporting himself by working . . . was a point of pride . . . [since] he did not have to beg money from those whom he was evangelizing.” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
         1. 1 Cor 9:6-18, “Or is it only Barnabas and I who have no right to refrain from working for a living? 7 Who at any time pays the expenses for doing military service? Who plants a vineyard and does not eat any of its fruit? Or who tends a flock and does not get any of its milk? 8 Do I say this on human authority? Does not the law also say the same? 9 For it is written in the law of Moses, “You shall not muzzle an ox while it is treading out the grain.” Is it for oxen that God is concerned? 10 Or does he not speak entirely for our sake? It was indeed written for our sake, for whoever plows should plow in hope and whoever threshes should thresh in hope of a share in the crop. 11 If we have sown spiritual good among you, is it too much if we reap your material benefits? 12 If others share this rightful claim on you, do not we still more? Nevertheless, we have not made use of this right, but we endure anything rather than put an obstacle in the way of the gospel of Christ. 13 Do you not know that those who are employed in the temple service get their food from the temple, and those who serve at the altar share in what is sacrificed on the altar? 14 In the same way, the Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel. 15 But I have made no use of any of these rights, nor am I writing this so that they may be applied in my case. Indeed, I would rather die than that—no one will deprive me of my ground for boasting! 16 If I proclaim the gospel, this gives me no ground for boasting, for an obligation is laid on me, and woe to me if I do not proclaim the gospel! 17 For if I do this of my own will, I have a reward; but if not of my own will, I am entrusted with a commission. 18 What then is my reward? Just this: that in my proclamation I may make the gospel free of charge, so as not to make full use of my rights in the gospel.”
         2. 2 Cor 11:7-12, “Did I commit a sin by humbling myself so that you might be exalted, because I proclaimed God’s good news to you free of charge? 8 I robbed other churches by accepting support from them in order to serve you. 9 And when I was with you and was in need, I did not burden anyone, for my needs were supplied by the friends who came from Macedonia. So I refrained and will continue to refrain from burdening you in any way. 10 As the truth of Christ is in me, this boast of mine will not be silenced in the regions of Achaia. 11 And why? Because I do not love you? God knows I do! 12 And what I do I will also continue to do, in order to deny an opportunity to those who want an opportunity to be recognized as our equals in what they boast about.”
         3. 1 Thess 2:9, “You remember our labor and toil, brothers and sisters; we worked night and day, so that we might not burden any of you while we proclaimed to you the gospel of God.”
      5. “Some philosophers did support themselves from the households of the rich who patronized them, much to the disgust of the Cynics.” (Brown *Introduction* 425 n. 7)
   3. Acts suggests “that Paul studied in Jerusalem.” (Brown *Introduction* 426 n. 10)
      1. That “does not necessarily make Paul a rabbi.” (Brown *Introduction* 426 n. 10)
      2. It does not prove Joachim Jeremias’s thesis “that he was a great, master teacher of the Law at Jerusalem . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 425 n. 7)
      3. It does not support the thesis “that he was a follower of the school of Hillel (more usual) or Shammai (R.A. Martin, *Studies*).” (Brown *Introduction* 425 n. 7)

## MARRIAGE?

1. **pro**
   1. In 1926, Joachim Jeremias argued that Paul was a rabbi, and therefore middle aged and married. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
   2. Paul was a rabbi, he argued, since he was “a rec­ognized teacher with the right to make legal deci­sions . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
      1. He voted “against Christians as a member of the Sanhedrin.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
         1. Acts 26:10, “And that is what I did in Jerusalem; with authority received from the chief priests, I not only locked up many of the saints in prison, but I also cast my vote against them when they were being condemned to death.”
      2. He went to Damas­cus to arrest Christians.
         1. Acts 9:1-2, 22:4-5, 26:12
   3. Rabbis were middle aged and married. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
      1. Rabbinical ordination required age 40. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
      2. Rabbinical ordination required marriage. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
   4. Hence Paul was converted when middle aged and married. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
2. **con**
   1. The rabbinical evidence on which Jeremias relies is later. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
   2. Paul’s age at conversion seems too late. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 10)
      1. If he were 40 in ad 30-35, he would have been born 10-5 bc.
   3. He was unmarried at the time of 1 Corinthians (ad 56-57).
      1. 1 Cor 7:8, “To the unmarried and the widows I say that it is well for them to remain unmarried as I am.”
      2. 1 Cor 9:5, “Do we not have the right to be accompanied by a believing wife, as do the other apostles and the brothers of the Lord and Cephas?”

## PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH

1. **references in the letters**
   1. Gal 1:13, “You have heard, no doubt, of my earlier life in Judaism. I was violently persecuting the church of God and was trying to destroy it.”
   2. Gal 1:22, “Then I went into the regions of Syria and Cilicia, 22 and I was still unknown by sight to the churches of Judea that are in Christ; 23 they only heard it said, “The one who formerly was persecuting us is now proclaiming the faith he once tried to destroy.””
      1. “The statement in Gal 1:22 that three years after his adherence to Jesus the churches in Judea still did not know his face need not contradict his role in such a persecution—his hostile behavior may have been heard about by many followers of Jesus who had never seen him [as with Ananias in Acts 9:13].” (Brown *Introduction* 426)
      2. Act 9:13, “But Ananias answered, “Lord, I have heard from many about this man, how much evil he has done to your saints in Jerusalem . . .””
   3. 1 Cor 15:9, “For I am the least of the apostles, unfit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God.”
   4. Phil 3:6, “as to zeal, a persecutor of the church . . .”
   5. 1 Thess 2:14 refers to persecutions in Judea.
      1. 1 Thess 2:14, “For you, brothers and sisters, became imitators of the churches of God in Christ Jesus that are in Judea, for you suffered the same things from your own compatriots as they did from the Jews . . .”
2. **references in Acts**
   1. Acts 7:58, “Then they dragged him out of the city and began to stone him; and the witnesses laid their coats at the feet of a young man named Saul.”
   2. Acts 8:1-3, “And Saul approved of their killing him. That day a severe persecution began against the church in Jerusalem, and all except the apostles were scattered throughout the countryside of Judea and Samaria. 2 Devout men buried Stephen and made loud lamentation over him. 3 But Saul was ravaging the church by entering house after house; dragging off both men and women, he committed them to prison.”
   3. Acts 9:1-2, “Meanwhile Saul, still breathing threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord, went to the high priest 2 and asked him for letters to the synagogues at Damascus, so that if he found any who belonged to the Way, men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem.”
   4. Acts 22:3-5, “I am a Jew, born in Tarsus in Cilicia, but brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, educated strictly according to our ancestral law, being zealous for God, just as all of you are today. 4 I persecuted this Way up to the point of death by binding both men and women and putting them in prison, 5 as the high priest and the whole council of elders can testify about me. From them I also received letters to the brothers in Damascus, and I went there in order to bind those who were there and to bring them back to Jerusalem for punishment.”
   5. Acts 22:17-21, “After I had returned to Jerusalem and while I was praying in the temple, I fell into a trance 18 and saw Jesus saying to me, ‘Hurry and get out of Jerusalem quickly, because they [Jerusalem Jews] will not accept your testimony about me.’ 19 And I said, ‘Lord, they themselves know that in every synagogue I imprisoned and beat those who believed in you. 20 And while the blood of your witness Stephen was shed, I myself was standing by, approving and keeping the coats of those who killed him.’ 21 Then he said to me, ‘Go, for I will send you far away to the Gentiles.’”
   6. Acts 26:9-11, “Indeed, I myself was convinced that I ought to do many things against the name of Jesus of Nazareth. 10 And that is what I did in Jerusalem; with authority received from the chief priests, I not only locked up many of the saints in prison, but I also cast my vote against them when they were being condemned to death. 11 By punishing them often in all the synagogues I tried to force them to blaspheme; and since I was so furiously enraged at them, I pursued them even to foreign cities.”
3. **why Paul persecuted the Church**
   1. zealous personality
      1. After conversion, he was just as zealous for Christianity.
      2. E.P. Sanders (*Paul* [1991] 8-9) “argues that the persecution was due to Paul’s zeal, not to his being a very observant Pharisee.” (Brown *Introduction* 426)
   2. zealous Pharisee
      1. Others say “that Paul saw the followers of Jesus proclaiming a message contrary to the Pharisee interpretation of the Law.” (Brown *Introduction* 427)
      2. Phil 3:5-6, “If anyone else has reason to be confident in the flesh, I have more: 5 . . . a Hebrew born of Hebrews; as to the law, a Pharisee; 6 as to zeal, a persecutor of the church; as to righteousness under the law, blameless.”
      3. “Did Paul perceive the followers of Jesus as blaspheming against Moses by changing customs that the Law decreed . . . ([a charge] against Stephen: Acts 6:11-14; 8:1)?” (Brown *Introduction* 427)
      4. Acts 6:13-14, “They [diaspora Jews in Jerusalem] set up false witnesses who said, “This man [Steven] never stops saying things against this holy place and the law; 14 for we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth . . . will change the customs that Moses handed on to us.””
      5. Acts 8:1, “And Saul approved of their killing him.”
   3. offended by a criminal messiah
      1. “. . . was Paul’s hostility toward these people related to their confessing as the God-approved Messiah one who had been condemned by the Jewish authorities as a blasphemer?” (Brown *Introduction* 427)
         1. Acts 26:9, “Paul did “many things *against the name of Jesus of Nazareth*.”
   4. offended by advocating destruction of the temple
      1. “Did Paul perceive the followers of Jesus as . . . advocating the destruction of the Temple sanctuary ([a charge] against Stephen: Acts 6:11-14; 8:1)?” (Brown *Introduction* 427)
      2. Acts 6:13-14, “They [diaspora Jews in Jerusalem] set up false witnesses who said, “This man [Steven] never stops saying things against this holy place and the law; 14 for we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place . . .””
      3. Acts 8:1, “And Saul approved of their killing him.”
4. **result**
   1. Because of the persecution that followed Stephen’s martyrdom, “(Hellenist Jewish) Christians scattered to Judea and Samaria and farther.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 11)
   2. Acts 8:1-3, “And Saul approved of their killing him. That day a severe persecution began against the church in Jerusalem, and all except the apostles were scattered throughout the countryside of Judea and Samaria.”
   3. Acts 9:1-2, Saul “went to the high priest 2 and asked him for letters to the synagogues at Damascus, so that if he found any who belonged to the Way, men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem.”
   4. Acts 11:19, “Now those who were scattered because of the persecution that took place over Stephen traveled as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, and they spoke the word to no one except Jews.”

## PAUL’S CONVERSION

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Acts 9:3-8  *narrative* | Acts 22:6-11  *to a Jerusalem mob* | Acts 26:12-18  *before Herod Agrippa II* | Gal 1:11-17  *Paul himself* |
| 3 Now as he was going along and approaching Damascus, | 6 “While I was on my way and approaching Damascus, | 12 “. . . I was traveling to Damascus with the authority and commission of the chief priests, | 17c and afterwards I returned to Damascus. |
| suddenly |  |  |  |
|  | about noon | 13 when at midday along the road, your Excellency, |  |
| a light from heaven | a great light from heaven | I saw a light from heaven, brighter than the sun, |  |
|  | suddenly |  |  |
| flashed around him. | shone about me. | shining around me and my companions. |  |
| 4 He fell to the ground | 7 I fell to the ground | 14 When we had all fallen to the ground, |  |
| and heard a voice saying to him, | and heard a voice saying to me, | I heard a voice saying to me |  |
|  |  | in the Hebrew language |  |
| “Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?” | ‘Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me?’ | ‘Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me? |  |
|  |  | It hurts you to kick against the goads.’ |  |
| 5 He asked, “Who are you, Lord?” | 8 I answered, ‘Who are you, Lord?’ | 15 I asked, ‘Who are you, Lord?’ |  |
| The reply came, “I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting. | Then he said to me, ‘I am Jesus of Nazareth whom you are persecuting.’ | The Lord answered, ‘I am Jesus whom you are persecuting. | 11b . . . the gospel that was proclaimed by me is not of human ori­gin; 12 for I did not receive it from a human source, nor was I taught it, but I received it through a revelation of Jesus Christ. |
|  | 9 Now those who were with me saw the light but did not hear the voice of the one who was speaking to me. |  |  |
|  | 10 I asked, ‘What am I to do, Lord?’ |  |  |
|  | The Lord said to me, |  |  |
| 6 But get up and enter the city, and you will be told what you are to do.” | ‘Get up and go to Damascus; there you will be told everything that has been assigned to you to do.’ | 16 But get up and stand on your feet; |  |
|  |  | for I have appeared to you for this purpose, to appoint you to serve and testify to the things in which you have seen me and to those in which I will appear to you. 17 I will rescue you from your people and from the Gentiles—to whom I am sending you 18 to open their eyes so that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, so that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place among those who are sanctified by faith in me.’ | 15 But when God, who had set me apart before I was born and called me through his grace, was pleased 16 to reveal his Son to me, so that I might proclaim him among the Gentiles, I did not confer with any human being . . . |
| 7 The men who were traveling with him stood speechless because they heard the voice but saw no one. |  |  |  |
| 8 Saul got up from the ground, and though his eyes were open, he could see nothing; so they led him by the hand and brought him into Damascus. | 11 Since I could not see because of the brightness of that light, those who were with me took my hand and led me to Damascus.” | 19 After that, King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision, 20 but declared first to those in Damascus . . . that they should repent . . . |  |

## PAUL’S CONVERSION

descriptions

date

“conversion”

nature of the experience

effects

1. **descriptions**
   1. The four accounts are Acts 9:3-8; 22:6-11; 26:12-18; Gal 1:11-17.
   2. place
      1. letters
         1. Gal 1:15-17, “But when God . . . was pleased 16 to reveal his Son to me, so that I might proclaim him among the Gentiles, I did not confer with any human being, 17 nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were already apostles before me, but I went away at once into Arabia, and afterwards I returned to Damascus.”
         2. “That the conversion took place near Damascus is inferred from the vb. “returned”” in 1:17c. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 11)
      2. Acts
         1. Acts is explicit.
         2. Acts 9:1-3, “Meanwhile Saul . . . went to the high priest 2 and asked him for letters to the synagogues at Damascus . . . 3 Now as he was going along and approaching Damascus . . .”
         3. Acts 22:6, “While I was on my way and approaching Damascus . . .”
         4. Acts 26:12, “I was traveling to Damascus with the authority and commission of the chief priests . . .”
   3. contradictions
      1. “It is a notorious problem [that the Acts accounts] do not agree in details . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 427 n. 11)
      2. Paul’s companions stood by speechless or fell to the ground. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 12)
         1. Acts 9:4, 7, “He fell to the ground . . . 7 The men who were traveling with him stood speechless . . .”
         2. Acts 26:14, “we had all fallen to the ground . . .”
         3. Of course, one can argue that they fell with Paul at 9:4 and had stood back up by 9:7.—Hahn
      3. The companions do and do not hear the voice.
         1. Acts 9:7, “The men who were traveling with him . . . heard the voice but saw no one.”
         2. Acts 22:9, “Now those who were with me saw the light but did not hear the voice . . .”
      4. Paul does or does not see Jesus.
         1. In all three Acts accounts, he does not. (Brown *Introduction* 427)
            1. The light blinds him (9:8, 22:11).
            2. But see Acts 9:27, “But Barnabas took him, brought him to the apostles, and described for them how on the road he had seen the Lord, who had spoken to him, and how in Damascus he had spoken boldly in the name of Jesus.”
         2. In 1 Corinthians, he does.
            1. 1 Cor 9:1bc, “Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?”
            2. 1 Cor 15:8, “Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me.”
            3. But these references could be to a later trance, e.g., at the temple.—Hahn

Acts 22:17, “while I was praying in the temple, I fell into a trance 18 and saw Jesus saying to me, ‘Hurry and get out of Jerusalem quickly’ . . .”

* + 1. “. . . though Jesus addresses Paul “in the ‘Hebrew’ language,” he quotes a Gk proverb (26:14).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 12)
       1. Acts 26:14b, “It hurts you to kick against the goads.”
    2. What do the disagreements show?
       1. Perhaps Luke “did not have detailed, fixed, handed-down tradition . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 427 n. 11)
       2. Perhaps Luke “felt free in his dramatization of the tradition.” (Brown *Introduction* 427 n. 11)
       3. Perhaps Luke had a “lack of concern for consistency.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 12)

1. **date** (probably 36)
   1. estimates
      1. “Depending on how long one reckons Aretas’ control over Damascus, the dates of Paul’s conversion and flight are differently estimated . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 11)
         1. Gerd Lüde­mann: ad 30 or 33.
         2. Robert Jewett: ad 34.
      2. Fitzmyer and Brown opt for ad 36. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 11) (Brown *Introduction* 430)
   2. reasons for 36
      1. Marcellus
         1. Josephus (*Antiquities* 18.4.2 §89) says that Marcellus succeeded Pilate as prefect in ad 36. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 8)
         2. A new prefect “may be a plausible occa­sion for the lynching of Stephen (Acts 8:1).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 8)
         3. “Acts 7:58; 8:1; 9:1 associates Paul’s persecuting activity with the aftermath of the martyrdom of Stephen.” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
      2. Aretas IV Philopatris, King of Nabatea (r. 9 bc-ad 40)
         1. “The Nabatean King Aretas was given control of Damascus by the Emperor Caligula (37-41) . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
         2. For three years (from conversion to Jerusalem visit), Paul was in Arabia and Damascus. (Brown *Introduction* 430)
            1. Gal 1:17-18, “nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were already apostles before me, but I went away at once into Arabia, and afterwards I returned to Damascus. 18 Then after three years I did go up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas . . .”
            2. “Arabia” is not “Saudi Arabia but the Nabatean kingdom running south, through the Transjordan to the Sinai, and centered on Petra.” (Murphy-O’Connor, J. *CBQ* 55 (1993): 732-37. *BRev* 10.5 (1994): 46-47.) (Brown *Introduction* 430 n. 13)



* + - * 1. In Damascus, the Jews plotted to kill Paul, but he escaped Aretas’ governor’s hands.

Acts 9:23b-25, “the Jews plotted to kill him, 24 but their plot became known to Saul. They were watching the gates day and night so that they might kill him; 25 but his disciples took him by night and let him down through an opening in the wall, lowering him in a basket.”

2 Cor 11:32-33, “In Damascus, the governor [ἐθνάρχης; BAGD 55: “head of an ethnic group or minority”; only here in the NT] under King Aretas guarded the city of Damascus in order to seize me, 33 but I was let down in a basket through a window in the wall, and escaped from his hands.”

These passages are “not irreconcilable . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 430 n. 14)

* + - 1. Consequently, many “date Paul’s conversion *ca*. 36, and his escape from Damascus and going to Jerusalem *ca*. 39.” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
         1. Caligula gave Aretas control of Damascus; Caligula was emperor from 37-41. (Brown *Introduction* 430)
         2. Aretas died in 40; at most, he ruled Damascus from 37-40.
         3. The conversion was surely three years prior to the flight (Gal 1:18).

Gal 1:17-18, “I went away at once into Arabia [εἰς Ἀραβίαν], and afterwards I returned to Damascus. 18 Then after three years I did go up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas . . .”

* + - * 1. So the conversion could have been three years prior to 37, 38, 39, or 40—i.e., 34-37.—Hahn
        2. Add in Marcellus as the new prefect, and you get ad 36.
        3. Fitzmyer says the escape was “probably in ad 39.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 6)

But his only reason for saying this is a reference to this encyclopedia: Pauly, August, Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, Kurt Witte, Karl Mittelhaus, Konrat Ziegler, eds. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. New ed. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1894-1980. 2/1.674.

* + - * 1. Fitzmyer says that “Paul’s conversion was about three years earlier, probably in ad 36.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 6)

1. “**conversion**”
   1. By convention Paul’s experience is called a “conversion.” (Brown *Introduction* 427 n. 11)
   2. But he did not only now start “to lead a good life (Phil 3:6b: He was previously “blameless” in the practice of the Law) . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 427 n. 11)
   3. He was not “converted away from Judaism to a new religion.” (Brown *Introduction* 427 n. 11)
2. **nature of the experience**
   1. a direct encounter with the risen Lord (Fitzmyer *Paul* 11, 30)
      1. 1 Cor 9:1, “Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord [*Kyrios*]?”
      2. 1 Cor 15:8, “Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me.”
      3. Gal 1:16, “[God was pleased] 16to reveal his Son to me . . .”
      4. Phil 3:12d, “. . . Christ Jesus has made me his own.”
   2. a “revelation” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 30)
      1. 2 Cor 4:6, “For it is the God who said, “Let light shine out of darkness,” who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.”
         1. Here Paul compares his conversion experience to the creation of light. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 30)
      2. Gal 1:12, “. . . I received it through a revelation of Jesus Christ.”
      3. Gal 1:16, “[God was pleased] 16to reveal his Son to me . . .”
   3. content of the revelation
      1. It “impressed Paul with the unity of divine action for the salvation of all humani­ty, which is manifest in both the Old and New Dispensations.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 30)
      2. “The Father who revealed his Son to Paul was the same God that Paul the Pharisee had always served.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 30)
      3. But “If his basic *theo*logy did not change, his chris­tol­ogy did.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 30)
         1. The “encounter with the risen Lord revealed to Paul that the scandal of the cross was not the end of the story of Jesus.” (Brown *Introduction* 427)
         2. The “revelation impressed him emphatically with the messian­ic, soteriol­ogical, and vicarious value of the death of Jesus of Naza­reth . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 31)
      4. “The experience near Damascus taught him that the messianic age [*eschaton*] had already started (1 Cor 10:11), although a definitive stage of it was still to be realized . . . The Messiah had come, but not yet in glory.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 31)
      5. Paul had a “reversal of values as he reconsidered the import of the Mosaic Law in the light of what God had done in Jesus.” (Craffert, P.F. *Scriptura* 29 [1989]: 36-47.) (Brown *Introduction* 427 n. 11)
   4. “Paul’s conversion should not be regarded as the result of the human condition described in Rom 7:7-8:2, as if that were an autobiographical account of his experience. Paul as a Christian looked back on his Jewish career with a robust conscience: “as for righteousness under the law, I was blameless” (Phil 3:6b). He was not crushed by the law.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 11)
3. **effects**
   1. He ceased persecuting the Church (Acts 9:3-5). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 11)
   2. He “con­fessed with the early church that “Jesus is Lord” . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 30)
      1. Rom 10:9, “if you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved.”
      2. 1 Cor 12:3, “I want you to understand that no one speaking by the Spirit of God ever says “Let Jesus be cursed!” and no one can say “Jesus is Lord” except by the Holy Spirit.”
      3. Phil 2:11, “every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.”
   3. He became “a servant of Christ.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 11)
      1. Gal 1:10b, “If I were still pleasing people, I would not be a servant of Christ.”
   4. commissioning
      1. Paul “never speaks of a conversion, but of a calling or commission.” (Brown *Intro­duction* 427 n. 11)
      2. He received a compulsion to preach the gospel. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 30)
         1. 1 Cor 9:16, “If I proclaim the gospel, this gives me no ground for boasting, for an obligation [ἀνάγκη; BAGD 11: “necessity . . . compulsion”] is laid on me, and woe to me if I do not proclaim the gospel!”
      3. Especially he must preach to the Gentiles. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 11)
         1. Rom 11:13, “Now I am speaking to you Gentiles. Inasmuch then as I am an apostle to the Gentiles, I glorify my ministry . . .”
         2. Gal 1:16b, “[God] was pleased 16 to reveal his Son to me, so that I might proclaim him among the Gentiles . . .”
      4. When did Paul realize he was to be a missionary to the Gentiles?
         1. early
            1. Acts 26:17, Jesus to Paul at conversion, “I will rescue you from your people and from the Gentiles—to whom I am sending you . . .”
            2. Gal 1:15-17, God “was pleased 16 to reveal his Son to me, so that I might proclaim him among the Gentiles . . .”
            3. Do these verses “mean that from the first moment of his conversion Paul knew of his mission to the Gentiles?” (Brown *Introduction* 427)
         2. later
            1. Or did he realize it “in later reflection, after he found Gentiles very receptive of his gospel (which did not insist on their . . . being circumcised and doing the works of the Law) . . .?” (Brown *Introduction* 427)
            2. “. . . did Paul relate his appeal to them to his own undeserved call by Christ when he was persecuting the church?” (Brown *Introduction* 427)
         3. probably later
            1. Murphy-O’Connor (“Pauline Missions”) “argues that the knowledge was very early . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 427 n. 12)

This is because “he interprets Gal 2:7 (the assignment of Paul to the uncircumcised and Peter to the circumcised) to stem from the meeting between Peter and Paul when Paul came to Jerusalem between 37 and 39 (Gal 1:18) . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 427 n. 12)

But “there is no indication that this assignment was the product of a meeting and not simply a distillation of what the two men had been doing before 49.” (Brown *Introduction* 427 n. 12)

* + - * 1. Realizing it later “better fits the evidence of Acts (13:46-47; 17:4; 18:6).” (Brown *Introduction* 427)

Acts 13:46-47, “Then both Paul and Barnabas spoke out boldly, saying, “It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to you. Since you reject it and judge yourselves to be unworthy of eternal life, we are now turning to the Gentiles. 47 For so the Lord has commanded us, saying, ‘I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles, so that you may bring salvation to the ends of the earth.’””

Acts 17:4, “Some of them were persuaded and joined Paul and Silas, as did a great many of the devout Greeks and not a few of the leading women.”

Acts 18:6, “When they opposed and reviled him, in protest he shook the dust from his clothes and said to them, “Your blood be on your own heads! I am innocent. From now on I will go to the Gentiles.””

* + 1. But elsewhere Fitzmyer attributes Paul’s understanding of the Gentiles’ relation to the Church, not to an insight gained at his conversion, but to Paul’s apostolic experience: “the universal scope of Christian salvation proba­bly dawned on Paul as he worked continually with Jews who failed to accept his message . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 34)
  1. He became “the first Christian theologian.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 30)
  2. “It put him on an equal footing with the Twelve and others who had seen the Lord.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 30)
     1. For Paul, the appearance of the risen Lord was a major factor in his being an apostle . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 427)
        1. “The only difference between that experience . . . (1 Cor 15:8) and the experi­ence of the official witnesses of the resurrection (1 Cor 15:5-7) was that his vision oc­curred much later.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 30)
        2. 1 Cor 15:5-8, “he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. 6 Then he appeared to more than five hundred brothers and sisters at one time, most of whom are still alive, though some have died. 7 Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles. 8 Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me.”
     2. For Luke, it may only have made Paul a missionary.
        1. “Did Luke rank this appearance from heaven on a lower level than the risen Lord’s appearances on earth to the Twelve?” (Brown *Introduction* 427)
        2. “. . . some have doubted that he was an apostle in Luke’s estimation (pp. 298, 323 above).” (Brown *Introduction* 427)

## PAULINE CHRONOLGY

Brown, Raymond E., SS. *An Introduction to the New Testament*. The Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1997.

dates of letters

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *proto-Paulines* | | | *deutero-Paulines* | |
| *date* | *letter* | *provenance* | *date* | *letter* |
| 50-51 | 1 Thess | Corinth | 80s | Hebrews |
| 54-55 | Galatians | Ephesus | 80s | Colossians |
| 55 | Philemon | Ephesus | 80s-90s | 2 Thessalonians |
| 56 | Philippians | Ephesus | 80s-90s | 1 Timothy |
| winter 56-57 | 1 Corinthians | Ephesus | 80s-90s | 2 Timothy |
| summer-fall 57 | 2 Corinthians | Macedonia | 80s-90s | Titus |
| winter 57-58 | Romans | Corinth | 90s | Ephesians |

dates of events

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *date* | *event* | *letters* |
| ad 1-10 | birth |  |
| 36 | persecution of the Church |  |
| 36 | conversion |  |
| 39 | flight from Damascus; first Jerusalem visit |  |
| 40-44 | Syria and Cilicia; mystical experience |  |
| 44-45 | Antioch |  |
| 46-49 | first missionary journey:  Cyprus, S Asia Minor (Perga, Pisidian Antioch,  Iconium, Lystra, Derbe), Antioch |  |
| 49 | Council of Jerusalem; Antioch incident |  |
| 50-52 | second missionary journey:  Antioch, S Asia Minor, N Galatia, Macedonia, Corinth for 1½ years, Jerusalem, Antioch | 1 Thess |
| 52-54 | Antioch |  |
| 54-58 | third missionary journey:  Antioch, N Galatia, Ephesus for 3 years (54-spring 57); imprisonment at Ephesus? | Gal, Phlm,  Phil, 1 Cor |
| summer-fall 57 | through Macedonia | 2 Cor |
| winter 57-58 | Corinth | Rom |
| 58-60 | arrest in Jerusalem; imprisonment at Caesarea for 2 years |  |
| 60-61 | sent to Rome; long sea journey |  |
| 61-63 | prisoner in Rome for 2 years |  |
| after summer 64 | death in Rome under Nero |  |

## CHRONOLOGY OF PAUL

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ad 1-10 birth

36 persecution of the Church

36 conversion

36-39 Damascus; Arabia

39 flight from Damascus

3 Jerusalem visit

40-44 Syria and Cilicia

44-45 Antioch for a year

45 purported famine visit to Jerusalem

46-49 first missionary journey:

Cyprus, S Asia Minor

49 Council of Jerusalem

49 Antioch incident

50-52 second missionary journey:

Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece

50-51 *1 Thessalonians*

52-54 stay at Antioch

54-58 third missionary journey:

Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece

54-55 *Galatians*

55-56 *Philemon*

56 *Philippians*

winter 56-57 *1 Corinthians*

summer-fall 57 *2 Corinthians*

winter 57-58 *Romans*

Pentecost 58 arrest at Jerusalem

58-60 imprisonment at Caesarea Maritima

winter 60-61 sailing to Rome

61-63 Rome

[traditional date: *Ephesians*, *Colossians*, *Philemon*]

64 death

80s *Colossians*

80s-90s *2 Thessalonians*

80s-90s *1 Timothy*

80s-90s *2 Timothy*

80s-90s *Titus*

90s *Ephesians*

## PAUL’S MISSIONARY JOURNEYS



## PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, ad 200



## CHRONOLOGY OF PAUL’S LIFE

1. **1-10**: **birth**
2. **36**: **persecution of the Church**
3. **36**: **conversion**
4. **36-39**: **Damascus**; **Arab­ia**
   1. Gal 1:17, “nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were already apostles before me, but I went away at once into Arabia, and afterwards I returned to Damascus.”
   2. Acts 9:19-22, “For several days he was with the disciples in Damascus, 20 and immediately he began to proclaim Jesus in the synagogues, saying, “He is the Son of God.” 21 All who heard him were amazed and said, “Is not this the man who made havoc in Jerusalem among those who invoked this name? And has he not come here for the purpose of bringing them bound before the chief priests?” 22 Saul became increasingly more powerful and confounded the Jews who lived in Damascus by proving that Jesus was the Messiah.”
5. **39**: **flight from Damascus**
   1. 2 Cor 11:32-33, “In Damascus, the governor under King Aretas guarded the city of Damascus in order to seize me; 33 but I was let down in a basket through a window in the wall, and escaped from his hands.”
   2. Acts 9:23-25, “After some time had passed [in Damascus], the Jews plotted to kill him, 24 but their plot became known to Saul. They were watching the gates day and night so that they might kill him; 25 but his disciples took him by night and let him down through an opening in the wall, lowering him in a basket.”
6. **39**: **first Jerusalem visit**
   1. Gal 1:18, “Then after three years I did go up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas and stayed with him fifteen days . . .”
   2. Acts 9:26-29, “When he had come to Jerusalem, he attempted to join the disciples; and they were all afraid of him, for they did not believe that he was a disciple. 27 But Barnabas took him, brought him to the apostles, and described for them how on the road he had seen the Lord, who had spoken to him, and how in Damascus he had spoken boldly in the name of Jesus. 28 So he went in and out among them in Jerusalem, speaking boldly in the name of the Lord. 29 He spoke and argued with the Hellenists; but they were attempting to kill him.”
   3. Acts 22:18, “I fell into a trance 18 and saw Jesus saying to me, ‘Hurry and get out of Jerusalem quickly, because they will not accept your testimony about me.’”
   4. Gal 1:18-19 says Paul went to Jerusalem. (Brown *Introduction* 430)
   5. Acts 9:26-29 says “Barnabas brought him . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 430 n. 15)
   6. The stay was short (Gal 1:18, Acts 22:18). (Brown *Introduction* 430)
7. **40-44**: **Syria and Cilicia**
   1. Johnson, S.E. *Paul the Apostle and His Cities*. GNS 21. Wilmington: Glazier, 1987. (cities of the letters and missions, Brown *Introduction* 431 n. 17)
   2. Gal 1:21, “Then I went into the regions of Syria and Cilicia . . .”
   3. Acts 9:30, “the [Jerusalem] believers . . . brought him down to Caesarea and sent him off to Tarsus.”
   4. “Syria and Cilicia” (Gal 1:21)
      1. “That might mean Antioch on the way to Tarsus . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 430 n. 16)
      2. Or it might be “a summary description of . . . everything between Paul’s leaving Jerusalem *ca.* 39 and the meeting there in 49.” (Brown *Introduction* 430 n. 16)
         1. For the decade 39-49, Acts narrates: (Brown *Introduction* 430 n. 16)
            1. going to Tarsus
            2. coming to Antioch
            3. the first missionary journey (Antioch, Cyprus, SE Asia Minor, Antioch)
   5. Acts does not state the duration of his stay, but “the sequence makes a number of years not improba­ble (perhaps ad 40 to ad 44).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 13)
      1. “How long Paul remained [in Tarsus] is not clear, but it may have been several years.” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
   6. Paul “received” the “tradition” about Jesus (1 Cor 11:23; 15:3); perhaps “it was in this period that he learned some or all of that tradition.” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
   7. 40-44: mystical experience
      1. “About this time he must have had the vision to which he refers in 2 Cor 12:2-4; it occurred 14 years before 2 Cor was written [57 – 14 = 43] but is scarcely to be equated with the conversion experience. According to Acts 22:17-21 Paul has an ecstasy while praying in the Jerusalem Temple during visit 1.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 13)
      2. 2 Cor 12:2-4, “I know a person in Christ who fourteen years ago was caught up to the third heaven—whether in the body or out of the body I do not know; God knows. 3 And I know that such a person—whether in the body or out of the body I do not know; God knows—4 was caught up into Paradise and heard things that are not to be told, that no mortal is permitted to repeat.”
      3. Acts 22:17-21, “After I had returned to Jerusalem and while I was praying in the temple, I fell into a trance 18 and saw Jesus saying to me, ‘Hurry and get out of Jerusalem quickly, because they will not accept your testimony about me.’ 19 And I said, ‘Lord, they themselves know that in every synagogue I imprisoned and beat those who believed in you. 20 And while the blood of your witness Stephen was shed, I myself was standing by, approving and keeping the coats of those who killed him.’ 21 Then he said to me, ‘Go, for I will send you far away to the Gentiles.’”
8. **44-45**: **Antioch for a year**
   1. The letters refer only twice to Antioch.
      1. Gal 2:11, “But when Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face . . .”
      2. 2 Tim 3:11a, you saw “my persecutions and [my] suffering the things that happened to me in Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra.”
   2. Acts 11:25-26, “Then Barnabas went to Tarsus to look for Saul, 26 and when he had found him, he brought him to Antioch. So it was that for an entire year they met with the church and taught a great many people, and it was in Antioch that the disciples were first called “Christians.””
      1. Barnabas goes to Tarsus to “bring Paul to Antioch because of the possibilities opened by the spread of Christianity to the Gentiles.” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
   3. Antioch in Syria was “the third largest city in the Roman Empire, after Rome and Alexandria . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
   4. Antioch became “the base for Paul’s outgoing missionary activity. The Orontes River provided Antioch with access to a port on the Mediterranean, and it was across that sea that Paul would set out to proclaim Jesus more widely.” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
9. **45**: **famine visit to Jerusalem**?
   1. Acts 11:26-30 says that, after a year at Antioch, Paul was “sent to Jerusalem with famine relief . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
      1. Acts 11:27-30, “At that time prophets came down from Jerusalem to Antioch. 28 One of them named Agabus stood up and predicted by the Spirit that there would be a severe famine over all the world; and this took place during the reign of Claudius. 29 The disciples determined that according to their ability, each would send relief to the believers living in Judea; 30 this they did, sending it to the elders by Barnabas and Saul.”
         1. [Acts 12:1-2, Herod kills James, the brother of the Lord.]
         2. [Acts 12:3-19, Peter’s escape from prison.]
         3. [Acts 12:20-23, Herod negotiates with Tyre and Sidon; Herod dies.]
         4. [Acts 12:24, “But the word of God continued to advance and gain adherents.”]
      2. Acts 12:25, “Then after completing their mission Barnabas and Saul returned to Jerusalem and brought with them John, whose other name was Mark.”
   2. “There was a famine in this eastern Mediterranean area during the reign of Emperor Claudius [41-54], probably *ca*. 45 . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
   3. But a famine visit is “hard to reconcile with [Gal 2:1,] that in his Christian career (up to ad 50) the second time he went to Jerusalem was fourteen years later . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
      1. 14 years after his conversion, c. 36? (36 + 14 = 50)
      2. 14 years after his first visit to Jerusalem, c. 39? (39 + 14 = 53)
      3. The first is “more likely . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
10. **missionary journeys in general**
    1. “One of the main objections to using Acts as a guide to Paul’s life is that in his letters Paul shows no awareness of numbered (three) missionary journeys.” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
       1. “It is argued pungently that if you had asked Paul of the letters, “Which missionary journey are you on now?”, he would not have known what you were talking about.” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
    2. But “one might say the same about the Paul of Acts . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
       1. Acts “never explicitly spells out three missionary journeys.” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
       2. Acts 18:22-23 “does not offer a very clear delineation between the Second and the Third.” (Brown *Introduction* 431 n. 17)
          1. Acts 18:22-23, “When he had landed at Caesarea, he went up to Jerusalem and greeted the church, and then went down to Antioch. 23 After spending some time there he departed and went from place to place through the region of Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening all the disciples.”
       3. In Acts, “during a year and a half Paul was at Corinth and during three years he was at Ephesus, and thus not journeying in the ordinary sense of the word.” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
       4. “*The three journeys are only a convenient classification developed by students of Acts*, *and I shall use them in that sense*.” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
11. **46-49**: **first missionary journey**
    1. evidence from Paul’s letters
       1. “In his undisputed letters Paul gives us no information about such a journey.” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
       2. “Paul has given us no details about his missionary activity in the pre-“Council” period of 14 years (Gal 2:1) . . .”
       3. But he does make occasional re­fer­ences. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 14)
          1. Gal 2:1-3 refers to preaching to gentiles before the Council of Jerusalem in ad 49. (Brown *Introduction* 431)
             1. Gal 2:1-3, “
          2. 2 Cor 11:25 “mentions being stoned . . . as he was at Lystra in Acts 14:19 . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
             1. 2 Cor 11:25, “
             2. Acts 14:19, “
          3. See also “the place names in 2 Tim 3:11.” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
             1. 2 Tim 3:11, “you have observed . . . 11 my persecutions and suffering the things that happened to me in Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra. What persecutions I endured! Yet the Lord rescued me from all of them.”
       4. He was in the areas of Syria and Cilicia.
          1. Gal 1:21, “Then I went into the regions of Syria and Cilicia . . .”
       5. He was “preach­ing the faith.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 15)
          1. Gal 1:23, “they only heard it said, “The one who formerly was persecuting us is now proclaiming the faith he once tried to destroy.””
       6. He was preaching in synagogues. (Brown *Introduction* 431)
          1. “Having met opposition in synagogues, Paul addressed himself to Gentiles among whom the gospel was well received.” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
          2. “He speaks of the gospel bringing salvation through faith “to the Jews first and also to the Greeks” (Rom 1:16). See Chapter 10 above, n. 65, for Paul’s preaching in synagogues. There he would have encountered Gentiles sympathetic to Judaism who might have provided him with his initial converts.” (Brown *Introduction* 431 n. 18)
       7. He was preaching among the Gen­tiles. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 15)
          1. Gal 2:2, “I went up [to Jerusalem] in response to a revelation. Then I laid before them (though only in a private meeting with the acknowledged leaders) the gospel that I proclaim among the Gentiles, in order to make sure that I was not running, or had not run, in vain.”
          2. “According to Acts 10:44-48; 11:20-21, there were others before Paul who made converts among the Gentiles (seemingly without any insistence on circumcision), but perhaps in situations where such Gentiles could be absorbed into communities of Jewish Christians. Apparently Paul’s innovation was to have formed entire communities of Gentile Christians with little or no attachment to Judaism.” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
       8. He later wrote Phil 4:15 (c. ad 56-57). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 14)
          1. Phil 4:15, “You Philippians indeed know that in the early days of the gospel, when I left Macedonia, no church shared with me in the matter of giving and receiving, except you alone.”
          2. So, “As he left Macedo­nia [c. ad 50/51-52, during his second missionary journey], there were other churches, presumably evange­lized by Paul. But where were they? Since he passed to Philippi in Macedo­nia from Asia Minor, he could be referring to churches of S Galatia in the account of Mission I (Acts 13:13-14:25)—or less likely to those of N Galatia, Mysia, or Troas at the beginning of Mission II . . . In any case, Macedonia was scarcely the first area evangelized by Paul . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 14)
       9. See also Col 4:10, 2 Tim 3:11. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 14)
          1. Col 4:10, “Aristarchus my fellow prisoner greets you, as does Mark the cousin of Barnabas, concerning whom you have received instructions—if he comes to you, welcome him.”
          2. 2 Tim 3:11, “you have observed . . . 11 my persecutions and suffering the things that happened to me in Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra. What persecutions I endured! Yet the Lord rescued me from all of them.”
    2. Acts
       1. Acts 13:3-14:28 recounts the first missionary journey. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 14)
          1. Barnabas, Paul, and John Mark set out from Antioch.
          2. They sail to Cyprus.
          3. They sail to Asia Minor.
          4. They visit the town of Perga. John Mark departs.
          5. Paul and Barnabas visit Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe.
          6. Paul and Barnabas return to Antioch (“*ca*. ad 49”). (Brown *Introduction* 431)
       2. Acts’ account “does not contradict the sparse Pauline details.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 14)
    3. “One of the issues that surfaces in Mission I is . . . the relation of Gentile Christians to older Jewish converts.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 14)
12. **49**: **Council of Jerusalem** (also “Jerusalem Coun­cil,” “Apostolic Council”)
    1. What did “communities of Gentile Christians with little or no attachment to Judaism . . . portend for the future of Christianity? After Paul (and Barnabas) returned to Antioch, a meeting was held in Jerusalem *ca*. 49 to answer that question.” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
    2. Gal 2:1-10, “
    3. See Gal 2:1-10. Gal 2:1-3, “Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus along with me. 2 I went up in response to a revelation. Then I laid before them (though only in a private meeting with the acknowledged leaders) the gospel that I proclaim among the Gentiles . . .”
    4. Acts 15:1-29, “
    5. date of the Council
       1. If “14 years” (Gal 2:1) was after his conversion (c. 36), then 36 + 14 = 50.
       2. If “14 years” was after his first visit to Jerusalem (c. 39), then 39 + 14 = 53.
       3. The first is “more likely . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 430)
       4. The 14 years are “to be reckoned from his conversion, i.e., in the year 49-50.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 15)
    6. differences between Gal 2 and Acts 15
       1. “The issue settled on this occasion was circumcision . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 15)
       2. “Acts 15:20 complicates the scene by including the issue of the foods that must not be eaten.” (Brown *Introduction* 432 n. 19)
    7. agreements between Gal 2 and Acts 15
       1. “. . . Paul, James (brother of the Lord), and Peter (Cephas) were involved . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 431)
       2. A “group opposed to Paul . . . insisted that the Gentiles should [431] be circumcised.” (Brown *Introduction* 431-32)
    8. result
       1. “By the medium of speeches, Acts highlights the reasons offered by Peter and James for agreeing with Paul that circumcision could not be demanded.” (See 305-09.) (Brown *Introduction* 432)
       2. “Gal 2:9 reports that these others recognized the grace and apostolate bestowed on Paul and extended to him the right hand of fellowship.” (Brown *Introduction* 432)
13. **49**: **Antioch incident**
    1. Fitzmyer (*Paul* 15) says c. 49. Brown (*Introduction* 432) says c. 50.
    2. “The decision to accept the Gentiles without circumcision did not settle all problems.” (Brown *Introduction* 432)
       1. “Were the Gentiles bound by other parts of the Law of Moses, especially the purity laws concerning food?” (Brown *Introduction* 432)
       2. “What was the relationship of Jewish Christians who observed these laws to Gentile Christians who did not?” (Brown *Introduction* 432)
    3. “Both Acts 15:30 and Gal 2:11 . . . agree that after the Jerusalem meeting Paul and Barnabas went back to Antioch.” (Brown *Introduction* 432)
       1. Acts 15:30a, “So they were sent off and went down to Antioch.”
       2. Gal 2:11-14, “But when Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face . . .”
    4. There a dispute between Peter and Paul occurred.
       1. evidence from Paul’s letters
          1. Gal 2:11-14, “But when Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face, because he stood self-condemned; 12 for until certain people came from James, he used to eat with the Gentiles. But after they came, he drew back and kept himself separate for fear of the circumcision faction. 13 And the other Jews joined him in this hypocrisy, so that even Barnabas was led astray by their hypocrisy. 14 But when I saw that they were not acting consistently with the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before them all, “If you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you compel the Gentiles to live like Jews?””
       2. evidence from Acts
          1. Gaston, L. “Paul and Jerusalem.” In Richardson, P., and J.C. Hurd, eds. *From Jesus to Paul*. F.W. Beare Festschrift. Waterloo, Canada: W. Laurier University, 1984. 61-72.
          2. “Acts tells us nothing about such a dispute but in a confused way does have a letter sent (as James wished: 15:20) from Jerusalem to Antioch, ordering that in Syria and Cilicia Gentiles keep the Jewish purity laws, especially concerning food.” (Brown *Introduction* 432)
          3. “Acts has Paul agreeing with this letter from Jerusalem. That is scarcely accurate, as we can determine not only from Gal, but also from 1 Cor 8 which emphasizes *freedom* about food dedicated to idols—a food that was prohibited in this letter inspired by James.” (Brown *Introduction* 432 n. 20)
    5. Did Paul win the dispute?
       1. “It may be implied that Paul was successful in his criticism [of Peter], but even so the disciplinary question of Jewish dietary regulations for Gentile converts was posed anew.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 15)
       2. “Gal 2:13 reports that at Antioch Barnabas too sided with the men from James, and Acts 15:36-40 indicates that Paul and Barnabas came to an unhappy parting of the ways so that Paul left Antioch with Silas immediately afterward. Apparently, then, Paul lost the battle about food laws at Antioch, and that may explain” several things. (Brown *Introduction* 432)
          1. In “his journeys he is now much more on his own.” (Brown *Introduction* 432)
          2. “. . . Antioch no longer features prominently as the home base of Paul’s missionary activity.” [432] He “never mentions Antioch again after Gal 2:11.” [432 n. 21] (Brown *Introduction* 432, 432 n. 21)
             1. The only references to Antioch in the letters are Gal 2:11 (quoted above) and 2 Tim 3:11, you saw me “suffering the things that happened to me in Antioch . . .”
             2. The last of Acts’s 17 references to Antioch is Acts 18:­22 (end of second journey): “When he had landed at Caesarea, he went up to Jerusalem and greeted the church, and then went down to Antioch.”
          3. “Henceforth Paul would come back from his travels to Jerusalem first or exclusively (Acts 18:22; 19:21; 21:15) . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 432 n. 21)
          4. “. . . in his letters he collects money for Jerusalem but never mentions Antioch . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 432 n. 21)
14. **49**: **a *second*** “**Council of Jerusalem**”?
    1. Gaston, L. “Paul and Jerusalem.” In Richardson, P., and J.C. Hurd, eds. *From Jesus to Paul*. F.W. Beare Festschrift. Waterloo, Canada: W. Laurier University, 1984. 61-72.
    2. Acts
       1. “Acts tells us nothing about such a dispute [the Antioch incident] but in a confused way does have a letter sent (as James wished: 15:20) from Jerusalem to Antioch, ordering that in Syria and Cilicia Gentiles keep the Jewish purity laws, especially concerning food.” (Brown *Introduction* 432)
       2. “Acts has Paul agreeing with this letter from Jerusalem. That is scarcely accurate . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 432 n. 20)
          1. “. . . we can determine [that] from Gal . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 432 n. 20)
          2. Also, 1 Cor 8 “emphasizes *freedom* about food dedicated to idols . . . food that was prohibited in this letter inspired by James.” (Brown *Introduction* 432 n. 20)
       3. “Emissaries seem to have been sent again to Jerusalem, presumably after Paul’s and Peter’s departure from Antioch. James convenes the apostles and elders again, and their decision is sent as a letter to the local chur­ch­es of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia (Acts 15:13-19).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 15)
       4. Paul only learns about this decision in Acts 21:25. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 15)
          1. Acts 21:24-25, James to Paul, “Join these men, go through the rite of purification with them, and pay for the shaving of their heads. Thus all will know that there is nothing in what they have been told about you, but that you yourself observe and guard the law. 25 But as for the Gentiles who have become believers, we have sent a letter with our judgment that they should abstain from what has been sacrificed to idols and from blood and from what is strangled and from fornication.”
    3. evidence from the letters
       1. Paul says “nothing about this decision . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 15)
    4. conclusion
       1. In Acts 15, “Luke has undoubtedly telescoped two incidents . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 16)
       2. “Verses 1-2 are a literary suture joining information from different sources.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 16)
          1. Acts 15:1-2, “Then certain individuals came down from Judea and were teaching the brothers, “Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved.” 2 And after Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and debate with them, Paul and Barnabas and some of the others were appointed to go up to Jerusalem to discuss this question with the apostles and the elders.”
       3. “Verse 34 is missing in the best Gk mss., but added in the Western textual tradition to explain where Silas was at the beginning of Mis­sion II. (If v 34 is omitted, Silas’ location becomes a problem: When does he join Paul on Mission II?)” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 16)
          1. Acts 15:34 is not in na27, nrsv, nab, or njb.
          2. nab n. 1 says, “Some manuscripts add, in various wordings, “But Silas decided to remain there.””
       4. “Simeon (15:14), who is usually identified as Simon Peter (and has to be so understood in Luke’s telescoped story), was probably some­one else in the source used. For elsewhere in Acts, Peter is called *Petros* (15:7) or *Simōn Petros* (10:5; 18:32), but never *Symeōn*. In Luke’s source the Simeon of 15:14 may well have been Simeon Ni­ger, one of the prophets or teachers of Antioch (13:1); he is proba­bly sent as one of the emissaries to James of Jerusalem about the dietary regulations.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 16) (After the Antioch incident?—Hahn)
       5. “Peter’s speech about circumcision and the Mosaic law (15:7-11) scarcely coincides with the topic discussed by James (15:14-21).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 16)
15. **50-52**: **second missionary journey**
    1. The second journey is Acts 15:40-18:22. (Brown *Introduction* 433)
    2. Syria and Cilicia (Acts 15:41) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 16)
    3. S Galatia (Acts 16:1-5) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 16)
       1. Paul “returned to sites in SE Asia Minor evangelized in the First Journey.” (Brown *Introduction* 433)
    4. N Galatia; Mysia and Troas (Acts 16:6-10) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 16-17)
       1. He went “north (for the first time) to Galatia and Phrygia . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 433)
    5. Macedonia (Acts 16:11-40) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17)
       1. From Troas he “crossed over to Macedonia (Europe) . . ., clearly under divine guidance.” (Brown *Introduction* 433)
       2. Acts 16:9-10 “uses “we” for the first time in reference to the traveling missionaries. Traditionally that has been interpreted as a sign that the writer (Luke?) began to accompany Paul (pp. 325-26 above).” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 22)
       3. In Macedonia “his travels brought him to Philippi, Thessalonica, Beroea . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 433)
       4. Philippi becomes “his first Christian church in Europe . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17)
    6. Achaia (Acts 17:1-18:18) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17)
       1. Corinth (first visit)
          1. 51: arrival at Corinth (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17)
          2. But Brown says it was evangelized from ad 50-51. (Brown *Introduction* 433)
          3. 51-52: 18-month stay (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17)
             1. “Paul’s eighteen-month stay at Corinth was the longest thus far at any church he was founding . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 433)
             2. D.P. Cole (*BRev* 4.6 [1988]: 20-30) “points to a change in Paul’s previous pattern of rapidly moving from city to city . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 23)
             3. This “change continued in the subsequent three-year sojourn at Ephesus (ad 54-57).” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 23)
             4. “Seemingly Paul now preferred to stay in one place with broad commercial ties where he would encounter many who came and went and from which he could extend his activities.” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 23)
          4. Aquila and Priscilla
             1. “Aquila and Priscilla (Prisca), whom he met at Corinth and who would sail with him to Ephesus, became lifelong friends and co-workers both at Ephesus and Rome.” (Brown *Introduction* 433)
             2. “They were Jewish Christians who had “recently” come to Corinth from Italy “because Claudius had ordered all the Jews to leave Rome” (Acts 18:2).” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 24)

“If the information is historical, it probably does not refer to the action of Claudius in ad 41 ordering the overly numerous Roman Jews not to hold meetings but *not* driving them out (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 60.6.6).” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 24)

“Rather it may refer to what Suetonius (*Claudius* 25.4) reports: “He expelled Jews from Rome because of their constant disturbances impelled by Chrestus.” *If* these disturbances were over belief in Christ and *if* the 5th-century Christian Orosius was right in dating this expulsion to ad 49, Priscilla and Aquila would have arrived in Corinth about a year before Paul. J. Murphy-O’Connor [*BRev* 8.6 (1992): 40-51, 62], however, would have them arrive nine years before Paul. See p. 311 above.” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 24)

* + - 1. 51: Paul writes **1 Thessalonians**.
      2. 52: Gallio in Corinth
         1. Acts 18:12 says “that at Corinth Paul was haled before Gallio the proconsul of Achaia . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 433)
         2. An inscription (*NJBC* 79.9) “places Gallio as proconsul at Corinth in the twelfth year of Claudius (41-54), which began on Jan. 25, 52. Gallio seems to have left Corinth by the end of 52.” (Fitzmyer, *NJBC* 79.9.) (Brown *Introduction* 433)

Hence Gallio “has been used as a linchpin of Pauline chronology . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 433)

But J. Murphy-O’Connor (“Paul and Gallio.” *JBL* 112 [1993]: 315-17), “rejecting the revisionist thesis of D. Slingerland [*JBL* 110 (1991): 439-49], dates Gallio’s presence at Corinth between June and October 51 and Paul’s stay from early spring 50 to the autumn of 51.” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 25)

* + - * 1. “These perimeters suggest dating Paul’s stay at Corinth to 50/51-52.” (Brown *Introduction* 433)
      1. “. . . ironically he was to leave behind there [Corinth] a community that would be troubled over more issues than any other to which he would write.” (Brown *Introduction* 433)
    1. Cenchreae, Ephesus, Caesarea Maritima, Jerusalem, Antioch (Acts 18:­19-22) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17)
       1. “Acts 18:18b-22 has Paul depart from Cenchreae, the port of Corinth, touch down at Ephesus and Caesarea (on the Palestinian coast), and then go up to greet the church (at Jerusalem).” He then returns to Antioch. (Brown *Introduction* 433)
       2. “This itinerary has been called into doubt by some scholars, e.g., Jürgen Becker, *Paul* 27-28, who denies any return to Palestine or Syria . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 26)
  1. Together, the second and third missionary journeys (ad 50-58) (Acts 15:40-21:15) are “Luke’s illustration of Paul’s wider-ranging enterprise after the Jerusalem decision opened the Gentile world to belief in Jesus without circumcision.” (Brown *Introduction* 432)

1. **52-54**: **stay at Antioch**
   1. The stay at Antioch was “well over a year (possibly from late autumn of ad 52 until the spring of ad 54).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17)
2. **54-58**: **third missionary journey**
   1. Brown says ad 53/54-58. (Brown *Introduction* 433)
   2. The third journey is in Acts 18:23-21:15. (Brown *Introduction* 433)
   3. N Galatia and Phrygia
      1. Acts 18:23, “After spending some time there [Antioch] he departed and went from place to place through the region of Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening all the disciples.”
      2. Paul goes “once more through Galatia and Phrygia” on his way to Ephesus. (Brown *Introduction* 433)
      3. This may reflect “the second visit [to Galatia and Phrygia] hinted at in Gal 4:13.” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 26)
         1. Gal 4:13, “You know that it was because of a physical infirmity that I *first* announced the gospel to you . . .”
   4. 54-spring 57: Ephesus
      1. Paul’s stay in Ephesus is in Acts 19:1-20:1. (Brown *Introduction* 434)
         1. Acts 19:1-20:1, “
      2. Ephesus was “the most important city of the Roman province of Asia . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 433)
      3. three years
         1. 1 Cor 16:8-9, “But I will stay in Ephesus until Pentecost, 9 for a wide door for effective work has opened to me, and there are many adversaries.”
         2. Acts says Paul was in Ephesus for three years.
            1. 19:8, 10, “He entered the synagogue and for three months spoke out boldly, and argued persuasively about the kingdom of God. . . . 10 This continued for two years, so that all the residents of Asia, both Jews and Greeks, heard the word of the Lord.”
            2. Acts 20:31, Paul to the Ephesian elders, “Therefore be alert, remem­bering that for three years I did not cease night or day to warn everyone with tears.”
         3. Brown says “three years (54 till the spring of 57 . . .).” (Brown *Introduction* 434)
      4. Apollos
         1. Acts 18:24-26 says that “before Paul arrived at Ephesus, the Alexandrian preacher Apollos had come, speaking eloquently about Jesus’ career but inadequately about the Spirit, so that Priscilla and Aquila had to instruct him more fully.” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 26)
         2. “. . . doubt has been raised about the Apollos episode at Ephesus as Lucan theologizing; but if it was Luke’s goal to subordinate the role of Apollos, why did he not have Paul instruct him?” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 26)
         3. “Apollos then went on to Corinth (18:27-19:1) and, seemingly unwittingly, gave rise to the Apollos faction there (1 Cor 3:4-6).” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 26)
         4. “He came back to Ephesus before Paul left in spring 57 . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 26)
         5. Apollos “was reluctant to go back to Corinth (1 Cor 16:12), perhaps because he feared to create more division.” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 26)
         6. “Titus 3:13 portrays Paul years later still concerned about the missionary career of Apollos.” (Brown *Introduction* 433 n. 26)
            1. Titus 3:13, “Make every effort to send Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their way, and see that they lack nothing.”
      5. 54: Paul writes **Galatians** (“Shortly after his arrival in Ephesus . . .”) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17)
         1. It is “generally agreed . . . that while at Ephesus he wrote to the Galatians, expressing anguished concern over what had happened there in the four or five years since his evangelizing efforts in N. Galatia *ca*. 50.” (Brown *Introduction* 434)
      6. Ephesian imprisonment?
         1. letters evidence (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17)
            1. 1 Cor 15:32, “If with merely human hopes I fought with wild animals at Ephesus, what would I have gained by it? If the dead are not raised, “Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.””
            2. 1 Cor 16:8-9, “But I will stay in Ephesus until Pentecost, 9 for a wide door for effective work has opened to me, and there are many adversaries.”
            3. 2 Cor 1:8-9, “We do not want you to be unaware, brothers and sisters, of the affliction we experienced in Asia; for we were so utterly, unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself. 9 Indeed, we felt that we had received the sentence of death so that we would rely not on ourselves but on God who raises the dead.”
            4. Phil 1:20-26, “It is my eager expectation and hope that I will not be put to shame in any way, but that by my speaking with all boldness, Christ will be exalted now as always in my body, whether by life or by death. 21 For to me, living is Christ and dying is gain. 22 If I am to live in the flesh, that means fruitful labor for me; and I do not know which I prefer. 23 I am hard pressed between the two: my desire is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better; 24 but to remain in the flesh is more necessary for you. 25 Since I am con­vinced of this, I know that I will remain and continue with all of you for your progress and joy in faith, 26 so that I may share abundantly in your boasting in Christ Jesus when I come to you again.”
            5. 2 Cor 11:24-27, “Five times I have received from the Jews the forty lashes minus one. 25 Three times I was beaten with rods. Once I received a stoning. Three times I was shipwrecked; for a night and a day I was adrift at sea; 26 on frequent journeys, in danger from rivers, danger from bandits, danger from my own people, danger from Gentiles, danger in the city, danger in the wilderness, danger at sea, danger from false brothers and sisters; 27 in toil and hardship, through many a sleepless night, hungry and thirsty, often without food, cold and naked.”
            6. “Some of the prob­lems that Paul experienced and has des­cribed in 2 Cor 11:24-27 may well have happened to him during this period of Eph­esian missionary activity.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17 or 18)
         2. Acts evidence
            1. “Acts says nothing of an imprisonment of Paul at Ephesus . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17 or 18)
            2. But it does speak of pagan opposition at Ephesus.

Paul struggled “with the seven sons of a Jewish high priest who were exorcists . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 434)

Paul struggled with “the riot led against Paul by the silversmiths devoted to “Artemis/Diana of the Ephesians,” which led to his departure.” (Brown *Introduction* 434)

“The famous statue of Artemis of Ephesus with many bulbous protusions (breasts? eggs?) is decorated with other signs of fertility, suggesting that she has been amalgamated with the great Mother Goddess of Asia Minor. The bottom part of the statue is a tree trunk; see p. 783 below for the huge Ephesus temple of Artemis built on top of an ancient tree shrine.” (Brown *Introduction* 434 n. 27)

“In his letters Paul never speaks explicitly of these events at Ephesus; yet he may refer to the latter implicitly” in: (Brown *Introduction* 434)

2 Cor 1:8, “We do not want you to be unaware, brothers and sisters, of the affliction we experienced in Asia; for we were so utterly, unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself.”

2 Cor 11:23-26, list of hardships

1 Cor 15:32, “I fought with wild animals at Ephesus . . .”

1 Cor16:9b, “there are many adversaries.”

* + - 1. An Ephesian imprisonment “is important because many suggest that Paul wrote from Ephesus the letters to the Philippians and to Philemon, both of which were written while Paul was a prisoner.” (Brown *Introduction* 434)
         1. This is less “generally agreed [than] that while at Ephesus he wrote to the Galatians . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 434)
         2. 55: **Philippians** (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17)
         3. 56-57: **Philemon** (Fitzmyer *Paul* 17)
    1. Corinthian correspondence
       1. “Toward the end of Paul’s stay at Ephesus, troubles in the church of Corinth were brought to his attention . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 434)
       2. He begins writing “at least five letters to Corinth . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 18)
          1. 56-57: pre-1 Corinthians letter
          2. 57: 1 Corinthians (Fitzmyer *Paul* 18)
          3. 57: tearful letter
          4. fall 57: 2 Cor 1-9 (Fitzmyer *Paul* 18)
          5. fall 57: 2 Cor 10-13
       3. pre-1 Corinthians letter
          1. 1 Cor 5:9, “I wrote to you in my letter not to associate with sexually immoral persons . . .”
          2. This lost letter was “warning the Cor­in­thians about associating with immoral Christians (and pro­bably also recommending a collection for the poor in Jerusalem, a question about which the Corinthians sent a subsequent inquiry [see 1 Cor 16:1]).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 18)
          3. 1 Cor 16:1, “Now concerning the collection for the saints: you should follow the directions I gave to the churches of Galatia.”
       4. 57: **1 Corinthians** (Fitzmyer *Paul* 18)
          1. “. . . shortly before Pentecost (probably in ad 57).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 18)
          2. 1 Cor 16:8, “But I will stay in Ephesus until Pentecost . . .”
          3. the tearful letter

2 Cor 2:1-4, “So I made up my mind not to make you another painful visit. 2 For if I cause you pain, who is there to make me glad but the one whom I have pained? 3 And I wrote as I did, so that when I came, I might not suffer pain from those who should have made me rejoice; for I am confident about all of you, that my joy would be the joy of all of you. 4 For I wrote you out of much distress and anguish of heart and with many tears, not to cause you pain, but to let you know the abundant love that I have for you.”

Now lost?

“Acts is completely silent about Paul’s difficult dealings with Corinth.” (Brown *Introduction* 434)

* + - 1. painful visit (second visit)
         1. Between 1 Corinthians and the tearful letter was “a painful visit.” (Brown *Introduction* 434)
         2. 2 Cor 2:1, “So I made up my mind not to make you another painful visit.”
         3. 1 Corinthians, “however, was not well received,” and so Paul made his “painful visit” which accomplished nothing. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 18)
         4. 2 Cor 2:1, “So I made up my mind not to make you another painful visit.”
         5. 2 Cor 12:14, “Here I am, ready to come to you this third time.And I will not be a burden, be­cause I do not want what is yours but you; for children ought not to lay up for their parents, but parents for their children.”
         6. 2 Cor 12:21, “I fear that when I come again, my God may humble me before you, and that I may have to mourn over many who previously sinned and have not repented of the impurity, sexual immorality, and licentiousness that they have practiced.”
         7. 2 Cor 13:1-2, “This is the third time I am coming to you. “Any charge must be sustained by the evidence of two or three witnesses.” 2 I warned those who sinned previous­ly and all the others, and I warn them now while absent, as I did when present on my second visit, that if I come again, I will not be lenient . . .”
      2. tearful letter
         1. 2 Cor 2:3-4, 9, “I wrote as I did, so that when I came, I might not suffer pain from those who should have made me rejoice; for I am confident about all of you, that my joy would be the joy of all of you. 4 For I wrote you out of much distress and anguish of heart and with many tears, not to cause you pain, but to let you know the abundant love that I have for you. . . . 9 I wrote for this reason: to test you and to know whether you are obedient in everything.”
         2. 2 Cor 7:8, 12, “For even if I made you sorry with my letter, I do not regret it (though I did regret it, for I see that I grieved you with that letter, though only briefly). . . . 12 So although I wrote to you, it was not on account of the one who did the wrong, nor on account of the one who was wronged, but in order that your zeal for us might be made known to you before God.”
         3. 2 Cor 10:1, 9, “I myself, Paul, appeal to you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ—I who am humble when face to face with you, but bold toward you when I am away! . . . 9 I do not want to seem as though I am trying to frighten you with my letters.”
         4. “This letter may have been taken by Titus, who visited the Corin­thians personally in an at­tempt to smooth out relations.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 18)
         5. “Probably during Titus’ ab­sence the revolt of the Ephesian silver­smiths occurs (Acts 19:23-20:1).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 18)
  1. 57: Troas
     1. 2 Cor 2:12, “When I came to Troas to proclaim the good news of Christ, a door was opened for me in the Lord . . .”
     2. Troas is “farther north on the Asiatic shore of the Aegean . . .” It is near the NW corner of Asia Minor. (Brown *Introduction* 434)
     3. “Sometime after Pentecost (late springtime) in 57 Paul left Ephesus for Troas . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 434)
        1. Paul had sent Titus “to straighten out things in Corinth . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 434)
  2. fall 57: Macedonia
     1. Not finding Titus at Troas, Paul “crossed to Europe and Macedonia (Philippi?) . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 434)
        1. 2 Cor 2:13, “but my mind could not rest because I did not find my brother Titus there. So I said farewell to them and went on to Macedonia.”
     2. Per­haps at Philip­pi, “he met Titus and learned . . . that a recon­cilia­tion be­tween Paul and the Corinthians had been worked out.” So he wrote 2 Cor 1-9. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 18)
        1. “Paul then wrote (perhaps in two stages) what is now II Corinthians.” (Brown *Introduction* 434)
        2. fall 57: **2 Cor 1-9** (Fitzmyer *Paul* 18)
     3. Acts 20:1, “After the uproar had ceased, Paul sent for the disciples; and after encouraging them and saying farewell, he left for Macedonia.”
  3. fall 57: Illyricum?
     1. Paul may have gone next to Illyricum (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, N Albania), “whence he may have written 2 Cor 10-13 . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 18)
        1. Rom 15:19b, “from Jerusalem and as far around as Illyricum I have fully proclaimed the good news of Christ.”



Roman province of Illyricum

* + 1. fall 57: **2 Cor 10-13**
  1. winter 57: Corinth (third visit)
     1. Acts 20:2, “he came to Greece.”
     2. “Finally he went to Achaia and Corinth where he spent three winter months (57/58).” (Brown *Introduction* 434)
        1. Acts 20:2b-3a, “he came to Greece, 3 where he stayed for three months.”
     3. “There Paul gathered receipts from a collection for the Jerusalem Christians, taken up in various churches he had evangelized . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 434)
        1. Rom 15:23-26, “I desire . . . to come to you 24 when I go to Spain. . . . 25 At present, however, I am going to Jerusalem in a ministry to the saints; 26 for Macedonia and Achaia have been pleased to share their resources with the poor among the saints at Jerusalem.”
     4. early 58: **Romans**
        1. “. . . probably from Corinth, or its port, Cench­reae . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 19)
        2. Rom 16:1, “I commend to you our sister Phoebe, a deacon of the church at Cenchreae . . .”
        3. Acts 20:2-3, “When he had gone through those regions and had given the believers much encouragement, he came to Greece, 3 where he stayed for three months. He was about to set sail for Syria when a plot was made against him by the Jews, and so he decided to return through Macedonia.”
        4. 1 Cor 16:5-6, “I will visit you after passing through Macedonia—for I intend to pass through Macedo­nia—6 and perhaps I will stay with you or even spend the winter, so that you may send me on my way, wherever I go.”
        5. 2 Cor 1:16, “I wanted to visit you on my way to Macedonia, and to come back to you from Macedonia and have you send me on to Judea.”
        6. In Romans “there is an effort to ingratiate himself as if the Romans had heard exaggerated reports about him.” (Brown *Introduction* 435)
  2. Passover 58: in Philippi (Fitzmyer *Paul* 19)
     1. Acts 20:6a, “we sailed from Philippi after the days of Unleavened Bread . . .”
     2. spring 58: Paul “set out from Corinth to Jerusalem by way of Macedonia, spending Passover at Philippi.” (Brown *Introduction* 435)
  3. He sailed to Troas.
     1. Acts 20:6b, “we sailed from Philippi . . ., and in five days we joined them in Troas, where we stayed for seven days.”
  4. Then he “worked his way down the Asian coast to Miletus [near the SW corner of Asia Minor] . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 435)
     1. Acts 20:2-17
     2. Troas, Assos, Mitylene, Chios, Samos, Mile­tus (Fitzmyer *Paul* 19)
     3. At Miletus “he gave a farewell speech to the presbyters of Ephesus who had come to see him.” (Acts 20:17-38) (Brown *Introduction* 435)
  5. Cos, Rhodes, Patara, Tyre, Ptolemais, Caes­area Maritima (Fitzmyer *Paul* 19)
     1. “At Miletus and again at Tyre and Caesarea as he reached the Palestinian coast, Paul exhibited a foreboding of imprisonment and death at the end of the journey.” (Brown *Introduction* 435)
        1. Acts 20:25, 37-38a, “And now I know that none of you, among whom I have gone about proclaiming the kingdom, will ever see my face again. . . . 37 There was much weeping . . . 38 . . . especially because of what he had said, that they would not see him again.”
        2. “There is some confirmation of that in Rom 15:30-31 . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 435)
           1. Rom 15:30b-31, “join me in earnest prayer to God on my behalf, 31 that I may be rescued from the unbelievers in Judea, and that my ministry to Jerusalem may be acceptable to the saints.”

1. **Pentecost 58**: **Jerusalem**
   1. Acts 20:16, “For Paul had decided to sail past Ephesus, so that he might not have to spend time in Asia; he was eager to be in Jerusalem, if possible, on the day of Pente­cost.”
   2. Acts 21:17, “When we arrived in Jerusalem, the brothers welcomed us warmly.”
   3. “Most of the last half-dozen years of Paul’s life (*ca*. 58-64) is recounted in Acts 21:15-28:31; they were marked by suffering, four of them by imprisonment.” (Brown *Introduction* 435)
   4. “Those who do not attribute Philippians and Philemon to the putative imprisonment at Ephesus attribute them to the imprisonment at Caesarea or at Rome, thus dating them later. Otherwise this period of Paul’s life cannot be confirmed by the Pauline letters.” (Brown *Introduction* 435)
   5. “Only in passing does Acts (24:17) confirm that Paul brought donation money to Jerusalem.” (Brown *Introduction* 435)
   6. “A meeting, rather tense beneath surface politeness, took place between Paul and James (the brother of the Lord and head of the Jerusalem Christians) in which Paul was told to behave as a pious, practicing Jew while at Jerusalem (21:17-25).” (Brown *Introduction* 435)
   7. “Yet his presence in the Temple court caused a riot so that a Roman tribune had to intervene to save him, and he had to give a long speech of self-defense in Hebrew (Aramaic? 21:26-22:30).” (Brown *Introduction* 435)
   8. “Eventually Paul was brought before a Sanhedrin session and managed to create a dispute between his Sadducee and Pharisee judges, causing the tribune to take him away to Caesarea . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 435)
2. **58-60**: **imprisonment at Caesarea Maritima**
   1. Acts 23:23-33, “Then he summoned two of the centurions and said, “Get ready to leave by nine o’clock tonight for Caesarea with two hundred soldiers, seventy horsemen, and two hundred spearmen. 24 Also provide mounts for Paul to ride, and take him safely to Felix the governor.” 25 He wrote a letter to this effect: 26 “Claudius Lysias to his Excellency the governor Felix, greetings. 27 This man was seized by the Jews and was about to be killed by them, but when I had learned that he was a Roman citizen, I came with the guard and rescued him. 28 Since I wanted to know the charge for which they accused him, I had him brought to their council. 29 I found that he was accused concerning questions of their law, but was charged with nothing deserving death or imprisonment. 30 When I was informed that there would be a plot against the man, I sent him to you at once, ordering his accusers also to state before you what they have against him. “ 31 So the soldiers, according to their instructions, took Paul and brought him during the night to Antipatris. 32 The next day they let the horsemen go on with him, while they returned to the barracks. 33 When they came to Caesarea and delivered the letter to the governor, they presented Paul also before him.”
   2. At Caesarea, Paul defended himself before the Roman governor Felix (Acts 23:1-24:21). “Felix, however, looking for a bribe, put off judgment and left Paul in prison for two years (24:22-27).” (Brown *Introduction* 435)
   3. 60: “Porcius Festus replaces Felix as procurator (possibly *ca*. ad 60 . . .).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 19)
   4. “Only with the advent of Festus, the next procurator, and the continued charges by the Jewish leaders, was Paul’s case taken up again (25:1-26:32). In a trial before Festus, Paul argued that he had committed no crime against Jewish Law or against Caesar. The [435] procurator invited King Herod Agrippa II to hear the case; and although neither ruler found Paul guilty, he was sent to Rome as a prisoner because he had appealed to Caesar.” (Brown *Introduction* 435-36)
3. **winter 60-61**: **sailing to Rome**
   1. “Paul’s hazardous sea journey is described with great verve in Acts 27:1-28:14.” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
   2. “Since there is no confirmation in the undisputed (or even the pseudonymous) Pauline letters of the appeal to Caesar and the journey to Rome, some who challenge the historicity of Acts dismiss the account as novelistic fiction.” (Brown *Introduction* 436 n. 29)
   3. There are “Storms, shipwreck, and a winter spent at Malta . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
   4. late fall 60: shipwreck on Malta (Fitzmyer *Paul* 20)
      1. Acts 28:1, “After we had reached safety, we then learned that the island was called Malta.”
   5. winter 60-61: stay on Malta (Fitzmyer *Paul* 20)
4. **61-63**: **Rome**
   1. spring 61: arrival at Rome (Fitzmyer *Paul* 20)
   2. 61-63: house arrest at Rome (Fitzmyer *Paul* 20)
   3. “Traditional interpretation ascribes Paul’s writing of **Philemon**, **Colossians**, and **Ephesians** to this imprisonment.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 20)
   4. “And thus we came to Rome” is “important to Acts theologically: p. 315 above.” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
   5. “Paul is said to have stayed there two years under a type of house arrest that enabled him to preach to those who came to him.” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
   6. “The sentiment of Paul with which Acts 28:26-28 closes the story (*ca*. 63), i.e., the Jews will never hear whereas the Gentiles will, is scarcely that expressed by Paul in Rom 11:25-26 (perhaps the last of Paul’s undisputed letters), namely that when the Gentiles have come in, all Israel will be saved.” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
5. **63-67**: **further travels**?
   1. “If Acts is accurate about the terms of Paul’s house arrest in Rome (two years), were there further travels between 63 and the time of his death (64 to 67)?” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
   2. Spain
      1. Rom 15:23-24, 28, “I desire, as I have for many years, to come to you 24 when I go to Spain. For I do hope to see you on my journey . . . 25 At present, however, I am going to Jerusalem in a ministry to the saints . . . 28 So, when I have completed this, and have delivered to them what has been collected, I will set out by way of you to Spain . . .”
      2. “Did he follow his intention to go to Spain?” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
      3. “Did Luke show some recollection of that when in Acts 1:8 he had Jesus extend the witness to “the end of the earth”?”(Ellis, E.E. *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 1 (1991): 123-32.) (Brown *Introduction* 436)
      4. “Within thirty years of Paul’s death *1 Clement* 5:7 reports that Paul “traveled to the extreme west,” before he bore witness to the ruling authorities and died.” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
      5. “In discussing Acts the *Muratorian Fragment* (*ca*. 180?) makes reference to an account of the departure of Paul from Rome for Spain.” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
6. **a** “**second career**” **after Acts ends**? (Brown *Introduction* 436)
   1. pro
      1. The Pastorals have “information about a “second career” after that described in Acts . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
         1. 1-2 Timothy and Titus suggest Paul revisited Ephesus, Macedonia, and Greece. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 21)
         2. “. . . Paul before his death again [visited] Ephesus, Macedonia (from which he writes 1 Tim [1:5] to Ephesus), and Greece (with plans to winter at Nicopolis [Titus 3:12]) . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
            1. 1 Tim 1:3, “I urge you, as I did when I was on my way to Macedonia, to remain in Ephesus so that you may instruct certain people not to teach any different doctrine . . .”
            2. Titus 3:12, “When I send Artemas to you, or Tychicus, do your best to come to me at Nicopolis, for I have decided to spend the winter there.”
         3. “2 Tim 3:13 suggests an unprepared departure from Troas (because he was arrested?) . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
            1. 2 Tim 4:13, “When you come, bring the cloak that I left with Carpus at Troas, also the books, and above all the parchments.”
            2. Fitzmyer is more definite: 2 Timothy, which purports to be Paul’s testament as he faces death, indicates that he was arrest­ed at Troas. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 21)
         4. 2 Tim 1:8, 16-17 “has Paul a prisoner in Rome.” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
            1. 2 Tim 1:8, “Do not be ashamed, then, of the testimony about our Lord or of me his prisoner, but join with me in suffering for the gospel, relying on the power of God . . .”
            2. 2 Tim 1:16-17, “May the Lord grant mercy to the household of Onesiphorus, be­cause he often refreshed me and was not ashamed of my chain; 17 when he [Onesi­phor­us] arrived in Rome, he eagerly searched for me and found me . . .”
      2. “If the Pastorals were written by Paul, this information . . . would have to be treated as historical.” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
      3. “If they were written by a Pauline disciple, it might still be historical (drawing on a genuine Pauline itinerary) . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
   2. con
      1. Or the second career “might constitute an imaginative setting for the Letters (but one written in ignorance [436] of Acts; see n. 28 above).” (Brown *Introduction* 436-37)
         1. Acts 20:25, 38 (in Paul’s farewell to the Ephesian elders, Acts 20:17-38) are “prophecies that they would never see Paul’s face again . . . [This shows] that Luke knew of no further activity by Paul in Asia Minor such as posited by the Pastoral Letters.” (Brown *Introduction* 435 n. 28)
         2. Acts 20:25, 38, “
      2. Most regard the Pastorals “today as pseud­epi­graphi­cal . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 20)
7. **63-68**
   1. *1 Clem* 5:7 (c. ad 95) suggests, after the trip to Spain, “another trial, and martyrdom.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 21)
      1. *1 Clem* 5:7, Paul “traveled to the extreme west. After he had borne witness before the authorities, he was taken from this world . . .”
   2. Tertullian (*De praescr*. 36) compares Paul’s death with that of John (the Baptist), i.e., by beheading.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 21)
   3. Eusebius (c. ad 325) is the first explicitly to mention a second Roman im­pris­on­ment and the first to mentioned martyrdom under Nero. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 21)
      1. Eusebius (*HE* 2.22.3): “After defend­ing him­self, [Paul] was again sent on the minis­try of preaching, and coming a second time to the same city suf­fered martyr­dom under Nero. During this imprison­ment he wrote the second epistle to Timo­thy, indicating at the same time that his first defense had taken place and that his martyrdom was at hand.” (Qtd. in Fitzmyer *Paul* 21)
      2. Nero’s persecution was from summer ad 64 to 9 July 68 (Nero’s death). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 21)
      3. “The pre­ferred year for the death of Paul is ad 67, . . . as Eusebius’ account seems to suggest.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 21)
      4. Eusebius (*HE* 2.25.8) “further quotes Dionysius of Corinth (*ca*. ad 170), who stated that Peter and Paul “were martyred at the same time.”” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 21)
   4. “Paul is said to have been buried on the Via Ostiensis, [at the site] over which Con­stantine built his basilica.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 21)

## PAUL’S DEATH: ad 64 or 67

1. **letter and Acts evidence**
   1. “Neither the letters nor Acts tells us of his death . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
2. ***1 Clement* evidence**
   1. *1 Clement*, written c. ad 96 by Clement, bishop of Rome, to instruct the church at Corinth, suggests that Paul was martyred at Rome.
      1. *1 Clem*. 5:5-6: “he departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having been found a notable pattern of patient endurance.” (Clement. “The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.” In Lightfoot, J.B., trans. *The Apostolic Fathers*: *A Revised Text with Introductions*, *Notes*, *Dissertations*, *and Translations*. New York: Macmillan, 1890. 274.)
      2. The statement “does not explicitly say” that Paul was martyred at Rome, but “such a martyrdom is the most reasonable interpretation.” (Brown, Raymond E., and John Paul Meier. *Antioch and Rome*: *New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity*. Mahwah: Paulist, 1983. 124.)
   2. *1 Clem*. 5 also refers to Peter’s death at Rome: “Peter, . . . at last, having delivered his testimony, departed unto the place of glory due to him.”
3. **later tradition**
   1. Ignatius of Antioch (c. ad 110) says (*Eph*. 12) Paul was martyred. (“Paul the Apostle”)
   2. 64 or 67: Eusebius (*HE* 2.25.4-8, c. ad 320) has “good tradition that he was martyred under Nero, either about the same time as Peter (ad 64) or somewhat later (67).” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
   3. “Christian tradition holds that Paul was beheaded . . . at Tre Fontane Abbey (Three Fountains Abbey).” (De Leonardis, Serena, and Stefano Masi. *Art and History*: *Rome and the Vatican*. Casa Editrice Bonechi, 1999. 21.) (Qtd. in “Paul the Apostle”)
   4. Tradition says Paul was “buried on the Via Ostiensis, a spot commemorated by the basilica of St. Paul outside the Walls.” (Brown *Introduction* 436)
   5. 390: Emperor Theodosius “encased Paul’s remains in a sarcophagus . . .” The sarcophagus was excavated in 2006; over it is a marble tombstone that says, “Paulo Apostolo Mart.” (“Apostle Paul, Martyr”). (Valsecchi)

## AN APPRECIATION OF PAUL

introduction

images of Paul

2 Cor 11:23-29

Paul’s motivation

Paul’s influence converts

Paul’s influence on disciples

Paul’s influence on Acts

Paul’s influence on the general epistles

1. **introduction**
   1. “The preceding two Chapters [Pauline chronology and theology] . . . survey the very material that made me restive in the first courses about Paul that I attended. We students had to memorize letter outlines and make maps of the journeys of Paul; the professors spent hours discussing Pauline chronology and whether he went to South Galatia or North Galatia. In my own teaching I have come to recognize that much of that is important; but I have not forgotten that such an emphasis engendered no love for Paul . . . Accordingly I want to add a different kind of introductory Chapter . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 446)
2. **images of Paul**
   1. in the letters
      1. Paul’s “writing is the most autobiographical in the NT; indeed in the whole Bible only Jeremiah matches Paul in self-revelation.” (Brown *Introduction* 446)
   2. in art
      1. “Most of the well-known paintings or statues of Paul are imaginative recreations of dramatic moments in Acts, showing Paul being struck from his horse on the road to Damascus, or Paul debating with the philosophers in the halls of a school in Athens, or Paul being shipwrecked on his sea journey to Rome. Occasionally there is a chiaroscuro of a bald-headed Paul writing a letter in the flickering light of a candle.” (Brown *Introduction* 446)
      2. “The common symbolism of Paul with a sword echoes the tradition that Paul was martyred by beheading in Rome.” (Brown *Introduction* 446)
3. **2 Cor 11**:**23-29**
   1. 2 Cor 11:23-29, “Are they ministers of Christ? I am talking like a madman—I am a better one: with far greater labors, far more imprisonments, with countless floggings, and often near death. 24 Five times I have received from the Jews the forty lashes minus one. 25 Three times I was beaten with rods. Once I received a stoning. Three times I was shipwrecked; for a night and a day I was adrift at sea; 26 on frequent journeys, in danger from rivers, danger from bandits, danger from my own people, danger from Gentiles, danger in the city, danger in the wilderness, danger at sea, danger from false brothers and sisters; 27 in toil and hardship, through many a sleepless night, hungry and thirsty, often without food, cold and naked. 28 And, besides other things, I am under daily pressure because of my anxiety for all the churches. 29 Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I am not indignant?”
      1. Compare Rom 8:35-37, “Who will separate us from the love of Christ? Will hardship, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?”
   2. 2 Cor 11:23-29 “creates indelible images . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 446-47)
   3. “To appreciate the awesome reality of that description modern readers may need some background.”(Brown *Introduction* 447)
   4. “frequent journeys”
      1. Murphy-O’Connor, J. “On the Road and on the Sea with St. Paul.” *BRev* 1.2 [1985]: 38-47.
      2. “It is often affirmed that the famous Roman road network facilitated the spread of Christianity . . . but in many regions he would not have had such a luxury.” (Brown Introduction 447)
         1. “As a poor man he would have been easily victimized by brigands, especially in country areas that were less efficiently controlled by police.” (Brown *Introduction* 447)
      3. Paul “was an itinerant artisan who . . . had to struggle to get money for food . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 447)
         1. “. . . a wheeled vehicle would have been beyond his means.” (Brown *Introduction* 447)
         2. “Horseback travel was difficult; for horses were not used for long distances, and skill was required in riding (given the absence of the saddles and stirrups that we know). Probably Paul would not even have been able or willing to spend money for a donkey to carry his baggage, for soldiers were prone to requisition these animals from travelers . . . And so we have to picture Paul trudging along the roads, carrying his limited possessions in a sack, at the maximum covering twenty miles a day.” (Brown *Introduction* 447)
      4. “At times when he could earn some money with his leatherworking skills and his travel pattern brought him to an inn, he may have been able to rent an overnight spot there—a place on the ground in the courtyard near the fire, or, more expensively, a bed (probably infested with bugs) in a room off the yard. Often, however, he had to sleep somewhere near the road, amidst the cold, rain, and snow.” (Brown *Introduction* 447)
      5. “Sea journeys were not much safer. Coming east the winds helped, but going west was dangerous; and in either direction there were many shipwrecks. Being a passenger on the open deck of a cargo boat, eating the limited provisions one had brought aboard, was really not much more comfortable than travel on land.” (Brown *Introduction* 447)
   5. troubles in towns
      1. “The difficulties were not over when Paul arrived at his intended destination.” (Brown *Introduction* 447)
      2. from Gentiles
         1. “Today those who walk through the magnificent ruins of a city like Ephesus cannot help but recognize the grandeur and power of Greco-Roman culture embodied in majestic buildings, shrines, temples, and statues. Yet here was a Jew with a knapsack on his back who hoped to challenge all that in the name of a crucified criminal before whom, he proclaimed, every knee in heaven, on earth, and under the earth had to bend. The contempt and mockery of the sophisticated Gentiles for this babbling ragpicker of ideas reported in Acts 17:18 ring true.” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
            1. Acts 17:18ab, “Also some Epicurean and Stoic philosophers debated with him. Some said, “What does this babbler want to say?” Others said, “He seems to be a proclaimer of foreign divinities.””
         2. “Further, the Acts accounts of his being hauled before magistrates and imprisoned throw light on Paul’s report of “dangers from the Gentiles.”” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
      3. from Jews
         1. “. . . his own “kind” (*genos*, “race, stock”; 2 Cor 11:26) had given him [no] warm reception when he proclaimed a Messiah descended from David.” Both the letters and Acts “portray struggle and hostility.” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
         2. where he preached
            1. “Paul did not have the status to command a place in a public building for his message; Acts 16:13 has him preaching at a place of prayer by a riverside.” (Brown *Introduction* 448)

Acts 16:13, “On the sabbath day we went outside the gate by the river, where we supposed there was a place of prayer; and we sat down and spoke to the women who had gathered there.”

* + - * 1. “Frequently he must have preached where he lived and worked, namely, in the tenement houses-with-shops of the larger cities.” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
        2. “According to Acts he found his way into synagogue house-meetings where often enough he was unwelcome (because he was addressing the Gentiles and stirring up trouble?) . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
        3. Evangelizing in synagogues “is confirmed by the five times he received the punishment of thirty-nine lashes “from Jews,” a punishment associated with synagogue discipline.” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
    1. from converts
       1. “. . . his struggles were not over when he brought people to believe in Christ.” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
       2. “He devotes much of Gal to countering other Christians whom he considered “false brethren” because they undermined his work by attempting to preach another gospel.” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
       3. “The Corinthian correspondence also shows vividly his anxiety for the churches.” (Brown *Introduction* 448)

1. **Paul**’**s motivation**
   1. his Judaism before conversion
      1. Before his conversion, Paul was “at peace with his upbringing, with himself, and with his God.” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
      2. “In terms of the Jewish tradition he claims to be advanced beyond many of his contemporaries (Gal 1:14).” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
      3. His “religious observance. . . was blameless (Phil 3:5-6).” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
   2. conversion
      1. “What brought about a drastic change whereby all this became so much “dross”?” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
         1. Phil 3:8, “I regard everything as loss because of the surpassing value of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord. For his sake I have suffered the loss of all things, and I regard them as rubbish, in order that I may gain Christ . . .”
      2. revelation (knowledge)
         1. Gal 1:12, 16 and Acts 9:3-8 “offer a partial [448] explanation: God was pleased to reveal “His Son” Jesus Christ to Paul.” (Brown *Introduction* 448-49)
         2. “Revelation and knowledge, however, do not adequately explain the driven missionary . . ., the “new creature” [2 Cor 5:17].” (Brown *Introduction* 449)
         3. “. . . scholarly speculation as to whether that revelation brought immediate insight into what Christ meant for the Gentiles who could be justified without performing the works of the Law” also does not fully explain Paul. (Brown *Introduction* 449)
      3. love
         1. “Something far more significant had happened on a personal level.” (Brown *Introduction* 449)
         2. Paul “already knew the love shown by the God of his Israelite ancestors . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 449)
         3. But “In the revelation Paul . . . discovered a love that went beyond his previous imagination.” (Brown *Introduction* 449)
            1. “He felt “taken over” by Christ Jesus.” (Brown *Introduction* 449)

Phil 3:12d, “. . . Christ Jesus has made me his own.”

* + - * 1. “With awe Paul exclaims: “The Son of God loved me and gave himself for me.”” (Brown *Introduction* 449)

Gal 2:20, “and it is no longer I who live, but it is Christ who lives in me. And the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.”

* + - * 1. “What he avows in Rom 8:35-37 must have been uttered many times” during his travails. (Brown *Introduction* 449)

Rom 8:35-37, “Who will separate us from the love of Christ? Will hardship, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? . . . 37 No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him who loved us.”

* + - 1. “This love became the driving factor of Paul’s life when he came to understand how encompassing it was . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 449)
         1. 2 Cor 5:14a, “For the love of Christ urges us on . . .”
    1. after conversion
       1. love as motivation for mission
          1. “And how can people know the love of Christ unless they hear about it?” (Brown *Introduction* 449)

Rom 10:14-15, “But how are they to call on one in whom they have not believed? And how are they to believe in one of whom they have never heard? And how are they to hear without someone to proclaim him? 15 And how are they to proclaim him unless they are sent? As it is written, “How beautiful are the feet of those who bring good news!””

* + - * 1. “Thus the mission to the Gentiles who would otherwise not hear is . . . an inevitable translation into action of the overflowing love that he had experienced.” (Brown *Introduction* 449)
      1. love as dispensing from the Law
         1. Paul offered “arguments for his position that Gentiles were not bound to accept the observance of the Law of circumcision . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 449)
         2. But “his most basic argument would have been existential: They had to become aware of the love manifested by God in Christ, and nothing must be allowed to stand in the way.” (Brown *Introduction* 449)
         3. “Paul’s attitude toward the Law for the sake of the Gentiles was part of his being all things to all that they might be saved.” (Brown *Introduction* 449)

1 Cor 9:21-22, “To those outside the law I became as one outside the law (though I am not free from God’s law but am under Christ’s law) so that I might win those outside the law. 22 To the weak I became weak, so that I might win the weak. I have become all things to all people, that I might by all means save some.”

* + - * 1. “. . . experiencing the all-encompassing love of Christ [was] the goal to which he had devoted every waking hour.” (Brown *Introduction* 450)
      1. attitude toward hardships
         1. “The hardships encountered in the mission became for Paul more than means to be endured toward an end. If the love of God was manifested in the self-giving of Christ, how could the love of Christ be shown to others except in the same way?” (Brown *Introduction* 449)

2 Cor 1:6, “If we are being afflicted, it is for your consolation and salvation; if we are being consoled, it is for your consolation, which you experience when you patiently endure the same sufferings that we are also suffering.”

2 Cor 4:10, Paul is “always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be made visible in our bodies.”

1 Thess 2:8a, “So deeply do we care for you that we are determined to share with you not only the gospel of God but also our own selves . . .”

* + - * 1. “To bring an end to divisions at Corinth, Paul offered an extraordinarily moving description of love. His own experience was what caused him to affirm that of all the gifts or charisms given by God in Christ, “the greatest is love” [449] (1 Cor 13:13). In the language of 1 Cor 13, in order to preach a Christ who embodied the love of God, Paul had to be patient in his love and endure all things. Amid discouragements Paul had drawn on the love of Christ in order to hope for all things; and he had to be sure that the love that burned in him remained Christ’s, not seeking its own interests or brooding over injury. In response to God’s love whereby “Christ died for us while we were still sinners” (Rom 5:8), it behooved Paul to rejoice when Christ was proclaimed even by those who were seeking to harm Paul (Phil 1:17-18).” (Brown *Introduction* 449-50)
      1. grace
         1. “As for his own importance, although he is remembered even today as the most zealous proponent of Christ in the NT, he would remind his admirers: “I am the least of the apostles, indeed unfit to be called an apostle . . . Yet it is by the grace of God I am what I am, and God’s grace toward me has not been in vain” (1 Cor 15:9-10).” (Brown *Introduction* 450)
         2. “Because of that grace he could not be defeated: “The transcendent power comes from God, not from us. We are afflicted in every way possible, but we are not crushed; we have our doubts, but we never despair; we are persecuted, but we are never forsaken; we are struck down, but we are never annihilated” (2 Cor 4:7-8).” (Brown *Introduction* 450)

1. **Paul**’**s influence on converts**
   1. “At times Paul could be harsh: He chastised the Galatians bitterly and called them fools (3:1); he warned the Corinthians that when he came again, he would not be lenient (2 Cor 13:2).” (Brown *Introduction* 451)
   2. “Yet he insisted, “I wrote to you with many tears, not that you might be pained but that you might know the abundant love I have for you” (2 Cor 2:4). And he could issue a challenge that few others in Christian history have ever dared to make: “Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ” (1 Cor 11:1; also 4:16); and many of those addressed did find Christ in Paul: “You became imitators of us and of the Lord” (1 Thess 1:6). That this claim was not self-serving arrogance may be seen from Paul’s indignant reaction when some at Corinth confused adherence to him with adherence to Christ: “Was Paul crucified for you?” (1 Cor 1:13).” (Brown *Introduction* 451)
   3. In the thanksgivings, “he was following his heart as well as form when he gave thanks for those who had been chosen to experience God’s love in Christ even as he had, and so were not lacking in any spiritual gift (1 Cor 1:7). They were his hope, his joy, his crown, the stars in his universe (1 Thess 2:19-20; Phil 2:15). He was comforted by their faith; indeed he can say, “We now live if you stand firm in the Lord” (1 Thess 3:8). “For as God is my witness, how I long for all of you with the affection of Christ Jesus” (Phil 1:8). Paul was their father in Christ Jesus (1 Cor 4:15; 1 Thess 2:11); [450] he was in labor like a mother until Christ was formed in them (Gal 4:19), and as gentle with them as a nursing mother (1 Thess 2:7). The [Philippians were] (1:7) his partners in the gospel. They completed his joy by being of the same mind about Christ, united in heart with the same love (Phil 2:2, 5).” (Brown *Introduction* 450-51)
2. **Paul**’**s influence on disciples**
   1. Paul’s disciples’ loyalty
      1. “Paul was a man of great intensity and a wide range of emotions. He must also have been a man capable of engendering deep friendship, for Paul’s letters give evidence of extraordinary loyalty on the part of a wide cast of characters.” (Brown *Introduction* 452)
         1. “For a complete listing” see: E.E. Ellis. In Hawthorne, G.F., et al. *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity, 1993. 183-89. (Brown *Introduction* 452 n. 3)
         2. “We know a wide range of named characters surrounding Jesus and surrounding Paul, but in the whole body of the DSS we do not seem to have a single name of a community member, not even that of its founder.” (Brown *Introduction* 452 n. 3)
      2. “Timothy, Titus, and Silvanus are seen over a number of years carrying Paul’s letters and messages, and sometimes acting as ambassadors in very difficult circumstances; apparently their devotion was never in question.” (Brown *Introduction* 452)
      3. “Aquila and Prisca (Priscilla) were willing to pick up stakes and move with Paul from Corinth to Ephesus, and then to go ahead to Rome in anticipation of his arrival.” (Brown *Introduction* 452)
      4. “The slave Onesimus attached himself to Paul even at the price of offending his master (Phlm), and both Onesimus and the woman deacon Phoebe (whom Paul thinks of as a “sister”: Rom 16:1-2) are warmly recommended by the apostle.” (Brown *Introduction* 452)
   2. Paul’s disciples’ writings
      1. Many “remained anonymous while writing about him or in his name.” (Brown *Introduction* 452)
      2. “A great . . . tribute to Paul came from those disciples who in his name wrote the pseudonymous deuteroPauline literature . . . Apparently a half-dozen authors found the apostle, even after his death, an enduring authority to speak to the churches in the last third of the 1st century.” (Brown *Introduction* 453)
      3. 2 Thessalonians
         1. 2 Thessalonians “shows Paul facing the great evil of the end-time and reassuring his Christian converts. Paul’s life among them continues to be a model they should imitate: “Be firm and hold on to the traditions you were taught by our word or letter” (2:15).” (Brown *Introduction* 453)
      4. Colossians
         1. “Even more impressive is the contribution of the author of *Colossians*. Master of a graceful liturgical style, he developed with new depth Pauline themes of christology, ecclesiology, and eschatology. Scholars debate the authentic Pauline tonality of some of the magnificent affirmations of Col; perhaps a more meaningful question is whether Paul would not have been pleased to have them incorporated in his heritage. In his lifetime Paul thought largely of local churches; but, along with Col, would he not have seen the necessity to apply his ideas to the larger vision of church now developing? In any case, Paul’s ongoing influence is beautifully illustrated by the appeal to his sufferings in Col 1:24—an appeal all the more impressive if Paul was already dead (“absent in the flesh but with you in spirit” [2:5] in a more profound sense). Paul’s use of “mystery” and “body” has inspired in Col a luxuriant development of these motifs; and Paul’s speaking to the domestic problems of husband, wife, and slave has been systematized and reshaped in a household code (Col 3:18-4:1). The hymn in Col 1:15-20 is a worthy companion to that offered by Paul himself in Phil 2:5-11.” (Brown *Introduction* 453)
      5. Ephesians
         1. “Probably *Ephesians*, although close to Col, was the contribution of another admirer, the most talented of the Pauline writing disciples. [Eloquent] are the words attributed to Paul in Eph. . .” (Brown *Introduction* 454)
         2. “While Paul stresses the theme of “one” (body, bread, spirit, mind: 1 Cor 10:17; Phil 1:27; Rom 12:5), he never reached the grandeur of the description he motivated in Eph 4:4-6: one body, one Spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all. To imitate the master is one form of appreciation; to be inspired by him to go farther is an even greater contribution to his heritage.” (Brown *Introduction* 454)
      6. Pastoral Letters
         1. The Pastorals *“*have sometimes been dismissed as unworthy of the Pauline corpus because of their pedestrian concern with church structure, diatribes against heretical dangers, and downgrading of women.” (Brown *Introduction* 454)
         2. “Certainly the writer (or writers) did not have the elegance of some of the deuteroPaulinists just discussed.” (Brown *Introduction* 454)
         3. “Yet the very concern that caused these letters to be called “Pastoral” is faithful to Paul, and he might have become more systematic if faced with dangerous church disintegration at the end of the century.” (Brown *Introduction* 454)
         4. “Moreover, a general disparagement does not do justice to some admirable passages . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 454)
            1. “the hymnic language of Titus 3:4-7; 1 Tim 3:16; 6:15-16”
            2. “the moving “sure (faithful) saying” of 1 Tim 1:15: “Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of which I am the foremost.””
         5. 2 Timothy
            1. “There is a really remarkable capturing of the Pauline spirit in II Tim (the last written work in the corpus?).” (Brown *Introduction* 454)
            2. “The author of 2 Timothy calls Paul “the great preacher, apostle, and teacher (1:11) . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 454)
            3. “Who could hope for an epitaph more poignant than: “I have fought the good fight; I have finished the race; I have kept the faith. For the rest there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous judge, will grant to me on that day” (2 Tim 4:7)?” (Brown *Introduction* 454)
            4. “And the heritage goes on, for Paul has prepared a new generation who can be just as effective as he was: “Stir into flame the gift of God that is within you . . . God did not give us a spirit of timidity but of power and love” (1:6-7).” (Brown *Introduction* 454)
            5. In 2 Tim 2:8-9 Paul says “that he is suffering in chains for the sake of the gospel; then he cries out defiantly, “But the word of God is not chained.” The ultimate gift of Paul is to have preached a gospel that had enormous power in itself . . . [He was] *the apostle whose preaching unchained the gospel*. . .” (Brown *Introduction* 455)
3. **Paul**’**s influence on Acts**
   1. Acts “has often been criticized
      1. “for not fully understanding Paul’s theology,
      2. “for highlighting themes that were not Pauline (salvation-history),
      3. “for simplifying Paul’s career,
      4. “and for avoiding many of the controversies in Paul’s life.” (Brown *Introduction* 452)
   2. “Paul’s own writings may be remarkably autobiographical, but the biography in Acts contributed enormously to his image.” (Brown *Introduction* 453)
   3. Consider “the extraordinary tribute he paid by devoting to Paul half the book’s lengthy description of the spread of Christianity. Whether or not Paul was that important in the estimation of nonPauline Christians, Acts has forever placed Paul alongside Peter . . . as the two most important figures in the following of Jesus.” (Brown *Introduction* 452)
   4. “In his own writing Paul speaks of God’s revelation of the divine Son “in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles” (Gal 1:16). But would subsequent Christianity have understood the full ramifications of that plan without Acts’ dramatization that began Paul’s story in Jerusalem, the Jewish capital, and led him to Rome, the Gentile capital where he spoke definitively about the future direction of Christianity toward the Gentiles?” (Brown *Introduction* 452)
   5. “Again Acts has fleshed out in an unforgettable way the travels, imprisonments, and afflictions [452] the apostle describes.” (Brown *Introduction* 452-53)
   6. Paul’s adaptability
      1. “Paul says, “To the Jews I became like a Jew in order to win over Jews; . . . to those outside the Law I became like one outside the Law . . . in order to win over those outside the Law” (1 Cor 9:20-21).” (Brown *Introduction* 453)
      2. “Acts graphically embodies that adaptability in the different sermons attributed to Paul: When he addresses a synagogue (Acts 13:15-41), most of what he says is derived from the OT; when he stands in the middle of the Athenian Areopagus (17:22-31), he not only uses more literary Greek but also quotes philosophers. Paul’s last discourse, addressed to the elders of Ephesus (Acts 20:17-38), sums up beautifully his career and captures the tender love of his converts for him.” (Brown *Introduction* 453)
4. **Paul**’**s influence on the general epistles**
   1. “One could extend Paul’s influence further.” (Brown *Introduction* 453 n. 4)
   2. “In many theological stances 1 Pet [c. 70-90] is close to Pauline thought; [and] some critics (wrongly in my judgment) would put that writing in the Pauline rather than the Petrine school.” (Brown *Introduction* 453 n. 4)
   3. “The reference to “our brother Timothy” in Heb 13:23 [c. 80-90] brought that writing into the Pauline camp, and in much of the church it was attributed to Paul.” (Brown *Introduction* 453 n. 4)
      1. Heb 13:23, “I want you to know that our brother Timothy has been set free; and if he comes in time, he will be with me when I see you.”
      2. 13:23 is Hebrew’s *only* explicit link to Paul.
   4. “Jas 2:24 [c. 80s-90s] shows alarm at the circulation of a misunderstood Pauline formula.” (Brown *Introduction* 453 n. 4)
   5. “Some would attribute the letter format of Rev 2-3 [92-96] to Pauline patterning.” (Brown *Introduction* 453 n. 4)
   6. “2 Pet 3:15-16 [c. 130] testifies to the influence of the writings of “our beloved brother Paul.”” (Brown *Introduction* 453 n. 4)

# PAUL’S LETTERS

## SOME ASPECTS OF PAUL’S LETTERS

### Amanuensis

A person wanting to send a letter in the ancient world almost al­ways used a scribe or secre­tary (in Greek, *amanuensis*). Oc­casionally the sender would dictate word for word, but usual­ly he would simply give the amanuensis an outline with instructions, and sometimes he would leave the entire task to the scribe. Which method did Paul use?

That he usually used an amanuensis is certain.

Rom 16:22 Tertius is the amanuensis

1 Cor 16:21, Col 4:18, 2 Thess 3:17 (see Philem 19) a greeting in Paul’s hand

Gal 6:11 Paul contrasts his handwriting

(cf. 1 Pet 5:12 Silvanus is the amanuensis)

The very distinctive style of all of Paul’s letters suggests that he dictated word for word. Differences from letter to letter in vocabulary and style, on the other hand, suggest that he gave only an outline and instructions and let the amanuensis compose the letters. These dif­­­fer­ences, though, may be the result of pseudonym­ity: some of the letters may not be by Paul but are nevertheless attributed to him.

### Letter and Epistle

Some scholars distinguish between two ancient forms, the letter and the epistle. Letters have in mind a concrete situation and a specific addressee (an addressee may be an individual or a congregation). Letters presuppose mutual knowledge between writer and reader, their tone is confidential like conversation, and the letters in a series of correspondence are indepen­dent of each other.

An epistle may or may not be occasioned by a concrete situation, but it intends a more gener­al audience than the addressee. The epistle is in fact an essay, with the trappings of a letter artificial­ly superimposed upon it. The form was developed in Greek philo­sophical schools of the fourth century bc.

Paul’s works are generally considered letters rather than epistles; but it is better to consider the two forms to be ends of a spect­rum, along which Paul’s letters may be strung:

*Letter*:*Epistle*:

Philem Gal 1-2 Thess 2 Cor 1 Cor, Col, Phil 1-2 Tim, Titus Rom, Eph

Even in the works which are most like letters, Paul’s circumstances make his writings more like epistles. (1) He does not write as a private individual, but as an apostle and missionary. (2) He often includes bits of kerygma, sermons, hymns, liturgical formulas, chains of Old Testament proof-texts, etc. (3) The dis­cussion of concrete problems often gives rise to small doctrinal treatises detachable from the concrete situation.

### The Number of Paul’s Letters

Paul wrote several letters which are no longer extant.

a letter to the Corinthians prior to 1 Corinthians 1 Cor 5:9

a “tearful” letter to the Corinthians 2 Cor 2:3-4

a letter to the Laodiceans Col 4:16

“letters” to the Philippians Polycarp, *Ep*. *ad Phil*. 3:2

By the time of Cyril of Jerusalem (c. ad 348), the Pauline corpus included fourteen letters: the ten letters of Romans through 2 Thessalonians plus Philemon, the three Pastoral Epistles (1-2 Timothy, Titus), and Hebrews.

### Pseudonymity

The earliest statement that Paul was Hebrew’s author is by Clement of Alexandria (c. ad 200); but about the same time, Tertullian thought it was written by Barnabas. Fifty years later, Origen, a Scripture scholar, carefully compared Hebrews to the other letters and concluded that it was not by Paul but by someone influenced by him. Present-day scholars agree that it is not by Paul.

Similarly, most scholars think that the Pastoral Epistles are not by Paul but by his dis­ciples. Also, Ephesians and, to a lesser extent, Colossians are questioned by many, and some scholars have questioned the Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians.

Hence, 7 letters are considered authentic and are called “proto-Pauline”: Romans, 1-2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, Philemon. 7 are considered pseudonymous and are called “deutero-Pauline”: Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1-2 Timothy, Titus, Hebrews.

### Why Paul’s Letters Were Collected

(1) There was the natural desire of the Christians to share and preserve such important documents. (2) Also, Paul himself en­couraged the exchange of his letters between churches. He was aware that his letters were circulating widely (2 Cor 10:10), and he requested that the Colossian church trade letters with the Laodiceans (Col 4:16). (3) Some authors who were teaching doctrines different from Paul’s were signing Paul’s name to their letters. Paul himself was aware of at least one such letter (2 Thess 2:2).

### The Length of Paul’s Letters

The longest of Paul’s letters is Romans, 7101 Greek words. The shortest is Philemon, 335 words. If we exclude Hebrews, the average length of his letters is 1300 words. This is unusually long for an ancient letter. The 14,000 letters still extant from Greek and Roman anti­qui­ty usually range from 18 to 209 words, and their average length is 87 words. Seneca’s longest letter is 4134 words, and Cicero’s is 2530 words.

### The Structure of Paul’s Letters

Paul’s letters typically have this structure.

1. introduction

a. who it is from + epithet (brief description)

b. who it is to + epithet

2. thanksgiving

3. body

a. doctrine (faith, what you should believe)

b. exhortation (morals, how you should act)

4. conclusion

a. travel plans

b. greetings

Here is the structure as it is found in the letters in the Pauline corpus.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *outline* | *Rom* | *1 Cor* | *2 Cor* | *Gal* | *Eph* | *Phil* | *Col* |
| introduction | 1:1-7 | 1:1-3 | 1:1-2 | 1:1-5 | 1:1-2 | 1:1-2 | 1:1-2 |
| thanksgiving | 1:8-15 | 1:4-9 | 1:3-11 |  | 1:3-23 | 1:3-11 | 1:3-14 |
| body |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| doctrine | 1:16-11:36 | 1:10-  15:58 | 1:12-  13:10 | 1:6-4:31 | 2:1-3:21 | 1:12-26 | 1:15-2:3 |
| exhortation | 12:1-15:13 | 5:1-6:10 | 4:1-6:20 | 1:27-4:20 | 2:4-4:6 |
| conclusion | 15:14-16:27 | 16:1-24 | 13:11-14 | 6:11-18 | 6:21-24 | 4:21-23 | 4:7-18 |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *outline* | *1 Thess* | *2 Thess* | *1 Tim* | *2 Tim* | *Titus* | *Philem* | *Heb* |
| introduction | 1:1 | 1:1-2 | 1:1-2 | 1:1-2 | 1:1-4 | 1-3 |  |
| thanksgiving | 1:2-10 | 1:3-12 |  | 1:3-5 |  | 4-7 |  |
| body |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| doctrine | 2:1-3:13 | 2:1-17 | 1:3-6:21 | 1:6-4:18 | 1:5-3:14 |  | 1:1-5:10,  7:1-10:18 |
| exhortation | 4:1-5:25 | 3:1-15 |  |  |  | 8-22 | 5:11-6:20,  10:19-  13:19 |
| conclusion | 5:25-28 | 3:16-18 |  | 4:19-22 | 3:15 | 23-25 | 13:20-25 |

Several anomalies occur. In the bodies of 1 and 2 Cor, doctrine and exhortation are difficult to distinguish. Gal has no thanksgiving, since Paul is angry with the Galatians. No thanksgiving occurs in 1 Tim, Titus, and Heb, and no exhortation occurs in 1 Tim, 2 Tim, and Titus; these anomalies are probably a result of the letters’ being deutero-Pauline. Similarly, Heb lacks an introduction and a thanksgiving, and it alternates sections of doctrine and exhortation.

## AN EXAMPLE OF PSEUDONYMITY:

## THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

1. **style**
   1. “The Pastorals’ use of particles, conjunctions, and adverbs differs notably from Paul’s undisputed usage.” (Brown *Introduction* 663)
   2. The style is “less Hebraic” and has “longer sentences . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 663)
2. **vocabulary**
   1. “. . . one quarter of the vocabulary of the Pastorals does not appear in the other Pauline letters . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 663)
   2. For Christ’s second coming, the proto-Paulines always use *parousia*. But 5 times the pastorals use *epiphaneia* instead. (Brown *Introduction* 663 n. 29)
3. **contents**
   1. “missionary journey 4” details
      1. “More than the undisputed Pauline letters, the Pastorals contain a large amount of biographical material . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 667)
      2. The biographical details “cannot be fitted into what we know of Paul’s life . . . they demand our positing a “second career” in the mid-60s.” (Brown *Introduction* 664)
      3. Donelson (*Pseudepigraphy*) has demonstrated that other ancient pseudonymous works use personal details “to impress the reader and to lend an appearance of genuineness . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 667)
   2. christology
      1. The pastorals lack “in Christ.” (Fuller 135)
      2. The pastorals lack “body of Christ.” (Fuller 135)
   3. Spirit
      1. The pastorals lack “in the Spirit.” (Fuller 135)
      2. In Paul, charisms are diffused throughout the Church; in the pastorals, they are “canalized in the ministeri­al succession . . .” (Fuller 135)
   4. similarity to Acts
      1. Similarities between the pastorals and Luke-Acts—in atmosphere, vocabulary, and content) are so close “that some have thought that the same person wrote them . . .” Luke-Acts was written c. ad 90. (Brown *Introduction* 666)
   5. heresy combatted
      1. The pastorals speak of gnostic elements, libertinism, hints of docetism.
      2. But they also refer to Jewish elements: genealogies, the Law, OT scriptures.
      3. Hence the heresy “is often judged to be a Judaizing gnosticism that developed later than Paul’s lifetime.” (Brown *Introduction* 665)
   6. deposit of faith
      1. The pastorals often refer to “doctrine,” “*the* faith,” “*the* truth,” etc.
      2. They reflect “an ever-sharpening insistence on orthodoxy (correct faith content)” [650] that became “increasingly characteristic of Christianity” in the 100s-400s. [649] (Brown *Introduction* 649-50)
   7. Church offices
      1. The proto-Paulines do not mention presbyters; the pastorals do. (Brown *Introduction* 665)
      2. The proto-Paulines do not emphasize the qualifications of bishops/presbyters and deacons; the pastorals do.
4. **early attestation**
   1. “The Muratorian fragment (*c*. 200) places [the pastorals] after Philem. This suggests that [they] were only just beginning to find their way into the Pauline corpus, and were still treated as a kind of appendix to it.” (Fuller 133)
5. **conclusion**: **pseudonymous**
   1. 80-90% of modern scholars say “the Pastorals were written after Paul’s lifetime . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 668, emphasis deleted)
   2. Titus and 1 Timothy were “Probably written by a disciple of Paul . . . several decades after the apostle’s death.” (Brown *Introduction* 654)
   3. “There is a roughly even split among critical commentators on Colossians and 2 Thessalonians . . .” (Dunn 13 n. 39)
   4. “. . . the majority regard Ephesians . . . as definitely post-Pauline . . .” (Dunn 13 n. 39)
6. **pseudonymity and inspiration**
   1. Non-fundamentalists “do not find the notion of pseudepigraphy an obstacle in itself when it is understood in terms of disciples continuing the Pauline tradition and assuming the mantle of the apostle to speak loyally in his name to new problems facing a later generation.” (Brown *Introduction* 667)

# BACKGROUND OF

# PAUL’S THEOLOGY

## HELLENISTIC BACKGROUND

introduction

“Hellenistic”

Greek language

Greek rhetoric

pagan religion

Greek philosophy

Greco-Roman daily life

city imagery

Hellenistic ideas

other

Septuagint

1. **introduction**
   1. “To what extent did upbringing in the diaspora (pockets of Jewish life outside Palestine) influence Paul . . .?” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
      1. “Acculturation by Jews in language and education led to varied degrees of accommodation and even assimilation, so that no universal judgments can be made.” (Barclay, J.M.G. *JSNT* 60 [1995]: 89-120.) (Brown *Introduction* 425)
   2. “Paul’s thought . . . [is] a complex mix of Hellenistic and Jewish tendencies.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      1. Paul used “a dynamic synthesis of Jewish and Hellenistic features . . . to shape his teaching for predominantly Gentile churches.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
   3. “This Hellenistic influence is detected more in Paul’s ethical teaching than in his theology proper.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
2. “**Hellenistic**”
   1. “Hellenic”: having to do with classical Greece (510-323 bc).
      1. 510 bc: last Athenian tyrant (Hippias).
   2. “Hellenistic”: having to do with Greek civilization after Alexander the Great (c. 323-30 bc).
      1. c. 335-23 bc: Alexander (356-23, r. 336-23) conquers everything.
      2. 10/11 June 323 bc: Alexander dies.
      3. 31 bc: Roman Empire begins (battle of Actium).
      4. 30 bc: conquest of Egypt.
3. **Greek language**
   1. Deissmann *Paulus* 30ff. Feine *NT Theologie* 163ff. Feine *Paulus* 523, 526. Prat *Théologie* 1: 17ff.
   2. Paul “knew Greek well and could write it . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 9)
      1. “. . . Paul handled [Greek with] ease and mastery . . .” (Bonsirven 200)
   3. He “does not write literary Koine . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
   4. Writing in Greek shows Paul to have been a diaspora Jew. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
4. **Greek rhetoric**
   1. Paul was not “trained as a professional *rhētōr* . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
   2. But his “compo­si­tion and expression often [show] the influence of [Greek] rhetoric . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
   3. “The Greek style of his letters shows that he was adequately educated in the dominant Greco-Roman culture.” (Brown *Introduction* 448)
   4. diatribe
      1. “. . . the Cynic-Stoic mode of argumentation called *diatribē* [was] con­ducted in familiar, conversational style and devel­oped by lively debate with an imaginary interlocutor; its sentence structure is often short, and questions are interjected; antitheses and parallel phrases often punctuate the develop­ment . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
      2. “. . . the Stoic-Cynic diatribe, a form of argumentation that places a question on the lips of a hypothetical objector and then crafts a response, appears regularly in Paul’s defense of his apostolic authority and gospel.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      3. “Traces are found in his letters . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
         1. Fitzmyer cites Rom 2:1-20; 3:1-9; 9:19; 1 Cor 9. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
         2. Roetzel cites Rom 6:1, 15; 7:7; 9:14; 11:1. (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
         3. Rom 3:1-9, “Then what advantage has the Jew? Or what is the value of circumcision? 2 Much, in every way. For in the first place the Jews were entrusted with the oracles of God. 3 What if some were unfaithful? Will their faithlessness nullify the faithfulness of God? 4 By no means! Although everyone is a liar, let God be proved true, as it is written, “So that you may be justified in your words, and prevail in your judging.” 5 But if our injustice serves to confirm the justice of God, what should we say? That God is unjust to inflict wrath on us? (I speak in a human way.) 6 By no means! For then how could God judge the world? 7 But if through my falsehood God's truthfulness abounds to his glory, why am I still being condemned as a sinner? 8 And why not say (as some people slander us by saying that we say), “Let us do evil so that good may come”? Their condemnation is deserved! 9 What then? Are we any better off? No, not at all; for we have already charged that all, both Jews and Greeks, are under the power of sin . . .”
         4. Rom 9:19, “You will say to me then, “Why then does he still find fault? For who can resist his will?””
      4. “Traces of Stoic rhetorical diatribe . . . show that he had a [Greek] education.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 9)
5. **pagan religion**
   1. 1 Cor 8:5, “even though there may be so-called gods in heaven or on earth—as in fact there are many gods and many lords . . .”
   2. 1 Cor 10:20-21, “No, I imply that what pagans sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God. I do not want you to be partners with demons. 21You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons. You cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons.”
   3. 1 Cor 12:2, “You know that when you were pagans, you were enticed and led astray to idols that could not speak.”
   4. Gal 4:9-10, “Now, however, that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God, how can you turn back again to the weak and beggarly elemental spirits? How can you want to be enslaved to them again? 10You are observing special days, and months, and seasons, and years.”
   5. “He would have known something about the religion of the Gentiles among whom he lived . . ., probably prejudiced and unsympathetic . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
   6. He would know:
      1. pagan myths
      2. “Greco-Roman civic religious festivals”
      3. mystery religions
         1. Feine *Paulus* 65-133, 437-516. Jacquier “Mystères paiëns” 3: c. 963-1013. Prat “Paulinisme” 3: c. 1644-651. Prat *Théologie* 2: 47ff, 467-75. Ramsay *Teaching* 200, 284-304. Schweitzer *Mystik* 27-37, 138, 324. Schweitzer *Paulus Forschung* chs. 2-4. (Bonsirven c. 201)
         2. “. . . even non-initiates would often have had a general idea of their ideals and themes.” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
         3. “. . . the idea that he borrowed many ideas from the mystery religions (p. 86 above) is overdone . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
         4. “Obviously he rubbed shoulders on his voyages with many of the initiates.” (Bonsirven 201)
         5. But “We know how closely they guarded their secrets. . . . [Origen] lived in an environment where the mysteries flourished, but knew nothing of their rites.” (Faye p. 13) (Bonsir­ven 201)
         6. “Can we imagine the Pharisee, and later the Christian apostle, undergoing initiation into these religions which he held in horror?” (Bonsirven 201)
         7. “. . . historians who repeat Reitzenstein’s theories word for word are getting rarer and rarer.” (Bonsirven 201)
6. **Greek philosophy**
   1. Colon “Paul” 526ff. Feine *NT Theologie* 165-68, 188. Feine *Paulus* 526ff. Jones *Exp*.*T*. 2 (1917): 241, 330, 346. Prat *Théologie* 1: 18; 2: 45, 56, 412. (Bonsirven c. 201)
   2. “There is a good chance that Paul’s education would have included a summary acquaintanceship with the moral or ethical stances of the Stoics, the Cynics, and the Epicureans.” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
   3. “Would he of all people, he who displayed a veritable phobia against all “philosophizing . . . drawn from human tradition” (Col 2:8; Eph 4:14), be likely to pay homage, even surreptitiously, to its ideas?” (Bonsirven 201)
      1. 1 Cor 1:17-2:1, “For Christ did not send me to baptize but to proclaim the gospel, and not with eloquent wisdom, so that the cross of Christ might not be emptied of its power. 18 For the message about the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God. 19 For it is written, “I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the discernment of the discerning I will thwart.” 20 Where is the one who is wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the debater of this age? Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world? 21 For since, in the wisdom of God, the world did not know God through wisdom, God decided, through the foolishness of our proclamation, to save those who believe. 22 For Jews demand signs and Greeks desire wisdom, 23 but we proclaim Christ crucified, a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness to Gentiles, 24 but to those who are the called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God. 25 For God’s foolishness is wiser than human wisdom, and God’s weakness is stronger than human strength. 26 Consider your own call, brothers and sisters: not many of you were wise by human standards, not many were powerful, not many were of noble birth. 27 But God chose what is foolish in the world to shame the wise; God chose what is weak in the world to shame the strong; 28 God chose what is low and despised in the world, things that are not, to reduce to nothing things that are, 29 so that no one might boast in the presence of God. 30 He is the source of your life in Christ Jesus, who became for us wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification and redemption, 31 in order that, as it is written, “Let the one who boasts, boast in the Lord.” 2:1 When I came to you, brothers and sisters, I did not come proclaiming the mystery of God to you in lofty words or wisdom. 2 For I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ, and him crucified. 3 And I came to you in weakness and in fear and in much trembling. 4 My speech and my proclamation were not with plausible words of wisdom, but with a demonstration of the Spirit and of power, 5 so that your faith might rest not on human wisdom but on the power of God. 6 Yet among the mature we do speak wisdom, though it is not a wisdom of this age or of the rulers of this age, who are doomed to perish. 7 But we speak God’s wisdom, secret and hidden, which God decreed before the ages for our glory. . . . 12 Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit that is from God, so that we may understand the gifts bestowed on us by God. 13 And we speak of these things in words not taught by human wisdom but taught by the Spirit, interpreting spiritual things to those who are spiritual.”
      2. Eph 4:14, “We must no longer be children, tossed to and fro and blown about by every wind of doctrine, by people’s trickery, by their craftiness in deceitful scheming.”
      3. Col 2:8, “See to it that no one takes you captive through philosophy and empty deceit, according to human tradition, according to the elemental spirits of the universe, and not according to Christ.”
   4. “Admittedly, there were only too many Asiatic Christians who showed signs of being infected by the doctrines spread by the wandering pedlars [*sic*] of wisdom; we can tell by the characteristic expressions (wisdom, plenitude, etc.) in the epistles and in the classic lists of vices.” (Bonsirven 201)
   5. “the findings of a very searching investigation by J. Dupont” (Bonsirven 201 n. 23)
      1. Dupont, Jacques. *Gnosis*, *la connaissance religieuse dans les épîtres de saint Paul*. Bruges-Paris: 1949. 529-43.
      2. “Any indebtedness of one philosophy [Paul’s] to the other [a Greek system] is out of the question owing to the radically opposed nature of the systems.” (Bonsirven 201)
      3. “There remain some traces of what might be called “popular Stoicism,” which the apostle has retained, either because it was in the air at the time or because he heard it on the lips of his converts.” (Bonsirven 201)
      4. Paul “is far more attached to Judaism: his thought has a Jewish foundation.” (Bonsirven 201 n. 23)
7. **Greco-Roman daily life**
   1. “On a simpler level Paul would have known how ordinary Gentiles lived and worked, so that later in life he would not have come among them as a stranger to their worries, aspirations, family problems, etc. . . . Paul understood very well the major role of the household in the Greco-Roman culture in which his addressees lived.” (Brown *Introduction* 425)
8. **city imagery**
   1. “Whereas Jesus’ illustrations often reflect the agrarian life of Galilee, Paul frequently uses images derived from city-culture . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
   2. politics (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
      1. Phil 1:17, “the others proclaim Christ out of selfish ambition, not sincerely but intending to increase my suffer­ing in my imprisonment.”
      2. Phil 3:20, “But our citizenship is in heaven, and it is from there that we are expecting a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ.”
      3. “. . . the church as the “body” of Christ is almost certain­ly [34] . . . [derived from] the contemporary Greco-Roman under­standing of the state as the body politic . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 34-35)
   3. Greek games (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
      1. 1 Cor 9:24-27, “Do you not know that in a race the runners all compete, but only one receives the prize? Run in such a way that you may win it. 25 Athletes exercise self-control in all things; they do it to receive a perishable wreath, but we an imperishable one. 26 So I do not run aimlessly, nor do I box as though beating the air; 27 but I punish my body and enslave it, so that after proclaiming to others I myself should not be disquali­fied.”
      2. Phil 2:16, “It is by your holding fast to the word of life that I can boast on the day of Christ that I did not run in vain or labor in vain.”
   4. Greek commerce (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
      1. Philem 18, “If he has wronged you in any way, or owes you anything, charge that to my account.”
   5. Greek law (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
      1. Rom 7:1, “Do you not know, brothers and sisters—for I am speaking to those who know the law—that the law is binding on a person only during that person’s lifetime?”
      2. Gal 3:15, “I give an example from daily life: once a person’s will has been ratified, no one adds to it or annuls it.”
      3. Gal 4:1-2, “My point is this: heirs, as long as they are minors, are no better than slaves, though they are the owners of all the property; 2 but they remain under guardians and trustees until the date set by the father.”
   6. slave trade (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
      1. Rom 7:14, “For we know that the law is spiritual; but I am of the flesh, sold into slavery under sin.”
      2. 1 Cor 7:22, “For whoever was called in the Lord as a slave is a freed person belonging to the Lord, just as whoever was free when called is a slave of Christ.”
   7. “Hellenistic celebrations in honor of a visiting emperor” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
      1. 1 Thess 2:19, “For what is our hope or joy or crown of boasting before our Lord Jesus at his coming? Is it not you?”
9. **Hellenistic ideas**
   1. *eleutheria*, “freedom” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
      1. Gal 5:1, “For freedom Christ has set us free. Stand firm, therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery.”
      2. Gal 5:13, “For you were called to freedom, brothers and sisters; only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for self-indulgence, but through love become slaves to one another.”
   2. *syneidēsis*, “conscience” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
      1. Rom 2:15, “They show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, to which their own conscience also bears witness; and their conflicting thoughts will accuse or perhaps excuse them . . .”
      2. 1 Cor 8:7, 10, 12, “It is not everyone, however, who has this knowledge. Since some have become so accustomed to idols until now, they still think of the food they eat as food offered to an idol; and their conscience, being weak, is defiled. . . . 10 For if others see you, who possess knowledge, eating in the temple of an idol, might they not, since their conscience is weak, be encouraged to the point of eating food sacrificed to idols? . . . 12 But when you thus sin against members of your family, and wound their conscience when it is weak, you sin against Christ.”
      3. 1 Cor 10:25-29, “Eat whatever is sold in the meat market without raising any question on the ground of conscience, 26 for “the earth and its fullness are the Lord’s.” 27 If an unbeliever invites you to a meal and you are disposed to go, eat whatever is set before you without raising any question on the ground of con­science. 28 But if someone says to you, “This has been offered in sacrifice,” then do not eat it, out of consideration for the one who informed you, and for the sake of conscience—29 I mean the other’s conscience, not your own. For why should my liberty be subject to the judgment of someone else’s conscience?”
      4. 2 Cor 4:2b, “by the open statement of the truth we commend ourselves to the conscience of everyone in the sight of God.”
      5. 2 Cor 5:11, “Therefore, knowing the fear of the Lord, we try to persuade others; but we ourselves are well known to God, and I hope that we are also well known to your consciences.”
   3. *autarkeia*, “sufficiency, contentment” (a specifically Stoic idea) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
      1. 2 Cor 9:8, “And God is able to provide you with every blessing in abundance, so that by always having enough of everything, you may share abundantly in every good work.”
   4. *physis*, “nature” (a specifically Stoic idea) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
      1. Rom 2:14, “When Gentiles, who do not possess the law, do instinctively what the law requires, these, though not having the law, are a law to themselves.”
   5. Phil 4:8
      1. Phil 4:8, “Finally, beloved, whatever is true [ἀληθής], whatever is honorable [σεμνός], whatever is just [δίκαιος], whatever is pure [ἁγνός], whatever is pleasing [προσφιλής], whatever is commendable [εὔφημος], if there is any excellence [ἀρετή] and if there is anything worthy of praise [ἔπαινος], think about these things.”
      2. “Note especially the Hellenistic vocabulary” in Phil 4:8b. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
         1. *prosphilēs* “amiable”
         2. *euphēmos* “well-sounding”
         3. *aretē* “moral excellence”
         4. *epainos* “something praise­wor­thy”
   6. words rare in the Hebrew scriptures (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      1. “conscience” (συνείδησις, *syneidēsis*)
      2. “fame” (ἀρετή, *aretē*)
      3. “virtue,” “valor,” “honor,” “success”
   7. a “blend . . . of Hellenistic and Jewish elements” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
      1. the law of nature (φύσις, *physis*) (Rom 2:14-15)
      2. ascetic self-control (ἐγκράτεια, *enkrateia*) (1 Cor 7:9; 9:24-27; Gal 5:23)
      3. virtue and vice lists (Gal 5:19-23; Phil 4:8) (see “Lists, Ethical.” *NIDB*.)
10. **quotations of Greek authors**
    1. He quotes the Greek poet Menander (*Thais* frg. 218). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
       1. 1 Cor 15:33, “Do not be deceived: “Bad company ruins good morals.””
    2. “But in spite of his four or five quotations from Greek poets, he does not seem to have been familiar with the classical authors. He simply repeated phrases that had become household words.” (Bonsirven 200-201)
    3. Paul “speaks of *gnōsis*, “knowledge,” in a special sense and pits [it] over against his “story of the cross” . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 35)
       1. 1 Cor 1:18, “For the message about the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God.”
       2. But “That full-blown gnosticism was already current in the time of Paul is very difficult to admit. There may be elements in Pauline teaching that eventually fed into its full-blown form in the second century ad, but they are at most proto-gnostic elements . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 35)
11. **Septuagint**
    1. In “address­ing Gentile churches he usually quoted the OT in Greek.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 9)
       1. Citing the OT in Greek shows Paul to have been a diaspora Jew. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 29)
    2. “Of his Hellenistic influences, the [LXX] undoubtedly had the most formative impact on his thought.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
       1. The LXX “was itself an interpretation.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
       2. “Paul’s broad and nuanced Septuagintal views of law [νόμος, nomos], the stories of Israel, and his reading of the Prophets (esp. Isaiah and Jeremiah) provided him . . . fruitful interaction with the dominant Hellenistic culture.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
    3. Paul favored Isaiah, “in which thirty-three of the forty-four scriptural references to “world” [οἰκουμένη, oikoumenē] appear . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
       1. “An example is the LXX of Isa 23:14-18, which instead of condemning pagan Tyre to a life of shameful prostitution with all the “nations,” as did the MT (Hebrew Masoretic Text), viewed its conversion as a holy offering to God. Thus the LXX provided Paul with a sense of continuity with the ancestral traditions of Israel while allowing influences from the Hellenistic world.” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
12. **conclusion**
    1. “Trying to maintain that delicate balance [between Hellenism and Judaism] may partly explain the complex and sometimes tortured reasoning he used to argue for the inclusion of gentiles in the people of God while insisting that inclusion in no way implied God’s rejection of Israel.” (See “Nations.” *NIDB*.) (Roetzel “Paul” 406)

## JEWISH BACKGROUND TO PAUL’S THOUGHT

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introduction

1. **introduction**
   1. Bonsirven, Joseph, SJ. *Palestinian Judaism in the Time of Jesus Christ*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.
   2. Davies, W.D. *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*: *Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology*. London: 1948.
   3. Judaism in Paul’s Christianity
      1. Paul “did not have to repudiate the fundamental beliefs of Israel.” (Bonsirven 212)
      2. “We shall find certain elements of Judaism unchanged in his work . . . [but] transformed and sublimated by the light he received at Damascus.” (Bonsirven 200)
         1. “We can recognize in his writings the traditional Jewish beliefs perfectly harmonized with his Christian faith.” (Bonsirven 266)
      3. “Basically, it [Paul’s “system”] draws on the heritage of Israel.” (Bonsirven 216)
   4. Alexandrian Judaism?
      1. “Is the Judaism we meet in Paul . . . the Judaism of Alexandria?” (Bonsirven 199)
      2. “Nowadays no one claims that Paul was the follower of Philo.” (Bonsirven 199)
      3. “. . . it is most unusual nowadays to find anyone speaking of Paul’s Philonism.” (Bonsirven 201)
   5. Palestinian Judaism?
      1. “Is the Judaism we meet in Paul the Judaism of Palestine . . .”? (Bonsirven 199)
      2. Did “his preaching [reproduce] the apologetic worked out in detail by the Jews for the conversion of the heathen?” (Bonsirven 200)
         1. Bultmann (*TNT* 66ff) “finds in Paul explanations used by the Jews in their preaching to the heathen . . .” (Bonsirven 200 n. 20)

Paul’s Jewishness

1. **Paul the Jew**
   1. “of the tribe of Benjamin”
      1. Rom 11:1, “I myself am an Israelite, a descendant of Abraham, a member of the tribe of Benjamin.”
      2. Phil 3:5a, “circumcised on the eighth day, a member of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin . . .”
   2. “. . . Paul appeals three times to his lineage as a Jew . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 405)
      1. 1 Cor 9:20, “To the Jews I became as a Jew, in order to win Jews. To those under the law I became as one under the law (though I myself am not under the law) so that I might win those under the law.”
      2. 2 Cor 11:22, “Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they descendants of Abraham? So am I.”
      3. Gal 1:13-14, “You have heard, no doubt, of my earlier life in Judaism. . . . 14 I advanced in Judaism beyond many among my people of the same age, for I was far more zealous for the traditions of my ancestors.”
      4. Phil 3:5b, “a Hebrew born of Hebrews . . .”
2. **Paul the Pharisee**
   1. Lührmann, D. *JSNT* 36 (1989): 75-94. (on Paul and Pharisaism, Brown *Introduction* 426 n. 10)
   2. letters evidence
      1. Gal 1:14, “I advanced in Judaism beyond many among my people of the same age, for I was far more zealous for the traditions of my ancestors.”
      2. Phil 3:5-6, Paul was “circumcised on the eighth day, a member of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews; as to the law, a Pharisee; 6 as to zeal, a persecutor of the church; as to righteousness under the law, blameless.”
   3. Acts evidence
      1. Acts 23:6 (“describes Paul as a son of Pharisees,” Brown *Introduction* 426)
      2. Acts 26:4-5 (suggests Paul “was a Pharisee from his youth,” Brown *Introduction* 426)
   4. “. . . even the Christian Paul looked back with pride on his life as a Jew of the Pharisaic tradition . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 28)
      1. Phil 3:5b-6, “as to the law, a Pharisee; 6 as to zeal, a persecutor of the church; as to righteousness under the law, blameless.
   5. “. . . Paul’s life in Christ and commission as an apostle and free social intercourse with Gentiles would have required modification of his Pharisaic outlook . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
   6. extent of Pharisaic influence
      1. “The disciple of Gamaliel must have retained much of his rabbinical upbringing.” (Bonsirven 199)
      2. But “To speak of his “specifically Pharisaic dogmatic” is mere guesswork.” (Bonsirven 199)
         1. Davies (*Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*) “exaggerates these elements.” (Bonsirven 199 n. 18)
         2. Bonsirven: “what a lot of differences with Paul!” (Bonsirven 200 n. 20)
3. **Pharisees**
   1. Metzger, Bruce M. *The New Testament*: *Its Background*, *Growth*, *and Content*. 2nd ed., enlarged. Nashville: Abingdon, 1983. 39-40.
   2. “Pharisees.” *NIDB*. 2006-09.
   3. The Ḥasideans (“the Pious”) were a group opposed to Hellenization, even before the Maccabean revolt (167 bc). (Metzger)
      1. The Pharisees were probably the successors of the Ḥasideans. (Metzger)
   4. “Pharisees” are first mentioned in John Hyrcanus’ reign (135-05 bc). (Metzger)
   5. “Pharisees” (Hebrew *Perushim*, Greek *Pharisaioi*) probably means “separated ones”: they refused to mix with Gentiles or unclean Jews. (Metzger)
   6. In Herod the Great’s day (37-4 bc), Palestine’s population was c. 1.5-2 million. (Metzger)
      1. Jews in Palestine were c. .5 million.
      2. Pharisees were c. 6000 adult males (thus Josephus, ad 37-100). Most probably lived near Jerusalem. (Metzger)
   7. beliefs of the Pharisees (Metzger)
      1. foreordination (the Sadducees denied that history was divinely controlled)
      2. immortality of the soul, resurrection of the body, rewards and punishments in the next life (the Sadducees derided these beliefs)
      3. two kingdoms (God’s and Satan’s) with developed angelology and demonology (the Sadducees rejected these ideas)
4. **Paul never renounced Judaism**.
   1. Paul “nowhere disavows” the term “Jew” (Ἰουδαῖος, *Ioudaios*). (Roetzel “Paul” 405)
      1. But “he radically redefines the term to include Gentile sinners . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 405)
      2. Gal 2:16, “a person is justified not by the works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ . . ., because no one will be justified by the works of the law.”
   2. “earlier life in Judaism”
      1. Gal 1:13-14, “You have heard, no doubt, of my earlier life in Judaism [Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, *Ioudaismō*, from ὁ Ἰουδαϊσμός]. I was violently persecuting the church of God and was trying to destroy it. 14 I advanced in Judaism beyond many among my people of the same age, for I was far more zealous for the traditions of my ancestors.”
      2. Paul uses “my earlier life in Judaism” to refer to “his zeal for its traditions and his persecution of the church.” (Roetzel “Paul” 405)
      3. Paul “notes his “earlier life in Judaism” . . . without renouncing it.” (Roetzel “Paul” 405)
         1. Dubious: see the next two verses, 1:15-16.—Hahn
         2. Gal 1:15-16, “But when God, who had set me apart before I was born and called me through his grace, was pleased 16 to reveal his Son to me, so that I might proclaim him among the Gentiles, I did not confer with any human being . . .”
         3. Roetzel does say Paul’s Jewishness was “revised in light of his experience of Messiah Jesus . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 405)
   3. He “railed against those who challenged his Jewishness . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 405)
      1. 2 Cor 11:22, “Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they descendants of Abraham? So am I.”
   4. “Thus it is inaccurate to refer to Paul as a former Jew.” (Roetzel “Paul” 405)
      1. “Paul was born, lived, and died as a Jew.” (Roetzel “Paul” 405)

Jewish aspects of Paul’s theology

1. **monotheism**
   1. His “theology (in the narrow sense, teaching about God) . . . clearly reveal[s] his Jewish background.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 28)
   2. 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! 34 “For who has known the mind of the Lord? Or who has been his counselor?” 35 “Or who has given a gift to him, to receive a gift in return?” 36 For from him and through him and to him are all things. To him be the glory forever. Amen.”
2. **inspiration of scripture**
   1. Jews and Christians both “believed in the inspiration of Holy Scripture. It was the word of God.” (Bonsirven 213)
   2. “. . . the OT is still for him a means through which God speaks to humani­ty.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 28)
      1. Rom 4:23, “his [Abraham’s] faith “was reckoned to him as righteousness.” 23 Now the words, “it was reckoned to him,” were written not for his sake alone, 24 but for ours also.”
      2. Rom 15:4, “Christ did not please himself; but, as it is written, “The insults of those who insult you have fallen on me.” 4 For whatever was written in former days was written for our instruction, so that by steadfastness and by the encouragement of the scriptures we might have hope.”
      3. 1 Cor 9:10, “it is written in the law of Moses, “You shall not muzzle an ox while it is treading out the grain.” Is it for oxen that God is concerned? 10 Or does he not speak entirely for our sake? It was indeed written for our sake . . .”
      4. 2 Cor 6:16-17, “we are the temple of the living God; as God said, “I will live in them and walk among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.””
   3. “But (an important innovation) it [the OT] found its full meaning only in Christ. In the light of Christ we gain understanding of the types and shadows of which the Scriptures are full.” (Bonsirven 213)
3. **use of the scriptures**
   1. Paul cites the OT “almost 90 times” (but never in Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, or Philemon). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 28)
      1. “. . . he usually quotes it according to the LXX.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 28)
   2. “Paul’s use of the OT does not conform to our modern ideas of quoting Scrip­ture, but it does conform to the contemporary Jewish way of interpreting it . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 28)
      1. accommodation
         1. “At times he accommodates the OT text or gives new meaning to passages he cites . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 28)
         2. Gen 12:7, “Then the Lord appeared to Abram, and said, “To your offspring I will give this land.” So he built there an altar to the Lord, who had appeared to him.””
            1. Gal 3:16, “Now the promises were made to Abraham and to his offspring; it does not say, “And to offsprings,” as of many; but it says, “And to your offspring,” that is, to one person, who is Christ.”
         3. Exod 34:34-35, “but whenever Moses went in before the Lord to speak with him, he would take the veil off, until he came out; and when he came out, and told the Israelites what he had been commanded, 35 the Israelites would see the face of Moses, that the skin of his face was shining; and Moses would put the veil on his face again, until he went in to speak with him.”
            1. 2 Cor 3:15-16, “to this very day whenever Moses is read, a veil lies over their minds; 16 but when one turns to the Lord, the veil is removed.”
         4. Deut 25:5, “You shall not muzzle an ox while it is treading out the grain.”
            1. 1 Cor 9:9, “For it is written in the law of Moses, “You shall not muzzle an ox while it is treading out the grain.” Is it for oxen that God is con­cerned?”
         5. Hab 2:4, “Look at the proud! Their spirit is not right in them, but the righteous live by their faith.”
            1. Rom 1:17, “For in it the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, “The one who is righteous will live by faith.””
            2. Gal 3:11, “Now it is evident that no one is justified before God by the law; for “The one who is righteous will live by faith.””
      2. allegory
         1. Gen 16:15, “Hagar bore Abram a son; and Abram named his son, whom Hagar bore, Ishmael.”
         2. Gen 17:16, “I will bless her [Sarah], and moreover I will give you a son by her.”
            1. Gal 4:21-26, “Tell me, you who desire to be subject to the law, will you not listen to the law? 22 For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave woman and the other by a free woman. 23 One, the child of the slave, was born according to the flesh; the other, the child of the free woman, was born through the promise. 24 Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One woman, in fact, is Hagar, from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery. 25 Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia and corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. 26 But the other woman corresponds to the Jerusalem above; she is free, and she is our mother.”
      3. He “contrasts the “letter [of the law] and the Spirit . . .”” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 28)
         1. Rom 2:29, “
         2. Rom 7:6, “
         3. 2 Cor 3:6”
4. **messiah**
   1. Paul’s “understanding of Jesus’ lineage and mission as Messiah” is from Judaism. (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
   2. Rom 1:3, “
   3. Rom 9:1-4, “
5. **morality**
   1. “. . . Paul’s Jewishness is also attested to by his [405] . . . core ethical convictions . . .” Roetzel “Paul” 406)
   2. 1 Cor 5:1-5, incestuous man
6. **apocalypticism**
   1. 1 Thess 4:15-5:11

Pharisaic aspects of Paul’s theology

1. **Pharisaic preferences**
   1. Even after conversion, some Pharisaic preferences remained. (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
   2. “a broad understanding of what was scriptural”
   3. “belief in the immortality of the soul”
   4. “emphasis on the resurrection and judgment”
   5. “paradoxical endorsement of predestination [and] human responsibility”
   6. “Paul’s spiritualizing of text and tradition”
      1. “spiritualization of the sacrificial cult”
         1. Rom 12:1b, “present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship.”
      2. “present their bodies as “a living sacrifice””
         1. Rom 12:1-2, “
         2. Rom 15:16-19, “
      3. “the church as “God’s temple””
         1. 1 Cor 3:16-17, “
      4. “believers as “holy ones” (saints)”
   7. “possibly an apocalyptic tendency”
2. **understanding of OT covenant**
   1. Paul had a Pharisee’s “understanding of law (*nomos*, Hebrew Torah) . . .” (Roetzel “Paul” 406)
   2. “Probably because he had been a Pharisee preoccupied with the minutiae of the law, Paul never mani­fested a profound understanding of that “covenant” [between God and Israel in the OT], so infre­quent­ly does he speak of it.”(Fitzmyer *Paul* 30)

## “GOSPEL”

Fitzmyer, Joseph, SJ. *Paul and His Theology*: *A Brief Sketch*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1989. 38-41. (Scriptural quotations not in excerpts from Fitzmyer are nrsv.)

1. “**gospel**”
   1. “*Euangelion* as “the good news of Jesus Christ” is a specifically Christian meaning [that] was almost certainly developed by Paul . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 38)
   2. “Paul uses the word more frequently than does any other NT writer . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 38)
2. **content of Paul**’**s gospel**
   1. “the gospel of God”
      1. Rom 1:1; 15:16; 1 Thess 2:2, 8-9; also 1 Pet 4:17
      2. because it “had its origin in God . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 38)
   2. “the gospel of Christ”
      1. 1 Cor 9:12; 2 Cor 9:13; Gal 1:7; Phil 1:27; 1 Thess 3:2
      2. because it is “about [especially the risen] Christ . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 39)
   3. “the faith,” “the word,” “the word of God”
      1. Simple but comprehensive references to the gospel. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 39)
   4. “my gospel,” “the gospel that I preach,” “our gospel”
      1. because it is Paul’s “presentation of the Christ-event.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 38)
      2. His gospel was “his personal statement of the mystery.” (Bonsirven 204)
         1. Eph 3:2-12, “surely you have already heard of the commission of God’s grace that was given me for you, 3 and how the mystery was made known to me by revelation, as I wrote above in a few words, 4 a reading of which will enable you to perceive my understanding of the mystery of Christ. . . . 7 Of this gospel I have become a servant according to the gift of God’s grace that was given me by the working of his power. 8 . . . this grace was given to me . . . 9 to make everyone see [God’s] plan . . .”
      3. But not his gospel alone.
         1. 1 Cor 15:11, “Whether then it was I or they, so we proclaim and so you . . . believe.”
         2. Gal 2:1-3, “after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem . . . 2. . . I laid before them [the leaders] the gospel that I proclaim among the Gentiles, in order to make sure that I was not running, or had not run, in vain. . . . 9and when James and Cephas and John, who were acknowledged pillars, recognized the grace that had been given to me, they gave to Barnabas and me the right hand of fellowship, agreeing that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised.”
   5. “mystery,” “secret”
      1. Eph 1:9-10, God “has made known to us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure that he set forth in Christ, 10as a plan for the fullness of time, to gather up all things in him, things in heaven and things on earth.”
      2. Eph 3:2-12, “the mystery of Christ. 5 In former generations this mystery was not made known to humankind, as it has now been revealed to his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit: 6 that is, the Gentiles have become fellow heirs, members of the same body, and sharers in the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel. . . . 8 . . . grace was given to me . . . 9 to make everyone see what is the plan of the mystery hidden for ages in God who created all things; 10 so that through the church the wisdom of God in its rich variety might now be made known to the rulers and authorities in the heavenly places. 11 This was in accordance with the eternal purpose that he has carried out in Christ Jesus our Lord, 12 in whom we have access to God in boldness and confidence through faith in him.”
      3. Col 1:26, “the mystery that has been hidden throughout the ages and generations . . . has now been revealed to his saints.”
      4. because “the gospel reveals the reality of the new age.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 39)
      5. “*Mystērion* is an eschatological term derived from Jewish apocalyptic sources . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 40)
      6. *Mystērion* gives the “nuance [of] something fully comprehended only in the *eschaton*.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 40)
3. **characteristics of the gospel**
   1. a revelation
   2. a fulfillment of God’s promises (Fitzmyer *Paul* 41)
      1. Rom 1:1-2, “the gospel of God . . . he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures . . .”
         1. Isa 52:7, “How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger who announces peace, who brings good news, who announces salvation, who says to Zion, “Your God reigns.””
      2. Rom 4:13-16, “the promise that he would inherit the world did not come to Abraham or to his descendants through the law but through the righteousness of faith. . . . 16 For this reason it [Jewett *Romans* 328: “fulfillment of Abraham’s promise”] depends on faith, in order that the promise may rest on grace and be guaranteed to all his descendants, not only to the adherents of the law but also to those who share the faith of Abraham . . .”
      3. Rom 9:6b-8, “not all Israelites truly belong to Israel, 7 and not all of Abraham’s children are his true descendants . . . 8 This means that it is not the children of the flesh who are the children of God, but the children of the promise are counted as descendants.”
      4. Gal 3:13-19, “Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law . . . 14 in order that in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come to the Gentiles, so that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith. . . . 17 My point is this: the law, which came four hundred thirty years later, does not annul a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to nullify the promise. 18 For if the inheritance comes from the law, it no longer comes from the promise; but God granted it to Abraham through the promise. 19 Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions . . .”
      5. Gal 4:22-31, “Abraham had two sons, one by a slave woman and the other by a free woman. . . . 24 Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. . . . 25 [Hagar] corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. . . . 28 Now you, my friends, are children of the promise, like Isaac.”
      6. Eph 1:13b, you “were marked with the seal of the promised Holy Spirit . . .”
      7. Eph 3:6, “the Gentiles have become fellow heirs, members of the same body, and sharers in the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel.”
   3. a tradition (Fitzmyer *Paul* 40)
      1. 1 Cor 15:3, “For I handed on to you as of first importance what I in turn had received . . .”
   4. a norm (Fitzmyer *Paul* 41)
      1. There is no other gospel.
         1. Gal 1:7-9, “not that there is another gospel, but there are some who are confusing you and want to pervert the gospel of Christ. 8 But even if we or an angel from heaven should proclaim to you a gospel contrary to what we proclaimed to you, let that one be accursed! 9 As we have said before, so now I repeat, if anyone proclaims to you a gospel contrary to what you received, let that one be accursed!”
      2. One must listen to it.
         1. Rom 10:17, “faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes through the word of Christ.”
      3. It is a guide for life.
         1. Phil 1:27, “live your life in a manner worthy of the gospel of Christ . . ., striving side by side with one mind for the faith of the gospel . . .”
      4. One must obey it.
         1. Gal 2:14, Paul rebukes Peter for “not acting consistently with the truth of the gospel . . .”
   5. an energy, a salvific force
      1. Rom 1:16, “the gospel . . . is the power of God.”
      2. 1 Cor 15:2, “the good news . . . 2 through which also you are being saved.”
      3. 1 Thess 1:5, “the gospel came to you not in word only, but also in power and in the Holy Spirit.”
      4. at work in believers (Fitzmyer *Paul* 40)
         1. saving them
            1. 1 Thess 2:13, “God’s word . . . is also at work in you believers.”
         2. liberating them
            1. Gal 2:4-5, “false believers . . . slipped in to spy on the freedom we have in Christ Jesus, so that they might enslave us—5 [but] we did not submit to them even for a moment, so that the truth of the gospel might always remain with you.”

## PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY

Christianity as fulfillment of Judaism

concept of tradition

Paul incorporated early Christian traditions

kerygma

liturgy

prayers

doxologies

hymns

confessional formulas

theological terms

parenetic material

Jesus’ sayings (see separate handout)

events in Jesus’ life (see separate handout)

1. **Christianity as fulfillment of Judaism**
   1. In Christianity, “the fundamental beliefs of Israel [were there] again, sublimated and fulfilled, in their new context.” (Bonsirven 212)
   2. “. . . elements of Judaism unchanged in his [Paul’s] work . . . [are] transformed and sublimated by the light he received at Damascus.” (Bonsirven 200)
   3. Though “it draws on the heritage of Israel,” “His system is transformed at many points by his Christian faith.” (Bonsirven 216)
   4. “Even the historians who exaggerate the part played by Jewish influences [e.g., Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*] admit that the Christian element is the major one.” (Bonsirven 199)
2. **concept of tradition**
   1. Paul says “he is “handing on” (*paradidonai*) what he has “received” (*paralamban­ein*).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 32)
      1. 1 Cor 11:2, 23;15:1, 3
      2. These are “Greek equivalents of the technical vocabulary of tradition . . . in the rabbinic schools . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 33)
         1. *m\_sar l\_*, “pass on to”
         2. *qibb\_l min*, “receive from”
   2. He “appeals to the customs of the churches . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 33)
      1. 1 Cor 11:13, 16, “is it proper for a woman to pray to God with her head unveiled? . . . 16 But if anyone is disposed to be contentious—we have no such custom, nor do the churches of God.”
   3. He “recommends fidelity to tradition . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 33)
      1. Rom 6:17, “But thanks be to God that you, having once been slaves of sin, have become obedient from the heart to the form of teaching to which you were entrusted . . .”
      2. 1 Cor 11:2, “I commend you because you remember me in everything and maintain the traditions just as I handed them on to you.”
      3. 1 Cor 15:2, “[it is the gospel] through which also you are being saved, if you hold firmly to the message that I proclaimed to you—unless you have come to believe in vain.”
      4. Phil 4:9, “Keep on doing the things that you have learned and received and heard and seen in me, and the God of peace will be with you.”
      5. 1 Thess 2:13, “We also constantly give thanks to God for this, that when you received the word of God that you heard from us, you accepted it not as a human word but as what it really is, God’s word, which is also at work in you believers.”
      6. 2 Thess 2:15, “So then, brothers and sisters, stand firm and hold fast to the traditions that you were taught by us, either by word of mouth or by our letter.”
      7. 2 Thess 3:6, “Now we command you, beloved, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to keep away from believers who are living in idleness and not according to the tradition that they received from us.”
   4. “O. Cullmann . . . found it surprising that Paul applied such a discredited notion to the normative doctrinal and moral precepts of the primitive community, when he recalled how Jesus reacted precisely to the *paradosis* of the Jews (Mark 7:3-13; Matt 15:2). Obviously, Paul saw something different here; it was for him not merely “the tradition of human beings” (Mark 7:8).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 33)
      1. 1 Thess 2:13,“We also constantly give thanks to God for this, that when you received the word of God that you heard from us, you accepted it not as a human word but as what it really is, God’s word, which is also at work in you believers.”
3. **Paul incorporated early Christian traditions as subforms**. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 32)
   1. kerygma (Fitzmyer *Paul* 32)
      1. Rom 1:3-4, “the gospel concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh 4and was declared to be Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord . . .”
      2. Rom 2:16, “according to my gospel, God, through Jesus Christ, will judge the secret thoughts of all.”
      3. Rom 4:25, “who was handed over to death for our trespasses and was raised for our justification.”
      4. Rom 8:34, “Who is to condemn? It is Christ Jesus, who died, yes, who was raised, who is at the right hand of God, who indeed intercedes for us.”
      5. Rom 10:8-9, “But what does it [the OT] say? “The word is near you, on your lips and in your heart” (that is, the word of faith that we proclaim); 9because if you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved.”
      6. 1 Cor 15:2-7, “[it is the gospel] through which also you are being saved, if you hold firmly to the message that I proclaimed to you—unless you have come to believe in vain. 3For I handed on to you as of first importance what I in turn had received: that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, 4and that he was buried, and that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, 5and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. 6Then he appeared to more than five hundred brothers and sisters at one time, most of whom are still alive, though some have died. 7Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles.”
      7. Gal 1:3-4, “Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, 4who gave himself for our sins to set us free from the present evil age, according to the will of our God and Father . . .”
      8. Gal 3:1, “You foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you? It was before your eyes that Jesus Christ was publicly exhibited as crucified!”
      9. 1 Thess 1:10, “and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead—Jesus, who rescues us from the wrath that is coming.”
   2. liturgy (Fitzmyer *Paul* 32)
      1. eucharistic formula
         1. 1 Cor 11:23-25, “For I received from the Lord what I also handed on to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took a loaf of bread, 24and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, “This is my body that is for you. Do this in remembrance of me.”25In the same way he took the cup also, after supper, saying, “This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.””
         2. Is this “eucharistic formula . . . of Antiochene origin?” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 32)
      2. confessional formulas (Fitzmyer *Paul* 32)
         1. “the messiah”
            1. Rom 9:5b, “from them, according to the flesh, comes the Messiah . . .”
         2. “Jesus Christ”
            1. 1 Cor 3:11, “For no one can lay any foundation other than the one that has been laid; that foundation is Jesus Christ.”
         3. “Jesus is Lord”
            1. Rom 10:9, “if you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved.”
            2. 1 Cor 12:3b, “no one can say “Jesus is Lord” except by the Holy Spirit.”
   3. prayers (Fitzmyer *Paul* 32)
      1. “Amen”
         1. 1 Cor 14:16, “if you say a blessing with the spirit, how can anyone in the position of an outsider say the “Amen” to your thanksgiving . . .?”
         2. 2 Cor 1:20, “it is through him [Christ] that we say the “Amen,” to the glory of God.”
         3. Gal 6:18, “May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brothers and sisters. Amen.”
         4. 1 Thess 3:13, “
      2. “Maranatha”
         1. 1 Cor 16:22, “Let anyone be accursed who has no love for the Lord. Our Lord, come!”
      3. “Abba”
         1. Rom 8:15, “When we cry, “Abba! Father!” 16 it is that very Spirit bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God . . .”
         2. Gal 4:6, “And because you are children, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba! Father!””
   4. doxologies (Fitzmyer *Paul* 32)
      1. Rom 11:36, “For from him and through him and to him are all things. To him be the glory forever. Amen.”
      2. Rom 16:27, “to the only wise God, through Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory forever! Amen.”
      3. Gal 1:5, “to whom be the glory forever and ever. Amen.”
      4. Eph 3:21, “to him be glory in the church and in Christ Jesus to all generations, forever and ever. Amen.”
      5. Phil 4:20, “To our God and Father be glory forever and ever. Amen.”
   5. hymns (Fitzmyer *Paul* 32)
      1. Rom 8:31-39, “What then are we to say about these things? If God is for us, who is against us? 32 He who did not withhold his own Son, but gave him up for all of us, will he not with him also give us everything else? 33 Who will bring any charge against God's elect? It is God who justifies. 34 Who is to condemn? It is Christ Jesus, who died, yes, who was raised, who is at the right hand of God, who indeed intercedes for us. 35 Who will separate us from the love of Christ? Will hardship, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? 36 As it is written, “For your sake we are being killed all day long; we are accounted as sheep to be slaughtered.” 37 No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him who loved us. 38 For I am convinced that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor rulers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, 39 nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.”
      2. 1 Cor 13, “If I speak in the tongues of mortals and of angels, but do not have love, I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal. 2 And if I have prophetic powers, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but do not have love, I am nothing. 3 If I give away all my possessions, and if I hand over my body so that I may boast, but do not have love, I gain nothing. 4 Love is patient; love is kind; love is not envious or boastful or arrogant 5 or rude. It does not insist on its own way; it is not irritable or resentful; 6 it does not rejoice in wrongdoing, but rejoices in the truth. 7 It bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things. 8 Love never ends. But as for prophecies, they will come to an end; as for tongues, they will cease; as for knowledge, it will come to an end. 9 For we know only in part, and we prophesy only in part; 10 but when the complete comes, the partial will come to an end. 11 When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child; when I became an adult, I put an end to childish ways. 12 For now we see in a mirror, dimly, but then we will see face to face. Now I know only in part; then I will know fully, even as I have been fully known. 13 And now faith, hope, and love abide, these three; and the greatest of these is love.”
      3. Eph 5:14b, “11 Take no part in the unfruitful works of darkness, but instead expose them. . . . 14 Therefore it says, “Sleeper, awake! Rise from the dead, and Christ will shine on you.””
      4. Phil 2:6-11, “Christ Jesus, 6who, though he was in the form of God, did not regard equality with God as something to be exploited, 7but emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, being born in human likeness. And being found in human form, 8he humbled himself and became obedient to the point of death—even death on a cross. 9Therefore God also highly exalted him and gave him the name that is above every name, 10so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bend, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, 11and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.”
      5. Col 1:15-20, “He is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation; 16for in him all things in heaven and on earth were created, things visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or rulers or powers—all things have been created through him and for him. 17He himself is before all things, and in him all things hold together. 18He is the head of the body, the church; he is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, so that he might come to have first place in everything. 19For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell, 20and through him God was pleased to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, by making peace through the blood of his cross.”
      6. 1 Tim 3:16, “Without any doubt, the mystery of our religion is great: He was revealed in flesh, vindicated in spirit, seen by angels, proclaimed among Gentiles, believed in throughout the world, taken up in glory.”
   6. theological terms (Fitzmyer *Paul* 32)
      1. titles: e.g., “Lord,” “Son of God”
      2. terms: e.g., “apostle,” “baptism,” “church”
   7. testimonia (chains of OT proof texts)
      1. Rom 13:10-18, “
      2. Rom 15:9-12, “Christ has become a servant of the circumcised . . . 9 n order that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy. As it is written, “Therefore I will confess you among the Gentiles, and sing praises to your name”; 10 and again he says, “Rejoice, O Gentiles, with his people”; 11 and again, “Praise the Lord, all you Gentiles, and let all the peoples praise him”; 12 and again Isaiah says, “The root of Jesse shall come, the one who rises to rule the Gentiles; in him the Gentiles shall hope.””
   8. sermonic or catechetical
      1. homilies
         1. Rom 1:18-32, “For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and wickedness of those who by their wickedness suppress the truth. 19 For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them. 20 Ever since the creation of the world his eternal power and divine nature, invisible though they are, have been understood and seen through the things he has made. So they are without excuse; 21 for though they knew God, they did not honor him as God or give thanks to him, but they became futile in their thinking, and their senseless minds were darkened. 22 Claiming to be wise, they became fools; 23 and they exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling a mortal human being or birds or four-footed animals or reptiles. 24 Therefore God gave them up in the lusts of their hearts to impurity, to the degrading of their bodies among themselves, 25 because they exchanged the truth about God for a lie and worshiped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever! Amen. 26 For this reason God gave them up to degrading passions. Their women exchanged natural intercourse for unnatural, 27 and in the same way also the men, giving up natural intercourse with women, were consumed with passion for one another. Men committed shameless acts with men and received in their own persons the due penalty for their error. 28 And since they did not see fit to acknowledge God, God gave them up to a debased mind and to things that should not be done. 29 They were filled with every kind of wickedness, evil, covetousness, malice. Full of envy, murder, strife, deceit, craftiness, they are gossips, 30 slanderers, God-haters, insolent, haughty, boastful, inventors of evil, rebellious toward parents, 31 foolish, faithless, heartless, ruthless. 32 They know God’s decree, that those who practice such things deserve to die-- yet they not only do them but even applaud others who practice them.”
      2. parenetic material (Fitzmyer *Paul* 32)
         1. Rom 13:10-14, “Love does no wrong to a neighbor; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law. 11 Besides this, you know what time it is, how it is now the moment for you to wake from sleep. For salvation is nearer to us now than when we became believers; 12 the night is far gone, the day is near. Let us then lay aside the works of darkness and put on the armor of light; 13 let us live honorably as in the day, not in reveling and drunkenness, not in debauchery and licentiousness, not in quarreling and jealousy. 14 Instead, put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires.”
         2. Eph 5:5-21, “Be sure of this, that no fornicator or impure person, or one who is greedy (that is, an idolater), has any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. 6 Let no one deceive you with empty words, for because of these things the wrath of God comes on those who are disobedient. 7 Therefore do not be associated with them. 8 For once you were darkness, but now in the Lord you are light. Live as children of light—9 for the fruit of the light is found in all that is good and right and true. 10 Try to find out what is pleasing to the Lord. 11 Take no part in the unfruitful works of darkness, but instead expose them. 12 For it is shameful even to mention what such people do secretly; 13 but everything exposed by the light becomes visible, 14 for everything that becomes visible is light. Therefore it says, “Sleeper, awake! Rise from the dead, and Christ will shine on you.” 15 Be careful then how you live, not as unwise people but as wise, 16 making the most of the time, because the days are evil. 17 So do not be foolish, but understand what the will of the Lord is. 18 Do not get drunk with wine, for that is debauchery; but be filled with the Spirit, 19 as you sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs among yourselves, singing and making melody to the Lord in your hearts, 20 giving thanks to God the Father at all times and for everything in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. 21 Be subject to one another out of reverence for Christ.”
         3. 1 Thess 4:1-12, “Finally, brothers and sisters, we ask and urge you in the Lord Jesus that, as you learned from us how you ought to live and to please God (as, in fact, you are doing), you should do so more and more. 2 For you know what instructions we gave you through the Lord Jesus. 3 For this is the will of God, your sanctification: that you abstain from fornication; 4 that each one of you know how to control your own body in holiness and honor, 5 not with lustful passion, like the Gentiles who do not know God; 6 that no one wrong or exploit a brother or sister in this matter, because the Lord is an avenger in all these things, just as we have already told you beforehand and solemnly warned you. 7 For God did not call us to impurity but in holiness. 8 Therefore whoever rejects this rejects not human authority but God, who also gives his Holy Spirit to you. 9 Now concerning love of the brothers and sisters, you do not need to have anyone write to you, for you yourselves have been taught by God to love one another; 10 and indeed you do love all the brothers and sisters throughout Macedonia. But we urge you, beloved, to do so more and more, 11 to aspire to live quietly, to mind your own affairs, and to work with your hands, as we directed you, 12 so that you may behave properly toward outsiders and be dependent on no one.”
         4. virtue and vice lists
            1. 1 Cor 6:9-10 (vice list), “Do you not know that wrongdoers will not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived! Fornicators, idolaters, adulterers, male prostitutes, sodomites, 10thieves, the greedy, drunkards, revilers, robbers—none of these will inherit the kingdom of God.”
            2. Gal 5:19-21 (vice list), “Now the works of the flesh are obvious: fornication, impurity, licentiousness, 20idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousy, anger, quarrels, dissensions, factions, 21envy, drunkenness, carousing, and things like these. I am warning you, as I warned you before: those who do such things will not inherit the kingdom of God.”
            3. 2 Cor 12:20, (vice list) “For I fear that when I come, I may find you not as I wish, and that you may find me not as you wish; I fear that there may perhaps be quarreling, jealousy, anger, selfishness, slander, gossip, conceit, and disorder.”
            4. Gal 5:22-24, (virtue list) “By contrast, the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, generosity, faithfulness, 23 gentleness, and self-control. There is no law against such things. 24 And those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires.”
            5. 1 Tim 6:11b, “pursue righteousness, godliness, faith, love, endurance, gentleness.”
         5. Haustafeln
            1. Eph 5:21-6:4, “Be subject to one another out of reverence for Christ. 22 Wives, be subject to your husbands as you are to the Lord. 23 For the husband is the head of the wife just as Christ is the head of the church, the body of which he is the Savior. 24 Just as the church is subject to Christ, so also wives ought to be, in everything, to their husbands. 25 Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her, 26 in order to make her holy by cleansing her with the washing of water by the word, 27 so as to present the church to himself in splendor, without a spot or wrinkle or anything of the kind—yes, so that she may be holy and without blemish. 28 In the same way, husbands should love their wives as they do their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. 29 For no one ever hates his own body, but he nourishes and tenderly cares for it, just as Christ does for the church, 30 because we are members of his body. 31 “For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two will become one flesh.” 32 This is a great mystery, and I am applying it to Christ and the church. 33 Each of you, however, should love his wife as himself, and a wife should respect her husband. 6:1 Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. 2 “Honor your father and mother”—this is the first commandment with a promise: 3 “so that it may be well with you and you may live long on the earth.” 4 And, fathers, do not provoke your children to anger, but bring them up in the discipline and instruction of the Lord.”
            2. Col 3:18-4:1, “Wives, be subject to your husbands, as is fitting in the Lord. 19 Husbands, love your wives and never treat them harshly. 20 Children, obey your parents in everything, for this is your acceptable duty in the Lord. 21 Fathers, do not provoke your children, or they may lose heart. 22 Slaves, obey your earthly masters in everything, not only while being watched and in order to please them, but wholeheartedly, fearing the Lord. 23 Whatever your task, put yourselves into it, as done for the Lord and not for your masters, 24 since you know that from the Lord you will receive the inheritance as your reward; you serve the Lord Christ. 25 For the wrongdoer will be paid back for whatever wrong has been done, and there is no partiality. 4:1 Masters, treat your slaves justly and fairly, for you know that you also have a Master in heaven.”
      3. diatribes
         1. Rom 2:1-3, “Therefore you have no excuse, whoever you are, when you judge others; for in passing judgment on another you condemn yourself, because you, the judge, are doing the very same things. 2 You say, “We know that God’s judgment on those who do such things is in accordance with truth.” 3 Do you imagine, whoever you are, that when you judge those who do such things and yet do them yourself, you will escape the judgment of God?”
         2. Rom 2:17-25, “But if you call yourself a Jew and rely on the law and boast of your relation to God 18 and know his will and determine what is best because you are instructed in the law, 19 and if you are sure that you are a guide to the blind, a light to those who are in darkness, 20 a corrector of the foolish, a teacher of children, having in the law the embodiment of knowledge and truth, 21 you, then, that teach others, will you not teach yourself? While you preach against stealing, do you steal? 22 You that forbid adultery, do you commit adultery? You that abhor idols, do you rob temples? 23 You that boast in the law, do you dishonor God by breaking the law? 24 For, as it is written, “The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you.” 25 Circumcision indeed is of value if you obey the law; but if you break the law, your circumcision has become uncircumcision.”
         3. Rom 3:1-8, “Then what advantage has the Jew? Or what is the value of circumcision? 2 Much, in every way. For in the first place the Jews were entrusted with the oracles of God. 3 What if some were unfaithful? Will their faithlessness nullify the faithfulness of God? 4 By no means! Although everyone is a liar, let God be proved true, as it is written, “So that you may be justified in your words, and prevail in your judging.” 5 But if our injustice serves to confirm the justice of God, what should we say? That God is unjust to inflict wrath on us? (I speak in a human way.) 6 By no means! For then how could God judge the world? 7 But if through my falsehood God’s truthfulness abounds to his glory, why am I still being condemned as a sinner? 8 And why not say (as some people slander us by saying that we say), “Let us do evil so that good may come”? Their condemnation is deserved!”
         4. Rom 9:19-24, “You will say to me then, “Why then does he still find fault? For who can resist his will?” 20 But who indeed are you, a human being, to argue with God? Will what is molded say to the one who molds it, “Why have you made me like this?” 21 Has the potter no right over the clay, to make out of the same lump one object for special use and another for ordinary use? 22 What if God, desiring to show his wrath and to make known his power, has endured with much patience the objects of wrath that are made for destruction; 23 and what if he has done so in order to make known the riches of his glory for the objects of mercy, which he has prepared beforehand for glory—24 including us whom he has called, not from the Jews only but also from the Gentiles?”
   9. Jesus’ sayings (Fitzmyer *Paul* 33) (see separate handout)
   10. events in Jesus’ life (Fitzmyer *Paul* 33) (see separate handout)

## JESUS IN PAUL’S LETTERS

1. **Paul affirms major events of Jesus**’ **life**. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 33)
   1. incarnation
      1. Gal 4:4, “But when the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law . . .”
      2. “Paul brings out [that Jesus] was born of a woman, that is, he was born a man.” (Davies 336)
      3. “Paul brings out [that Jesus] was born under the Law, that is, he was a Jew, of the seed of David.” (Davies 336)
   2. personality
      1. “Paul brings out [that] . . . He had . . . personal characteristics.” (Davies 336)
   3. virtues
      1. He mentioned Jesus’ virtues. (Bonsirven 203)
      2. Phil 2:8, “he humbled himself and became obedient to the point of death—even death on a cross.”
      3. 2 Cor 10:1, “I myself, Paul, appeal to you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ—I who am humble when face to face with you, but bold toward you when I am away!”
   4. last supper
      1. 1 Cor 11:23, “For I received from the Lord what I also handed on to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took a loaf of bread . . .”
   5. crucifixion
      1. 1 Cor 2:2, 8, “For I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ, and him crucified. . . . 8 None of the rulers of this age understood this; for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.”
      2. Gal 2:19-20, “I have been crucified with Christ . . . 20 . . . [He] loved me and gave himself for me.”
      3. Gal 3:1, “You foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you? It was before your eyes that Jesus Christ was publicly exhibited as cruci­fied!”
      4. Gal 6:14, “May I never boast of anything except the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world.”
      5. Phil 2:8, “he humbled himself and became obedient to the point of death—even death on a cross.”
   6. passion
      1. 1 Cor 15:3-4, “For I handed on to you as of first importance what I in turn had received: that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, 4 and that he was buried . . .”
   7. resurrection
      1. 1 Cor 15:5, “he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, 5 and . . . he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve.”
   8. ascension
      1. Rom 10:6, “But the righteousness that comes from faith says, “Do not say in your heart, ‘Who will ascend into heaven?’” (that is, to bring Christ down) . . .”
      2. Eph 4:9, “When it says, “He ascended,” what does it mean but that he had also descended into the lower parts of the earth?”
2. **Paul quotes or alludes to Jesus**’ **sayings**.
   1. Goguel *Paul et Jésus-Christ* 85-96
   2. On 1 Thess 4:15 and 2 Thess 2:2-4, see Buzy, D. *RSR* (1938): 473-81.
   3. Rom 12:14, 20, “Bless those who persecute you; bless and do not curse them. . . . 17 Do not repay anyone evil for evil, but take thought for what is noble in the sight of all. . . . 19 never avenge yourselves, but leave room for the wrath of God; for it is written, “Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord.” 20 No, “if your enemies are hungry, feed them; if they are thirsty, give them something to drink; for by doing this you will heap burning coals on their heads.” 21 Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good.”
      1. The quotation is Prov 25:21-22, “If your enemies are hungry, give them bread to eat; and if they are thirsty, give them water to drink; 22 for you will heap coals of fire on their heads, and the Lord will reward you.”
      2. Matt 5:43-48 (par. Luke 6:27-28, 32-35), “You have heard that it was said, ‘You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.’ 44 But I say to you, Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, 45 so that you may be children of your Father in heaven; for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the righteous and on the unrighteous. 46 For if you love those who love you, what reward do you have? Do not even the tax collectors do the same? 47 And if you greet only your brothers and sisters, what more are you doing than others? Do not even the Gentiles do the same? 48 Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect.”
   4. Rom 12:17, “Do not repay anyone evil for evil, but take thought for what is noble in the sight of all.”
      1. See also 1 Thess 5:15, “See that none of you repays evil for evil, but always seek to do good to one another and to all.”
      2. Matt 5:38-42 (//Luke 6:28-29), “You have heard that it was said, ‘An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.’ 39 But I say to you, Do not resist an evildoer. But if anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other also; 40 and if anyone wants to sue you and take your coat, give your cloak as well; 41 and if anyone forces you to go one mile, go also the second mile. 42 Give to everyone who begs from you, and do not refuse anyone who wants to borrow from you.”
   5. Rom 13:7, “Pay to all what is due them—taxes to whom taxes are due, revenue to whom revenue is due, respect to whom respect is due, honor to whom honor is due.”
      1. Matt 22:16-21, the Pharisees “sent their disciples to him, along with the Herodians, saying, . . . 17 “Is it lawful to pay taxes to the emperor, or not?” 18 But Jesus, aware of their malice, said, “Why are you putting me to the test, you hypocrites? 19 Show me the coin used for the tax.” And they brought him a denarius. 20 Then he said to them, “Whose head is this, and whose title?” 21 They answered, “The emperor’s.” Then he said to them, “Give therefore to the emperor the things that are the emperor’s, and to God the things that are God’s.””
   6. Rom 13:8-10, “love one another; for the one who loves another has fulfilled the law. 9 The commandments, “You shall not commit adultery; You shall not murder; You shall not steal; You shall not covet”; and any other commandment, are summed up in this word, “Love your neighbor as yourself.” 10 Love does no wrong to a neighbor; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law.”
      1. See Gal 5:14, “For the whole law is summed up in a single commandment, “You shall love your neighbor as yourself.””
      2. Matt 7:12 (//Luke 6:31), “In everything do to others as you would have them do to you; for this is the law and the prophets.”
      3. Matt 19:16-19 (//Mark 10:17-19, Luke 18:18-20), “Then someone came to him and said, “Teacher, what good deed must I do to have eternal life?” . . . 18 Jesus said, “You shall not murder; You shall not commit adultery; You shall not steal; You shall not bear false witness; 19 Honor your father and mother; also, You shall love your neighbor as yourself.”
      4. Matt 22:37-40 (//Mark 12:28-34, Luke 10:25-28), “You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.’ 38 This is the greatest and first commandment. 39 And a second is like it: ‘You shall love your neighbor as yourself.’ 40 On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.”
   7. Rom 14:13-14, “Let us therefore no longer pass judgment on one another, but resolve instead never to put a stumbling block or hindrance in the way of another. 14 I know and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus that nothing is unclean in itself; but it is unclean for anyone who thinks it unclean.”
      1. Matt 7:1-2 (//Luke 6:37-38), “Do not judge, so that you may not be judged. 2 For with the judgment you make you will be judged, and the measure you give will be the measure you get.”
      2. Mark 9:42, “If any of you put a stumbling block before one of these little ones who believe in me, it would be better for you if a great millstone were hung around your neck and you were thrown into the sea.”
      3. Matt 23:4, “They tie up heavy burdens, hard to bear, and lay them on the shoulders of others; but they themselves are unwilling to lift a finger to move them.”
      4. Mark 7:18-19, “Do you not see that whatever goes into a person from outside cannot defile, 19 since it enters, not the heart but the stomach, and goes out into the sewer?” (Thus he declared all foods clean.)”
   8. Rom 16:19b, “. . . I want you to be wise in what is good and guileless in what is evil.”
      1. Matt 10:16, “be wise as serpents and innocent as doves.”
   9. 1 Cor 7:10-11, 25-27, “To the married I give this command—not I but the Lord—that the wife should not separate from her husband 11 (but if she does separate, let her remain unmarried or else be reconciled to her husband), and that the husband should not divorce his wife. . . . 25 Now concerning virgins, I have no command of the Lord, but I give my opinion as one who by the Lord's mercy is trustworthy. . . . 27 Are you bound to a wife? Do not seek to be free.”
      1. Matt 5:32, “anyone who divorces his wife, except on the ground of unchastity, causes her to commit adultery; and whoever marries a divorced woman commits adultery.”
      2. Matt 19:6 (//Mark 10:9), “what God has joined together, let no one separate.”
      3. Matt 19:9, “whoever divorces his wife, except for unchastity, and marries another commits adultery.”
      4. Mark 10:11-12, “Whoever divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery against her; 12 and if she divorces her husband and marries another, she commits adultery.”
      5. Luke 16:18, “Anyone who divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery, and whoever marries a woman divorced from her husband commits adultery.”
   10. 1 Cor 9:14, “the Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel.”
       1. Matt 10:10, take “no bag for your journey, or two tunics, or sandals, or a staff; for laborers deserve their food.”
       2. Luke 10:7a, “Remain in the same house, eating and drinking whatever they provide, for the laborer deserves to be paid.”
   11. 1 Cor 11:23-25, “For I received from the Lord what I also handed on to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took a loaf of bread, 24 and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, “This is my body that is for you. Do this in remembrance of me.” 25 In the same way he took the cup also, after supper, saying, “This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.””
       1. Matt 26:26-29, “While they were eating, Jesus took a loaf of bread, and after blessing it he broke it, gave it to the disciples, and said, “Take, eat; this is my body.” 27 Then he took a cup, and after giving thanks he gave it to them, saying, “Drink from it, all of you; 28 for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins. 29 I tell you, I will never again drink of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom.”
       2. Mark 14:22-25, “While they were eating, he took a loaf of bread, and after blessing it he broke it, gave it to them, and said, “Take; this is my body.” 23 Then he took a cup, and after giving thanks he gave it to them, and all of them drank from it. 24 He said to them, “This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many. 25 Truly I tell you, I will never again drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.”
       3. Luke 22:15-20, “He said to them, “I have eagerly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer; 16 for I tell you, I will not eat it until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God.” 17 Then he took a cup, and after giving thanks he said, “Take this and divide it among yourselves; 18 for I tell you that from now on I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God comes.” 19 Then he took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them, saying, “This is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.” 20 And he did the same with the cup after supper, saying, “This cup that is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood.””
       4. Compare “old covenant” in 2 Cor 3:13-14: Moses “put a veil over his face to keep the people of Israel from gazing at the end of the glory that was being set aside. . . . 14 to this very day, when they [Jews] hear the reading of the old covenant, that same veil is still there, since only in Christ is it set aside.”
   12. 1 Cor 13:2, “And if I have prophetic powers, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but do not have love, I am nothing.”
       1. Matt 17:20 (//Luke 17:6), “if you have faith the size of a mustard seed, you will say to this mountain, ‘Move from here to there,’ and it will move . . .”
       2. Matt 21:21, “if you have faith and do not doubt, not only will you do what has been done to the fig tree, but even if you say to this mountain, ‘Be lifted up and thrown into the sea,’ it will be done.”
   13. 1 Thess 4:2-8, “For you know what instructions we gave you through the Lord Jesus. 3 For this is the will of God, your sanctification: that you abstain from fornication; 4 that each one of you know how to control your own body in holiness and honor, 5 not with lustful passion, like the Gentiles who do not know God; 6 that no one wrong or exploit a brother or sister in this matter, because the Lord is an avenger in all these things, just as we have already told you beforehand and solemnly warned you. 7 For God did not call us to impurity but in holiness. 8 Therefore whoever rejects this rejects not human authority but God, who also gives his Holy Spirit to you.”
       1. Matt 15:19 (//Mark 7:21, see Luke 6:45), “For out of the heart come evil intentions, murder, adultery, fornication, theft, false witness, slander.”
       2. Matt 19:18 (//Mark 10:19, Luke 18:20), “You shall not commit adultery . . .”
       3. To 4:8a, compare Luke 10:16, “Whoever listens to you listens to me, and whoever rejects you rejects me, and whoever rejects me rejects the one who sent me.”
   14. 1 Thess 4:15-17, “For this we declare to you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who are left until the coming of the Lord, will by no means precede those who have died. 16 For the Lord himself, with a cry of command, with the archangel’s call and with the sound of God’s trumpet, will descend from heaven, and the dead in Christ will rise first. 17 Then we who are alive, who are left, will be caught up in the clouds together with them to meet the Lord in the air; and so we will be with the Lord forever.”
       1. E.g., Matt 24:29-31 (//Mark 13:24-27), “Immediately after the suffering of those days the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light; the stars will fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven will be shaken. 30 Then the sign of the Son of Man will appear in heaven, and then all the tribes of the earth will mourn, and they will see ‘the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven’ with power and great glory. 31 And he will send out his angels with a loud trumpet call, and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.”
       2. For more apocalyptic imagery, see Matt 24; Mark 13; Luke 17; Luke 21.
   15. 1 Thess 5:2, “For you yourselves know very well that the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night.”
       1. Matt 24:43 (//Luke 12:39), “if the owner of the house had known in what part of the night the thief was coming, he would have stayed awake and would not have let his house be broken into.”
       2. Matt 24:27 (Luke 17:24), “For as the lightning comes from the east and flashes as far as the west, so will be the coming of the Son of Man.”
       3. Matt 24:42-44 (//Matt 25:13, Mark 13:35-37, Luke 12:39; see all of Luke 12:34-56), “Keep awake therefore, for you do not know on what day your Lord is coming. 43 But understand this: if the owner of the house had known in what part of the night the thief was coming, he would have stayed awake and would not have let his house be broken into. 44 Therefore you also must be ready, for the Son of Man is coming at an unexpected hour.”
   16. 1 Thess 5:6-10, “So then let us not fall asleep as others do, but let us keep awake and be sober; 7 for those who sleep sleep at night, and those who are drunk get drunk at night. 8 But since we belong to the day, let us be sober . . . 10 [Christ] died for us, so that whether we are awake or asleep we may live with him.”
       1. Mark 13:32-37, “But about that day or hour no one knows, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father. 33 Beware, keep alert; for you do not know when the time will come. 34 It is like a man going on a journey, when he leaves home and puts his slaves in charge, each with his work, and commands the doorkeeper to be on the watch. 35 Therefore, keep awake—for you do not know when the master of the house will come, in the evening, or at midnight, or at cockcrow, or at dawn, 36 or else he may find you asleep when he comes suddenly. 37 And what I say to you I say to all: Keep awake.”
   17. 1 Thess 5:15, “See that none of you repays evil for evil, but always seek to do good to one another and to all.” See Rom 12:17 above.
   18. 2 Thess 2:2-4, we beg you “not to be quickly shaken in mind or alarmed, either by spirit or by word or by letter, as though from us, to the effect that the day of the Lord is already here. 3 Let no one deceive you in any way; for that day will not come unless the rebellion comes first and the lawless one is revealed, the one destined for destruction. 4 He opposes and exalts himself above every so-called god or object of worship, so that he takes his seat in the temple of God, declaring himself to be God.”
       1. Mark 13:5b-22, “Beware that no one leads you astray. 6 Many will come in my name and say, ‘I am he!’ and they will lead many astray. . . . 21 And if anyone says to you at that time, ‘Look! Here is the Messiah!’ or ‘Look! There he is!’—do not believe it. 22 False messiahs and false prophets will appear and produce signs and omens, to lead astray, if possible, the elect.”

## PAUL AS FOUNDER OF CHRISTIANITY

1. **introduction**
   1. “Was he not the inventor of his own doctrine, which put the Lord Christ, so different from the Jesus depicted in the Gospels, at the centre of everything? . . . Was he unaware of his originality in comparison with the other Christian preachers? Was that not his reason for asserting his apostolic authority? For treating *his* doctrine as sacrosanct? For insisting on his personal inspiration [Gal 1:11-12]?” (Bonsirven 202)
   2. Paul “will of necessity be [founder] if the Gospel of Jesus is reduced to the level of a sort of apocalyptic Judaism and all the elements charged with Paulinism eliminated.” (Bonsirven 203)
2. **older scholars who sees Paul as founder**
   1. These “admit essential differences, in spite of convergences . . .” (Bonsirven 202 n. 26)
      1. Bousset. *Kyrios Christos*. Göttingen: 1921. 104-54. (“Pauline mysticism derived neither from Jesus, nor from Christianity”)
      2. Bultmann. *TNT* 186. (“arrives at the conclusion that the theology of Paul, compared with the preaching of Jesus, represents a new creation”)
      3. Edman. *The Mind of Paul*. New York: 1935. (“Paul presents Jesus in the light of his Hellenism”)
      4. Goguel, Maurice. *L*’*Apôtre Paul et Jésus-Christ*. Paris: 1904. 367-80. (“subtle shades of meaning: essential differences, but substantial agreement”)
      5. Holtzmann, *NT Theologie*. 2: 208- 17. (“Paul created his Christology under the impetus of the sovereign power of Jesus”)
      6. Klausner, Joseph. *From Jesus to Paul*. 580-90. (Paul “is the true founder of Christianity”; “Paul, though he cannot be explained without *reference* to Jesus and Christianity, is the true founder of Christianity, so different from its so-called founder”)
      7. Lohmeyer *Grundlagen der paulinischen Theologie* 231 (“Paulinism is a Hegelian deduction from Pharisaism,” Bonsirven 199 n. 18)
      8. Marmorstein (Jewish). “Paulus und die Rabbinen.” *ZNTW* (1931): 271-85. (many agreements between Paul and Pharisaism, Bonsirven 199 n. 18)
      9. Schweitzer. *Mystik d*. *h*. *Paulus*. 171, 378 (“essential differences, although Paul is a continuation of Jesus”)
      10. Windisch. *Paulus und Christus*. Leipzig: 1934.
      11. Windisch *Paulus und das Judentum* (“not a Christianized Judaism,” Bonsirven 199 n. 19)
      12. Wrede. *Paulus*. 1904. (“Paul is farther from Jesus than Jesus from Judaism”)
3. **Gnosticism**
   1. pro
      1. Some say gnostic “terms and ideas” were applied to Jesus, making Jesus “a Gnostic Redeemer.” (Davies 333)
      2. Some attempt “to connect the thoughts of Paul about Jesus with the Gnostic Redeemer in whom people in his day trusted for victory over death and fate.” (Davies 336)
   2. con
      1. Christ “differed from the Gnostics and Mysteries [because he] was a figure of recent history, . . . [not a] mythical God from a remote past . . .” (Davies 336)
      2. “There is no evidence that the figure of a Redeemer existed in Gnosticism in pre-Christian times . . .” (Davies 333)
4. **Did Paul create high Christology**?
   1. “In certain strands of liberal thought Jesus was simply a Jewish peasant of a reformist bent, criticizing hypocrisy and some of the entrenched religious attitudes and institutions of his time. Paul, it is claimed, hellenized the memory, making Jesus the Son of God; and in that sense Paul was really the founder of the Christian religion. Few would express the contrast so crudely today, but some of the tendency to make Paul the architect of high christology continues.” (Brown *Introduction* 439)
   2. “. . . Paul scarcely created for Jesus titles like Son of God or the Lord (in an absolute sense) since they had their [439] roots in Palestinian (and even Semitic-speaking) Christianity.” (Brown *Introduction* 439-40)
      1. Wenham, D. *Paul*: *Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995.
      2. “J.A. Fitzmyer, an expert in Aramaic, makes a strong case that the prePauline Philippians hymn (2:6-11) with its very high christology dates back to the 30s . . .” (Fitzmyer, J.A. *CBQ* 50 (1988): 470-83.Summarized in *NJBC* 82.48-54.) (Brown *Introduction* 439 n. 37)
   3. “Indeed, there is a trend in centrist critical scholarship to see considerable continuity between the christology of Jesus’ lifetime and the christology of Paul.” (Brown, R.E. *An Introduction to New Testament Christology*. New York: Paulist, 1994.) (Brown *Introduction* 440)
5. **Did Paul make Hellenistic Christianity more Hellenistic**?
   1. Some say “that Paul adhered to the Hellenistic form of Christianity, which was somewhat different from the Palestinian, from the time of his conversion . . .” (Bonsirven 200)
      1. Bultmann (*TNT* 64-182) “gives an account of this *kerygma* of the Hellenistic Christian community during Paul’s lifetime and earlier; he acknowledges that Hellenistic Christianity is very poorly documented (p. 65); its history has to be arrived at by *Rekonstruktion*, and our critic sets boldly to work on it, exploiting for this purpose the Christian writings from the New Testament to St Justin.” (Bonsirven 200 n. 21)
   2. Those who say Paul learned Hellenistic Christianity suggest “that he considerably developed it, becoming, in fact, the creator of this new religion . . .” (Bonsirven 200)
      1. He “let himself drift with the mighty current of syncretism which was then carrying all before it . . .” (Bonsirven 200)
      2. He “was inspired by the philosophies of the moment . . . he adopted many of the Gnostic conceptions and borrowed rites and beliefs from the pagan, Greek and oriental mysteries.” (Bonsirven 200)
      3. “Did he not put into circulation rites that in reality originated with the Hellenistic world?” (Bonsirven 202)
   3. “These theories are violently condemned by historians like Schweitzer, who emphasize the prophetic side of the apostle.” (Bonsirven 200)
   4. “They find favour today only with critics who are extremists, like Bultmann, or are systematically behind the times, like Guignebert.” (Bonsirven 200)
6. **interest in Christ**, **but not in Jesus**?
   1. Some say that Paul cared about “the Risen Lord of the Church” but not “the carpenter’s son from Nazareth . . .” (Davies 336)
   2. e.g., Conzelmann
      1. There are two “basic types of New Testament Christology.” (Conzelmann *Jesus* 93)
      2. the synoptics, “where faith is illustrated through a collection of remembered material.” (Conzelmann *Jesus* 93)
      3. “. . . Hellenistic-Pauline Christology, where the historical material from the life of Jesus is ignored (2 Cor. 5:16)—up to the *punctum mathematicum* of his having existed.” (Conzelmann *Jesus* 93)
         1. 2 Cor 5:16, “we regard no one from a human point of view; even though we once knew Christ from a human point of view, we know him no longer in that way.”

## PAUL AS FAITHFUL FOLLOWER OF CHRIST

1. **older scholars who see Paul as faithful follower**
   1. “Those who regard Paul as a faithful interpreter of Jesus, but with his own peculiar intonation . . .” (Bonsirven 202 n. 26)
      1. Bonsirven. *Judaïsme palestinien*. 1: 9, 114ff, 152-55, 471-74.
      2. Dausch. *Paulus und Jesus*. Münster: 1910. (“history of the controversy”)
      3. Davies, W.D. *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*. 1948. 4th ed. London: SPCK; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980.
      4. Drummond. *The Relation of the Apostolic Teaching to the Teaching of Christ*. Edinburgh: 1901.
      5. Feine, Paul. *Jesus Christus und Paulus*. Leipzig: 1902. (“recapitulated in his *Paulus*” 207-397)
      6. Jeremias, J. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1949): 147ff.
      7. Jülicher, Adolf. *Paulus und Jesus*. Tühingen: 1907.
      8. Leopoldt, J. *Jesus und Paulus*, *Jesus oder Paulus*. Leipzig: 1936. (“differences, but agreement”)
      9. Machen, J.G. *The Origin of Paul*’*s Religion*. New York: 1912.
      10. Meyer, A. *Wer hat das Christentum begründet*, *Jesus oder Paulus*? Tübingen: 1907.
      11. Moe, Olaf. *Paulus und die evangelische Geschichte*. Leipzig: 1912.
      12. Pfleiderer, Otto. *Urchristentum*. 330ff. (“Jewish and Hellenistic currents, but no confusion.” Bonsirven 199 n. 19)
      13. Prat, Fernand, SJ. “Paulinisme.” *DAA*.
      14. Prucker. *Gnosis Theou*. (“depends on Judaism, but enriches it,” Bonsirven 199 n. 18)
      15. Ramsay, William. *Teaching of Paul*. 12, 33. (“a Jew, of Greek culture,” Bonsirven 199 n. 19)
      16. Scott. *Christianity according to St Paul*. (“a Jewish structure on a foundation provided by Jesus,” Bonsirven 199 n. 19)
      17. Thackeray, Henry St John. *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*: *An Essay to Which Was Awarded the Kaye Prize for 1899*. London: Macmillan, 1900. 2-6. (“Jewish elements, but creative power,” Bonsirven 199 n. 19)
      18. Weiss, Johannes. *Paulus und Jesus*. Berlin: 1909.
      19. Werner, M. *Der Einfluss paulinischer Theologie in Markus-Evangelium*. Giessen: 1923.
      20. Wernle, Paul. *Jesus und Paulus*. Tübingen: 1915.
   2. “. . . historians like Schweitzer, Goguel, Deissmann” see Jesus and Paul as different, but they refuse “to draw a line of demarcation between Paul and Christ” (i.e., Paul did not found Christianity). (Bonsirven 204)
2. **founder is unlikely**
   1. “It is *a priori* improbable that the doctrine of Paul was his own individual invention . . .” (Bonsirven 203)
      1. “. . . how could such an intransigent monotheist as he was descend of his own accord to the worship of a man?” (Bonsirven 203)
      2. “It is probable . . . that in his oral preaching he was bound to follow the traditional historical catechesis.” (Bonsirven 203)
         1. “If he had not been in agreement on essential dogmas with the other Christians, surely they would have expelled him . . .” (Bonsirven 203)
         2. Opposition between Paul “and the Judaizers was caused solely by” degree of adherence to the Mosaic Law demanded of converts. (Bonsirven 203)
         3. Paul obtained the other apostles’ approval. (Bonsirven 203)
            1. Gal 1:18, “Then after three years I did go up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas and stayed with him fifteen days . . .”
            2. Gal 2:3, 9, “even Titus, who was with me, was not compelled to be circumcised, though he was a Greek. . . . 9 and when James and Cephas and John, who were acknowledged pillars, recognized the grace that had been given to me, they gave to Barnabas and me the right hand of fellowship . . .”
         4. Paul’s teaching was the same as the other apostles’. (Bonsirven 203)
            1. 1 Cor 15:11, “Whether then it was I or they, so we proclaim and so you have come to believe.”
         5. “. . . Feine has shown, that his doctrine coincides in all essential points with the doctrine of the primitive Christian community. Those who try to reconstruct a hypothetical *kerygma* of Hellenistic Christianity have to acknowledge that at heart it is no different from Palestinian Christianity.” (Bonsirven 203)
   2. Paul’s “understanding of the Gospel demands the historical reality of Jesus . . .” (Davies 336)
   3. Paul “was content to re-echo this message [Jesus’ gospel], but he expressed it in his own fashion: his fidelity had a highly personal flavour.” (Bonsirven 205)
3. **lack of details about Jesus**
   1. de Grandmaison *Jesus Christ* 1: 27-35.
   2. Feine *Paulus* 407ff.
   3. Goguel *Paul et Jésus-Christ* 71-84.
   4. Prat *Théologie* 2: 24-32.
   5. “It is remarkable how little his letters betray knowledge of Jesus . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 33)
   6. Paul’s letters “tell us practically nothing about the public life of Jesus, and only now and then are their words based on the actual words of our Lord.” (Bonsirven 203)
   7. reasons
      1. Paul wrote “with a clearly-defined dogmatic or parenetic purpose in view . . .” (Bonsirven 203)
      2. Paul “had no reason to tell the story of something his hearers already knew about.” (Bonsirven 203)
      3. “One reason for this is that Paul wrote his letters before the Gospels took the form that we know.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 33)
      4. More importantly, Paul “emphasizes the salvific effects of the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ, which for him transcend the data of the historical ministry of Jesus.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 33)
         1. “. . . in the Epistles . . . the history of Jesus is reduced to a minimum and almost everything is concentrated on the redemptive significance of his death and resurrection.” (Zahrnt 100)
         2. “What he particularly insisted on were the redemptive acts of Jesus.” (Bonsirven 203)
   8. Except for the gospels, Paul “gives the most details about the Saviour.” (Bonsirven 203)
      1. 1-3 John are epistles with *no* “historical note about the life of Jesus . . .” (Bonsirven 203)
4. **conclusions**
   1. “If we cannot explain Paul in terms of either Pharisaism or Hellenism, there is nothing left for it but to accept his own statement that he was preaching the Christ who revealed himself to him at Damascus.” (Bonsirven 202)
      1. Gal 1:11b-12, “the gospel that was proclaimed by me is not of human origin; 12 for I did not receive it from a human source, nor was I taught it, but I received it through a revelation of Jesus Christ.”
      2. Sabatier *Paul* 295
      3. Reuss *Histoire* 2: 37
      4. Stevens *Pauline Theology* 25ff, 70,73
      5. Goguel *RHPR* (1930): 103; (1931): 190; (1936): 517
         1. “Paulinism is the outcome of an experience and of a religious life.” (Bonsirven 202 n. 25)
         2. He opposes “Lohmeyer, Schweitzer, Loisy . . .” (Bonsirven 202 n. 25)
   2. The quotations and allusions show that “sayings of Jesus were already being handed on in the early church . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 33)
   3. “The care he took to quote our Lord’s words and distinguish them from [203] his own makes it clear how lovingly he gathered them together.” (Bonsirven 203-04)
      1. 1 Cor 7:10-12, “To the married I give this command—not I but the Lord—that the wife should not separate from her husband . . . 12 To the rest I say—I and not the Lord—that if any believer has a wife who is an unbeliever, and she consents to live with him, he should not divorce her.”
      2. 1 Cor 9:14, “the Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel.”
      3. 1 Cor 14:37b, “what I am writing to you is a command of the Lord.”
      4. 1 Thess 4:15, “For this we declare to you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who are left until the coming of the Lord, will by no means precede those who have died.”
      5. Acts 20:35, “In all this I have given you an example that by such work we must support the weak, remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, for he himself said, ‘It is more blessed to give than to receive.’”
   4. Paul shows that Jesus’ words “were to be treasured as authoritative.” (Davies 336)
      1. “How could it be otherwise? Surely, when he met those who were witnesses to the Master, whom he loved passionately, he would be bound to question them about their memories of him.” (Bonsirven 204)
      2. But “these sayings are invariably referred to by Paul as utterances of “the Lord” (*Kyrios*) . . . [Paul] was not interested in Jesus as a teacher, a prophet, or as the chronological source of such transmission. [The risen Lord] be­came the real agent of the tradition developing in the bosom of the apostolic church.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 33)

## THE CENTER OF PAUL’S THEOLOGY

1. **introduction**
   1. Paul did not present his thought in a “clearly-defined system.” (Bonsirven 211)
   2. Is there a “guiding principle that has given them [his ideas] birth round which we can group them all?” (Bonsirven 211)
2. “**Jewish and Hellenistic conceptions**”
   1. Some say the center is the contrast between “Jewish and Hellenistic conceptions” (Bonsirven 212)
3. **flesh and Spirit**
   1. Another proposed center is “the distinction between the flesh and the spirit,” or “sin and soteriology . . .” (Bonsirven 212)
   2. “F.C. Baur stressed the antithesis between human flesh and the divine Spirit.” (Brown *Introduction* 440)
   3. “Bultmann gives the main thrust to anthropology because the Pauline affirmations concerning God relate the deity to human beings; thus he would divide Paul’s thought under the headings: “The human being prior to the revelation of faith” and “The human being under faith.”” (Brown *Introduction* 440)
4. **justification by faith**
   1. “Since Reformation times, . . . some would make it [righteousness] the center of Pauline theology . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 441)
   2. Lutherans “base everything on justification, starting with . . . Romans.” (Bonsirven 212)
   3. “The Reformation emphasis on justification by faith still has followers, e.g., Käsemann, with modifications.” (Brown *Introduction* 440)
5. **God**
   1. “A larger number put forward God as centre . . .” (Bonsirven 212)
      1. E.g.: Ramsay, William. *The Teaching of Paul*. 65, 69.
6. **Catholicism**
   1. “For my part, I think . . . Everything was there” (in “the intuition at Damascus”). (Bonsirven 212)
      1. “There God revealed his Son in person and in his role of universal mediator.” (Bon­sirven 212)
      2. Present were “the revelation of the mystery of the Trinity [and of] the Church . . .” (Bonsirven 212)
      3. “Paul took in this immense landscape, stretching into space and into the heavens, into time and into eternity, in a single glance, as if it were lit up by a flash of lightning.” (Bonsirven 212)
   2. “In the effort to understand and expound all this, we are obliged to set up some arrangement of ideas: they are not chronological, scarcely even logical, that is, they are adapted to suit our minds, which are limited in what they . . . comprehend.” (Bonsirven 212)
7. “**in Christ**”
   1. Another proposed center is “in Christ.”
      1. Prat (*Théologie* 2: 11-24, 568-74) “centres everything on the *in Christo Jesu*, the Saviour Christ associating all the faithful with his death and his life.” (Bonsirven 212 n. 47)
      2. Christology predominating: Weizsäcker, *op*. *cit*., p. 117. (Bonsirven 212 n. 47)
   2. Another proposed center is the Trinity. (Bonsirven 212 n. 47)
      1. Lebreton *Origines de la Trinité* 395
      2. 1 Cor 8:6, “yet for us 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.”
      3. Eph 2:18, “through him both of us have access in one Spirit to the Father.”
      4. Eph 3:16, “I pray that, according to the riches of his glory, he may grant that you may be strengthened in your inner being with power through his Spirit . . .”
      5. Titus 3:5-6, “he saved us, not because of any works of righteousness that we had done, but according to his mercy, through the water of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit. 6 This Spirit he poured out on us richly through Jesus Christ our Savior . . .”
8. **salvation history**
   1. “. . . salvation-history is seen as central to many who do not drive a sharp wedge between Paul and Judaism.”(Davies, W.D. *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*. 4th ed. London: SPCK, 1980.) (Brown *Introduction* 440)
      1. Judaism “had a basic story of how God chose and called Israel through Moses . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 440)
      2. Christians “had a basic story that [told] how God had renewed the call through the ministry, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus.” (Brown *Introduction* 440)
         1. Fowl, S.E. *The Story of Christ in the Ethics of Paul*. JSNTSup 36. Sheffield: JSOT, 1990.
         2. Hays, R.B. *The Faith of Jesus Christ*: *An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3*:*1-4*:*11*. SBLDS 56. Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983.
         3. Witherington, Ben, III. *Paul*’*s Narrative Thought World*. Louisville: Westminster Knox, 1994.
         4. Wright, N.T. *The New Testament and the People of God*. Minneapolis: Augsburg—Fortress, 1992.
      3. “Surely Paul had preached the story about Jesus when he first came to a site. Accordingly we cannot judge Paul’s gospel from his letters because those presume the “story” . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 440)
      4. The story is “difficult to reconstruct from what underlies the letters. In many ways this “commonsense” approach to Paul is more convincing than any presentation wherein he was abstractly systematic in his thought.” (Brown *Introduction* 441)
      5. “Did Paul [like Luke-Acts, p. 324] see the work of Christ as a harmonious prolongation of what God had done in Judaism (a continuous history of salvation), or was there an apocalyptic change so that what had once been of value was now dross?” (Brown *Introduction* 440 n. 38)
      6. “Beker stresses a Jewish apocalyptic context: the Christ-event as the consummation and end of history.” (Brown *Introduction* 440)
      7. “Fitzmyer prefers the language of “Eschatological” over “apocalyptic” and speaks of christocentric soteriology: Christ crucified and raised for our sanctification.” (Brown *Introduction* 440)
9. **christocentric soteriology**
   1. “. . . Paul’s theology is predominantly a christology [teaching about Christ] . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 38)
   2. But Paul’s is a functional christology. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 38)
      1. He does not “explain the intrinsic constitution of Christ . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 38)
      2. “He preached “Christ crucified,” Christ as significant for humanity . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 38)
   3. The center of Paul’s theology is: (Fitzmyer *Paul* 37)
      1. Rom 1:16, “the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith . . .”
      2. 1 Cor 1:21-23, “God decided . . . to save those who believe. . . . 23 we proclaim Christ crucified . . .”
   4. “. . . all else in Paul’s teaching has to be oriented to this christocentric soteriology.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 37-38)
   5. “Paul’s basic principle [is:] God’s gracious gift of salvation in Christ, independent of the works of the Law.” (Brown *Introduction* 437)
   6. “. . . his basic gospel [is] salvation through Christ . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 438)
10. **conclusion**
    1. “All these have their element of truth . . .” (Brown *Introduction* 440)
    2. “. . . probably Paul never thought out “the center of his theology.” He did express himself, however, about his “gospel,” and christocentrism is closest to that (see Rom 1:3-4; 4:24-25).” (Brown *Introduction* 440)
       1. Rom 1:3-4, Christ “was descended from David according to the flesh 4 and was declared to be Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by resurrection from the dead . . .”
       2. Rom 4:24-25, “It [righteousness] will be reckoned to us who believe in him who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead, 25 who was handed over to death for our trespasses and was raised for our justification.”

# PAUL’S THEOLOGY

## JEWISH HERITAGE: GOD

Attributes of God Harmonious with Judaism

1. **one** (Bonsirven 213)
   1. Rom 3:30, “God is one”; Gal 3:20, “God is one”; 1 Tim 2:5, “there is one God”
   2. Rom 10:12, “all alike have one Lord”
2. **eternal** (Bonsirven 213)
   1. Rom 1:20, “eternal”; Rom 1:23, “the immortal God”; Rom 16:26, “the eternal God”; Eph 3:11, “eternal purpose”; 1 Tim 1:17, “immortal”; 1 Tim 6:16, “It is he alone who has immortality”
3. **omniscient** (Bonsirven 213)
   1. Rom 16:27, “the only wise God”
   2. 1 Thess 2:4, “God who tests our hearts”
4. **omnipotent** (Bonsirven 213)
   1. Rom 1:20, “eternal power and divine nature”; Eph 3:20, “He . . . is powerful enough, and more than powerful enough, to carry out his purpose”
   2. 1 Tim 1:17, “the King of the ages”; 1 Tim 6:15, “the . . . only Sovereign, the King of kings and Lord of lords”
   3. Eph 1:11, “it is he who is at work everywhere, carrying out the designs of his will”; Eph 3:10, “the wisdom of God in its rich variety”
5. **omnipresent** (Bonsirven 213)
   1. Eph 1:11, “he . . . is at work everywhere”
6. **invisible** (**spiritual**) (Bonsirven 213)
   1. Rom 1:20, “eternal power and divine nature, invisible”; Col 1:15, “the invisible God”; 1 Tim 1:17, “invisible”
7. **living** (Bonsirven 213)
   1. 1 Thess 1:9, “a living and true God”; 1 Tim 4:10, “the living God”
8. **holy** (Bonsirven 213)
   1. Rom 1:23, “the glory of the immortal God”; Eph 1:17, “the Father of glory”
   2. 1 Tim 6:16, “he dwells in unapproachable light”
9. **blessed** (Bonsirven 213)
   1. Rom 1:25, “the Creator, who is blessed forever!”; 1 Tim 1:11, “the blessed God”; 1 Tim 6:15, “the blessed . . . Sovereign”
10. **creator** (Bonsirven 213)
    1. Rom 4:17, “who . . . calls into existence the things that do not exist”
    2. Eph 3:9, “God who created all things”
11. **provident** (Bonsirven 213)
    1. 2 Cor 9:10, “He who supplies seed to the sower and bread for food”
    2. 1 Tim 6:13, “God, who gives life to all things”
    3. 1 Tim 6:17, “God who richly provides us with everything for our enjoyment”
12. **God of love**, **peace**, **hope** (Bonsirven 213)
    1. Rom 15:13, “the God of hope”; 2 Cor 13:11, “the God of love and peace”; 1 Thess 5:23, “the God of peace”
    2. Rom 15:5, “the God of steadfastness and encouragement”; 2 Cor 1:3, “the Father of mercies and the God of all consolation”
13. **savior** (Bonsirven 213)
    1. “As a Jew, he remained unshakable in his monotheism, but . . . regarded God, the Creator, primarily as the Father of Jesus Christ and, therefore, our Father.” (Bonsirven 200)
    2. Col 3:10, “the new self . . . according to the image of its creator”
    3. 1 Tim 1:1, 2:3; Titus 1:3, 2:10, 3:4, “God our Savior”; 1 Tim 4:10, “God, who is the Savior of all”
14. **resurrector** (Bonsirven 213)
    1. Rom 4:17, “who gives life to the dead . . .”
    2. 2 Cor 1:9, “who raises the dead.”

## COSMOLOGY

Hellenism

Judaism

Paul’s three-tiered universe

1. **Hellenism**
   1. Early Greece had a plate-and-bowl cosmology: “the universe was regarded as a flat disk arched by the ceiling of the heavens . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 268)
   2. The universe “was compassable, even small.” (Davies *Invitation* 268)
   3. c. 300s bc: the heavens were eight spheres. (Davies *Invitation* 268)
      1. The wandering stars governed the first 7. (Davies *Invitation* 268)
      2. The eighth sphere was the fixed stars, where souls go after death.
   4. c. 200s bc: “man’s ideas of the universe suddenly expanded.” (Davies *Invitation* 268)
      1. Aristarchus of Samos (c. 310-230 bc) said (Davies *Invitation* 268)
         1. the sun is 300 times larger than earth
         2. the sun is 180 earth diameters away
         3. the universe is heliocentric
            1. Seleucus of Seleucia (fl. 150s bc) supported heliocentrism.
            2. Most held to Aristotle’s and Ptolemy’s geocentric world.
      2. An immense universe made humans feel insignificant.
2. **Judaism**
   1. Early Judaism had a plate-and-bowl cosmology: the earth was flat and round, the sky was an upturned bowl over it.
   2. See Gen 1.
3. **Paul**’**s three-tiered universe**
   1. superhuman world (uncontrollable, invisible powers) (Davies *Invitation* 267)
   2. natural world
      1. human world
      2. subhuman world (material nature)
   3. nether world
      1. Rom 10:6, “But the righteousness that comes from faith says, “Do not say in your heart, ‘Who . . . 7 will descend into the abyss?’” (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead).”

## DEMONIC FORCES

demonic forces

Hellenism

astronomy

astrology

Fate

Death

Judaism

Paul

names in Paul

Pauline texts

demonic forces

1. **Hellenism**
   1. “Two developments profoundly influenced the Graeco-Roman world, astronomy and astrology.” (Davies *Invitation* 268)
   2. astronomy
      1. c. 300s bc: “the atmosphere was separated from . . . the heavens.” (Davies *Invitation* 268)
      2. c. 300s bc: the heavens were eight spheres. (Davies *Invitation* 268)
         1. The wandering stars governed the first 7. (Davies *Invitation* 268)
            1. They were the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.
            2. Each planet had an *archon*, a demonic being. (Davies *Invitation* 269)
         2. The eighth sphere was the fixed stars, where souls go after death.
            1. The soul now “had to pass all the long way through the spheres of the wandering stars.” (Davies *Invitation* 269)
            2. The afterlife was now, not Hades nearby under the earth, but an immensely distant sphere of fixed stars. (Davies *Invitation* 268)
   3. astrology
      1. fatalism
         1. Fatalism probably started in Babylon. (Davies *Invitation* 269)
         2. By Paul, it pervaded the Graeco-Roman world. (Davies *Invitation* 269)
         3. “Fate and Death . . . held mankind in bondage.” (Davies *Invitation* 270)
      2. Fate
         1. “An individual’s fate was eternally fixed by the position of the planets at his birth . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 269)
         2. Movements of planets and stars shaped his life.
         3. “. . . such fatalism appealed to men, even as it drove them further into despair. It suited an age when the individual counted so little.” (Davies *Invitation* 269)
         4. Ruthless armies and destroyed home states showed how puny individuals are. (Davies *Invitation* 269)
         5. “In the first century, especially, there was a strong sense that the universe was in bondage to corrupt powers.” (Davies *Invitation* 269)
      3. Death
         1. The planets would soon cause the universe’s conflagration. (Davies *Invitation* 269)
         2. “. . . even in death the soul confronted hostile planetary and astral powers . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 269)
         3. Hence “there was also in the Hellenistic Age a very marked emphasis on the fear of death.” (Davies *Invitation* 269)
2. **Judaism**
   1. Jesus (like the Pharisees and Essenes) knows good and evil angels.
   2. In Judaism, “a world of demonic forces” surrounds us. (Davies *Invitation* 268)
3. **Paul**
   1. Paul mostly refers to evil powers.
   2. He tends to see, not just the human world, but the whole universe “opposed to God.” (Davies *Invitation* 267)
   3. Evil superhuman beings dominate the cosmos. (Davies *Invitation* 267)
   4. As a Jew, Paul saw “their power [as] ultimately due to man.” (Davies *Invitation* 270)
      1. original sin
         1. The “evil in the physical universe was bound up with the fall of man . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 270)
      2. idolatry
         1. The “angelic powers . . . behind the political, governmental powers . . . had been assigned to the various nations by God himself.” (Davies *Invitation* 270)
         2. Man, “by according to them a reverence which was not their due, had lent to these powers their demonic character.” (Davies *Invitation* 270)
4. **names in Paul**
   1. angels
      1. “. . . for Paul, these are usually forces of evil.” (Davies *Invitation* 267)
      2. They lie in wait, infect with diseases, and corrupt. (Davies *Invitation* 267)
   2. authorities
      1. Evil angels are behind and manipulate governments. (Davies *Invitation* 267)
   3. principalities and powers, a.k.a.: (Davies *Invitation* 267)
      1. “things in heaven”
      2. “the spirits of wickedness in the heavens”
      3. “the world powers of this [evil] age”
      4. “the rulers of this world”
   4. elements of the world
      1. “the exact meaning of this phrase is not clear” (Davies *Invitation* 268)
   5. Satan (Davies *Invitation* 268)
      1. the supreme demon
      2. a.k.a. “Beelzebul,” “the ruler of the demons” (Matt 12:24//Mark 3:20//Luke 11:15)

Pauline texts

1. **in the proto-Pauline letters**
   1. Rom 8:38-39, “neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor rulers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, 39 nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.”
   2. 1 Cor 2:12, “Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit that is from God, so that we may understand the gifts bestowed on us by God.”
   3. 1 Cor 6:3, “Do you not know that we are to judge angels—to say nothing of ordinary matters?”
   4. 1 Cor 11:10, “For this reason a woman ought to have a symbol of authority on her head, because of the angels.”
   5. 2 Cor 11:14, “Even Satan disguises himself as an angel of light.”
   6. 2 Cor 12:7, “to keep me from being too elated, a thorn was given me in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to torment me, to keep me from being too elated.”
   7. Gal 1:18, “Then after three years I did go up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas and stayed with him fifteen days . . .”
   8. Gal 3:19, “Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions, until the offspring would come to whom the promise had been made; and it was ordained through angels by a mediator.”
      1. “. . . angels are conceived of as promulgators of the law of Moses, which held humans in bondage . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
   9. Gal 4:3, 8-9, “And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, declared the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, “All the Gentiles shall be blessed in you.” 9 For this reason, those who believe are blessed with Abraham who believed.”
   10. Gal 4:14, “though my condition put you to the test, you did not scorn or despise me, but welcomed me as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus.”
2. **in the deutero-Pauline letters**
   1. Eph 1:21, “far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and above every name that is named, not only in this age but also in the age to come.”
   2. Eph 2:2, “[the sins] in which you once lived, following the course of this world, following the ruler of the power of the air, the spirit that is now at work among those who are disobedient.”
   3. Eph 6:12, “For our struggle is not against enemies of blood and flesh, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the cosmic powers of this present darkness, against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly places.”
      1. “Such a view is scarcely envisaged in Paul’s uncontested letters.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
   4. Col 1:16, “for in him all things in heaven and on earth were created, things visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or rulers or powers—all things have been created through him and for him.”
   5. Col 2:20, “If with Christ you died to the elemental spirits of the universe, why do you live as if you still belonged to the world?”

## HEAVEN

1. **Hellenism**
   1. Early Greece conceived the place of reward in the afterlife as the Elysian Fields, a pleasant meadow. (Homer, *Iliad* [Lattimore trans.])

Paul

1. **introduction**
   1. “After reading the innumerable and fantastic lucubrations in Jewish post-biblical literature on the subject of heaven, we can only wonder at Paul’s restraint.” (Bonsirven *Judaïsmepalestinien* 1: 205) (Bonsirven 214)
2. **terms**
   1. Following the LXX, “Paul speaks of “heaven,” or “the heavens” or even “the heavenly places” . . .” (Bonsirven 213)
      1. Eph 2:6, “seated us with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus . . .”
3. **structure**
   1. “There is more than one heaven, one above the other . . .” (Bonsirven 214)
      1. Eph 4:10, “He who descended is the same one who ascended far above all the heavens, so that he might fill all things.”
   2. There are “ten, six or three . . .” (Bonsirven 214)
      1. 2 Cor 12:2, “I know a person in Christ who fourteen years ago was caught up to the third heaven—whether in the body or out of the body I do not know; God knows.”
4. **home of God and Christ**
   1. The highest heaven is “the dwelling-place of God . . ., from which he manifests himself . . .” (Bonsirven 214)
      1. Rom 1:18, “For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and wickedness of those who by their wickedness suppress the truth.”
      2. Eph 1:3, God “has blessed us in Christ with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places . . .”
      3. Eph 1:20, God “raised him from the dead and seated him at his right hand in the heavenly places . . .”
      4. Eph 2:6, God “raised us up with him and seated us with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus . . .”
   2. There “he raised his Son to his right hand . . .” (Bonsirven 214)
      1. Rom 10:6, “But the righteousness that comes from faith says, “Do not say in your heart, ‘Who will ascend into heaven?’” (that is, to bring Christ down) . . .”
      2. Eph 1:20, God “raised him from the dead and seated him at his right hand in the heavenly places . . .”
      3. Eph 4:10, “He who descended is the same one who ascended far above all the heavens, so that he might fill all things.”
5. **our future home**
   1. “As a Pharisee, he still maintained the dogma of the resurrection, but conceived on the lines of the Resurrection of Jesus, which provided the solid basis for its justification.” (Bonsirven 200)
   2. From heaven “we shall receive, after death, a dwelling not made with hands . . .” (Bonsir­ven 214)
      1. 2 Cor 5:1, “For we know that if the earthly tent we live in is destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. . . . 4 For while we are still in this tent, we groan under our burden, because we wish not to be unclothed but to be further clothed, so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life.”
   3. “It is the place of reward for the just . . .” (Bonsirven 214)
      1. It is “the object of their hope . . .” (Bonsirven 214)
         1. Col 1:4-5, “we have heard of your faith [and love] . . . 5 because of the hope laid up for you in heaven.”
      2. To it “their aspirations are directed.” (Bonsirven 214)
         1. Col 1:5, just quoted.
         2. Col 3:2, “Set your minds on things that are above, not on things that are on earth . . .”
      3. It is “their true home . . .”(Bonsirven 24)
         1. Phil 3:20, “But our citizenship is in heaven . . .”

## ANTHROPOLOGY

distance between humans and the supernatural

mind

conscience

spirit

body

flesh

1. **distance between humans and the supernatural**
   1. Hellenism
      1. Liefeld, Walter L. “The Hellenistic “Divine Man” and the Figure of Jesus in the Gospels.” Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society 16.4 (1973): 195-205.
      2. In Hellenism, “Men could be easily fused with gods.” (Davies *Invitation* 271)
      3. Emperors claimed divinity. (Davies *Invitation* 271)
      4. The divine man (*theios anēr*) was common. (Davies *Invitation* 272)
   2. Judaism
      1. A human is a creature, not the creator.
      2. “Any fusion of man and God is unthinkable.” (Davies *Invitation* 272)
   3. Paul
      1. Paul agrees with Judaism.
      2. But man can “be open to God.” Paul sees “points of contact . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 272)
2. **anthropological terms**
   1. “It is as if Paul defines a man, not in terms of any properties, physical or other, but in terms of his direction or his stance . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 274)
   2. Often the terms express, not an aspect of a human being, but “an attitude or direction.” (Davies *Invitation* 275)
3. **mind**
   1. Hellenism
      1. Reason is “a spark of the divine reason . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 272)
   2. Paul
      1. “The mind [is] able to recognize God and his demand and to direct conduct . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 280)
      2. Rom 7:23-25, “I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind, making me captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members. . . . 25b So then, with my mind I am a slave to the law of God, but with my flesh I am a slave to the law of sin.”
      3. “Reason is a victim of, not a source of, sin. Paul is not anti-intellectual . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 281)
4. **conscience** (Davies *Invitation* 273)
   1. Paul
      1. “Every man [has an inborn] capacity to approve the good and to condemn the evil; this capacity *expresses* itself as a pain following wrongdoing. Paul associates it with a law written on the heart of every man.”
      2. Rom 2:15, Gentiles “show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, to which their own conscience also bears witness; and their conflicting thoughts will accuse or perhaps excuse them . . .”
5. **spirit** (Davies *Invitation* 273-74)
   1. For Paul spirit is “far more important” than mind or conscience.
   2. There are two main senses in Paul. (Davies *Invitation* 273)
   3. the self
      1. A person’s spirit “is sometimes like his will . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 274)
      2. 1 Cor 16:17-18, “Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus . . . 18 refreshed my spirit . . .”
   4. “supernatural influences” (Davies *Invitation* 273)
      1. Gal 4:6, “And because you are children, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba! Father!””
      2. Rom 8:14-16, “For all who are led by the Spirit of God are children of God. 15 For you did not receive a spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received a spirit of adoption. When we cry, “Abba! Father!” 16 it is that very Spirit bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God . . .”
      3. “Here . . . the human spirit can be open to divine influences. . . . [The human spirit is] a point of contact with the Spirit of God.” (Davies *Invitation* 274)
6. **body**
   1. Sometimes Paul uses “body” for a human’s material aspect.
   2. Usually he uses it for “man in an attitude of openness or obedience or co-operation with God.” (Davies *Invitation* 274)
   3. To someone whose spirit is “directed toward God—Paul applies the term “body.”” (Davies *Invitation* 274)
   4. “Man as he is directed toward God for Paul is a “body,” and [274] this “body” can be raised from the dead . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 274-75)
   5. A person can “be directed as a “body,” in his totality, toward God . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 275)
7. **flesh**
   1. “Flesh” suggests “the physical aspect of man. The “sins of the flesh” are those in which physical appetites are indulged.” (Davies *Invitation* 275)
   2. Paul uses “flesh” in that sense. (Davies *Invitation* 275)
   3. But “flesh” is also a person “weak, mortal, . . . opposed to God . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 275)
   4. A person “in rebellion against God” is flesh. He lives “according to the flesh.” (Davies *Invitation* 275)
      1. “Where there is no openness to God, “the flesh” is in control.” (Davies *Invitation* 275)
      2. To live according to the flesh “is to live in opposition to God’s claim; it is to follow the . . . desires of our own hearts . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 275)
      3. This “often means living sensually, . . . [in] sexual or physical indulgence . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 275)
      4. More usually, it means a selfish life without physical indulgence, a life “turned in upon [oneself], in self-concern and self-assertion . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 275)
   5. “Why did Paul choose the term “flesh,” which is also used of the physical nature of man, to denote this attitude of hostility to God?” (Davies *Invitation* 275)
      1. “Paul nowhere claims that the flesh itself is evil.” (Davies *Invitation* 276)
      2. Nothing shows that he found the physical distasteful or unvirtuous.
      3. Probably Paul chose “flesh” because, as “the seat of the physical appetites of man, [it] is easily corrupted.” (Davies *Invitation* 275)
         1. Eph 2:3, “All of us once lived among them in the passions of our flesh, following the desires of flesh and senses, and we were by nature children of wrath, like everyone else.”
      4. Flesh “is not evil but weak; it is open to” sin’s suggestions. (Davies *Invitation* 275)

## SIX TERMS FOR PERSONS IN RELATION TO GOD

Paul uses six principal terms to describe humans. Most are terms that in ordinary Greek referred to a physical or spiritual part of man; Paul, however, mostly uses them to refer to the whole person *in relation to* God. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 83)

1. *soma* body a person as a living organism
2. *sarx* flesh a person as tending to sin
3. *psyche* soul a natural person, without the Spirit
4. *pneuma* spirit a knowing and willing person able to receive the Spirit
5. *nous* mind a knowing and judging person able to receive revelation
6. *kardia* heart a *nous*’*s* emotional reactions (Fitzmyer *Paul* 83)

## ORIGINAL SIN IN ROM 5:12-21

1. **introduction**
   1. Paul probably got the ideas of Adam as the first sinner, later generations sinning through him, and phys­ical death as a punishment for sin from intertestamental literature. (Urban 135)
   2. But Paul does not specify whether the transmission is bio­logical or psychological/­so­ci­ol­o­gi­cal. (Urban 135, 138)
   3. “. . . there is a tendency to assume that in this passage [Rom 5:12-21] the Apostle has “historicized” motifs occurring in the story of paradise. This would mean that he incorrectly understood as historical those texts that were originally meant to convey doctrinal matters only. The later tradition of the Church unanimously considered Paul the most important witness to the scriptural revelation of the mystery of original sin. An erroneous position, however, in terms of the historicization issue would tend to cast doubt on the validity of this reputation. Could one even go so far as to admit that in his thought a misconception breaks through which renders the later ecclesiastical doctrine on this point incomprehensible and unacceptable?” (Trooster 75)
2. **Paul**’**s concept of original sin in the context of Romans**
   1. Rom 5:12-21 is only the second half of ch. 5; the context shows that “the Apostle is certainly not concerned with an exclusive treatment of—let alone with proof for—the existence of original sin. On the contrary, . . . he makes use of the motif of Adam’s fall exclusively to illuminate once again the actual theme of the whole letter . . . The actual theme can be formulated in the following thesis: in Christ alone there is redemption and salvation for all; only a believing surrender to Christ and his work of salvation in us means victory over sin in man and justification . . .” (Trooster 77)
   2. “Actually Romans 5 reverts back to an idea that has already been treated extensively in the first three chapters of this letter: although the Gentiles possess . . . the natural law [Rom 2:12-16, 26-27], and although the Jews have had the Law of Moses [Rom 2:17-25, 27-3:2], neither has been able to live without sin and thus be righteous in the eyes of God [Rom 3:9-23].” (Trooster 77)
      1. After introductory material (Rom 1:1-15), there follows in Romans the passage, 1:16-3:31. A first thesis here is, “all have sinned” (3:23); this thesis in turn establishes a second thesis, that all need justification by faith. To prove the first thesis, Paul discusses, sometimes the sinfulness of the Jews (2:17-25; 3:1-9a, 19-20), sometimes the sinfulness of the Greeks (2:14-16, 2:26-29), and sometimes the sinfulness of both at once (1:16-17; 2:1-13, 28-29; 3:9b-18, 21-31). Here is a summary of the passage.
      2. Rom 2:11-3:30, “God shows no partiality. 12 All who have sinned apart from the law will also perish apart from the law, and all who have sinned under the law will be judged by the law. . . . 3:1 Then what advantage has the Jew? . . . 9 Are we any better off? No, not at all; for we have already charged that all, both Jews and Greeks, are under the power of sin, 10 as it is written: “There is no one who is righteous, not even one” . . . 21 But now, apart from law, the righteousness of God has been disclosed, and is attested by the law and the prophets, 22 the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe. For there is no distinction, 23 since all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God; 24 they are now justified by his grace as a gift . . . 28 a person is justified by faith apart from works prescribed by the law. 29 Or is God the God of Jews only? Is he not the God of Gentiles also? Yes, of Gentiles also, 30 since God is one; and he will justify the circumcised on the ground of faith and the uncircumcised through that same faith.”
   3. “This same thought is reintroduced in Romans 5. . . . The reconciliatory effects of man’s faith in Christ are expressed first and foremost in those verses of chapter 5, which immediately precede the text on “original sin” . . .” (Trooster 78)
      1. Rom 5:1-11, “Therefore, since we are justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, 2 through whom we have obtained access to this grace in which we stand; and we boast in our hope of sharing the glory of God. 3 And not only that, but we also boast in our sufferings, knowing that suffering produces endurance, 4 and endurance produces character, and character produces hope, 5 and hope does not disappoint us, because God’s love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit that has been given to us. 6 For while we were still weak, at the right time Christ died for the ungodly. 7 Indeed, rarely will anyone die for a righteous person—though perhaps for a good person someone might actually dare to die. 8 But God proves his love for us in that while we still were sinners Christ died for us. 9 Much more surely then, now that we have been justified by his blood, will we be saved through him from the wrath of God. 10 For if while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much more surely, having been reconciled, will we be saved by his life. 11 But more than that, we even boast in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received reconciliation.”
      2. In Rom 5 “universal sinfulness is reduced to its very root, the sin of Adam. This theme, however, is introduced exclusively to shed light upon the . . . redemptive merit of faith in Christ which eliminates all distinctions between Jews and Gentiles before God.” (Trooster 78)
   4. The principal theme of Romans is the “all-redemptive merits of the “reconciliation” obtained for man by Christ; merits that are still being continuously bestowed upon those who believe in him. [“Reconciliation”] identifies salvation in Christ as the restoration of the original state of blessedness as once intended and created by God. . . . It means here “to restore to the original peace and friendship” (vv. 10-11). It is this formulation that harmoniously introduces the subsequent arguments from the Old Testament account of Adam’s fall.” (Trooster 79)
   5. “. . . we are not dealing here with a direct treatment of the mystery of original sin; this becomes amply clear from the structure of the “passage on original sin” itself.” (Trooster 80)
      1. “. . . the comparison started in verse 12 with “Therefore as” is abruptly broken off, not to be taken up again until verse 19 where we then finally find the corresponding “so” . . .” (Trooster 80) Rom 5:12, 19, “Therefore, just as sin came into the world through one man, and death came through sin, and so death spread to all because all have sinned . . . 19 . . . just as by the one man’s disobedience the many were made sinners, so by the one man’s obedience the many will be made righteous.”
      2. “What lies in between are really more or less faltering approximations of the main theme intended to prepare us for a better understanding of its central message.” (Trooster 80)
         1. Rom 5:13-14 “stress once more the universality of the dominion of sin and death unleashed in the world by Adam . . .” (Trooster 80) Rom 5:13-14, “sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law. 14 Yet death exercised dominion from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who is a type of the one who was to come.”
         2. Rom 5:15-17 “warn us that we must not see the comparison Adam-Christ as composed of two equally important issues . . . Surpassing by far Adam’s universal all-embracing guilt is the abundance of Christ’s grace.” (Trooster 80) Rom 5:15-17, “But the free gift is not like the trespass. For if the many died through the one man’s trespass, much more surely have the grace of God and the free gift in the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ, abounded for the many. 16 And the free gift is not like the effect of the one man’s sin. For the judgment following one trespass brought condemnation, but the free gift following many trespasses brings justification. 17 If, because of the one man’s trespass, death exercised dominion through that one, much more surely will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness exercise dominion in life through the one man, Jesus Christ.”
         3. “Only then follow verses 18-19 with their concise Pauline formulation of “original sin” as the counterpart to our justification in Christ . . .” (Trooster 80) Rom 5:18-19, “Therefore just as one man’s trespass led to condemnation for all, so one man’s act of righteousness leads to justification and life for all. 19 For just as by the one man’s disobedience the many were made sinners, so by the one man’s obedience the many will be made righteous.”
      3. “. . . verses 20-21 lead this view back to the main theme of the letter to the Romans . . .” (Trooster 80) Rom 5:20-21, “But law came in, with the result that the trespass multiplied; but where sin increased, grace abounded all the more, 21 so that, just as sin exercised dominion in death, so grace might also exercise dominion through justification leading to eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.”
3. **words and concepts in Rom 5**:**12-21**
   1. “. . . we would like to elucidate a number of words and concepts” in Rom 5:12-21. (Trooster 80)
   2. traditional treatment of Rom 5:12
      1. Rom 5:12, Greek: “death spread to all because [ἐφ’ ᾧ] all have sinned . . .”
      2. Rom 5:12, Old Latin: “death passed to all men in whom [*in quo*] all men sinned . . .”
      3. For Origen, Rom 5:12’s ἐφ’ ᾧ = “in whom.” Origen’s *Commentary on Romans* says the race was present in Adam’s loins. But ἐφ’ ᾧ as “in whom” may be an addition by Rufinus. (Kelly, *Early* 181)
      4. Ambrosiaster (an anonymous Roman theologian of the 300s ad) and Augustine (354-430) follow the Old Latin *in quo*.
      5. Theodoret (bishop of Cyrus in Syria, ad 423-57) expressly denies that ἐφ’ ᾧ means “in whom” and says it means “because.” Hence he wrote (*In Rom*. 5:12), “each of us undergoes the sentence of death because of his own sin, not because of the sin of our first parent.” (Kelly 373)
   3. Rom 5:12c
      1. Rom 5:12, “Therefore, [a] just as sin came into the world through one man, [b] and death came through sin, [c] and so death spread to all because all have sinned . . .”
      2. “The greatest difficulties . . . are caused by the last short statement of verse 12: “because all men sinned.”” (Trooster 81)
      3. “In the days of St. Augustine this sentence was translated from the Greek as follows: “in whom [Adam] all men sinned.” The intent was really: “in Adam all men are sinners.” As a defense against Pelagius and his followers, who only accepted personal sins but not original sin, it was hoped that every thought of personal sins could be suppressed in Paul’s text.” (Trooster 81)
      4. But “in whom” is incorrect: one should translate “because.” (Trooster 81)
      5. “. . . the phrase “because all men sinned” retained until recently the meaning “because all are [81] sinners”; and one can add to this: “in Adam.”” (Trooster 81-82)
      6. Yet Stanislas Lyonnet (“Le péché original et l’exégèse de Rm. 5:12,” *Recherches de sciences religieuses* 44 [1956]: 63-84) “has shown conclusively that the Greek word used actually does mean “to sin” in a real, active sense, and that the translation “all are sinners” is therefore incorrect. It is quite definite then that Paul speaks here about the personal sins of “all men,” so that this troublesome subordinate clause would have to be correctly rendered as follows: “given the fact that all men sinned (personally).”” (Trooster 82)
      7. “This rule of sin [5:12, 14, 17] has not come upon all of mankind as an inevitable fate, but it has been personally affirmed and realized by “all” in the fact that “all have sinned.” Hence the universal depravity of mankind does not constitute a being-determined because of one man’s sin; nay, man’s universal sinfulness prevails so universally precisely because each of us has affirmed and perpetuated it through his personal sins. Nevertheless these personal sins are a substantiation of the reign of sin as it took possession of man through Adam’s sin.” (Trooster 82)
   4. Rom 5:13-14
      1. Rom 5:13-14, “sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law. 14 Yet death exercised dominion from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who is a type of the one who was to come.”
      2. “The “classical” interpretation sees in verses 13-14 an *ad hominem* argument designed to prove that in man a state of sinfulness exists apart from his personal sins. It makes original sin all-important. According to this traditional view Paul supposedly reasons as follows: During the period between Adam and Moses there could be no question of personal sins, because there was really no Law and sin is transgression of God’s Law. Yet “sin indeed was in the world,” witness the undeniable fact that “death reigned from Adam to Moses”. Hence this death must have proclaimed our “being-sinners in Adam”, it must have revealed original sin in us.” (Trooster 82)
      3. “Lyonnet and his associates, however, consider this position [82] untenable. For it was especially in Paul’s time that the period from Adam to Moses was considered as an era in which human depravity was rampant. And so especially in his time apocryphal writings vividly portray as historical events themes such as those of the Flood and Sodom and Gomorrah. . . . [Rom 5:13-14] could be paraphrased as follows: during the era before Moses sin generally prevailed; proof of this is the reign of death. Now you Jews say “but sin is not counted where there is no law,” but I must remind you of the fact that “yet death reigned from Adam to Moses. . . .” Let us assume that at that time sin was not a formal transgression of the Law; nevertheless, the universal reign of death proves that even then “all men sinned.” And their sins were committed in the sense of verse 12: they were personal sins as affirmation of the rule of sin established by Adam in this world.” (Trooster 82-83)
   5. Rom 5:15-17
      1. Rom 5:15-17, “But the free gift is not like the trespass. For if the many died through the one man’s trespass, much more surely have the grace of God and the free gift in the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ, abounded for the many. 16 And the free gift is not like the effect of the one man’s sin. For the judgment following one trespass brought condemnation, but the free gift following many trespasses brings justification. 17 If, because of the one man’s trespass, death exercised dominion through that one, much more surely will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness exercise dominion in life through the one man, Jesus Christ.”
      2. In 15-17, “the antithesis to the reconciliation through Christ as described in verse 12 [“as sin came into the world through one man” and “because all have sinned”] is repeated [15, “if the many died through the one man’s trespass”; 16, “the judgment following one trespass brought condemnation”; 17, “because of the one man’s trespass, death exercised dominion through that one”] . . .” (Trooster 83)
      3. “But as a parallel to this we find just as literal a stress on the idea that: “the free gift following many trespasses brings justification” (v. 16), and “Law came in, to increase the trespass” (v. 20). Hence the following conclusion appears inescapable: the universal sinfulness of all men, from which the grace of Jesus Christ redeems us, is to Paul the reign of sin “through one man” affirmed and perpetuated through “many trespasses.”” (Trooster 83)
   6. Rom 5:19
      1. Rom 5:19, “For just as by the one man’s disobedience the many were made sinners, so by the one man’s obedience the many will be made righteous.”
      2. “As a final noteworthy point we would like to refer to verse 19 which emphatically states that “by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners” and in this context this is indeed the only possible correct translation from the verb used in Greek.” (Trooster 84)
   7. summary: the relationship in 5:12 between “through one man” and “because all have sinned” “determines the entire thought-content of the text: verses 13-14 underscore once more the universality of sin; verses 15-17 again stress “through one man’s trespass” as the cause of death and “condemnation” for all, but at the same time they also specify [84] that the state of iniquity from which Christ saved us obtains its concrete reality from “many trespasses” (cf. also v. 20).” (Trooster 84-85)
4. “**Adam**” **in Rom 5**
   1. In Rom 5:12-21 “several motifs from the Old Testament account of paradise have been more concisely and more concretely formulated.” (Trooster 84)
      1. “Adam, for instance, is visualized here much more distinctly as an (historically) individual person, “one man.”” (Trooster 84)
      2. “Furthermore, the reign of sin and death as universal tragic realities have been much more strongly emphasized: Paul writes “sin” and “death” in the sense of generic concepts, and for him they are well-nigh personified powers representing evil in mankind. They hold sway over “all men,” their rule enslaves all without exception. “Death” then is envisioned as a manifestation of “sin,” and it means the extinction of life in and through God. Thus the reign of death manifests the dominion of sin which “came into the world through one man.”” (Trooster 84)
      3. “Also this “transgression” on the part of this “one man” is described more concretely as that evil *fact* through which the power of “sin” and “death” were unleashed in the world.” (Trooster 84)
      4. “Finally the personal sins of “all men” are explicitly mentioned as many evil facts through which the dominion of sin, introduced “into the world through one man,” has been constantly strengthened and perpetuated.” (Trooster 84)
   2. historicization of Adam in Rom 5
      1. introduction
         1. “Contemporary theologians [assume Paul’s] “*historicization*” of the original ideas on the matter as found in Gen. 3. [Historicization] consists in the later evaluation as historical of texts that were originally only intended to convey doctrines. Paul is particularly supposed to have construed Adam as an historical, purely individual-personal human being. They propose that we should understand these texts once again as expressions of doctrinal thought and refrain from interpreting them as reflecting any historical reality whatsoever.” (Trooster 85)
         2. It is true that “historicization of the texts of the Old Testament . . . was common at the time of St. Paul.” (Trooster 85)
            1. Example: the LXX “already uses the names “Adam” and “Eve” as proper names and without the article (whereas in Hebrew they did have the article).” (Trooster 85)
            2. Example: “In apocryphal writings from the days of St. Paul we indeed find Adam and Eve portrayed purely as individual persons.” (Trooster 85)
         3. “. . . there is no reason why Paul should not speak about Adam in terms customary at his time.” (Trooster 85)
   3. But “Who is this “one man,” this Adam, that is being constantly referred to in Romans 5?” (Trooster 85)
      1. Rom 5:14 says “Adam . . . is a type of the one who was to come.”
      2. “In Paul’s thinking the nature of the “one man,” Adam, is completely determined by the “one man, Jesus Christ” . . .” (Trooster 85)
      3. So: Who was Christ for Paul?
         1. Christ “is the eschatological fulfillment and revelation of what was [85] protologically realized and revealed in Adam. In the “one man, Jesus Christ” is manifested who the “one man”, Adam, was.” (“For an excellent treatment of the typology Adam-Christ, *see*”: Daniélou, Jean. *Approches du Christ*. Paris: Grasset, 1960. 96-101. 86 n. 3) (Trooster 85-86)
         2. For Paul, Christ “is the one in whom was ultimately realized every aspect of mankind the way God had projected it into his original plan of creation.” (Trooster 86)
            1. Col 1:15, “He is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation . . .”
         3. “In Christ, the glorified One, there was ultimately realized in all its fullness God’s original plan of creation and salvation . . .” (Trooster 86)
            1. Gen 1:26-27, “Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness . . . 27 So God created humankind in his image, in the image of God he created them . . .”
            2. Col 1:17, “He himself is before all things, and in him all things hold together.”

This “means that in Him as a strictly individual-personal man all of creation and all mankind have attained to the life originally intended by the Creator for the world.” (Trooster 86)

* + - * 1. “Being-man now evidently means “to be conformed to the image of his Son”” (Rom 8:29, nrsv). (Trooster 86)
        2. 1 Cor 15:49, “Just as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we will also bear the image of the man of heaven.”
        3. 2 Cor 3:18, “all of us . . . are being transformed into the same image [Christ’s] . . .”
        4. 1 Cor 3:21-23, “all things are yours, 22whether . . . the world or life or death or the present or the future—all belong to you, 23and you belong to Christ, and Christ belongs to God.”

“Here too Christ is the ultimate, eschatological realization of being-man.” (Trooster 86)

* + - * 1. texts on the mystical body of Christ

John 15:1-6, “I am the true vine, and my Father is the vinegrower. 2 He removes every branch in me that bears no fruit. Every branch that bears fruit he prunes to make it bear more fruit. 3 You have already been cleansed by the word that I have spoken to you. 4 Abide in me as I abide in you. Just as the branch cannot bear fruit by itself unless it abides in the vine, neither can you unless you abide in me. 5 I am the vine, you are the branches. Those who abide in me and I in them bear much fruit, because apart from me you can do nothing. 6 Whoever does not abide in me is thrown away like a branch and withers; such branches are gathered, thrown into the fire, and burned.”

Acts 9:3-5, “Now as he was going along and approaching Damascus, suddenly a light from heaven flashed around him. 4 He fell to the ground and heard a voice saying to him, “Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?” 5 He asked, “Who are you, Lord?” The reply came, “I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting.””

Rom 12:4-5, “For as in one body we have many members, and not all the members have the same function, 5 so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and individually we are members one of another.”

1 Cor 6:15-19, “Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? . . . 17anyone united to the Lord becomes one spirit with him. . . . 19 your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have from God . . .”

1 Cor 10:16-17, “The bread that we break, is it not a sharing in the body of Christ? 17 Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread.”

1 Cor 12:12-27, “just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. 13 For in the one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink of one Spirit. 14 Indeed, the body does not consist of one member but of many. . . . 20 there are many members, yet one body. . . . 27 Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it.”

2 Cor 4:8, 10, “we are afflicted . . . 10 always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be made visible in our bodies.”

Gal 3:28, “There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus.”

“. . . “one” is written as a singular masculine: “one, one man” . . .” (Trooster 86)

Eph 1:23, the church “is his body, the fullness of him who fills all in all.”

Eph 3:6, “the Gentiles have become fellow heirs, members of the same body . . .”

Eph 4:4-25, “There is one body and one Spirit . . . 11 The gifts he gave were that some would be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, 12 to equip the saints for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ, 13 until all of us come to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to maturity, to the measure of the full stature of Christ. . . . 15 we must grow up in every way into him who is the head, into Christ, 16 from whom the whole body, joined and knit together by every ligament with which it is equipped, as each part is working properly, promotes the body’s growth in building itself up in love. . . . 25 let all of us speak the truth to our neighbors, for we are members of one another.”

Eph 5:23, “. . . Christ is the head of the church, the body of which he is the Savior.”

Eph 5:29-30, “. . . Christ [cares] for the church, 30 because we are members of his body.”

Col 1:18, “He is the head of the body, the church . . .”

Col 1:24, “his body, that is, the church.”

Col 2:19, one should be “holding fast to the head, from whom the whole body, nourished and held together by its ligaments and sinews, grows with a growth that is from God.”

Col 3:11, “there is no longer Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave and free; but Christ is all and in all!”

Col 3:15, “you were called in the one body.”

* + - * 1. “In Christ human existence culminates eschatologically according to God’s plan of salvation and creation. . . . Christ is eschatologically the “corporate personality” par excellence, i. e., a strictly individual man who at the same time, however, epitomizes in Himself and personifies all of mankind according to God’s ultimate intention, and He does this in the most real sense of the word.” (Trooster 86)
    1. Thus also the “one man,” Adam, of Romans 5, as “a type of the one who was to come” [Rom 5:14 nrsv] indeed appears to transcend the merely chronologically first man standing at the beginning of the history of mankind. For in the light of the “one man Jesus Christ”, Paul must have certainly also seen him as “corporate personality” . . .” (Trooster 87)
       1. Adam is “a concretely individual man, a fact which is now indeed more distinctly expressed than in Gen. 2-3.” (Trooster 87)
       2. “However, as “corporate personality” this individual man, Adam, also represents and epitomizes in himself all of mankind, albeit now human existence insofar as it is overshadowed by the reign of sin.” (Trooster 87)
  1. “Admittedly, the Apostle historicized “Adam,” but in the typology Adam-Christ, Adam immediately transcends the purely chronologically first man, and becomes at least just as much in a protological sense the “first man” who, as in Gen. 3, represents all of mankind steeped in sin.” (Trooster 87)
     1. “In Paul’s terminology Adam could be best characterized by the concept “first-born”; “first-born”, in the specifically scriptural sense of the word, the “first man,” represents all his brethren before God.” (Trooster 87)
     2. “Of course, in this context Paul thinks of Adam as the “first man” in the sense of the sinful opposite of complete dedication to God. But for the rest the concept is altogether applicable, namely, as the one who initiates the long lineage of “brethren” and precisely in this he includes all before God. He is indeed an individual person, but one who, in his relationship with God, personifies the existence of all. In the typology Adam-Christ, Adam only then appears completely as “type of the one who was to come” when in an analogical sense he is as Christ “the first-born among many brethren” [Rom 8:29, “the firstborn within a large family”]. . . . [In Rom 5:12-21] he represents these “brethren” in their solidarity in rejecting God’s redemptive love, in their universal sinfulness which has unleashed and perpetuated the powers of “sin” in this world.

1. **conclusions**
   1. “Thus “one man’s trespass” becomes protologically the “first” sin which in this very capacity includes all of humanity’s universal depravity. Hence the repeatedly established connection between “one man’s trespass” and the fact that “all men sinned.”” (Trooster 87)
   2. what Paul did not think
      1. “So Paul thinks of “one man’s trespass” not in terms of an event that allegedly had no further consequences for the subsequent course of man’s history of salvation and the evils that have tainted it.” (Trooster 87)
      2. “Nor does he think of it as a purely symbolic representation of all that actually lives in every man as good and evil and as salvation (as Brunner thought).” (Trooster 88)
      3. “But neither did Paul conceive of this “one man’s trespass” as the beginning of a contamination process in which every individual father supposedly transmits Adam’s sin to his children (as usually suggested by the traditional view of original sin).” (Trooster 88)
   3. “No, he is speaking about a factual (historical) solidarity-in-sin that affects the entire human race and each human being from the very first beginning, which is Adam. He is concerned with a *communio peccatorum*; “a communion of sinners” that has existed from the very first beginning, but a communion that has been redeemed by Christ to be a “communion of saints.” (Trooster 88)
      1. See H. Koehnlein, quoted in Jean de Fraine, “Adam et son lignage” 127 n. 51: “Christ est mort pour tous les hommes, afin qu’ils ne soient plus une solidarité de pécheurs, la ‘peccatorum communio’, mais la ‘sanctorum communio’.” (Christ died for all men, so that they would no longer be a communion of sinners, the *peccatorum commnunio*, but the *sanctorum communio*.”) (Qtd. in Trooster 88 n. 4)
   4. “Therefore, if one must insist on a later concretion by Paul and consider it a process of historicism, then there is nothing objectionable in this, *if* one remains within the strictly theological category of the history of salvation and of the opposing forces of evil. In this writer’s opinion, the Apostle’s view of the “one man,” Adam, in the light of the “one man Jesus Christ” makes impossible, at least in this text, historicization in the sense of a purely chronologically first man. Such a conclusion repeats once again the idea that the modern scientific views concerning the origins of the world and man and the theological interpretation as found in Holy Scripture approach this “beginning” from such totally different points of view that they cannot be in any way or ever mutually exclusive.” (Trooster 88)
   5. “Finally, it is remarkable that Paul does not have one single thing to say concerning a possible “original sin” in unbaptized children, but only finds its full realization in adults “because all men sinned.” Besides, he does not speak about an hereditary transmission of sin on the basis of Adam’s descent-through-procreation.” (Trooster 88)

## SIN

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sin causes wrath and death

sin causes wrath

sin causes death

introduction

1. **ἁμαρτάνω** (***hamartanō***, **to sin**)
   1. Paul used several words for sin. (Davies *Invitation* 279)
      1. “By some . . . he simply means the willful breaking of the Law, that is, a transgression . . ., just as driving past a red light . . . is a transgression.” (Davies *Invitation* 279)
   2. But Paul uses ἁμαρτάνω most often. (Davies *Invitation* 279)
   3. Ἁμαρτάνω is much more than a mere transgression. (Davies *Invitation* 279)
   4. The root metaphor of ἁμαρτάνω is “to miss the mark.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 71)
      1. To “miss one’s intended goal . . . is to be misdirected.” (Davies *Invitation* 279)
      2. *Hamartia* “is misdirection and estrangement.” (Davies *Invitation* 279)
   5. Rom 3:23
      1. Rom 3:23, “all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God . . .”
      2. Our intended goal is the glory of God. (Davies *Invitation* 279)
      3. Glory is “to share in God’s activity and purposes.” (Davies *Invitation* 279)
2. **descriptions of sin**
   1. in the proto-Paulines
      1. The sinful state is “hostility toward God . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 74)
         1. Rom 5:10a, “while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God . . .”
         2. Rom 8:7, “the mind that is set on the flesh is hostile to God; it does not submit to God’s law—indeed it cannot . . .”
         3. 2 Cor 5:19, “in Christ God was reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them . . .”
      2. It is not dedicating oneself to God’s honor, service, or name. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 74)
         1. Rom 1:18, “the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and wickedness of those who by their wickedness suppress the truth.”
         2. Rom 2:24, “as it is written, “The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you.””
      3. Sin is a “debt.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 74)
         1. Rom 3:25b, “in his divine forbearance he had passed over the sins previously committed . . .”
         2. 2 Cor 5:19, sins are “trespasses.”
      4. “Paul often personifies both Death and Sin . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 74)
         1. Paul sees history “as a stage on which certain figures perform as actors. Among these struts *Anthrōpos*, “Human Being” (Rom 7:1), also called at times *Egō*, “I” (Rom 7:9), confronted not only by *Hamartia*, “Sin,” *Thanatos*, “Death” (Rom 5:12), and *Nomos* [“Law”] (Rom 7:1), all personified as actors, but also by *Charis*, “Grace” (Rom 5:21). . . . They “enter,” they “dwell,” they “reign,” they “revive,” etc.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 76)
            1. Rom 5:12, 21, “just as sin came into the world through one man, and death came through sin, and so death spread to all because all have sinned . . . 21just as sin exercised dominion in death, so grace might also exercise dominion through justification leading to eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.”
            2. Rom 7:1, 9, “Do you not know, brothers and sisters—for I am speaking to those who know the law—that the law is binding on a person [ἀνθρώπου] only during that person’s lifetime? . . . 9I [ἐγώ] was once alive apart from the law, but when the commandment came, sin revived . . .”
         2. Sin has “a personal will . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 279)
            1. “it pays wages”
            2. “it can die and revive”
            3. “it arouses desire in man”
            4. “it attacks man through his flesh”
         3. Sin is “a force or power that has invaded human beings and is abetted by all their natural and fleshly inclinations.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 74)
         4. “Sin “dwells” in humanity. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 74)
            1. Rom 7:13, “Did what is good, then, bring death to me? By no means! It was sin, working death in me . . .”
            2. Rom 7:17, “But in fact it is no longer I that do it, but sin that dwells within me.”
            3. Rom 7:23, “but I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind, making me captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members.”
         5. Sin is a “power which causes [our] misdirection.” (Davies *Invitation* 279)
         6. Sin deceives humanity and kills it. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 74)
            1. Rom 7:11, “For sin, seizing an opportunity in the commandment, deceived me and through it killed me.”
   2. in the deutero-Paulines
      1. The sinful state is “estrangement from God [and] bondage to Satan . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 74)
         1. Eph 2:2, “in which you once lived, following the course of this world, following the ruler of the power of the air, the spirit that is now at work among those who are disobedient.”
         2. Eph 6:11-12, “Put on the whole armor of God, so that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. 12For our struggle is not against enemies of blood and flesh, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the cosmic powers of this present darkness, against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly places.”
         3. Col 1:13, “He has rescued us from the power of darkness and transferred us into the kingdom of his beloved Son . . .”
      2. It is “a form of death . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 74)
         1. Eph 2:1, 5, “You were dead through the trespasses and sins . . . 5 even when we were dead through our trespasses, [God] made us alive together with Christ—by grace you have been saved . . .”
         2. Col 2:13, “And when you were dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made you alive together with him, when he forgave us all our trespasses . . .”

causes of sin

1. **introduction**
   1. “We cannot expect Paul to explain sin; it is essentially without “reason.”” (Davies *Invitation* 282)
   2. “It could also be shown that many of Paul’s ideas on sin come to him from the Bible; but on this point the Christian faith brings about such an understanding of the mystery of iniquity that the whole doctrine is practically reconstructed, and it is most difficult to identify the Jewish foundation in its original state.” (Bonsirven 220)
   3. But Judaism and Paul propose three sources. (Davies *Invitation* 282)
      1. Adam’s fall
      2. idolatry (the corruption of “religion” [or] “worship”) (Davies *Invitation* 288)
      3. the evil impulse
      4. Each will now be examined.
2. **Adam**’**s fall**: **Gen 3**
   1. protocanonical OT
      1. “Strikingly enough, this etiological story has produced almost no echo in any protocanonical book of the OT.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 72) Only:
      2. 1 Chr 1:1, “Adam, Seth, Enosh . . .”
      3. Ezek 28:12-19, “Mortal, raise a lamentation over the king of Tyre, and say to him, Thus says the Lord God: You were the signet of perfection, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty. 13 You were in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was your covering, . . . and worked in gold were your settings and your engravings. On the day that you were created they were prepared. 14With an anointed cherub as guardian I placed you; you were on the holy mountain of God; you walked among the stones of fire. 15 You were blameless in your ways from the day that you were created, until iniquity was found in you. 16 In the abundance of your trade you were filled with violence, and you sinned; so I cast you as a profane thing from the mountain of God, and the guardian cherub drove you out from among the stones of fire.”
   2. deuterocanonical OT
      1. Gen 3 is more frequently mentioned. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 73)
         1. Tob 8:6; Sir 25:24; 36:10; 40:1; 49:16; Wis 2:23-24; 7:1; 10:1-2
         2. “In this late pre-Christian Jewish literature there is [a] tendency to exalt Adam . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 73)
   3. intertestamental literature
      1. Gen 3 is more frequently mentioned. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 73)
         1. *2 Enoch* 30:17
         2. *Apocalypse of Moses* 14
         3. *Apocalypse of Moses* 32:1
         4. *2 Esdras* 3:7
         5. *Life of Adam and Eve* (esp. 44:2, where the “sin of all our generations” is ascribed to “our parents,” Fitzmyer *Paul* 73)
   4. Paul
      1. Paul “breaks with this late pre-Christian Jewish tradition about Adam’s glory and returns to the earlier tradition of Gen 2-3 itself, ascribing not only death to Adam, but even sin itself.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 73)
      2. According to Paul’s reading of Gen 3, human beings lost intimacy with God and incurred death. “The notion of inheritance of such a condition through the centuries is introduced in that the woman’s offspring will always be confronted by evil . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 72)
         1. 1 Cor 15:21-22, “For since death came through a human being, the resurrection of the dead has also come through a human being; 22for as all die in Adam, so all will be made alive in Christ.”
      3. Adam’s sin and all men’s sin are connected.
         1. Rom 5:12, “sin came into the world through one man . . .”
         2. Rom 5:18-19, “one man’s trespass led to condemnation for all . . . 19 . . . by the one man’s disobedience the many were made sinners . . .”
      4. Rom 5:12
         1. context: Rom 5:12-21, “Therefore, just as sin came into the world through one man, and death came through sin, and so death spread to all because all have sinned—13sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law. 14Yet death exercised dominion from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who is a type of the one who was to come. 15But the free gift is not like the trespass. For if the many died through the one man’s trespass, much more surely have the grace of God and the free gift in the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ, abounded for the many. 16And the free gift is not like the effect of the one man’s sin. For the judgment following one trespass brought condemnation, but the free gift following many trespasses brings justification. 17If, because of the one man’s trespass, death exercised dominion through that one, much more surely will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness exercise dominion in life through the one man, Jesus Christ. 18Therefore just as one man’s trespass led to condemnation for all, so one man’s act of righteousness leads to justification and life for all. 19For just as by the one man’s disobedience the many were made sinners, so by the one man’s obedience the many will be made righteous. 20But law came in, with the result that the trespass multiplied; but where sin increased, grace abounded all the more, 21so that, just as sin exercised dominion in death, so grace might also exercise dominion through justification leading to eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.”
         2. In 5:12 Paul ascribes “to Adam a causal connection that brings not only death, but sin itself into human life . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 73)
            1. Paul “attributes to Adam not only the condition of total death that affects every human being, but even the contagion of sin that is ratified by personal sins.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 73)
            2. wrong reasons to see Adam as cause of sin in 5:12-21

end of 5:12, “because all have sinned,” ἐφ᾽ ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον.

“This sense of Rom 5:12 does not depend . . . on the prep. phrase *eph´ hō*, understood as [“in whom,”] connoting some incorporation of all human beings in Adam.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 73)

Nor does it depend on ἥμαρτον (*hēmarton*, “have sinned,” from ἁμαρτάνω) understood as an “habitual” sin. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 73)

* + - * 1. right reasons to see Adam as cause of sin in 5:12-21

Verses “13-14 indicates such a causal connection, and especially 5:19 . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 73)

Rom 5:13-14, “sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law. 14 Yet death exercised dominion from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who is a type of the one who was to come.”

Rom 5:19, “Therefore just as one man’s trespass led to condemnation for all, so one man’s act of righteousness leads to justification and life for all.”

The relation of Adam to Christ as type to antitype “demands that the sinful condition of all human beings be attributable to Adam, just as their condition of uprightness is attributable to Christ alone.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 73)

* + 1. Rom 5:13
       1. 5:13 has “a notorious anacoluthon because of a break in Paul’s thought, as he feels obliged to explain his ascription of *sin* to Adam.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 73)
          1. The “just as” clause in 5:12 (“just as sin came into the world through one man”) is taken up again in 5:18a (“just as one man’s trespass led to condemnation for all”).—Hahn
          2. Hence the missing “so” clause at the end of 5:12 would probably have been similar to 5:18b (“so by the one man’s obedience the many will be made righteous”).—Hahn

1. **Adam**’**s fall**: **how does Adam**’**s sin cause everyone**’**s sin**?
   1. Paul “does not explain clearly” the connection between Adam’s sin and everyone’s sins. Scholars propose three explanations. (Davies *Invitation* 283)
      1. nature
         1. Adam “injected into the bloodstream of all men a [virus which] made them sin.” (Davies *Invitation* 283)
         2. “But there is no suggestion of such a biological idea in Paul . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 283)
      2. nurture
         1. Adam’s sin made the world sinful: “since our environment affects us, sin became natural to man.” (Davies *Invitation* 283)
         2. “But there is nothing in Paul to support this interpretation . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 283)
         3. social sin
            1. Nevertheless, not just individuals, but “the whole of society” is misdirected. (Davies *Invitation* 291)
            2. “Man is fashioned from the day he is born by the society into which he comes. . . . There is no escape from the dead hand of culture.” (Davies *Invitation* 292)
            3. Morton H. Fried (ed. *Readings in Anthropology*. New York: Crowell, 1959. 2: 555): “The English language, the Christian religion, our political institutions, our mills . . . [have] momentum.” (Davies *Invitation* 293)
      3. symbol
         1. Probably Adam is “a figure who represents all men. [283] . . . In him we all fell: Adam represented mankind.” (Davies *Invitation* 283-84)
         2. *Adam* means “man.” (Davies *Invitation* 283)
         3. Since he represents all men, “what he does affects all men.” (Davies *Invitation* 283)
         4. For “Semitic peoples . . . [a] man belonged to his own family: everything he did affected his family. A man belonged to his tribe: everything he did affected his [283] tribe. A man belonged to a nation: everything he did affected his nation. A man is bound up in a common . . . life with his own people.” (Davies *Invitation* 283-84)
         5. “The Jews of Paul’s day held that although all men sinned in Adam, nevertheless every man is responsible for his own sin.” (Davies *Invitation* 284)
            1. *2 Baruch* (c. ad 75-125) 54:15-19, “For though Adam first sinned and brought untimely death upon all, yet those who were born from him each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come. Adam is, therefore, not the cause save only of his own soul but each of us has been the Adam of his own soul.” (Qtd. in Davies *Invitation* 284)
            2. *2 Esdras* (c. ad 75-100) 3:21-2, “For the first Adam, clothing himself with the evil heart, transgressed and was overcome; and likewise also all who were born of him. Thus the infirmity became inveterate; the Law indeed was in the heart of the people, but [in conjunction] with the evil germ; so what was good departed and the evil remained.” (Qtd. in Davies *Invitation* 284)
            3. *2 Esdras* 4:30-32, “For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much fruit of ungodliness has it produced unto this time, and shall yet produce until the threshing-floor come!” (Qtd. in Davies *Invitation* 285)
            4. *2 Esdras* 7:116-17, “And I answered and said: This is my first and last word; better had it been that the earth had not produced Adam, or else having produced him, [for you] to have restrained him from sinning. For how does it profit us all that in the present we must live in grief and after death look for punishment? O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, the fall was not thine alone, but ours also who are thy descendants! For how does it profit us that the eternal age is promised to us, whereas we have done the works that bring death?” (Qtd. in Davies *Invitation* 285)
   2. “Paul leaves us with a question: how do we sin inevitably and yet by our own choice?” (Davies *Invitation* 285)
2. **idolatry**
   1. Judaism
      1. *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*: “Sun and moon and stars change not their order; so do ye also change not the law of God in the disorderliness of your doings. The Gentiles went astray, and forsook the Lord, and changed their order, and obeyed stocks and stones, spirits of deceit. But ye shall not be so, my children, recognizing in the firmament, in the earth, and in the sea, and in all created things, the Lord who made all things, that ye become not as Sodom, which changeth the order of nature.” (Qtd. in Davies *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* 28)
      2. In “an old Jewish source [Abraham] discovered the existence of God by reasoning back to a First Cause.” (Davies *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* 29)
   2. Paul
      1. When Paul told pagans “to turn away from idolatry to the . . . living God, . . . it was surely the arguments of Jewish apologetics that he was adopting?” (Bonsirven 213)
         1. Acts 14:15, “you should turn from these worthless things to the living God . . .”
         2. 1 Thess 1:9, “you turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God . . .”
      2. Rom 1:18-24
         1. Rom 1:18-24, “For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and wickedness of those who by their wickedness suppress the truth. 19 For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them. 20 Ever since the creation of the world his eternal power and divine nature, invisible though they are, have been understood and seen through the things he has made. So they are without excuse; 21 for though they knew God, they did not honor him as God or give thanks to him, but they became futile in their thinking, and their senseless minds were darkened. 22 Claiming to be wise, they became fools; 23 and they exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling a mortal human being or birds or four-footed animals or reptiles. 24 Therefore God gave them up in the lusts of their hearts to impurity, to the degrading of their bodies among themselves, 25 because they exchanged the truth about God for a lie and worshiped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever! Amen.”
         2. “. . . sin arose because men turned from the worship of the true God . . . to worship the things that he had made.” (Davies *Invitation* 286)
         3. Here Paul “sees in a corruption of religion the root of sin.” (Davies *Invitation* 286)
3. **the evil impulse**
   1. before Paul
      1. “Long before Paul,” Judaism said a good impulse and an evil impulse “are implanted in man. . . . Jewish thinkers concentrated most on the evil impulse . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 287)
      2. Sir 15:14, “It was he who created humankind in the beginning, and he left them in the power of their own free choice.”
      3. Sir 15:14, Davies’s translation, “God created Man from the beginning and placed him in the hand of his *yetzer* [impulse].”
      4. Some located the evil impulse in the kidneys, some in the heart. (Davies *Invitation* 288)
      5. Some “personified it as an evil spirit.” (Davies *Invitation* 288)
      6. The evil impulse “was especially connected with [lust and] led to unchastity and idolatry.” (Davies *Invitation* 288)
   2. in Paul
      1. Rom 1 and 5 treat “the history of sin . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 288)
      2. Rom 7 treats “sin as it works in the life of the individual . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 288)
         1. Rom 7:15-25, “I do not understand my own actions. For I do not do what I want, but I do the very thing I hate. 16 Now if I do what I do not want, I agree that the law is good. 17 But in fact it is no longer I that do it, but sin that dwells within me. 18 For I know that nothing good dwells within me, that is, in my flesh. I can will what is right [τὸ γὰρ θέλειν παράκειταί [παράκειμαι, be present] μοι], but I cannot do it. 19 For I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I do. 20 Now if I do what I do not want, it is no longer I that do it, but sin that dwells within me. 21 So I find it to be a law that when I want to do what is good, evil lies close at hand. 22 For I delight in the law of God in my inmost self, 23 but I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind, making me captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members. 24 Wretched man that I am! Who will rescue me from this body of death? 25 Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord! So then, with my mind I am a slave to the law of God, but with my flesh I am a slave to the law of sin.”
      3. “. . . Paul is probably thinking of” the two impulses. (Davies *Invitation* 288)

universal corruption

1. **introduction**
   1. “Such then is Paul’s understanding of the human condition. The Universe as a totality, human society as a whole, is misdirected. And every man is throughout corrupted.” (Davies *Invitation* 281)
   2. “. . . there are real differences between men; not all are equally corrupted. But . . . all have fallen short of God’s glory.” (Davies *Invitation* 282)
   3. Humanity is like “a ship, whose crew and passengers include . . . the just and the unjust in varying degrees, but which is bound on the wrong course so that all aboard are “doomed” to disaster . . . The unseen powers of evil that hold the powers of this world—governmental and other—in thrall, the stars and planets in their tyrannical sway, and sin, the malignant power that lies behind all other malignancy—these are on the bridge.” (Davies *Invitation* 282)
2. **Everyone is sinful**.
   1. Everyone “finds a law of sin at work in himself.” (Davies *Invitation* 280)
      1. Rom 3:9b-10, “all . . . are under the power of sin, 10 as it is written: “There is no one who is righteous, not even one . . .””
      2. Rom 3:23, “all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God . . .”
      3. Rom 7:21, 24, “So I find it to be a law that when I want to do what is good, evil lies close at hand. 22 For I delight in the law of God in my inmost self, 23 but I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind [neb: “that my reason approves”], making me captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members. 24 Wretched man that I am! Who will rescue me from this body of death?”
   2. Both gentiles and Jews are sinners. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 73-74)
      1. Rom 3:9, “all, both Jews and Greeks, are under the power of sin . . .”
      2. The general thesis of Rom 1:16-3:20 is “all have sinned” (3:23). To prove this thesis, Paul discusses the sinfulness of the Jews, the sinfulness of the Greeks, or the sinfulness of both at once.
         1. Rom 1:16-32 Jews and Greeks
         2. Rom 2:1-13 Jews and Greeks
         3. Rom 2:14-16 Greeks
         4. Rom 2:17-25 Jews
         5. Rom 2:26-27 Greeks
         6. Rom 2:28-29 Jews and Greeks
         7. Rom 3:1-9a Jews
         8. Rom 3:9b-18 Jews and Greeks
         9. Rom 3:19-20 Jews
         10. Rom 3:21-31 conclusion: for both Jews and Greeks, salvation is by faith
3. **All of a person is sinful**.
   1. reason
      1. The mind “has been stained by sin.” (Davies *Invitation* 280)
      2. The “mind can be so conformed to this evil world that [it must] be renewed.” (Davies *Invitation* 281)
         1. Rom 12:2, “Do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your minds, so that you may discern what is the will of God—what is good and acceptable and perfect.”
   2. conscience
      1. Conscience “has been contaminated.” (Davies *Invitation* 281)
         1. It can be scrupulous.
         2. It can succumb to pressures.
         3. It can become hardened and need renewal.
      2. Conscience is only the voice of God if renewed by God, if in touch with God. (Davies *Invitation* 281)
         1. In Rom 9:1-2, Paul appeals to his conscience “as enlightened by the Holy Spirit.” (Davies *Invitation* 281)
         2. Rom 9:1-2, “I am speaking the truth in Christ [ἐν Χριστῷ]—I am not lying; my conscience confirms it by the Holy Spirit [ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίω]—2 I have great sorrow . . .”
4. **recalcitrant nature**
   1. Judaism
      1. “The dragon of the deep, subdued by God at creation, had not been wholly conquered.” (Davies *Invitation* 268)
         1. Hence, God controlled nature, but some aspects “evaded his control.” (Davies *Invitation* 268)
      2. Adam’s fall caused a universal fall.
         1. Gen 3:17b-19, “cursed is the ground because of you; in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life; 18 thorns and thistles it shall bring forth for you; and you shall eat the plants of the field. 19 By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread until you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; you are dust, and to dust you shall return.”
         2. The “wolf cannot lie down with the lamb; nature is “red in tooth and claw.”” (Davies *Invitation* 268)
   2. Paul
      1. “. . . Paul uses the terms and concepts of the Hellenistic world without himself believing . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 270)
      2. “. . . the astrological powers are [not] in control of the universe; it was God himself who had allowed them to be in control.” (Davies *Invitation* 270)
      3. Paul felt the contemporary fear of unseen evil powers. [270] But humans are responsible for this. (Davies *Invitation* 270-71)
      4. To Greeks and Romans, the major threat is Fate and Death. (Davies *Invitation* 271)
      5. To Paul, the major threat is sin, from which Fate and Death arose. (Davies *Invitation* 271)
      6. “Until man can be delivered from sin, the universe will be in bondage.” (Davies *Invitation* 271)
      7. Rom 8:20-23, “the creation was subjected to futility, not of its own will but by the will of the one who subjected it [Fitzmyer: God or Adam], in hope 21 that the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and will obtain the freedom of the glory of the children of God. 22 We know that the whole creation has been groaning in labor pains until now; 23 and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly while we wait for adoption, the redemption of our bodies.”

sin causes wrath and death

1. **sin causes wrath**
   1. Paul was not concerned “with the origins of sin . . . but with its reality.” (Davies *Invitation* 288)
   2. God responds to sin with wrath (ὀργή, *orgē*). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 42)
   3. It is either “manifested” or “awaited.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 42)
      1. Rom 1:18, “For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and wickedness of those who by their wickedness suppress the truth.”
      2. Rom 2:8, “for those who are self-seeking and who obey not the truth but wickedness, there will be wrath and fury.”
   4. what Paul means by wrath of God
      1. This phrase “expresses not so much a divine emotion as God’s reaction to evil and sin.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 42)
      2. *not* God is angry
         1. Rom 1:18 “seems to mean that God is angry at human conduct and acts to punish man.” (Davies *Invitation* 288)
         2. But “Anger is an irrational emotion in which one loses one’s self-control. It is condemned by all moralists . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 288)
         3. “Both Hellenistic and modern thinkers [say] that God cannot be angry.” (Davies *Invitation* 288)
      3. *probably not* a moral law of punishment
         1. “When a man sins, . . . the moral laws of the universe are at work and punishment comes automatically. God is never angry, but sin is always punished.” (Davies *Invitation* 289)
         2. “If a child pushes his finger into the fire, he suffers. This is not because the fire is “angry,” but because [laws] govern the physical order.” (Davies *Invitation* 289)
         3. Paul “never asserts that God is angry but that “the wrath” is at work . . ., [a process] by which man reaps what he sows.” (Davies *Invitation* 289)
         4. “Such an explanation is attractive but probably wrong.” (Davies *Invitation* 289)
      4. *probably* righteous indignation (Davies *Invitation* 289)
         1. The OT often speaks of God’s wrath, “not a capricious [anger] but an indignant response to the sin of man.” (Davies *Invitation* 289)
         2. “Anger is the other side of God’s mercy . . . [To care] is not only to show mercy but to react against evil.” (Davies *Invitation* 289)
         3. Abraham Heschel (*The Prophets*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955. 279-80): “It is because [God] cares for man that his anger may be kindled against man. . . . [Anger is] reprehensible when associated with malice, morally necessary as resistance to malice. [Its absence] may amount to surrender [to evil] . . . Patience, a quality of holiness, may be sloth in the soul when associated with the lack of righteous indignation.” (Qtd. in Davies *Invitation* 289)
2. **sin causes death**
   1. Rom 5:12-16, “Therefore, just as sin came into the world through one man, and death came through sin, and so death spread to all because all have sinned—13 sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law. 14 Yet death exercised dominion from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who is a type of the one who was to come. 15 But the free gift is not like the trespass. For if the many died through the one man’s trespass, much more surely have the grace of God and the free gift in the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ, abounded for the many. 16 And the free gift is not like the effect of the one man’s sin. For the judgment following one trespass brought condemnation, but the free gift following many trespasses brings justification.”
   2. “Is not death a natural phenomenon . . .?” (Davies *Invitation* 290)
   3. Paul connects sin and death, but “he does not explain” the connection. (Davies *Invitation* 291)
   4. Not everyone is equally evil. But “all are misdirected under the wrath of God and the shadow of Death.” (Davies *Invitation* 291)
   5. Many moderns think “such a view of the condition of mankind is morbid . . . because [they] have a directly opposite view.” (Davies *Invitation* 291)
3. **three blows**
   1. Sigmund Freud (*A Difficulty of Psycho-Analysis*) “refers to three blows that have wounded the self-love of humanity . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 293)
      1. the *cosmological* blow: humanity is not “the center of the physical universe”
      2. the *biological* blow: man “does not differ from but originates in the animal race”
      3. the *psychological* blow: man does not control part of his mind, the unconscious.
   2. “Man is not so much a master of his fate as the sport of the universe. But Paul had experienced all these blows; he had reeled under their punch. He knew our modern predicament.” (Davies *Invitation* 293)

## SALVATION HISTORY

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1. **introduction** (Davies *Invitation* 294)
   1. Since “the whole world is misdirected,” redirecting it must “be on a world scale.” (Davies *Invitation* 294)
   2. Paul claims “that he has encountered a power to redirect the world.” (Davies *Invitation* 294)

Judaism

1. **creation**
   1. “God’s purpose was at work in the very creation of the universe. . . . The creation, man included, was created for harmony between man and man, man and nature, man and God.” (Davies *Invitation* 304)
   2. “In the beginning, [the cosmos] (including man) “obeyed” God.” (Davies *Invitation* 295)
2. **fall**
   1. Adam’s sin gave rise to disunity. (Davies *Invitation* 295)
      1. between brothers (Cain and Abel)
      2. between rich and poor
      3. between Jew and Gentile
      4. between humans and God
   2. “Both Israelites and non-Israelites” were misdirected. (Davies *Invitation* 306)
3. **recreation**
   1. varieties of messiah
      1. There was no “generally accepted . . . expectation,” but an intermingled variety. (Davies *Invitation* 295)
      2. *son of David*: some expected a son of David, “powerful like the first David, [to] inaugurate [God’s] kingdom on this earth.” (Davies *Invitation* 295)
      3. *Son of Man*: “Others despaired of this earth entirely and looked for a supernatural figure, the Son of Man, who should inaugurate a new heaven and a new earth.” (Davies *Invitation* 295)
   2. On some things all agreed.
      1. “. . . God was still God, and . . . ultimately his will [unity] would be done.” (Davies *Invitation* 295)
      2. “The *condition* of God’s reign would be the devoted observance of the Law. . . . God’s reign . . . waited upon . . . Israel’s obedience.” (Davies *Invitation* 295)
4. **remnant** (Davies *Invitation* 305-06)
   1. After the fall, God “made a new beginning . . . in a covenant with Abraham; the promise is given that in him all the nations of the earth would be blessed. Abraham responded to the call of God, and through him there came into being a people of God, a people chosen by an act of God’s free will and grace.” (Davies *Invitation* 305)
   2. “But God’s purpose was not automatically secured through the single act of the choice and response of Abraham. Those who were physically descended from Abraham were not all responsive to God’s call . . ., so that not all who were physically connected with Abraham were really his children. . . . Thus, as Paul puts it, not all Israel is Israel; that is, not all Jews have responded in obedience to God’s demand.” (Davies *Invitation* 305)
      1. Rom 2:28-29, “For a person is not a Jew who is one outwardly, nor is true circumcision something external and physical. 29 Rather, a person is a Jew who is one inwardly, and real circumcision is a matter of the heart—it is spiritual and not literal.”
      2. Rom 9:6-8, “For not all Israelites truly belong to Israel, 7 and not all of Abraham’s children are his true descendants . . . 8 it is not the children of the flesh who are the children of God, but the children of the promise are counted as descendants.”
   3. The majority of Abraham’s physical descendants were disobedient and therefore not “his true children.” (Davies *Invitation* 305)
      1. “In the time of Elijah, there were still seven thousand who did not bow the knee to Baal.” (Davies *Invitation* 305)
      2. “But this remnant became increasingly smaller; in the day of Isaiah, it was a very small remnant.” (Davies *Invitation* 305)
      3. “And, as Paul came to see the history of his people, it became increasingly small, until, as we are told in Galatians 3:16, there is only one person who can be said to be the true descendant of Abraham, and this person is Jesus. In him alone is the promise to Abraham fulfilled. [305] . . . Jesus alone represents the people of God’s promise.” (Davies *Invitation* 305-06)
         1. “Paul makes use of the difference between a singular and plural noun to make his point . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 305)
         2. Gal 3:16, “Now the promises were made to Abraham and to his offspring; it does not say, “And to offsprings,” as of many; but it says, “And to your offspring,” that is, to one person, who is Christ.”
5. **salvation for the gentiles**? (Davies *Invitation* 296-98)
   1. Judaism was always divided whether gentiles would obey the Law. (Davies *Invitation* 296)
   2. universalism
      1. Liberals thought that, after “the scattered people of Israel [were regathered] into their own land . . . the heathen nations would be converted” to the God of Israel.
      2. Isa 2:2-4, “In days to come the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills; all the nations shall stream to it. 3 Many peoples shall come and say, “Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.” . . . 4 . . . they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”
   3. particularism
      1. By the 1st century, Jews’ “attitude toward the Gentiles . . . had hardened.” (Davies *Invitation* 296)
      2. Pagan empires had oppressed Israel: Assyrian, Babylonian, Greek, Roman. (Davies *Invitation* 296
      3. “Some gave up all hope for the conversion of the Gentiles and only expected a decent minimum moral standard—the Noachian commandments—from them; they were only capable of this . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 297)
      4. Others said only “law-abiding Israel . . . could constitute the people of God; the sphere of redemption was Israel and the Law. The only way by which an alien could hope to share in the glorious future [was] naturalization in the Jewish people.” (Davies *Invitation* 297)
      5. C.G. Montefiore (Montefiore, C.G., and H. Loewe, eds. *A Rabbinic Anthology*. New York: Macmillan, 1938. 187): “The particularist doctrine of the Rabbis was that the heathen nations could not be ‘saved.’ They were doomed to hell. Yet sometimes the heart of the Rabbis smote them for this cruel doctrine . . . For if the heathen knew no better and had never heard of the one true God how could their doom be justified? . . . Hence the theory of the ‘seven prophets’ who ‘warned’ them. But these prophets had ceased long ago. What then? Well, then came the Law which arranged for the reception of proselytes. Ever since, the nations could become Jews if they chose. The proselytes of each generation are a warning to all their contemporaries. The warning is unheeded; therefore the doom of hell is justified.” (Qtd. in Davies *Invitation* 297)

Paul

1. **introduction**
2. **Paul before conversion**
   1. Paul shared the Jewish messianic hope. (Davies *Invitation* 297)
   2. And Jewish “ambiguity about the Gentiles? We can be sure that Paul shared it.” (Davies *Invitation* 298)
      1. Born in Tarsus, a Roman citizen, Paul knew Gentile life well.
      2. Probably his sympathy “for those without the Law [was] in conflict with his creed [“extreme devotion to the Law”].” (Davies *Invitation* 298)
         1. It would be unlike Paul to ignore the “fate of the majority of the people . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 298)
         2. But the “fascination of Hellenism would make him more intensely aware of his Jewishness.” (Davies *Invitation* 298)
3. **God**’**s plan**
   1. God is gradually manifesting a plan in creation over time. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 41)
      1. Rom 9:4, “They are Israelites, and to them belong the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises . . .”
      2. 1 Cor 2:7, “we speak God’s wisdom, secret and hidden, which God decreed before the ages for our glory.”
   2. This plan is called “salvation history.”
   3. Terms that refer to God’s intentions show that Paul thinks “of a divine plan of salvation history . . . (Fitzmyer *Paul* 44)
      1. God’s “purpose” (πρόθησις, *próthēsis*)
         1. Rom 8:28, “those who love God . . . are called according to his purpose.”
         2. Rom 9:11, “Even before they had been born or had done anything good or bad (so that God’s purpose of election might continue, 12not by works but by his call) she was told, “The elder shall serve the younger.””
      2. God’s “will” (θέλημα, *thélēma*)
         1. Gal 1:4, Jesus “gave himself for our sins . . . according to the will of our God . . .”
      3. God’s “mystery” (μυστήριον, *mystērion*)
         1. Eph 1:9-10, “he has made known to us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure that he set forth in Christ, 10 as a plan for the fullness of time, to gather up all things in him, things in heaven and things on earth.”
         2. Eph 3:5, “In former generations this mystery was not made known to humankind, as it has now been revealed to his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit . . .”
      4. “predestine” (προορίζειν, *proorízein*)
         1. Rom 8:29-30, “those whom he foreknew he also predestined . . . 30And those whom he predestined he also called; and those whom he called he also justified; and those whom he justified he also glorified.”
      5. “the fullness of time”
         1. Gal 4:4, “when the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son . . .”
      6. “the appointed time”
         1. 1 Cor 7:29-32, “the appointed time has grown short . . . 31For the present form of this world is passing away.”
      7. the transition from one age to another
         1. 1 Cor 10:11, “us, on whom the ends of the ages have come.”
      8. the approaching “day of the Lord”
         1. Rom 13:11-12, “salvation is nearer to us now than when we became believers; 12the night is far gone, the day is near.”
4. **three periods**
   1. Paul sees three periods in salvation history (probably from Judaism). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 45)
      1. Adam to Moses: “the law-less period” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 45)
         1. Rom 5:13-14, “sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law. 14Yet death exercised dominion from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who is a type of the one who was to come.”
         2. Gal 3:17, “My point is this: the law, which came four hundred thirty years later, does not annul a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to nullify the promise.”
      2. Moses to messiah: “the law was added” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 45)
         1. Rom 5:20, “But law came in, with the result that the trespass multiplied . . .”
         2. Gal 3:19, “Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions . . .”
      3. messianic age: humans are “justified by faith” (Gal 3:24) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 45)
5. **God**’**s attributes in relation to God**’**s plan**
   1. Paul usually mentions God’s attributes in relation to God’s plan for us: “they almost always depict God as such and such *for us*, *on our behalf*.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 42)
   2. God’s “righteousness” (or “uprightness”) (δικαιοσύνη, *dikaios‎ynē*)
      1. The MT lacks the exact phrase, “the righteousness of God.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 42)
      2. It is in one Dead Sea Scroll (*sedeq* ´*El*, 1QM 4:6), so it was a “pre-Christian Palestinian” phrase. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 42)
      3. The LXX has “the righteousness of the Lord.” Throughout the LXX δικαιο­σύνη translates several Hebrew words. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 42)
         1. *sedaqa* (צְדָקָה)
            1. In pre-exilic OT writings, *sedaqa* is “the quality by which Yahweh, depicted as involved in a lawsuit (*rib*) with his rebellious [42] people, judges Israel and [thereby] displays his “righteousness” . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 42-43)
            2. In postexilic OT writings, *sedaqa* is “the quality whereby he acquits his people . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 43)

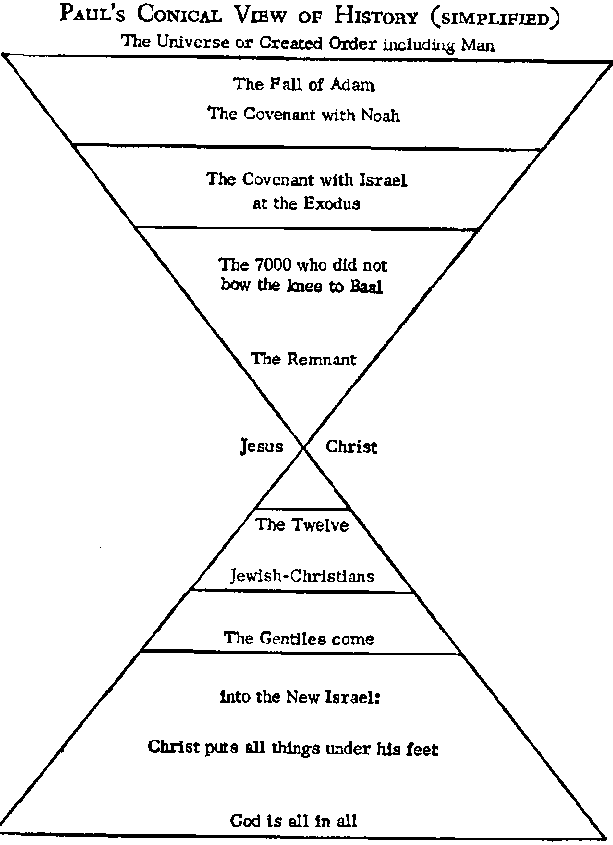
Isa 46:13ab, “I bring near my deliverance [δικαιοσύνην], it is not far off, and my salvation [σωτηρίαν] will not tarry . . .”

* + - * 1. Thus *sedaqa* is a law-court metaphor: God the judge condemns (preexilic sense) or acquits (postexilic sense). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 43)
      1. ´*emet* () and *ḥesed* ()
         1. ´*emet*, “fidelity” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 43)
         2. *ḥesed*, “steadfast mercy” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 43)
         3. ´*Emet* and *ḥesed* are “nonjudicial covenant qualities of God . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 43)
    1. “In virtue of this OT understanding of “God’s uprightness” [which Paul took over from the Hebrew through the Septuagint], Paul sees God providing a new mode of salvation . . . as a part of his plan of salvation history.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 43)
  1. God’s “love”
     1. This attribute does not appear as often as God’s righteousness, but in Rom 5-8 “it is the basis of the divine plan of salvation history.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 44)

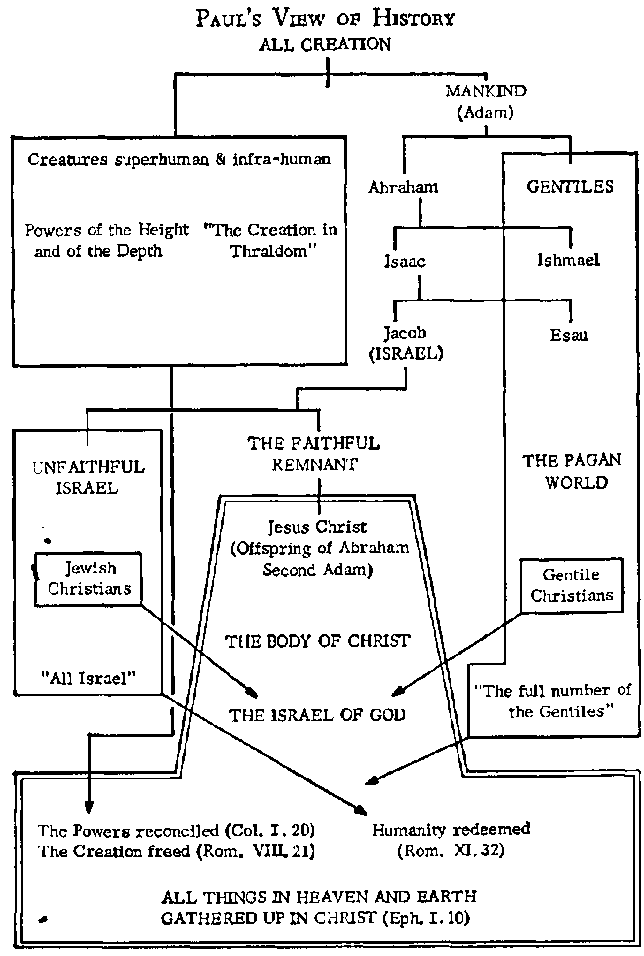
1. **corporate salvation**
   1. God’s plan involves groups, not just individuals.
   2. “All the divine preparations for the Christ were . . . made within the nation of the Jews.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 45)
      1. Rom 9:4-5, “They are Israelites, and to them belong the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises; 5to them belong the patriarchs, and from them, according to the flesh, comes the Messiah, who is over all, God blessed forever. Amen.”
   3. Israel has rejected Jesus (Rom 11:15): it seems the divine plan has failed (Rom 9:6). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 45)
      1. Rom 11:15, “their rejection is the reconciliation of the world . . .”
      2. Rom 9:6, “It is not as though the word of God had failed. For not all Israelites truly belong to Israel . . .”
      3. rebuttal
         1. God foresaw Israel’s rejection. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 45)
            1. Rom 9:6-32, “
         2. The rejection is partial: “a remnant” has accepted Jesus. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 45)
            1. Rom 11:2-7, “God has not rejected his people . . . 5 . . . at the present time there is a remnant, chosen by grace. . . . 7 . . . Israel failed to obtain what it was seeking. The elect obtained it, but the rest were hardened . . .”
         3. The rejection let salvation come to the Gentiles. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 45)
            1. Rom 11:11, “have they stumbled so as to fall? By no means! But through their stumbling salvation has come to the Gentiles, so as to make Israel jealous.”
         4. The rejection is temporary. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 46)
            1. Rom 11:12, 25, “if their stumbling means riches for the world, and if their defeat means riches for Gentiles, how much more will their full inclusion mean! . . . 25 . . . a hardening has come upon part of Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles has come in.”
   4. The corporate aspect of the divine plan “dominates many passages in Paul . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 46)
      1. Rom 5:12-21, “
      2. Rom 9-11, “
      3. Eph 1:3-12, “
      4. Eph 2:4-16, “
      5. “This corporate aspect appears above all in the . . . church.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 46)
2. **God**’**s plan is cosmic**.
   1. The *kosmos* will share humanity’s freedom from bondage. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 46)
      1. Rom 8:21, “the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and will obtain the freedom of the glory of the children of God.”
   2. Reconciliation is “proleptically attained in the redemption wrought by Christ Jesus.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 46)
      1. 1 Cor 15:27, “God has put all things in subjection under his [Christ’s] feet.”
      2. Phil 3:21, “[Jesus’] power . . . enables him to make all things subject to himself.”
   3. “In Col and Eph Paul’s disciples develop the cosmic dimension still further in depicting the cosmic role of Christ himself . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 46)
      1. Col 1:16, “all things have been created through him and for him.”
      2. Eph 1:20-23, “God put [his] power to work in Christ when he raised him from the dead and seated him at his right hand in the heavenly places, 21 far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and above every name that is named, not only in this age but also in the age to come. 22 And he has put all things under his feet and has made him the head over all things for the church, 23 which is his body, the fullness of him who fills all in all.”
      3. Eph 2:14-15, “in his flesh he has made both groups [Jews and Gentiles] into one and has broken down the dividing wall, that is, the hostility between us. 15 He has abolished the law with its commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new humanity in place of the two . . .”

the third period

1. **introduction**
   1. Paul especially concerns himself with the third period, the “end time” (*eschaton*).
      1. For the distinction between “realized eschatology” and “self-realizing eschatology/inaugurated eschatol­ogy,” see Fitzmyer *Paul* 47-48.
   2. The end time is present.
      1. The first two periods of salvation history (Adam to Moses, Moses to Christ) are over. We live in the third period. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 46)
      2. The *eschaton* is already present.
         1. 2 Cor 6:2, “now is the day of salvation!”
      3. Christians are already saved.
         1. Rom 8:24, “For in hope we were saved. Now hope that is seen is not hope.”
         2. 1 Cor 15:2, “you are being saved, if you hold firmly to the message that I proclaimed to you.”
         3. 2 Cor 2:15, “we are . . . among those who are being saved . . .”
      4. Christians already possess the beginning of their future blessedness.
         1. Spirit as guarantee
            1. Rom 8:23, “[we] have the first fruits of the Spirit.”
            2. 2 Cor 1:21-22, God “has anointed us, 22 putting his seal on us and giving us his Spirit in our hearts as a first installment.”
            3. 2 Cor 5:5, “God . . . has given us the Spirit as a guarantee.”
            4. Eph 1:14, the Spirit “is the pledge of our inheritance toward redemption . . .”
         2. Christians’ present glorification
            1. Rom 8:30, “those whom he justified he also glorified.”
            2. 2 Cor 3:18, “[we] are being transformed into the [image of Christ] from one degree of glory to another.”
            3. Phil 3:20, “our citizenship is in heaven.”
            4. Eph 2:6, God “raised us up with him [Jesus] and seated us with him in the heavenly places.”
            5. Col 2:12, “you were also raised with him . . .”
   3. The end time is future.
      1. 1 Cor 15:24, “Then comes the end, when he hands over the kingdom to God . . .”
      2. Christians are not yet saved.
         1. Rom 5:10, “For if while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much more surely, having been reconciled, will we be saved by his life.”
         2. Rom 9:27, “only a remnant of them [Jews] will be saved . . .”
         3. Rom 10:9, 13, “you will be saved. . . . 13 For, “Everyone who calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved.””
         4. 1 Cor 5:5, “you are to hand this man over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, so that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.”
         5. 1 Cor 10:33, “I try to please everyone . . . so that they may be saved.”
      3. “The undeniable elements of his futurist eschatology are”:
         1. parousia
            1. 1 Cor 15:23, “But each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ.”
            2. 1 Thess 2:19, you are our “crown of boasting before our Lord Jesus at his coming . . .”
            3. 1 Thess 3:13, 4:15, 5:23, “the coming of [the Lord].”
         2. resurrection of the dead
            1. 1 Thess 4:16, “the dead in Christ will rise . . .”
            2. 1 Cor 15:16-17 (see 13-19), “For if the dead are not raised, then Christ has not been raised. 17 If Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile and you are still in your sins.”
         3. judgment
            1. Rom 2:7-8, “to those who by patiently doing good seek for glory and honor and immortality, he will give eternal life; 8while for those who are self-seeking and who obey not the truth but wickedness, there will be wrath and fury.”
            2. Rom 14:10, “we will all stand before the judgment seat of God.”
            3. 2 Cor 5:10, “all of us must appear before the judgment seat of Christ . . .”
         4. glory of the justified believer
            1. Rom 8:21, “creation itself . . . will obtain . . . the glory of the children of God.”
            2. 1 Thess 2:12, “God . . . calls you into his own kingdom and glory.”
         5. Recognition of these elements “does not commit one to a naive credulity that fails to reckon with the apocalyptic paraphernalia and stage props used by Paul to describe the forms of the Parousia, resurrection, judgment, and glory . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 48) For example:
            1. 1 Thess 4:16-17, “the Lord himself, with a cry of command, with the archangel’s call and with the sound of God’s trumpet, will descend from heaven, and . . . 17 we . . . will be caught up in the clouds . . .”
            2. 1 Cor 15:52, “in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet . . ., the dead will be raised imperishable, and we will be changed . . .”
            3. 2 Thess 2:3, 8-9, “that day will not come unless the rebellion comes first and the lawless one is revealed . . . 8 . . ., whom the Lord Jesus will destroy . . . 9The coming of the lawless one is apparent in the working of Satan, who uses all power, signs, [and] lying wonders . . .”
   4. development in Paul’s eschatology
      1. “Paul’s thought about the imminence of the Parousia” develops. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 47)
         1. He “expected it in the near future.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 46)
            1. 1 Thess 4:15, 17, “we who are alive, who are left until the coming of the Lord, shall not precede those who have fallen asleep . . . 17 we who are alive, who are left, shall be caught up . . .”
         2. Gradually he reconciles “himself to his own imminent death . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 46)
            1. Phil 1:21, 23, “to live is Christ, to die is gain . . . 23my desire is to depart and be with Christ . . .”
         3. Gradually he reconciles himself “to an intermediate phase between his death and his “appearance before the tribunal of Christ” (2 Cor 5:1-10).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 46)
            1. 2 Cor 5:6-10, “we know that while we are at home in the body we are away from the Lord . . . 8 . . . and we would rather be away from the body and at home with the Lord. 9 So whether we are at home or away, we make it our aim to please him. 10 For all of us must appear before the judgment seat of Christ, so that each may receive recompense for what has been done in the body, whether good or evil.”
         4. Especially after he came close to death at Ephesus (1 Cor 15:32; 2 Cor 1:8) with the parousia still not occurring, “his understanding of the Christian situation developed.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 47)
            1. 1 Cor 15:32, “If with merely human hopes I fought with wild animals at Ephesus, what would I have gained by it? If the dead are not raised, “Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.””
            2. 2 Cor 1:8, “We do not want you to be unaware . . . of the affliction we experienced in Asia; for we were so utterly, unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself.”
         5. “This development is further seen in the full-blown vision of the Father’s plan that emerges in Col and Eph” (see p. 73). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 47)
      2. The connection between Christ’s resurrection and Christians’ resurrection develops. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 27)
         1. At first “one finds only an extrinsic connection between Christ’s resurrection and the glorious resurrection of Christians: Through Jesus, God will lead with him those who have died. It is thus set forth in an apocalyptic description of the *eschaton*, reflecting the primitive eschatology of the early church.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 27)
            1. 1 Thess 4:14, “For since we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so, through Jesus, God will bring with him those who have died.”
         2. “Later on one notes a more intimate connection between the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ and human beings who find salvation in him. Christ has become a “power,” producing new life in Christian believers, which eventually ensures their resurrection and life “with Christ” . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 27)
            1. Rom 6:4, “Therefore we have been buried with him by baptism into death, so that, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we too might walk in newness of life.”
            2. Phil 3:10-11, “I want to know Christ and the power of his resurrection and the sharing of his sufferings by becoming like him in his death, 11if somehow I may attain the resurrection from the dead.”
2. **centrality of Christ in history**
   1. Paul accepts Judaism’s understanding of history, but illumined by Christ. How does he see Christ’s place in history? (Davies *Invitation* 299)
   2. causes of historical change
      1. Some say a person “is determined by his culture . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 308)
      2. A culture can change by another culture impacting it. (Davies *Invitation* 308)
      3. Or it can change by “a great man who so surpasses his own people that he can bring about changes.” (Davies *Invitation* 309)
      4. In Paul’s view, “the whole world is misdirected . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 309)
      5. “. . . there can be no new culture to change it . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 309)
      6. Since humanity is corrupt, no ordinary person can redirect it. (Davies *Invitation* 309)
3. **the fullness of time** (Davies *Invitation* 301)
   1. Rom 1:2, God “promised [the gospel] beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures . . .”
      1. “The coming of Jesus was . . . the climax of a long process in which God had been at work in the Old Testament . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 301)
   2. Jesus came at the “fullness of the time.”
      1. Mark 1:15, “The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God has come near; repent, and believe in the good news.”
4. **the new age has dawned with Jesus**
   1. “Paul sets forth certain antitheses which make this clear.” (Davies *Invitation* 300)
   2. old man, new man
      1. Rom 6:4-7, “Therefore *we have been buried with him by baptism into death*, *so that*, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so *we too might walk in newness of life*. . . . 6 . . . our *old self* was crucified with him so that the body of sin might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin. 7 For whoever has died is freed from sin.”
      2. Col 3:9b-10, “you have stripped off the *old self* with its practices 10 and have clothed yourselves with the *new self*, which is being renewed in knowledge according to the image of its creator.”
   3. old creation, new creation
      1. 2 Cor 5:17, “So if anyone is in Christ, there is a *new creation*: *everything old* has passed away; see, everything has become new!”
   4. life in the flesh, life in the spirit
      1. Gal 5:13, “For you were called to freedom, brothers and sisters; only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for *self-indulgence*, but through love become slaves to one another.”
      2. Gal 5:16-18, “*Live by the Spirit*, I say, and do *not* gratify the desires of *the flesh*. 17 For what the flesh desires is opposed to the Spirit, and what the Spirit desires is opposed to the flesh; for these are opposed to each other, to prevent you from doing what you want. 18 But if you are led by the Spirit, you are not subject to the law.”
5. **God**’**s purpose**
   1. “. . . God’s purpose is to produce a humanity which is the image of Jesus Christ.” (Davies *Invitation* 304)
      1. Rom 8:28b-29, “those who love God . . . are called according to his purpose. 29 For those whom he foreknew [προγινώσκω] he also predestined [προορ­ίζω] to be conformed to the image of his Son . . .”
      2. Col 1:19, “For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell . . .”
      3. Col 3:10, “the new self . . . is being renewed in knowledge according to the image of its creator.”
   2. Jesus is the image of God.
      1. 2 Cor 4:4-6, “Christ . . . is the image of God. . . . 6 For it is the God who said, “Let light shine out of darkness,” who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.”
      2. Col 1:15a, “He is the image of the invisible God . . .”
      3. Heb 1:3, “He is the reflection of God’s glory and the exact imprint of God’s very being [ὑπόστασις; BAGD: nature, essence, being] . . .”
   3. Therefore, God’s purpose “is to produce a humanity which is the image” of God. (Davies *Invitation* 304)
   4. The ultimate purpose of renewing humanity in God’s image is its and his glory.
      1. Rom 8:30b, “those whom he justified he also glorified.”
      2. 2 Cor 3:18, “all of us . . ., seeing the glory of the Lord as though reflected in a mirror, are being transformed into the same image from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord, the Spirit.”
6. **the New Israel** (Davies *Invitation* 306-08)
   1. Jesus halted the misdirection. By his obedience the movement “of exclusion was reversed: Jesus inaugurated a [movement] of inclusion . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 306)
   2. Some Jews recognized Jesus as “the true seed of Abraham” and joined the new remnant, the New Israel. (Davies *Invitation* 306)
   3. It “soon included Gentiles . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 306)
   4. It is “destined to include” all Gentiles and all Jews. (Davies *Invitation* 306)
   5. In the end, all things—angels, human, material creation—will be “restored to him who made it [306] [and will] share in the glory of God.” (Davies *Invitation* 306-07)
      1. 1 Cor 15:22-28, “for as all die in Adam, so all will be made alive in Christ. 23 But each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ. 24 Then comes the end, when he hands over the kingdom to God the Father, after he has destroyed every ruler and every authority and power. 25 For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet. 26 The last enemy to be destroyed is death. 27 For “God has put all things in subjection under his feet.” But when it says, “All things are put in subjection,” it is plain that this does not include the one who put all things in subjection under him. 28 When all things are subjected to him, then the Son himself will also be subjected to the one who put all things in subjection under him, so that God may be all in all.”
      2. Col 1:18-20, “He is the head of the body, the church; he is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, so that he might come to have first place in everything. 19 For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell, 20 and through him God was pleased to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, by making peace through the blood of his cross.”
   6. “The philosophy which we have outlined may be set forth in the form of the two cones . . . But to make [307] the picture of it complete, so as to include all things, the diagram on page 303 should be consulted.” (Davies *Invitation* 307-08)



(Davies *Invitation* 302)



Dodd, C.H. *Epistle to the Romans*. 1932. 187.

## THE LAW

1. **introduction**
   1. Paul discusses the Law only in Rom, 1-2 Cor, Gal, Phil (ad 54-58). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
   2. deutero-Paulines: “law” is only in Eph 2:15 (Christ “abolished the law”). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
2. “**law**” **in Paul**
   1. a law (“the simple sense”) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
      1. Rom 4:15b, “where there is no law, neither is there violation.”
      2. Rom 5:13, “sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law.”
      3. Rom 7:1a (all of 1 is quoted), “Do you not know, brothers and sisters—for I am speaking to those who know the law—that the law is binding on a person only during that person’s lifetime?”
      4. Gal 5:23, “gentleness, and self-control. There is no law against such things.”
   2. a section of the OT (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
      1. the Torah
         1. Rom 3:31b (all of 31 is quoted), “Do we then overthrow the law by this faith? By no means! On the contrary, we uphold the law.”
         2. 1 Cor 9:9a, “For it is written in the law of Moses, “You shall not muzzle an ox while it is treading out the grain.””
            1. the only instance of [75] “the law of Moses” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75-76)
         3. 1 Cor “14:34(?)” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 76), women “are not permitted to speak, but should be subordinate, as the law also says.”
         4. Gal 3:10b, “it is written, “Cursed is everyone who does not observe and obey all the things written in the book of the law.””
      2. the prophets
         1. 1 Cor 14:21, “In the law it is written, “By people of strange tongues and by the lips of foreigners I will speak to this people; yet even then they will not listen to me,” says the Lord.” (Isa 28:11-12)
      3. the psalms
         1. Rom 3:19a, “Now we know that whatever the law says . . .”
   3. figurative senses
      1. a “principle” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
         1. Rom 3:27a (all of 27 is quoted), “Then what becomes of boasting? It is excluded. By what law? By that of works? No, but by the law of faith.”
         2. Rom 7:21, 23a (all of 23 is quoted), “So I find it to be a law that when I want to do what is good, evil lies close at hand. . . . 23 but I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind, making me captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members.”
      2. “the law of sin” (or “sin and death”) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
         1. Rom 7:23c, I am “captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members.”
         2. Rom 7:25b, “with my flesh I am a slave to the law of sin.”
         3. “Law of sin” is “an appositional genitive”: “law which is sin.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 78)
      3. natural law
         1. Rom 2:14d (all of 14 is quoted), “When Gentiles, who do not possess the law, do instinctively what the law requires, these, though not having the law, are a law to themselves.”
      4. “law” in oxymorons (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
         1. “the law of faith” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
            1. Rom 3:27, “Then what becomes of boasting? It is excluded. By what law? By that of works? No, but by the law of faith.”
         2. “the law of Christ” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
            1. Gal 6:2, “Bear one another’s burdens, and in this way you will fulfill the law of Christ.”
         3. “the law of the Spirit” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
            1. Rom 8:2a (all of 2 is quoted), “For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set you free from the law of sin and of death.”
   4. Mosaic Law
      1. But mostly “law” means the Mosaic Law. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 76)
      2. With or without the article, *nomos* occurs in this sense about 97 times. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 76)
3. **the Law**’**s positive role**
   1. The Law in itself is good. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 76)
      1. Rom 7:12, 14, 16, “So the law is holy, and the commandment is holy and just and good. . . . 14 For we know that the law is spiritual; but I am of the flesh, sold into slavery under sin. . . . 16 Now if I do what I do not want, I agree that the law is good.”
      2. Rom 7:22, 7:25, 8:7, “the law of God.”
      3. The Law leads to “life,” “that is, to communion with God . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 76)
         1. Rom 7:10, “the very commandment that promised life proved to be death to me.”
   2. God added the Law to increase transgressions. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 77)
      1. Rom 5:20, “But law came in, with the result that the trespass multiplied; but where sin increased, grace abounded all the more . . .”
      2. The Law became the tool of Sin and thus “the very “force of sin” itself . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 77)
         1. 1 Cor 15:56, “The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law.”
   3. “Paul depicts this positive role of the law . . . in three ways.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 77)
      1. “The law acted as an occasion (*aphormē*) for sin, instructing humanity in the . . . possibility of doing evil . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 77)
         1. The Law forbid “what was indifferent (e.g., the eating of certain animals, Lev 11:2-47; Deut 14:4-21 . . .).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 77)
            1. 1 Cor 8:8, ““Food will not bring us close to God.” We are no worse off if we do not eat, and no better off if we do.”
         2. Also, the Law aroused desires “with external regulations about “forbidden fruit.”” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 77)
            1. Rom 7:5, 7-8, 11, “While we were living in the flesh, our sinful passions, aroused by the law, were at work in our members to bear fruit for death. . . . 7What then should we say? That the law is sin? By no means! Yet, if it had not been for the law, I would not have known sin. I would not have known what it is to covet if the law had not said, “You shall not covet.” 8But sin, seizing an opportunity in the commandment, produced in me all kinds of covetousness. Apart from the law sin lies dead. . . . 11For sin, seizing an opportunity in the commandment, deceived me and through it killed me.”
      2. “The law also . . . gave humanity “a real knowledge of sin” . . . (Rom 3:20), that is, it revealed the true character of moral disorder as a rebellion against God, as a transgression of his will . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 77)
         1. Rom 3:20b, “through the law comes the knowledge of sin.”
         2. Rom 4:15, “For the law brings wrath; but where there is no law, neither is there violation.”
         3. Rom 5:13-14, “sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law. 14 Yet death exercised dominion from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who is a type of the one who was to come.”
         4. Rom 7:8b-9a, “Apart from the law sin lies dead. 9 I was once alive apart from the law . . .”
         5. “He would not have denied that human beings were evil during the first period, from Adam to Moses, . . . but it was not “like the transgression of Adam” (Rom 5:14), who had violated a command of God (Gen 2:17; 3:6, 11).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 77)
      3. “The law also laid a curse on the human beings under its authority. Paul derived this idea from Deut 27:26, quoted in Gal 3:10 . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 77)
         1. Deut 27:26, “Cursed be anyone who does not uphold the words of this law by observing them.”
         2. Rom 8:1, “There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus.”
         3. 2 Cor 3:7, 9, “Now if the ministry of death, chiseled in letters on stone tablets, came in glory so that the people of Israel could not gaze at Moses’ face because of the glory of his face, a glory now set aside . . . 9For if there was glory in the ministry of condemnation, much more does the ministry of justification abound in glory!”
         4. Gal 3:10, “For all who rely on the works of the law are under a curse; for it is written, “Cursed is everyone who does not observe and obey all the things written in the book of the law.””
4. **the Law**’**s negative role**
   1. “. . . the *negative* role of the law in human history [resulted from] “what the law could not do” . . .” (Rom 8:3) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 76)
   2. “It was incapable of giving life because it was an external norm expressing only do’s and don’ts and possessed . . . no life-giving force [*dynamis*].” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 76)
   3. Hence, the Law enslaves. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 75)
      1. Gal 3:23-24, “Now before faith came, we were imprisoned and guarded under the law until faith would be revealed. 24 Therefore the law was our disciplinarian until Christ came, so that we might be justified by faith.”
   4. The Law did not bring death, but Sin used it as an instrument to reveal itself. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 77-78)
      1. Rom 7:10-13, “the very commandment that promised life proved to be death to me.11 For sin, seizing an opportunity in the commandment, deceived me and through it killed me. . . . 13 Did what is good, then, bring death to me? By no means! It was sin, working death in me through what is good, in order that sin might be shown to be sin, and through the commandment might become sinful beyond measure.”
   5. How did Sin use the Law to reveal itself? Paul has one explanation in Galatians and another in Romans. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 78)
      1. “. . . Paul’s treatment of the role of the Mosaic law in human life develops from Gal to Rom . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 27)
      2. Gal 3:17-4:7
         1. “In Gal, Paul sets forth an extrinsic explanation, ascribing to the law of Moses a temporary role in salvation history . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 78)
            1. Gal 3:17-4:7, “Brothers and sisters, I give an example from daily life: once a person’s will has been ratified, no one adds to it or annuls it. 16 Now the promises were made to Abraham and to his offspring; it does not say, “And to off­springs,” as of many; but it says, “And to your offspring,” that is, to one person, who is Christ. 17 My point is this: the law, which came four hundred thirty years later, does not annul a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to nullify the promise. 18 For if the inheritance comes from the law, it no longer comes from the promise; but God granted it to Abraham through the promise.
            2. “19 Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions, until the offspring would come to whom the promise had been made; and it was ordained through angels by a mediator. 20 Now a mediator involves more than one party; but God is one. 21 Is the law then opposed to the promises of God? Certainly not! For if a law had been given that could make alive, then righteousness would indeed come through the law. 22 But the scripture has imprisoned all things under the power of sin, so that what was promised through faith in Jesus Christ might be given to those who believe.
            3. “23 Now before faith came, we were imprisoned and guarded under the law until faith would be revealed. 24 Therefore the law was our disciplinarian [*paidagō­gos*] until Christ came, so that we might be justified by faith. 25 But now that faith has come, we are no longer subject to a disciplinarian, 26 for in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith. 27 As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. 28 There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus. 29 And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham’s offspring, heirs according to the promise.
            4. 4:1 My point is this: heirs, as long as they are minors, are no better than slaves, though they are the owners of all the property; 2 but they remain under guardians and trustees until the date set by the father. 3 So with us; while we were minors, we were enslaved to the elemental spirits of the world. 4 But when the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, 5 in order to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as children. 6 And because you are children, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba! Father!” 7 So you are no longer a slave but a child, and if a child then also an heir, through God.”
         2. “This provisional role of the law is also seen in its being added 430 years after the promises made to Abraham . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 78)
            1. Gal 3:17-18, “My point is this: the law, which came four hundred thirty years later, does not annul a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to nullify the promise. 18For if the inheritance comes from the law, it no longer comes from the promise; but God granted it to Abraham through the promise.”
         3. The Law is also inferior to the promises because “it was promulgated by angels (3:19; cf. Deut 33:2 LXX) and through a mediator (3:20, Moses).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 78)
            1. Deut 33:2, “He said: The Lord came from Sinai, and dawned from Seir upon us; he shone forth from Mount Paran. With him were myriads of holy ones; at his right, a host of his own.”
            2. Deut 33:2 LXX, “καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ἐκ Σινα ἥκει καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἐκ Σηιρ ἡμῖν καὶ κατέσπευσεν [urge or hasten on] ἐξ ὄρους Φαραν σὺν μυριάσιν Καδης ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ἄγγελοι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ . . .”
            3. Gal 3:19, “Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions, until the offspring would come to whom the promise had been made; and it was ordained through angels by a mediator.”
            4. Gal 3:20, “Now a mediator involves more than one party; but God is one.”
         4. The Law “was not given as a direct means of salvation but as a way of announcing God’s demands to a conscience which of itself is totally incapable of salvation.” (Rondet 22)
         5. “In Gal, Paul emphasizes . . . salvation history . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 79)
         6. “. . . the believer is no longer a school-age boy in tow, but a son in the full sense, . . . heir of the promises made to Abraham [Gal 3:16-22, 4:3-6, see Gen 15:16].” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 79)
         7. “True, Paul does introduce an intrinsic element into Gal when he speaks of the Spirit “sent into our hearts” (4:6).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 79) But mostly the intrinsic explanation is found in Romans.
      3. Rom 7:13-8:4
         1. Romans gives a “more intrinsic” explanation, “that is, a philosophical explanation of the human predicament. In Rom he shows that the difficulty is not with the law, but with humanity in its this-worldly condition of *sarx*, “flesh” . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 78)
            1. Rom 7:16-17, 25, “if I do what I do not want, I agree that the law is good. 17 But in fact it is no longer I that do it, but sin that dwells within me. . . . 25 So then, with my mind I am a slave to the law of God, but with my flesh I am a slave to the law of sin.”
         2. For observance of the Law, Paul substituted faith and the Spirit in us. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 78)
            1. Rom 5:5, “God’s love has been poured into our hearts through the holy Spirit that has been given to us.”
            2. Rom 7:24-25, “Wretched man that I am! Who will rescue me from this body of death? 25 Thanks be to God[, it is done] through Jesus Christ our Lord!” (The bracketed explanation is Fitzmyer’s, 79.)
            3. Rom 8:2-4, “the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set you free from the law of sin and of death. 3 For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do: by sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and to deal with sin, he condemned sin in the flesh, 4 so that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit.”
5. **Christ**’**s relation to the Law**
   1. Christ as the end of the Law
      1. Rom 10:4, “For Christ is the end of the law so that there may be righteousness for everyone who believes.”
      2. “. . . *telos* can mean either “end, termination” or “goal, purpose, *finis*.”” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 79)
      3. If “end” means “the “end” of the period of the *Tōrāh* . . . [then] Christ would be the end of . . . striving to achieve uprightness [through] the law. Whereas this sense might fit the temporal [i.e., salvation-history] perspective of Gal, is it suitable for Rom?” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 79)
      4. “Unfortunately, the second sense . . . has often been related to the “custodian” of Gal 3:24, understood [79] as a teacher . . . But the ancient *paidagōgos* was not a pedagogue or teacher in our modern sense, nor does *eis Christon* (Gal 3:24) have a final sense; it is temporal . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 79-80)
         1. Gal 3:24, “the law was our disciplinarian until Christ came, so that we might be justified by faith.”
      5. Nevertheless, “the final sense of *telos nomou* is preferable because of the Rom context; it is logically related to the metaphor of the chase or race in Rom 9:31-33 . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 80)
         1. Rom 9:31-33, “Israel, who did strive for the righteousness that is based on the law, did not succeed in fulfilling that law. 32 Why not? Because they did not strive for it on the basis of faith, but as if it were based on works. They have stumbled over the stumbling stone, 33 as it is written, “See, I am laying in Zion a stone that will make people stumble, a rock that will make them fall, and whoever believes in him will not be put to shame.””
      6. In Phil 3:8b-9, “a pursuit [“*gain* Christ”] implies a goal; hence the preference for *telos* as “goal” in Rom 10:4.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 80)
         1. Phil 3:8b-9, “For his sake I have suffered the loss of all things, and I regard them as rubbish, in order that I may gain Christ 9 and be found in him, not having a righteousness of my own that comes from the law, but one that comes through faith in Christ, the righteousness from God based on faith.”
      7. Even Rom 3:21, ““apart from [the observance of] law” (*chōris nomou*) does not militate against this interpretation, because what was the goal of the law (uprightness in God’s sight) is achieved through Christ, and not by mere observance of the law.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 80)
      8. “Similarly, Rom 8:2-3 does not demand the translation of *telos* as “ter­min­ation,” for Rom 8:4 makes it clear that “the just requirement of the law is fulfilled in us who walk not according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit.”” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 80)
         1. Rom 8:2-4, “For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set you free from the law of sin and of death. 3 For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do: by sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and to deal with sin, he condemned sin in the flesh, 4 so that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit.”
   2. In Rom 9:32, “. . . Paul explains the reason of Israel’s failure: It did not pursue that goal “through faith, but as if [it were based] on works,” and so it tripped over the Isaian stumbling block” (Isa 18:14-15; 28:16). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 80)
      1. Rom 9:31-32, “but Israel, who did strive for the righteousness that is based on the law, did not succeed in fulfilling that law. 32Why not? Because they did not strive for it on the basis of faith, but as if it were based on works. They have stumbled over the stumbling stone . . .”
      2. Isa 8:14-15, “He [the Lord] will become a sanctuary, a stone one strikes against; for both houses of Israel he will become a rock one stumbles over—a trap and a snare for the inhabitants of Jerusalem. 15And many among them shall stumble; they shall fall and be broken; they shall be snared and taken.”
      3. Isa 28:16, “See, I am laying in Zion a foundation stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, a sure foundation: “One who trusts will not panic.””
      4. (Only other mention of “stone” in Isa nrsv is 37:19, “their gods [are] wood and stone . . .”)
   3. An explanation of Gal 5:6 is in Rom 13:8-10. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 80)
      1. Gal 5:6, “the only thing that counts is faith working through love.”
      2. Rom 13:8-10, “love one another; for the one who loves another has fulfilled the law. 9The commandments, “You shall not commit adultery; You shall not murder; You shall not steal; You shall not covet”; and any other commandment, are summed up in this word, “Love your neighbor as yourself.” 10Love does no wrong to a neighbor; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law.”
      3. “Faith in the Christian sense, introduced into human history by the death and resurrection of Christ Jesus, when it works itself out through love, is understood by Paul as accomplishing what the law was intended to accomplish. Only Paul has such a christological under­stand­ing of the law of Moses among NT writers.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 80)
   4. Gal 3:10-13
      1. In Gal 3:10 “the “curse” meant is that of Deut 27:26, whereas the “curse” in [Gal 3:13] is rather that of Deut 21:23 . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 80)
         1. Gal 3:10, “all who rely on the works of the law are under a curse; for it is written, “Cursed is everyone who does not observe and obey all the things written in the book of the law.””
         2. Deut 27:26, “Cursed be anyone who does not uphold the words of this law by observing them.”
         3. Gal 3:13, “Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us—for it is written, “Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree . . .”
         4. Deut 21:23, “his corpse must not remain all night upon the tree; you shall bury him that same day, for anyone hung on a tree is under God’s curse. You must not defile the land that the Lord your God is giving you for possession.”
      2. Deut 21:23 was “a curse formulated against the dead body of an executed criminal hanged from a tree as a deterrent to further crime: The body was not to be allowed to hang beyond sundown, lest it defile the land.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 80)
      3. “In late pre-Christian Palestinian Judaism that curse was applied to crucified persons; their dead bodies were not to be permitted to hang overnight . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 80)
      4. “Such a curse was pronounced over the crucified body of Jesus; and by becoming a “curse” in that sense, Paul argues, Christ removed the “curse” of the law (Deut 27:26) from those who were under it.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 80)
      5. “This does not mean, however, that the relation of human beings to God is completely removed from the realm of law . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 80)

## CHRISTOLOGICAL TITLES

introduction

Jesus

messiah (Christ)

Lord

Son

wisdom

God

1. **introduction**
   1. ancient gods, modern man
      1. The earliest “Christians were so overwhelmed by the figure of Jesus that they found it easier to think of him in terms of God than of man.” (Davies 327)
      2. Modern Christians “think of Jesus, first, as a man . . .” (Davies 328)
      3. “The ancient world thought easily in terms of “gods” . . . the modern world thinks easily only in terms of man.” (Davies 328)
   2. God and man
      1. Jesus’ redirecting history “implied two things.” (Davies 328)
         1. “First, Jesus must have been someone who was not controlled by this world. . . . [He came] into human history from outside it . . .” (Davies 328)
         2. Second, “to redirect history, Jesus had also to be fully involved in history. . . . Jesus is man among men.” (Davies 328)
         3. Jesus was “in the world though not of the world . . .” (Davies 328)
   3. introduction to the titles
      1. Occasionally Paul refers to Jesus simply as “Jesus.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 49)
      2. But mostly he refers to him by titles. These titles tell us how Paul understood the part Jesus played in salvation history. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 49)
      3. The three most important titles in Paul (from most to least frequent) are “Christ,” “Lord,” and “Son.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 51)
2. **Jesus**
   1. 33 times, “and that in the more ancient texts . . .” (Bonsirven 228)
   2. “We seldom find the proper name “Jesus” . . .; the Apostle’s devotion was directed rather to Christ in glory.” (Bonsirven 228)
3. **messiah** (**Christ**)
   1. Judaism
      1. Hebrew *mashiach* means “anointed person.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 50)
      2. “Thus arose the messianic expectation in Israel . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 51)
      3. *Mashiach* was used for: (Fitzmyer *Paul* 50)
         1. kings of Israel
         2. the high priest (but only in Lev 4:5, 16)
         3. the Persian king Cyrus (but only in Isa 45:1)
         4. a future king, who will be like David
      4. Because *mashiach* “was often used of David, when the Davidic line was carried off into Babylonian captivity . . . the promise of a future “David” to be raised up by God emerged in Israel . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 51)
      5. *Mashiach* “was eventually transferred to that figure . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 51)
         1. Dan 9:25, “from the time that the word went out to restore and rebuild Jerusalem until the time of an anointed prince [נָגִ֔ידמָשִׁ֣יחַ, *nagid mashiach*] there shall be seven weeks . . .”
      6. The Essenes expected two messiahs, a king and a priest (1QS 9:11, “the messiahs of Aaron and Israel”). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 51)
      7. divinity
         1. “Messiah” “did not evoke any ideas of a divine being. The Messiah of Jewish expectation was to be a human figure, however glorious.” (Davies 337)
         2. “But the Messiah was to be the agent of God, the final man.” (Davies 337)
      8. The LXX translated *mashiach* with Χριστός, *Christós*, “Christ.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 50)
   2. primitive Christianity
      1. “The title was applied to Jesus of Nazareth very quickly after his death and resurrection, evoked among his followers undoubtedly by the title that Pilate had affixed to his cross, “King of the Jews”.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 51)
         1. Mark 15:26, “The inscription of the charge against him read, “The King of the Jews.””
         2. Acts 2:36, “God has made him both Lord and Messiah, this Jesus whom you crucified.”
      2. “. . . the title soon became Jesus’ second name.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 51)
   3. in Paul
      1. 389 times, “unless I am mistaken.” (Bonsirven 228)
      2. ““Christ” is the most usual title . . .” (Bonsirven 228)
      3. the double name (“Jesus Christ” or “Christ Jesus”)
         1. “The name by which Paul refers most often to Jesus is “Jesus Christ.”” (Davies 337)
         2. “Christ” is virtually Jesus’ second name. This explains its frequency in Paul. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 51)
            1. proto-Paulines: 266 times
            2. deutero-Paulines: 113 times
         3. “This double form has often been regarded as a proper name; that is, it is simply the personal name for Jesus, and no emphasis need be placed on the epithet “Christ” . . .” (Davies 337)
         4. But “Jesus Christ” “doubtless recalled to him its Hebrew equivalent: Jesus Messiah . . . The full Messianic force of the name would be apparent to Paul.” (Davies 337)
         5. The “force” of the double name for Paul was: “in Jesus the final, ultimate man had appeared.” (Davies 337)
      4. Christ is the source of grace and virtues. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 52?)
         1. God’s love
            1. Rom 8:39, neither death, “nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.”
         2. God’s grace
            1. 1 Cor 1:4, “I give thanks to my God always for you because of the grace of God that has been given you in Christ Jesus . . .”
         3. spiritual enrichment
            1. 1 Cor 1:5, “for in every way you have been enriched in him, in speech and knowledge of every kind . . .”
         4. God’s righteousness
            1. 2 Cor 5:21, “For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God.”
         5. freedom
            1. Gal 2:4, “But because of false believers secretly brought in, who slipped in to spy on the freedom we have in Christ Jesus, so that they might enslave us . . .”
         6. strength
            1. Gal 2:17, “in our effort to be justified in Christ . . .”
         7. faith and love
            1. 1 Tim 1:14, “the grace of our Lord overflowed for me with the faith and love that are in Christ Jesus.”
      5. Christ is “the atmosphere in which the Christian lives . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53?)
         1. 1 Cor 16:24, “My love be with all of you in Christ Jesus.”
         2. 2 Cor 2:17, “in Christ we speak as persons of sincerity . . .”
         3. Eph 2:6, God “raised us up with him and seated us with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus.”
         4. Phil 1:1, “To all the saints in Christ Jesus . . .”
         5. Phil 4:21, “Greet every saint in Christ Jesus . . .”
         6. 1 Thess 1:1, “To the church of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ . . .”
      6. Christ as agent of creation
         1. Col 1:16-17, “in him all things . . . were created, . . . all things have been created through him and for him. 17 He himself is before all things, and in him all things hold together.”
         2. Eph 1:10, God has made known his “plan for the fullness of time, to gather up all things in him, things in heaven and things on earth.”
4. **Lord**
   1. Hellenistic culture
      1. “Lord” would have been meaningful for “Hellenistic religious groups . . .” (Davies 331)
      2. “Isis, Osiris, and Serapis were often called simply *kyrios* or *kyria* . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 52)
         1. 1 Cor 8:5, “there may be so-called gods in heaven or on earth—as in fact there are many gods and many lords . . .”
      3. “*Kyrios* was also a . . . title for the Roman emperor . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 52)
         1. “Though denoting primarily the emperor’s political and judicial sovereignty, it also carried the nuance of his divinity . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 52)
         2. Acts 25:26a (Festus to Agrippa), “But I have nothing definite to write to our sovereign [*kyrios*, the emperor] about him.”
   2. Old Testament
      1. written text
         1. MT
            1. “Yahweh” is the personal name that God revealed to Israel.

Exod 3:13-14, “But Moses said to God, “If I come to the Israelites and say to them, ‘The God of your ancestors has sent me to you,’ and they ask me, ‘What is his name?’ what shall I say to them?” 14 God said to Moses, “I AM WHO I AM.” He said further, “Thus you shall say to the Israelites, ‘I AM has sent me to you.’””

* + - * 1. “Lord” (Hebrew ´*adon*, Aramaic *mareh*) or “the Lord” for Yahweh is “an unusual designation for God . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 52)
      1. LXX
         1. Greek translations of the OT continued to write Hebrew *YHWH* in Hebrew letters, or as *IAO*. (On “IAO”: Conzelmann. *OTNT*. 83-84.) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 52)
         2. “In the Greek translation of the Old Testament, the word *Yahweh* is translated by “Lord” which is really a translation of *Adonai*, Lord, Master . . .” (Davies 332)
         3. These statements contradict.—Hahn
    1. spoken text
       1. MT
          1. The most frequent names for the deity are Elohim and Yahweh. (Davies 331)
          2. Elohim could be pronounced. (Davies 331)
          3. Yahweh was ineffable: it could not to be pronounced. (Davies 331)

“. . . the exact pronunciation of it became forgotten . . .” (Davies 331)

“Thus when the Old Testament was read, whenever the name *Yahweh* occurred, Jews [331] substituted for it another word *Adonai*, Lord, Master.” (Davies 331-32)

* 1. pre-Christian Judaism
     1. “Palestinian Jews in the last pre-Christian centuries . . . were beginning (at least) to refer to God as “the Lord.”” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 52)
        1. Ps 114:7 MT and 11QPsa (quoting Ps 151) have ´*adon*.
        2. 11QtgJob 24:6-7 has *mareh*.
        3. *1 Enoch* 10:9 has *marya*´.
           1. 4QEnb 1 iv 5 has *marya*´.
           2. A Greek translation of *1 Enoch* has *ho Kyrios* at that point.
        4. Twice Josephus refers to God as *ho Kyrios*.
  2. primitive Christianity
     1. Jewish Christianity
        1. *maranatha* (“Our Lord, come!”) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53)
           1. *Maranatha* is “a liturgical formula . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53)
           2. “Even when writing to a Greek-speaking community (1 Cor 16:22), Paul preserves *maranatha* . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53)
           3. 1 Cor 16:22, “Let anyone be accursed who has no love for the Lord. Our Lord, come!”
        2. “Jesus is Lord”
           1. Jewish Christians in Jerusalem “had already fashioned the credal formula, “Jesus is Lord” . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 52)
           2. Rom 10:9, “if you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved.”
           3. 1 Cor 12:3, “no one speaking by the Spirit of God ever says “Let Jesus be cursed!” and no one can say “Jesus is Lord” except by the Holy Spirit.”
        3. 1 Cor 11:26
           1. 1 Cor 11:26, “For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord’s death until he comes.”
        4. Phil 2:6-11
           1. Phil 2:6-11 is a “pre-Pauline (probably Jewish-Christian) hymn . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 52)
           2. Phil 2:10

For the Jewish Christians before him and for Paul, “Lord” “meant that this exalted Christ (Phil 2:9) was worthy of the same adoration as Yahweh himself, as the allusion to Isa 45:23 in Phil 2:10 suggests.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53)

Isa 45:23, “To me [Yahweh] every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear . . .”

Phil 2:10-11, “at the name of Jesus every knee should bend . . ., 11 and every should tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord . . .”

* + - * 1. Phil 2:11

Phil 2:11, “every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.”

For his obedience Jesus is “given the title “Lord.”” (Davies 330)

The “title forms the climax of the [hymn] . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 52)

* + - 1. parousiac Christ
         1. Both *maranatha* and 1 Cor 11:26 (“as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord’s death *until he comes*”) suggest “that *Kyrios* was originally applied to the parousiac Christ, and then gradually retrojected to other, earlier phases of Jesus’ existence.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53)
      2. The Jewish Christians before him and Paul “used of the risen Christ the title that Palestinian Jews had come to use of Yahweh . . . [That] puts him on the same level with Yahweh . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53)
    1. Hellenistic Christianity
       1. “Lord” “suggested that Jesus was a being to be worshipped.” (Davies 331)
       2. “But it would not suggest any uniqueness on his part . . .” (Davies 331)
  1. Paul
     1. Occasionally Yahweh is *kyrios* or *ho kyrios* (“the Lord”). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 51)
     2. Mostly Christ is “Lord.”
        1. No doubt Paul derived the title “from the early Jewish-Christian community of Jerusalem . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53)
        2. “When Paul used the title “Lord” of Jesus, [probably] he was thinking of him as Adonai—the Lord and Master who had in the past revealed himself to Moses but was now present among Christians in Jesus Christ.” (Davies 332)
           1. The Lord “had become the God of Israel, and has now become the Lord of the New Israel. . .” (Davies 332)
        3. In Paul “Lord” especially means the risen Christ. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 51)
           1. “The title expresses Jesus’ . . . risen condition as an influence . . . even in the present.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53)
        4. “Lord” was used for Jesus “as he was present in the life of the Church, the object of its worship.” (Davies 331)
           1. Rom 14:8-9, “If we live, we live to the Lord, and if we die, we die to the Lord; so then, whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord’s. 9 For to this end Christ died and lived again, so that he might be Lord of both the dead and the living.”
           2. Jesus “was known by his followers as living in their midst even though he had undergone death.” (Davies 331)
        5. By calling Christ “Lord,” Paul and Christians of all times “admit that they are his *douloi*,” “servants” or “slaves.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53)
           1. Rom 1:1, 1 Cor 7:22, Gal 1:10
        6. in Colossians and Ephesians (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53)
           1. Christ’s lordship grounds the Church’s unity.

Eph 4:5, “one Lord, one faith, one baptism . . .”

* + - * 1. Christ is “Lord” of the cosmos.

Col 2:6-9, “you therefore have received Christ Jesus the *Lord* . . . 9 in him the whole fullness of deity dwells bodily . . .”

Col 2:15, “He disarmed the rulers and authorities and made a public example of them, triumphing over them in it.”

1. **Son**
   1. ancient Near East
      1. “Son of God” was used for monarchs.
      2. Egyptian pharaohs were “sons of God,” sons of the sun god Rê. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 49)
      3. Assyrian and Babylonian kings were also “sons of God.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 49)
   2. Hellenism
      1. “Son of God” was used for: (Fitzmyer *Paul* 49)
         1. mythical heroes (like Hercules)
         2. philosopher-sages (like Pythagoras and Plato)
         3. wonder workers (like Apollonius of Tyana)
         4. Roman emperors
      2. The dominant idea seems to have been having divine powers. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 49)
   3. OT
      1. “Son of God” was used for:
         1. angels (Fitzmyer *Paul* 49)
         2. judges (during the period of the judges) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 50)
         3. a king of Israel (Fitzmyer *Paul* 50)
         4. Israel itself (Fitzmyer *Paul* 50)
         5. an upright individual Jew (Fitzmyer *Paul* 50)
      2. “The dominant idea . . . in the Jewish world was that of divine election for a God-given task and the corresponding obedience to such a vocation. The Hebraic notion of sonship is at the root of the NT application of the title to Christ.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 50)
   4. pre-Christian Palestinian Judaism
      1. Only the Dead Sea Scrolls use “son of God” for the messiah. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 50)
   5. primitive Christianity
      1. Even before Paul, Christians called Jesus “son [of God],” since Rom 1:3-4 is apparently a fragment of early Christian preaching (*kerygma*). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 50)
      2. Rom 1:3-4, “the gospel concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh 4 and was declared to be Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord . . .”
   6. Paul
      1. Paul called Jesus God’s “son.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 49)
         1. “son of God”: Gal 2:20, 3:26; 2 Cor 1:19
         2. “his [the Father’s] son”: Rom 1:3, 9; 5:10; 8:3, 29, 32; 1 Cor 1:9; Gal 1:16; 4:4, 6; 1 Thess 1:10
      2. Paul especially associates sonship with preexistence.
         1. 1 Cor 15:24, “Then comes the end, when he hands over the kingdom to God the Father . . .”
            1. In 1 Cor 15:24, Paul “may even transcend functional christology[:] . . . Christ with his role brought to completion is “the Son,” related to the Father . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 50)
         2. 2 Cor 8:9, “though he was rich, . . . he became poor . . .”
         3. Gal 4:4, “God sent his Son . . .”
      3. After Paul, in the gospels, Jesus is “son of God” (Matt 16:16, Peter’s confession; Mark 14:61, the high priest’s charge). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 50)
2. **wisdom**
   1. Judaism
      1. Wisdom and creation
         1. Wisdom is hypostatized (given a “semi-personal character”). (Davies 334)
         2. Prov 8:22-31, “The Lord created me at the beginning of his work, the first of his acts of long ago. 23 Ages ago I was set up, at the first, before the beginning of the earth. 24 When there were no depths I was brought forth, when there were no springs abounding with water. 25 Before the mountains had been shaped, before the hills, I was brought forth—26 when he had not yet made earth and fields, or the world’s first bits of soil. 27 When he established the heavens, I was there, when he drew a circle on the face of the deep, 28 when he made firm the skies above, when he established the fountains of the deep, 29 when he assigned to the sea its limit, so that the waters might not transgress his command, when he marked out the foundations of the earth, 30 then I was beside him, like a master worker; and I was daily his delight, rejoicing before him always, 31 rejoicing in his inhabited world and delighting in the human race.”
         3. Wis 9:9, “With you is wisdom, she who knows your works and was present when you made the world . . .”
         4. Wisdom “exists before creation . . .” (Davies 334)
         5. It “has a role in the creation and structure of the universe . . .” (Davies 335)
            1. creation: it is “the architect [that God] employed.” (Davies 334)
            2. structure: it is “the plan which God followed . . .” (Davies 334)
         6. “This is the way in which Judaism asserted that the universe is not a haphazard phenomenon, no accident which simply happened, but the outcome of God’s purpose, built upon wise plans.” (Davies 334)
      2. Wisdom and Word (Wisdom of Solomon, c. 100-50 bc)
         1. God’s “Word” (Logos) as agent of creation ultimately comes from Gen 1. (Urban 41)
            1. Gen 1:3, “Then God said, “Let there be light”; and there was light.” (“God said” is also in 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 28.)
            2. Ps 33:9, “For he spoke, and it came to be; he commanded, and it stood firm.”
            3. Ps 136:5, God “by understanding [σύνεσις] made the heavens . . .”
         2. Word and Wisdom are identical; see the Hebrew paral­lelism in Wis 9:1-2. (Urban 41)
            1. Wis 9:1-2, “O God . . ., who have made all things by your word, 2 and by your wisdom have formed humankind . . .”
            2. Wis 9:4, “give me the wisdom that sits by your throne . . .”
         3. Wisdom is “only begotten” (in LXX of 7:25; RSV = “a pure em­an­a­tion”). (Urban 41)
            1. Wis 7:25, “she is a breath [ἀτμίς, vapor] of the power of God, and a pure emanation [ἀπόρ­ροια] of the glory of the Almighty . . .
      3. Wisdom/Word and Spirit
         1. The Book of Wisdom confused Logos/Wisdom and the Holy Spirit, as did Paul. (Urban 52)
         2. Wis 9:17, “Who has learned your counsel, unless you have given wisdom and sent your holy spirit from on high?”
      4. Wisdom and morality
         1. Prov 8:32-36, (verses that immediately follow 8:21-31) “And now, my children, listen to me: happy are those who keep my ways. 33 Hear instruction and be wise, and do not neglect it. 34 Happy is the one who listens to me, watching daily at my gates, waiting beside my doors. 35 For whoever finds me finds life and obtains favor from the Lord; 36 but those who miss me injure themselves; all who hate me love death.”
      5. Wisdom and the Law
         1. “By the time of Paul, the Wisdom described in Proverbs 8 had been equated with the Law, which is the Wisdom of God.” (Davies 335)
   2. Paul
      1. Paul identifies the messiah with Wisdom to assert certain things about him. (Davies 335)
         1. 1 Cor 1:24, “to those who are the called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.”
         2. 1 Cor 1:30, Christ Jesus “became for us wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification and redemption . . .”
      2. Christ preexists creation.
         1. Most say OT Wisdom was the source of the idea of preexist­ence.
         2. Col 1:15, “He is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation . . .”
         3. Col 1:17, “He himself is before all things, and in him all things hold together.”
      3. Christ is the agent of creation.
         1. 1 Cor 8:6, there is “one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist.”
         2. Col 1:16-17, “in him all things in heaven and on earth were created, . . .—all things have been created through him and for him. 17 He himself is before all things, and in him all things hold together.”
         3. How could an historical figure be “the first born of creation and, indeed, the very agent of the created order? Is not all this fantastic?” (Davies 333)
         4. Most say OT Wisdom was the source of the ideas in Col 1:15-20.
         5. Christ “is the pattern on which the universe is . . . constructed; he is the “secret” of the universe.” (Davies 335)
      4. Christ and morality
         1. Christ “is the moral guide of men.” (Davies 335)
         2. Col 1:21-23, (verses that immediately follow 1:15-20) “And you who were once estranged and hostile in mind, doing evil deeds, 22 he has now reconciled in his fleshly body through death, so as to present you holy and blameless and irreproachable before him—23 provided that you continue securely established and steadfast in the faith, without shifting from the hope promised by the gospel that you heard . . .”
      5. Christ and the Law
         1. “. . . the Law was the ultimate authority for Judaism, and obedience to it the ultimate concern . . . When, therefore, Paul described Jesus as the Wisdom of God, he proclaimed him to be the ultimate authority over all men[and] their ultimate concern. . . . [Christ] was the wisdom of God who had replaced the Law as the ultimate revelation of God and authority over men.” (Davies 335)
3. **God**
   1. Paul “was a Jew, and the horror of thinking of two Gods was real . . .” (Davies 332)
   2. Paul does not call Jesus “God.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53)
      1. Rom 9:5 is a possible exception. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 53)
         1. Rom 9:5, “to them belong the patriarchs, and from them, according to the flesh, comes the Messiah, who is over all, God blessed forever. Amen.”
         2. Rom 9:5, “ὧν οἱ πατέρες καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.”
         3. “. . . even here it is not certain that Paul ascribes the title “God” to Jesus.” (Davies 330)
            1. Rom 9:5 (nrsv), “from them . . . comes the Messiah, who is over all, God blessed forever.”
            2. Rom 9:5 (nab 1991), “from them . . . is the Messiah. God who is over all be blessed forever.”
            3. nrsv notes provide two translations: “Messiah, who is God over all, blessed forever”; or “Messiah. May he who is God over all be blessed forever.”
      2. “Only in [Rom 9:5] does he seem to call Jesus by the name “God” . . .” (Davies 330)
   3. Paul “is constrained to call him “God” and only stops at the very verge of this.” (Davies 332)
      1. “Instead, he used the term “Lord” . . .” (Davies 332)
      2. Jesus was “in the form of God,” “the image of God,” indwelled by God. (Davies 332)
         1. 2 Cor 4:4-6, “Christ . . . is the image [εἰκών, image, likeness] of God. . . . 6 For it is the God who said, “Let light shine out of darkness,” who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.”
         2. Phil 2:6-7, Christ, “though he was in the form [μορφή] of God, did not regard equality with God as something to be exploited, 7 but emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, being born in human likeness [ὁμοίωμα + ἄνθρωπος].”
         3. Col 1:15a, “He is the image [εἰκών] of the invisible God . . .”
         4. Col 1:19, “For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell” (ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν [εὐδοκέω, be pleased] πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι [aor. inf.])
            1. Here Paul refers to Jesus as “the complete being of God.” (Davies 332)
         5. Col 2:9, “For in him the whole fullness of deity dwells bodily . . .”
         6. Heb 1:3, “He is the reflection [ἀπαύγασμα, or radiance] of God’s glory and the exact imprint [χαρακτήρ] of God’s very being [ὑπόστασις; BAGD 207: nature, essence, being] . . .”
   4. Thus Paul reconciles his Jewish monotheism and his “intense devotion to Jesus . . .” (Davies 332)

## CHRISTOLOGY: CHRIST’S ROLE IN SALVATION HISTORY:

## JESUS’ PASSION, DEATH, AND RESURRECTION

1. **introduction**
   1. God in Christ
      1. The synoptics saw God active in Jesus: healing the sick, forgiving sins, speaking “words of grace and authority . . .” (Davies 329)
      2. Paul too saw God “at work in Jesus to deliver the world from its sin.” (Davies 329)
         1. 2 Cor 5:19, “in Christ God was [θεὸς ἦνἐν Χριστῷ] reconciling the world to himself . . .”
      3. Paul always sees Jesus’ death and resurrection “as acts of God . . .” (Davies 329)
         1. Rom 1:4, Christ “was declared to be Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord . . .”
   2. The decisive moment of salvation history was Jesus’ passion and resurrection. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 54)
   3. Paul and John on the passion
      1. For Paul Jesus’ crucifixion was humiliation and subjection to demonic powers. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 54)
      2. For John it was an elevation to glory (John 3:14, 8:28, 12:34). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 54)
   4. Paul gives no answer as to *how* God was at work in Jesus. (Davies 336)
      1. His chief concern was to explain what Jesus had done for us and Jesus’ claim on us, not who Jesus was. (Davies 336)
      2. “. . . only when the central significance of Jesus was challenged, as at Colossae, did he expound the mystery of the Person of Jesus . . .” (Davies 336)
   5. Paul shows little interest in Jesus’ earthly life, apart from the passion and resurrection. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 54)
      1. “For in the last phases of Jesus’ earthly existence, Paul sees Jesus’ filial obedience really displayed . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 54)
      2. Rom 5:19, “by the one man’s obedience the many will be made righteous.”
      3. Phil 2:8, he “became obedient to the point of death . . .”
2. **mention of the passion without the resurrection**
   1. When Paul refers to the passion without mentioning the resurrection, this may be to emphasize how much the crucifixion demanded of Christ. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 54)
      1. Rom 3:25, “a sacrifice of atonement by his blood . . .”
      2. Rom 5:6, “Christ died for the ungodly.”
      3. Gal 2:20, he “loved me and gave himself for me.”
      4. 1 Thess 5:10, “who died for us, so that . . . we may live with him.”
   2. Christ’s passion was vicarious. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 54)
      1. Rom 5:6, “Christ died for the ungodly.”
      2. Rom 14:15, “your brother or sister [is] one for whom Christ died.”
      3. 1 Cor 1:13, “Was Paul crucified for you?”
      4. 2 Cor 5:14, “one has died for all; therefore all have died.”
      5. 2 Cor 5:21, “For our sake he made him to be sin . . .”
      6. Gal 1:4, “who gave himself for our sins to set us free . . .”
      7. Gal 3:13, “Christ redeemed us . . .”
      8. Paul learned this from the early church. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 54)
         1. 1 Cor 15:3, “I handed on to you [what I] received: that Christ died for our sins . . .”
   3. Christ’s death was a sacrifice. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 54)
      1. 1 Cor 5:7, “our paschal lamb, Christ, has been sacrificed.”
      2. 1 Cor 11:24-25, “This is my body that is for you . . . 25This cup is the new covenant in my blood.”
      3. 2 Cor 5:21, “he made him to be sin who knew no sin . . .”
      4. Eph 5:2, “Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God.”
      5. No doubt this tradition too “originated in the early church.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 55)
3. **mention of the passion with the resurrection**
   1. But “much more characteristic of Paul is the linking of Christ’s death and resurrection as the salvific event.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 55)
   2. Rom 4:25, Jesus “was handed over to death for our trespasses and was raised for our justification.”
      1. Notice “the double effect of the salvation-event: the wiping away of human transgressions (on the negative side) and the instituting of a status of uprightness (on the positive side).” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 55)
   3. Rom 8:34, “Christ Jesus, who died, yes, who was raised . . . intercedes for us.”
   4. Rom 10:9-10, “if you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved. 10For one believes with the heart and so is justified, and one confesses with the mouth and so is saved.”
   5. 1 Cor 15:20-21, “Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have died. 21For since death came through a human being, the resurrection of the dead has also come through a human being . . .”
   6. 2 Cor 5:15, “he died for all, so that [they] might live . . . for him who died and was raised for them.”
   7. 2 Cor 13:4a, “he was crucified in weakness, but lives by the power of God.”
   8. Phil 2:8-9, he “became obedient to the point of death—even death on a cross. 9Therefore God also highly exalted him . . .”
   9. 1 Thess 4:14, since “Jesus died and rose again, . . . God will bring with him those who have died.”
   10. “Paul thinks of the Christian as co-crucified with Christ, and what Christ accomplished through his death and resurrection is something in which Christians share so that they now live for God.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 81)
4. **mention of the resurrection without the passion**
   1. Paul also says some things specifically about the resurrection. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 55)
   2. The Father raised Jesus; only once does he suggest that Jesus rose by his own power (1 Thess 4:14, “Jesus died and rose again”). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 55)
   3. “Like so many . . . in the early church, Paul saw the resurrection-ascension as a single phase of the . . . exaltation.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 55)
      1. Rom 8:34, “It is Christ Jesus, who died, yes, who was raised, who is at the right hand of God . . .”
      2. Phil 2:8-9, “death on a cross. 9Therefore God also highly exalted him . . .”
   4. “. . . the resurrection brought Christ into a new relationship with people who had faith.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 56)
      1. Christ now possesses “a power to create new life in those believing in him.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 56)
         1. 1 Cor 15:45, by resurrection Christ became “a life-giving spirit.”
      2. “The Lord is possessed of a power, derived from the Father, and capable of bringing about the resurrection of Christians.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 56)
         1. Rom 1:4, “declared to be Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by resurrection from the dead.”
      3. “At the resurrection he thus became . . . the first being of the *eschaton*.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 56)
         1. 1 Cor 15:20, “Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have died.”

## THE SPIRIT

introduction

bibliography

Spirit in the OT

Spirit in primitive Christianity

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introduction

1. **bibliography**
   1. Bertrams *Wesen des Geistes*
   2. Buechsel *Geist* 267-451
   3. Bultmann *TNT* 151-62, 327-36
   4. Feine *NT Theologie* 254-79
   5. Feine *Paulus* 264-91
   6. Lebreton *Trinité* 422-37
   7. Prat *Théologie* 2: 171-75, 490ff
   8. Schauf *Begriff* “*Fleisch*”
   9. Sokolowski *Begriffe* 1903
2. **Spirit in the OT**
   1. In both OT and NT, “Spirit” fundamentally means “a divine power . . .” (Bonsirven 238)
   2. “. . . *spiritual* corresponds to our *supernatural*. I think this general idea is always in the background . . .” (Bonsirven 238)
   3. In the OT, God’s extraordinary actions on humans were “mostly [on] outward activities.” (Miracles, not graces.) (Bonsirven 237)
   4. Hebrew *ruach* means “breath,” “wind,” or “spirit.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 56)
   5. The spirit of God is “God’s creative, prophetic, or renovating presence . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 56)
      1. Gen 1:2, “a wind from God swept over the face of the waters.”
      2. Ps 139:7, “Where can I go from your spirit?”
      3. Isa 11:2, “The spirit of the Lord shall rest on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord.”
      4. Isa 61:1, “The spirit of the Lord God is upon me . . . he has sent me to bring good news to the oppressed, to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and release to the prisoners . . .”
      5. Ezek 2:2, “And when he spoke to me, a spirit entered into me and set me on my feet . . .”
      6. Wis 7:25, wisdom “is the breath of the power of God . . .”
3. **Spirit in primitive Christianity**
   1. Among the earliest Christians, God “usually gave evidence of his intervention in their affairs by striking miracles and charismas, by making his power felt in the depths of their souls, by transforming them spiritually.” (Bonsirven 237)
      1. 1 Cor 6:11, “But you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God.”
      2. Titus 3:5, “he saved us . . . through the water of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit.”
   2. “In all these operations the Spirit appeared as a person, equal in rank to the Father and the Son and distinct from both.” (Bonsirven 237)

Spirit in Paul

1. **introduction**
   1. “Spirit” (Bonsirven 237)
      1. in the NT: 379 times
      2. in Paul: 155 times
   2. “One of the first experiences Paul and his converts had of the Christian life was the experience of the Holy Spirit.” (Bonsirven 237)
   3. Paul normally uses “Spirit” in the OT sense [57] of “God’s gift of his creative, prophetic, or renovative presence to human beings or the world . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 57-58)
   4. “Spirit” expresses God’s outgoing activity. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 56)
   5. “Paul does have other terms for this besides Spirit, e.g., “power of God” and “wisdom of God” in 1 Cor 1:24 (see Wis 7:25). (Fitzmyer *Paul* 56)
      1. 1 Cor 1:24, “. . . Christ [is] the power of God and the wisdom of God.”
      2. Wis 7:25, “she [Wisdom] is a breath of the power of God . . .”
2. **Paul**’**s uses of πνεῦμα**
   1. “the understanding” (Bonsirven 237)
   2. “an interior disposition” (Bonsirven 237)
   3. the Spirit as God (Bonsirven 237)
   4. “the spiritual power which he infuses into the believer” (Bonsirven 237)
3. **functions of the Spirit**
   1. Paul “worked out no theology of the person of the Spirit; he was content to show him at work.” (Bonsirven 237)
   2. Paul “is interested in the functional role played by the [Spirit] in human salvation. . . . [The Spirit] . . . is the mode of communicating this dynamic, vital, and life-giving principal [*sic*] to human beings.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 57)
   3. Negatively, the Spirit:
      1. frees us from the law (Fitzmyer *Paul* 57)
         1. Gal 5:18, “if you are led by the Spirit, you are not subject to the law.”
         2. Rom 8:2, “the Spirit . . . has set you free from the law of sin and of death.”
      2. frees us from the cravings of the flesh (Fitzmyer *Paul* 57)
         1. Gal 5:16, “Live by the Spirit, I say, and do not gratify the desires of the flesh.”
      3. frees us and from immoral conduct (Fitzmyer *Paul* 57)
         1. Gal 5:19-20, 22, “the works of the flesh are . . . fornication, impurity, licentiousness, 20idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife . . . 22By contrast, the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace . . .”
   4. Positively, the Spirit:
      1. constitutes adoptive sonship (Fitzmyer *Paul* 57)
         1. Rom 8:14, “all who are led by the Spirit of God are children of God.”
         2. Gal 4:6, “because you are children, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba! Father!””
      2. assists Christians in prayer (Fitzmyer *Paul* 57)
         1. Rom 8:26, “we do not know how to pray as we ought, but that very Spirit intercedes with sighs too deep for words.”
4. **names for the Spirit**
   1. “He is usually called the Spirit of God . . .” (Bonsirven 239)
      1. Rom 8:9, 14; 1 Cor 2:12, 14; 3:16; 6:11; 7:40; 12:3; 2 Cor 3:3; Eph 3:16; Phil 3:3, “
   2. He is also called “the Spirit of the Father, the Spirit which comes from God and the Spirit which is sent by God . . .” (Bonsirven 239)
   3. He is called “more rarely, the Spirit of Jesus Christ, but often enough to indicate that the two are inseparable, having different effects on created beings, but in common.” (Bonsir­ven 239)
      1. Rom 8:9; 2 Cor, 3, 17, 18 (“of the Lord”); Gal 4:6 (“of his Son”); Phil 1:19, “
   4. proper names
      1. Father and Son “have proper names, [but] the third has none: he is Spirit and he is Holiness, just as the other two are Spirit and Holiness.” (Bonsirven 239)
      2. “This strange result can be explained, I think, by the role allotted to the Spirit: while the Father acts as principle and the Son as mediator, the Spirit is the agent by which they penetrate us with divine power. Even at this stage it is the doctrine for which a proper formula will soon be worked out: supernatural operations, carried out by the Father, are carried out in the Son, the divine environment, and by the Spirit, the agent by which we become “partakers of the divine nature” (2 Peter 1:4).” (Bonsirven 239)
         1. 2 Pet 1:4, “Thus he has given us, through these things, his precious and very great promises, so that through them you may . . . may become participants of the divine nature.”

## THE TRINITY

introduction

the Spirit and Jesus

Spirit as third, distinct person

relations among Father, Son, and Spirit

trinitarian formulas

conclusion

1. **introduction**
   1. Paul “worked out no theology of the person of the Spirit . . .” (Bonsirven 237)
   2. “Nevertheless, I should like to try and extract from his statements a doctrine of the Holy Trinity.” (Bonsirven 237)
2. **the Spirit and Jesus**
   1. “. . . Paul thinks of Jesus Christ and of the Spirit as so closely related that, at times, they seem to be identical for him . . .” (Davies *Invitation* 356)
      1. “. . . the chief expression of the Spirit is *agapê* (love) . . . [Paul describes] *agapê* in 1 Corinthians 13. But we must ask: “From where did Paul derive this description?” There seems only one possible answer to this question. He derived it from Jesus himself. The name Jesus could easily be substituted for the term “love” (*agapê*) in 1 Corinthians 13 to supply a description of his character. . . . it is the figure of Jesus—the tradition about him which he had received—that determines Paul’s understanding of love and of [363] the Spirit.” (Davies *Invitation* 363-64)
      2. “It follows that when Paul writes of the Spirit, he is thinking always of the Spirit of Jesus; his understanding of the Spirit is always controlled by what he knew of Jesus.” (Davies *Invitation* 364)
3. **Spirit as third**, **distinct person**
   1. proposition: for Paul the Spirit was not “a distinct divine person.”(Bonsirven 238)
      1. pro
         1. Christ and Spirit are not carefully differentiated. (Urban 44; cf. 52)
            1. Rom 8:9-11, “you are in the Spirit, since *the Spirit of God dwells in you*. Anyone who does not *have the Spirit of Christ* does not belong to him. 10 But if *Christ is in you*, though the body is dead because of sin, *the Spirit is life* because of righteousness. 11 If *the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you*, he who raised Christ from the dead *will give life* to your mortal bodies also *through his Spirit that dwells in you*.”

“the Spirit of God dwells in you”

“have the Spirit of Christ”

“if Christ is in you, . . . the Spirit is life”

“If the Spirit of [God] dwells in you, [God] will give life . . . through his Spirit that dwells in you.”

* + - * 1. Urban concludes that Paul has a duality (Father + Son-Spirit), not a Trin­ity.
      1. He “attributed the same actions to either of them indifferently.” (Bonsirven 238)
      2. He “personified death, law and sin. [Why not] the Spirit?” (Bonsirven 238)
      3. Sometimes the Spirit acts impersonally.
         1. Rom 8:4, 13; 1 Cor 15:45; 12:45; 12:13, “
         2. 2 Cor 3:3, 17, “you are a letter of Christ, prepared by us, written not with ink but with the Spirit of the living God . . .”
         3. Eph 1:13, you gentiles “were marked with the seal of the promised Holy Spirit . . .”
         4. Eph 5:18b, “be filled with the Spirit . . .”
         5. 1 Thess 5:19, “Do not quench the Spirit.”
         6. Titus 3:5-7, God “saved us, not because of any works of righteousness that we had done, but according to his mercy, through the water of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit. 6 This Spirit he poured out on us richly through Jesus Christ our Savior, 7 so that, having been justified by his grace, we might become heirs according to the hope of eternal life.”
         7. Bertrams (*Wesen des Geistes* 145-55, 169; Catholic) “ignores, often without good reason, [these] texts . . .” (Bonsirven 238 n. 28)
    1. con
       1. Feine (NT Theologie 259) “rejects the hypotheses which claim that Paul only believed in a Trinity from an organizational point of view, or else derived his belief in the Trinity from mythological conceptions.” (Bonsirven 240 n. 32)
    2. rebuttal to arguments 1 and 2
       1. “. . . there is no confusion between Christ and the Spirit, although the different operations are attributed equally to either of them . . .” (Bonsirven 238)
       2. “We are told that the same operation is attributed either to Christ or to the Spirit; [but] we notice a difference in the activities.” (Bonsirven 238)
          1. “The Spirit is given at baptism . . .” (Bonsirven 238)

1 Cor 6:11, “

* + - * 1. We are incorporated in Christ, and we are justified in Christ. (Bonsirven 238-39)

Gal 2:17, “

* + - * 1. “Christ is the mediator of the Redemption, and the Spirit the guarantor of its effects . . .” (Bonsirven 239)

Eph 1:3, “

Eph 4:30, “

* + - * 1. “Various graces are associated with possession of the Spirit, but are given to those who rest in the Lord . . .” (Bonsirven 239)

“peace, and so on”

Rom 14:17, “

Phil 4:4, “

love

Rom 5:5, “

Rom 8:35, 39, “

* + - * 1. “. . . certain interior operations are attributed exclusively to the Spirit . . .” (Bonsirven 239)

prayer

Rom 8:26, “Likewise the Spirit helps us in our weakness; for we do not know how to pray as we ought, but that very Spirit intercedes with sighs too deep for words.”

“assurance that we are children of God”

Rom 8:16, 23, “it is that very Spirit bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God . . . 23 not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly while we wait for adoption, the redemption of our bodies.”

“the infusion of Wisdom”

1 Cor 2:11, 14, “For what human being knows what is truly human except the human spirit that is within? So also no one comprehends what is truly God’s except the Spirit of God. . . . 14 Those who are unspiritual do not receive the gifts of God's Spirit, for they are foolishness to them, and they are unable to understand them because they are spiritually discerned.”

Col 1:9, “we have not ceased praying for you and asking that you may be filled with the knowledge of God's will in all spiritual wisdom and understanding . . .”

“the strengthening of man’s innermost being”

Eph 3:16, may he “grant that you may be strengthened in your inner being with power through his Spirit . . .”

“the different manifestations of divine power”

Rom 1:4, “his Son . . . 4 was declared to be Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord . . .”

Rom 15:13, “May the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, so that you may abound in hope by the power of the Holy Spirit.”

1 Cor 2:4-5, “My speech and my proclamation were not with plausible words of wisdom, but with a demonstration of the Spirit and of power, 5 so that your faith might rest not on human wisdom but on the power of God.”

1 Thess 1:5a, “our message of the gospel came to you not in word only, but also in power and in the Holy Spirit and with full conviction . . .”

2 Tim 1:7, “for God did not give us a spirit of cowardice, but rather a spirit of power and of love and of self-discipline.”

* + - * 1. “Our spiritual faculty, our “spirit” is directly subject to the Holy Spirit. And this gives us the key to these problems: our inner spiritual activities are put into operation by our “spirit”; this in its turn is moved directly by the Holy Spirit, which is given to those who are incorporated into Christ Jesus.” (Bonsirven 239)
    1. rebuttal to argument 3, personification
       1. Paul is not just personifying “in the phrases which show the Father and the Spirit carrying out distinct actions . . .” (Bonsirven 238)
       2. Rom 8:15, 26ff (cf. 34); 1 Cor 2:10; Gal 4:6
       3. He is not just personifying “when the three persons are mentioned together with the obvious intention of distinguishing one from the other . . .” (Bonsirven 238)
          1. 1 Cor 12:4-6, “Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit; 5 and there are varieties of services, but the same Lord; 6 and there are varieties of activities, but it is the same God who activates all of them in everyone.”
          2. 2 Cor 13:13, “The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all of you.”
          3. “In these passages, it is extremely difficult not to see three persons, distinct and equal, acting in common, but each with his own peculiar note.” (Bonsirven 238)
  1. “in the Spirit” (ἐν πνεύματι)
     1. lists of the phrase: Prat (*Théologie* 2: 353, 479), Lebreton (*Trinité* 424), Sokolowski (*Begriffe Geist und Leben* 230ff), “referring to Deissmann and Gunkel.” (Bonsirven 238 n. 29)
     2. all occurrences of “in the Spirit” in the nrsv (OT and NT)
        1. Acts 19:21, “. . . Paul resolved in the Spirit to go through Macedonia and Achaia . . .”
        2. Rom. 8:9, “But you are not in the flesh; you are in the Spirit, since the Spirit of God dwells in you. Anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him.”
        3. 1 Cor 6:11, “And this is what some of you used to be. But you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God.”
        4. 1 Cor 14:2, “For those who speak in a tongue do not speak to other people but to God; for nobody understands them, since they are speaking mysteries in the Spirit.”
        5. Eph 4:23, “and to be renewed in the spirit of your minds . . .”
        6. Eph 6:18, “Pray in the Spirit at all times in every prayer and supplication. To that end keep alert and always persevere in supplication for all the saints.”
        7. Phil 2:1, “If then there is any encouragement in Christ, any consolation from love, any sharing in the Spirit, any compassion and sympathy . . .”
        8. Phil 3:3, “For it is we who are the circumcision, who worship in the Spirit of God and boast in Christ Jesus and have no confidence in the flesh . . .”
        9. Col 1:8, “and he has made known to us your love in the Spirit.”
        10. 1 Pet 3:18, “For Christ also suffered for sins once for all, the righteous for the unrighteous, in order to bring you to God. He was put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit . . .”
        11. 1 Pet 4:6, “For this is the reason the gospel was proclaimed even to the dead, so that, though they had been judged in the flesh as everyone is judged, they might live in the spirit as God does.”
        12. Rev 1:10, “I was in the spirit on the Lord’s day, and I heard behind me a loud voice like a trumpet . . .”
        13. Rev 4:2, “At once I was in the spirit, and there in heaven stood a throne, with one seated on the throne!”
        14. Rev 17:3, “So he carried me away in the spirit into a wilderness, and I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet beast that was full of blasphemous names, and it had seven heads and ten horns.”
        15. Rev 21:10, “And in the spirit he carried me away to a great, high mountain and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God.”
     3. ἐν Χριστῷ and ἐν πνεύματι
        1. “. . . Paul often says indifferently: *in Christo* or *in spiritu*.” (Bonsirven 238)
        2. But he also uses them differently.
           1. ἐν Χριστῷ (Ἰησοῦ)

“In Christ (Jesus)” is “only employed to signify a sort of atmosphere into which we are immersed . . .” (Bonsirven 238)

Paul uses ἐν Χριστῷ for (Bonsirven 238)

predestination

the objective redemption

“the work of mediation properly speaking”

the state of the Christian

Paul never uses ἐν πνεύματι for these. (Bonsirven 238)

* + - * 1. ἐν πνεύματι

Paul “never uses the *Spirit* for the mystical genitive, intelligible only of the Lord Christ.” (Bonsirven 238)

1. **relations among Father**, **Son**, **and Spirit**
   1. Paul lacks “later theological refinements (nature, substance, and person). . . . he pro­vides only the starting point of later theological developments.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 57)
   2. Christ and Spirit not clearly distinguished (Fitzmyer *Paul* 57)
      1. Rom 1:4, “declared to be Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness.”
      2. Rom 8:9-11, “Anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him. 10But if Christ is in you, though the body is dead because of sin, the Spirit is life because of righteousness. 11If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit that dwells in you.”
      3. 1 Cor 15:45, “the last Adam became a life-giving spirit . . .”
      4. 2 Cor 3:17-18, “the Lord [Christ, as the context shows] is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. . . . 18[Transformation] comes from the Lord, the Spirit.”
      5. Gal 4:6, “God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts . . .”
      6. Phil 1:19, “the help of the Spirit of Jesus Christ.”
   3. Father, Son, and Spirit as triad (Fitzmyer *Paul* 57)
      1. Rom 5:1-5, “Therefore, since we are justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, 2 through whom we have obtained access to this grace . . . 5 because God’s love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit.”
      2. Rom 8:16-17, “it is that very Spirit bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God, 17 and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ.”
      3. Rom 15:30, “I appeal to you . . . by our Lord Jesus Christ and by the love of the Spirit, to join me in earnest prayer to God.”
      4. 1 Cor 2:8-10, “None of the rulers of this age understood this; for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. 9 But, as it is written, “What no eye has seen, nor ear heard”—10 these things God has revealed to us through the Spirit . . .”
      5. 1 Cor 6:11, “you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God.”
      6. 1 Cor 12:4-6, “Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit; 5 and there are varieties of services, but the same Lord; 6 and there are varieties of activities, but it is the same God who activates all of them in everyone.”
      7. 2 Cor 1:21-22, “it is God who establishes us with you in Christ . . . 22 [by] giving us his Spirit . . .”
      8. 2 Cor 13:13, “The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all of you.”
2. **trinitarian formulas**
   1. “The number of trinitarian formulas in Paul’s writings is striking.” (Bonsirven 239)
      1. Prat (*Théologie*2: 157) “lists thirty such formulas; he makes a study of some of them, either in the body of the work, or in note “S” (pp. 518-521); he contests the dogmatic value of some of them . . .” (Bonsirven 240 n. 32)
      2. Here are 10.
         1. Rom 5:1-5; 14:17-18; 1 Cor 1:15-20; 2 Cor 3:3; Gal 3:14, “
         2. Eph 2:22; 5:18-20;Col 1:6-8; 1 Thess 5:18-19; 2 Thess 2:13ff, “
      3. “They cannot all be exploited to establish the dogma of three persons, [239] distinct and equal.”(Bonsirven 239-40)
         1. Prat (*Théologie* 2: 157) “contests the dogmatic value of some” formulas. (Bonsirven 240 n. 32)
         2. Bertrams (*Wesen des Geistes* 169ff) “does not admit the trinitarian value of:” (Bonsirven 240 n. 32)
            1. 1 Cor 2:10, 16; 6:11; 6:19ff; 12:3-6; 2 Cor 1:21ff; 3:3; 13:13; Gal 3:11-14; 6:6; Rom 1:1-4; 5:1-5; 8:3ff, 11, 16; 14:17; 15:16, 30;
            2. Col 1:6-8; Eph 1:3, 11-13, 17; 2:18, 22; 3:5-7, 14-16; 4:4-6, 30-32; 5:18-20; Phil 3:3;
            3. 1 Thess 5:18ff; 2 Thess 2:13; Titus 3:4-6, “
   2. “In any case, [the formulas] are evidence that Paul thought of God in a trinitarian way.” (Bonsirven 240)
   3. “Where did he get it [trinitarian thinking] from? He could not have extracted it, by a purely rational process of thought, from biblical texts tending more or less clearly to a theology of hypostases.” (Bonsirven 240)
   4. “There is only one possible source left: the primitive Christian catechesis, which traced its origin to the teaching of Jesus, chiefly to his command to baptize “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”” (Bonsirven 240)
      1. Matt 28:19, “Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit . . .”
      2. “Surely we can see an echo of this formula in the final blessing of”2 Corinthians. (Bonsirven 240)
         1. 2 Cor 13:13, “The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all of you.”
      3. “Surely we can see an echo of this formula . . . in those obvious allusions to baptism which also mention the three persons of the Trinity . . .” (Bonsirven 240)
         1. 1 Cor 6:11, “But you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God.”
         2. 2 Cor 1:21-22, “But it is God who establishes us with you in Christ and has anointed us, 22 by putting his seal on us and giving us his Spirit in our hearts as a first installment.”
         3. Titus 3:4-6, “But when the goodness and loving kindness of God our Savior appeared, 5 he saved us . . . through the water of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit. 6 This Spirit he poured out on us richly through Jesus Christ our Savior . . .”
   5. (There is another possible source: Paul’s conversion experience.—Hahn)
3. **conclusion**
   1. “We can perceive in all this an embryo theology of the Trinity which affirms at one and the same time the Trinity of Persons, their distinction, their divinity, the relationship between them . . . Let it be admitted, however, that these definitions are vaguer where the Spirit is concerned.” (Bonsirven 239)
   2. “And so, in revealing his Son, the Father has also unveiled the mystery of divine life.” (Bonsirven 240)

## GRACE

1. “**grace**”
   1. Greek χάρις (*charis*, grace) meant “graciousness” or “gift.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 58)
2. “**grace**” **as graciousness**
   1. Paul uses χάρις as graciousness for “the gratuitous aspect of the Father’s initiative [or the Son’s collaboration] in salvation . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 58)
      1. 2 Cor 1:12, “we have behaved in the world . . . by the grace of God . . .”
      2. 2 Cor 8:9, “you know the generous act [χάριν] of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich.”
      3. Gal 2:21, “I do not nullify the grace of God; for if justification comes through the law, then Christ died for nothing.”
   2. Χάρις characterizes God’s prevenience in:
      1. the promise to Abraham
         1. Rom 4:16, “it [salvation] depends on faith, in order that the promise may rest on grace and be guaranteed to all his [Abraham’s] descendants, not only to the adherents of the law but also to those who share the faith of Abraham . . .”
      2. the apostolic call
         1. Rom 1:5, “we have received grace and apostleship.”
         2. Gal 1:15, “God . . . set me apart before I was born and called me through his grace . . .”
      3. election
         1. Rom 11:5, “there is a remnant, chosen by grace.”
         2. Gal 1:6, “[God] called you in the grace of Christ . . .”
      4. justification
         1. Rom 3:24, “they are now justified by his grace as a gift . . .”
         2. Rom 5:15, 17, “if the many died through the one man’s trespass, much more surely have the grace of God and the free gift in the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ, abounded for the many . . . 17 much more surely will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness exercise dominion . . .”
         3. Rom 5:20-21, “But law came in, with the result that the trespass multiplied; but where sin increased, grace abounded all the more, 21 so that, just as sin exercised dominion in death, so grace might also exercise dominion through justification leading to eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.”
      5. “the dispensation that supersedes the law” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 58)
         1. Rom 6:14-15, “you are not under law but under grace . . . 15 we are not under law but under grace . . .”
         2. Rom 11:6, “But if it is by grace, it is no longer on the basis of works, otherwise grace would no longer be grace.”
3. “**grace**” **as gift**
   1. Paul uses χάρις as gift to refer to “something given or manifested . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 58)
      1. Rom 12:3, “by the grace given to me I say to everyone among you not to think of yourself more highly than you ought.”
      2. Rom 12:6, “We have gifts that differ according to the grace given to us.”
      3. Rom 15:15, “I have written to you . . . because of the grace given me by God.”
      4. 1 Cor 1:4, “I give thanks [for] the grace of God that has been given you . . .”
      5. 1 Cor 3:10, “According to the grace of God given to me . . . I laid a foundation . . .”
      6. 2 Cor 6:1, “we urge you also not to accept the grace of God in vain.”
      7. 2 Cor 8:1, “the grace of God . . . has been granted to the churches of Macedonia . . .”
      8. 2 Cor 9:14, “the surpassing grace of God that he has given you.”
      9. Gal 2:9, “James and Cephas and John . . . recognized the grace that had been given to me.”
      10. “It accompanies Paul or is in him . . .” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 58)
          1. 1 Cor 15:10, “I worked harder than any of them—though it was not I, but the grace of God that is with me.”
          2. Phil 1:7, “all of you share in God’s grace with me, both in my imprisonment and in the defense and confirmation of the gospel.”
   2. sanctifying grace
      1. The above “group of texts led in time to the medieval idea of “sanctifying grace.”” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 58)
      2. “. . . the Pauline teaching about the Spirit as an energizing force is likewise the basis of that later teaching.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 58)
   3. repentance
      1. “In Luke 24:47 there is to be a proclamation that people should *repent* and be forgiven in Jesus’ name.” (Brown *Introduction* 583)
      2. Romans speaks “eloquently about sin and justification [but] is relatively silent about repentance.” (Brown *Introduction* 583)
      3. “Many interpreters would explain that for Paul divine forgiveness is not a response to human repentance but is purely gracious, for God acts without previous human initiative.” (Brown *Introduction* 583)
      4. “Is the contrast between Paul and Luke that sharp? Are NT writers who insist on repentance proposing a purely human initiative; or is repentance itself a grace from God? The Lucan proclamation could involve double grace: Be open to the God-given impetus to repent, and receive God-given forgiveness. Would Paul disagree with that approach?” (Brown *Introduction* 583)

## THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN SANCTIFYING

## AND ACTUAL GRACE IN PAUL’S LETTERS

Sanctifying grace is a quasi-permanent intervention by God in our souls that makes us more holy, resulting in a state of friendship with God.

Actual grace is a momentary (or at least temporary) intervention by God in our souls to help us for a particular need—receiving faith as a non-believer, performing a good act, resisting a temptation, increasing sanctifying grace, or restoring sanctifying grace when it has been lost through mortal sin.

*sanctifying grace*

Rom 6:6-7 “. . . our old self was crucified with him so that the body of sin might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin. 7For whoever has died is freed from sin.”

Rom 6:13-14 “. . . yield yourselves to God as those who have been brought from death to life, and present your members to God as instruments of righteousness. 14For sin will have no do­min­ion over you, since you are not under law but under grace.”

Rom 6:17 “. . . thanks be to God that you, having once been slaves of sin, have become obedient from the heart to the form of teaching to which you were entrusted, 18and that you, having been set free from sin, have become slaves of righteous­ness. 19. . . so now present your members as slaves to righ­t­eousness for sanctifi­cation.”

Rom 8:1-2 “There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus. 2For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set you free from the law of sin and death.”

Rom 8:4 We “walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit.”

Rom 8:9-10 “. . . you are not in the flesh; you are in the Spirit, since the Spirit of God dwells in you. . . . 10But if Christ is in you, . . . the Spirit is life because of righ­teous­ness.”

Rom 8:11 “. . . the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you . . . his Spirit . . . dwells in you.”

1 Cor 15:45 Christ “became a life-giving spirit.”

2 Cor 5:17-19 “. . . if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new! 18All this is from God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ . . . 19that is, in Christ God was reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespass­es against them . . .”

Gal 2:19-20 “I have been crucified with Christ; 20and it is no longer I who live, but it is Christ who lives in me. And the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.”

Gal 3:5 “God suppl[ies] you with the Spirit . . .”

Gal 3:27 “For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ.”

Gal 4:6 “And because you are children, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba! Father!””

Gal 5:4-6 “You who want to be justified by the law have cut yourselves off from Christ; you have fallen away from grace. 5For through the Spirit, by faith, we eagerly wait for the hope of righteous­ness. 6For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision counts for anything; the only thing that counts is faith working through love.”

Gal 5:22-23 “. . . the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, generosity, faithful­ness, 23gentleness, and self‑control. There is no law against such things.”

Gal 6:15 “For neither circumcision nor uncircumci­sion is anything; but a new cre­ation is everything!”

Col 2:10-13 “. . . you have come to fulness in him . . . 11In him also you were circumcised with a spiritual circumcision, by putting off the body of the flesh in the circumci­sion of Christ; 12when you were buried with him in baptism, you were also raised with him through faith in the power of God, who raised him from the dead. 13And when you were dead in tresspasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made you alive together with him, when he forgave us all our tress­passes . . .”

*actual grace*

Rom 8:13 “. . . if by the Spirit you put to death the deeds of the body, you will live.”

1 Cor 3:6 “I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the growth.”

2 Cor 3:5-6 “Not that we are competent of ourselves to claim anything as coming from us; our competence is from God, 6who has made us competent to be ministers . . .”

2 Cor 3:18 “. . . all of us . . . are being transformed into the same image [Christ’s] from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord, the Spirit.”

2 Cor 4:16 “Even though our outer nature is wasting away, our inner nature is being renewed day by day.”

Phil 1:10-11 “And this is my prayer, that your love may overflow more and more . . ., so that in the day of Christ you may be pure and blameless, 11having produced the harvest of righteousness that comes through Jesus Christ . . .”

Phil 2:12b-13 “. . . work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God who is at work in you, enabling you both to will and to work for his good pleasure.”

Phil 4:13 “I can do all things through him who strengthens me.”

Col 1:29 “For this I toil and struggle with all the energy that he powerfully inspires within me.”

Col 2:19 “. . . hold . . . fast to the Head, from whom the whole body, nourished and held together by its ligaments and sinews, grows with a growth that is from God.”

Col 3:11-16 “Christ is all and in all! . . . 15let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts, to which indeed you were called in the one body. And be thankful. 16Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly . . .”

Col 4:3 “. . . pray for us as well that God will open to us a door for the word, . . . 4that I may reveal it clearly, as I should.”

1 Thess 2:13 “God’s word [is] at work in you believers.”

1 Thess 3:12 “. . . may the Lord make you increase and abound in love for one another and for all . . .”

*both sanctifying and actual grace*

Phil 1:6 “. . . the one who began a good work among you will bring it to completion by the day of Jesus Christ.”

Col 2:6-7 “As you therefore have received Christ Jesus the Lord, continue to live your lives in him, rooted and built up in him and established in the faith, just as you were taught, abounding in thanksgiv­ing.”

Col 3:9-10 “. . . you have stripped off the old self with its practices 10and have clothed yourselves with the new self, which is being renewed in knowledge according to the image of its creator.”

## IMAGES FOR THE EFFECTS OF THE CHRIST EVENT

1. **introduction**
   1. Paul uses ten terms to describe “the effects of the salvation event.” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 59)
   2. Paul adapted the terms from Hellenism or Judaism to apply to Jesus. (Fitzmyer *Paul* 59)
2. **Each is at root an image**.
   1. justification “acquitted or vindicated before a judge’s tribunal” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 59); usually in the present
   2. salvation “rescue from evil or harm”[[1]](#footnote-1) (Fitzmyer *Paul* 62) usually in the future
   3. reconciliation “from . . . enmity to friendship”; “atonement” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 63)
   4. expiation “[sin] wiped out, smeared away” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 64)
   5. redemption “setting free an enslaved person by . . . ransom”[[2]](#footnote-2)
   6. freedom “the rights of a citizen of a free city or state” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 68)
   7. sanctification “the dedication of things or persons to the awesome service of Yahweh” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 68-69)
   8. transformation “gradually reshaping human beings” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 69)
   9. new creation “God in Christ has created humanity anew” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 70)
   10. glorification giving Christians “in advance a share in the glory that [Christ] now enjoys with the Father” (Fitzmyer *Paul* 71)
3. **Fitzmyer and Davies**
   1. W.D. Davies lists justification, “redemption, adoption, liberty, new creation, peace, expiation . . .” (Davies 324)
   2. He lacks salvation, reconciliation, sanctification, transformation, and glorification from Fitzmyer’s list.
   3. He adds adoption and peace to Fitzmyer’s list.

## THE STATE OF JUSTIFICATION:

## SOME SCRIPTURAL IMAGES

1. **new era**
   1. “Transformation is expressed through the concept of new­ness. [48] . . . a new era in human history is ushered in with Christ, but one not discontinuous with what has gone before.” (Schmaus 48-49) (See Schmaus 50: “a new order . . .”)
   2. newness
      1. Rev 21:5, “And the one who was seated on the throne said, “See, I am making all things new.””
      2. See Isa 43:19, “I am about to do a new thing; now it springs forth, do you not perceive it? I will make a way in the wilderness and rivers in the desert.”
   3. new covenant
      1. Jer 31:31-40, “The days are surely coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah. 32It will not be like the covenant that I made with their ancestors when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt—a covenant that they broke, though I was their husband, says the Lord. 33But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord: I will put my law within them, and I will write it on their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.”
      2. Luke 22:20, “And he did the same with the cup after supper, saying, “This cup that is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood.””
      3. 1 Cor 11:25, “In the same way he took the cup also, after supper, saying, “This cup is the new covenant in my blood.””
      4. 2 Cor 3:6, God “has made us competent to be ministers of a new covenant, not of letter but of spirit; for the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life.”
      5. 2 Cor 3:14, “their minds were hardened. Indeed, to this very day, when they hear the reading of the old covenant, that same veil is still there, since only in Christ is it set aside.”
      6. Heb 8:8, 13, “God finds fault with them when he says: “The days are surely coming, says the Lord, when I will establish a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah . . . 13In speaking of “a new covenant,” he has made the first one obsolete.”
      7. Heb 9:15, “he is the mediator of a new covenant, so that those who are called may receive the promised eternal inheritance, because a death has occurred that redeems them from the transgressions under the first covenant.”
      8. Heb 12:24, Jesus is “the mediator of a new covenant . . .”
   4. new song
      1. Rev 5:9, “They will sing a new song: “You are worthy to take the scroll and to open its seals, for you were slaughtered and by your blood you ransomed for God saints from every tribe and language and people and nation” . . .”
      2. Rev 14:3, “they sing a new song before the throne and before the four living creatures and before the elders. No one could learn that song except the one hundred forty-four thousand who have been redeemed from the earth.”
   5. new Jerusalem
      1. Rev 3:12, “I will write on you the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem that comes down from my God out of heaven, and my own new name.”
      2. Rev 21:2, “I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.”
      3. “The new order will achieve its final shape at the termination of worldly history . . .” (Schmaus 49)
2. **new persons**
   1. new self
      1. Eph 4:22-24, “You were taught to put away your former way of life, your old self, corrupt and deluded by its lusts, 23and to be renewed in the spirit of your minds, 24and to clothe yourselves with the new self, created according to the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness.” (Compare Rom 6:6, “our old self was crucified with him . . .”)
      2. Col 3:3, “you have died, and your life is hidden with Christ in God.”
   2. new spirit
      1. Joel 3:1-2 [Protestant Bibles, 2:28-29], “Then afterward I will pour out my spirit on all flesh; your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. 29Even on the male and female slaves, in those days, I will pour out my spirit.”
      2. Acts 2:16-21, “this is what was spoken through the prophet Joel: 17‘In the last days it will be, God declares, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams. 18Even upon my slaves, both men and women, in those days I will pour out my Spirit; and they shall prophesy.’”
      3. Rom 7:6, “But now we are discharged from the law, dead to that which held us captive, so that we are slaves not under the old written code but in the new life of the Spirit.”
   3. new nature
      1. 2 Cor 4:16, “Even though our outer nature is wasting away, our inner nature is being renewed day by day.”
   4. new creation
      1. 2 Cor 5:17, “if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new!”
      2. Gal 6:15, “neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything; but a new creation is everything!”
      3. Eph 2:10, “we are what he has made us, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand to be our way of life.”
      4. Eph 4:23-24, “be renewed in the spirit of your minds, 24[and] clothe yourselves with the new self, created according to the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness.”
   5. old yeast, new batch: 1 Cor 5:7-8, “Clean out the old yeast so that you may be a new batch, as you really are unleavened. For our paschal lamb, Christ, has been sacrificed. 8 Therefore, let us celebrate the festival, not with the old yeast, the yeast of malice and evil, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.”
3. **new life**
   1. “Since Christ is the Head of the whole of mankind and the Church, it is he who will lead men into the new life fashioned in his resurrection (Acts 3,15; Heb. 2,10). This is the reason for his coming, that all might attain to life and have it in its fullness (Jn. 3,5; 10,10; 14,19). Indeed the whole gospel of John is a saving message of life (Jn. 20,31). For Paul, too, the message of Jesus Christ is the word of life (Col. 3,3f.). All those who are united to Christ in faith are transferred from death to life (Rom. 6,1ff.; Jn. 3,15f.; 3,36).” (Schmaus 50)
      1. John 1:14, “And the Word became flesh and lived among us, and we have seen his glory, the glory as of a father’s only son, full of grace and truth.”
      2. 1 John 1:2, “this life was revealed, and we have seen it and testify to it, and declare to you the eternal life that was with the Father and was revealed to us . . .”
      3. John 3:5, “no one can enter the kingdom of God without being born of water and Spirit.”
      4. John 3:15-16, “whoever believes in him may have eternal life. 16For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, so that everyone who believes in him may not perish but may have eternal life.”
      5. John 3:36, “Whoever believes in the Son has eternal life; whoever disobeys the Son will not see life, but must endure God’s wrath.”
      6. John 10:10, “The thief comes only to steal and kill and destroy. I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly.”
      7. John 14:6, “I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me.”
      8. John 14:19, “In a little while the world will no longer see me, but you will see me; because I live, you also will live.”
      9. John 20:31, “these are written so that you may come to believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and that through believing you may have life in his name.”
      10. Acts 3:15, “you killed the Author of life, whom God raised from the dead. To this we are witnesses.”
      11. Rom 6:3-23, “Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? 4Therefore we have been buried with him by baptism into death, so that, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we too might walk in newness of life. 5For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we will certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his. 6We know that our old self was crucified with him so that the body of sin might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin. 7For whoever has died is freed from sin. 8But if we have died with Christ, we believe that we will also live with him. . . . 11So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus. . . . 13present yourselves to God as those who have been brought from death to life . . . 21what advantage did you then get from the things of which you now are ashamed? The end of those things is death. 22But now that you have been freed from sin and enslaved to God, the advantage you get is sanctification. The end is eternal life. 23For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord.”
      12. Rom 7:6, “we are slaves not under the old written code but in the new life of the Spirit.”
      13. Col 3:3-4, “for you have died, and your life is hidden with Christ in God. 4When Christ who is your life is revealed, then you also will be revealed with him in glory.”
      14. 1 Pet 1:23, “You have been born anew, not of perishable but of imperishable seed, through the living and enduring word of God.”
      15. Heb 2:10, “It was fitting that God, for whom and through whom all things exist, in bringing many children to glory, should make the pioneer of their salvation perfect through sufferings.”
   2. “. . . through faith in Christ man receives the capacity to live his life with great interior willingness as a gift surrendered to God and to the service of his brothers and sisters; and furthermore, by submission to God’s will, to integrate the process of death itself into the totality of his human self.” (Schmaus 50)
4. **friendship with God**
   1. References “to those chosen by God as his friends are more frequent in the Old Testament than in the New . . .” (Schmaus 81)
      1. Exod 33:11, “Thus the Lord used to speak to Moses face to face, as one speaks to a friend.”
      2. Wis 7:14, “those who get it [wisdom] obtain friendship with God . . .”
   2. “Christ addressed his apostles as friends, but the word friendship as he used it has an ethical rather than a metaphysical connotation.” (Schmaus 81)
      1. John 15:13-15, “No one has greater love than this, to lay down one’s life for one’s friends. 14You are my friends if you do what I command you. 15I do not call you servants any longer, because the servant does not know what the master is doing; but I have called you friends, because I have made known to you everything that I have heard from my Father.”
      2. See Eph 2:19, “you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are citizens with the saints and also members of the household of God . . .”
      3. See James 2:23, “Thus the scripture was fulfilled that says, “Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness,” and he was called the friend of God.”
   3. “In the fourteenth century there were mystics, both religious and lay, called Friends of God (Suso, Tauler, Eckhart, and in the twelfth-century Aelred of Rievaulx)—to be distinguished from the heretics (Beghards, Waldensians) also called by that name.” (Schmaus 81)
5. **incorporation into Christ**’**s** “**one body**”
   1. the Church as Christ’s “body”
      1. Rom 12:4-5, “For as in one body we have many members, and not all the members have the same function, 5so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and individually we are members one of another.”
      2. 1 Cor 6:16, “Do you not know that whoever is united to a prostitute becomes one body with her? For it is said, “The two shall be one flesh.””
      3. 1 Cor 10:17, “Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread.”
      4. 1 Cor 12:12-13, “For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. 13For in the one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink of one Spirit.”
      5. 1 Cor 12:20, “As it is, there are many members, yet one body.”
      6. Eph 2:10-15, “we are what he has made us, created in Christ Jesus for good works . . . 14For he is our peace; in his flesh he has made both groups [Jews and Gentiles] into one and has broken down the dividing wall, that is, the hostility between us. 15He has abolished the law with its commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new humanity in place of the two, thus making peace, 16and might reconcile both groups to God in one body through the cross, thus putting to death that hostility through it.”
      7. Eph 3:6, “the Gentiles have become fellow heirs, members of the same body . . .”
      8. Eph 4:4, “There is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope of your calling . . .”
      9. Col 3:15, “let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts, to which indeed you were called in the one body. And be thankful.”
      10. See also 1 Cor 12:12-27; Eph 1:22-23; 4:15; 5:23; Col 1:18; 2:19.
   2. the Church as Christ’s “temple”
      1. 1 Cor 3:16-17; 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16; Eph 2:19-21
6. **God’s** “**indwelling**”
   1. “In the teaching on grace it [the “structure of the existence of the justified person”] is presented with the words “indwelling” of the tripersonal God.” (Schmaus 51)
   2. scripture
      1. Matt 6:9, “Our Father in heaven, hallowed by your name.”
      2. Luke 11:13, “If you then, who are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will the heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him!”
      3. John 4:23, “the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for the Father seeks such as these to worship him.”
      4. John 14:23, “Those who love me will keep my word, and my Father will love them, and we will come to them and make our home with them.”
      5. John 15:1-5, “I am the true vine, and my Father is the vinegrower. . . . 4 Abide in me as I abide in you. Just as the branch cannot bear fruit by itself unless it abides in the vine, neither can you unless you abide in me. 5 I am the vine, you are the branches. Those who abide in me and I in them bear much fruit, because apart from me you can do nothing.”
      6. Rom 8:9, 11, “the Spirit of God dwells in you. . . . 11 If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit that dwells in you.”
      7. Rom 8:15-16, “you have received a spirit of adoption. When we cry, “Abba! Father!” 16 it is that very Spirit bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God . . .”
      8. Rom 8:23, “we ourselves . . . have the firstfruits of the Spirit . . .”
      9. 1 Cor 2:10-16, “these things God has revealed to us through the Spirit; for the Spirit searches everything, even the depths of God. 11 For what human being knows what is truly human except the human spirit that is within? So also no one comprehends what is truly God’s except the Spirit of God. 12 Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit that is from God, so that we may understand the gifts bestowed on us by God. 13 And we speak of these things in words not taught by human wisdom but taught by the Spirit, interpreting spiritual things to those who are spiritual. 14 Those who are unspiritual do not receive the gifts of God’s Spirit, for they are foolishness to them, and they are unable to understand them because they are spiritually discerned. 15 Those who are spiritual discern all things, and they are themselves subject to no one else’s scrutiny. 16 “For who has known the mind of the Lord so as to instruct him?” But we have the mind of Christ.”
      10. 1 Cor 3:16, “Do you not know that you are God’s temple and that God’s Spirit dwells in you?”
      11. 1 Cor 12:3, “no one speaking by the Spirit of God ever says “Let Jesus be cursed!” and no one can say “Jesus is Lord” except by the Holy Spirit.”
      12. 1 Cor 14:25, “After the secrets of the unbeliever’s heart are disclosed, that person will bow down before God and worship him, declaring, “God is really among you.””
      13. 2 Cor 12:9, “I will boast all the more gladly of my weaknesses, that the power of Christ may dwell in me . . .”
      14. Gal 4:6, “because you are children, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba! Father!””
      15. Eph 3:16-17, “I pray that . . . he may grant that you may be strengthened in your inner being with power through his Spirit, 17 and that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith . . .”
      16. the seal of the Holy Spirit
          1. 2 Cor 1:21-22, “But it is God who establishes us with you in Christ and has anointed us, 22 by putting his seal on us and giving us his Spirit in our hearts as a first installment.”
          2. Eph 1:13, “In him you . . . were marked with the seal of the promised Holy Spirit . . .”
          3. Eph 4:30, “do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, with which you were marked with a seal for the day of redemption.”
          4. Rev 7:2-3, “I saw another angel ascending from the rising of the sun, having the seal of the living God, and he called with a loud voice to the four angels who had been given power to damage earth and sea, 3 saying, “Do not damage the earth or the sea or the trees, until we have marked the servants of our God with a seal on their foreheads.””
          5. Rev 9:4, “They were told not to damage the grass of the earth or any green growth or any tree, but only those people who do not have the seal of God on their foreheads.”
   3. “Hence the man who has not been enlightened by the Spirit does not know the true name of God, nor can he speak the language God hears. The Spirit, who knows the innermost recesses of man’s spirit, alone knows the language of God: he tells us the words we must say if God is to hear us. They are the same words with which Christ converses with the Father: everything Christ says to God is summed up in the one word “Father.” . . . only he whose speech is formed by the Holy Spirit can call God “Father.” . . . only one who is enlightened by the Holy Spirit can call Jesus the Christ . . .” (Schmaus 21)
   4. “. . . we carry with us and possess God in such a manner that through charity, loving God for himself by means of God who is within us, we give God to God, and thus the eternal life of the Holy Spirit is accomplished in us.” (Daujat 76-78)
   5. Living in relationships is essential to human life, and grace’s intensification of life intensifies “the transcendental inclination of man towards God. First, man grasps Jesus Christ in faith. Christ gives the Holy Spirit to the one who is thus bound to him. The person united with Christ stands in a right relationship to God, and this creates a right relationship to the rest of creation, especially to other men.” (Schmaus 51)
   6. “. . . this personal element in justification, despite . . . the complete equality of the divine persons, is expressed by both Greek and Latin Fathers, as well as in the formula of the Roman liturgy: through Christ in the Holy Spirit to the Father.” (Schmaus 51)
   7. “The presence of the tripersonal God in the justified man cannot, of course, be understood as a local presence, but only as personal presence. This is a presence in which God turns to man and reveals himself, grasps him and takes him up into his own life.” (Schmaus 51)
   8. “This explanation of the “personal” presence of the divine persons becomes clearer if we recall briefly what has been said on this subject [51] earlier in this work.” (Schmaus 51-52)
      1. Schmaus, Michael. *Dogma*. Vol. 3: *God and His* *Christ*. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1971. 165ff.
      2. Schmaus, Michael. *Dogma*. Vol. 2: *God* *and* *Creation*. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969. 86ff.
   9. “It is true that the activity of the three divine persons by way of efficient causality in regard to the world constitutes one single and simple act. However, the divine missions are a matter of formal causality. They function therefore in a different realm.” (Schmaus 52)
      1. “. . . the idea is common in the New Testament of one divine person “sending” another. Typically, it is never said of the Father that he is sent. The Son is sent by the Father. The Holy Spirit is also sent, sometimes by the Father, sometimes by the Son, sometimes by the Father through the Son. These “sendings” or “missions” are the ways in which God communicates himself to his creation.” (Schmaus 52)
      2. “God exists as Father by the fact that he generates a Son in an act of knowledge and communicates himself to him; and he brings forth the Holy Spirit in an act of love with the Son, and again gives himself to him with the Son. Likewise the personhood of the Word is identical with the fact of his being generated by the Father. When the Father sends the Son to the man Jesus and in this way communicates himself to Jesus, Jesus’ personhood becomes identical with that of the Eternal Word. Thus the Father of the Eternal Word is at the same time the Father of the man Jesus. Despite its immanent character, therefore, God’s eternal father­hood is directed towards historical fatherhood.” (Schmaus 52)
      3. “If it is true that the Father is in this way the ultimate principle of Jesus, then we must say that the Father’s sending of the Son reaches its culmination only in the risen Christ. It is only in the transformation that accompanies the resurrection that the sending of the Son, the Word, reaches its goal.” (Schmaus 52)
      4. “However, we cannot isolate Jesus from the rest of mankind, and this leads to the sending of the Holy Spirit. On the basis of Jesus’ transforma­tion the Holy Spirit is sent to mankind, both to the community of the Church and, through the Church, to the rest of mankind. It is he who leads men to unity with one another, since he is the love which unites Father and Son. Because of him Jesus and mankind form a “We.” The personhood of the Holy Spirit consists in the fact of his going forth from the Father and the Son. Those who live in his influence, therefore, are brought, if only in an analogous way, into the relation­ship of the Spirit to the man Jesus, whose spirit is one of total devotion to the Father.” (Schmaus 52)
      5. “The idea of “mission,” then, represents the movement of salvation [52] from God through the risen Christ in the Holy Spirit to men; and then a return movement of the men thus grasped by the Spirit, through the Son to the Father. Correspondingly, the missions have an eschatological character: the movement of the world towards its consummation represents a continuation externally of the inner life of God. They have as their goal the absolute future, of which Paul says that then God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15,23).” (Schmaus 52-53)
      6. “In this presentation of the indwelling of the three divine persons it does not seem necessary to apply the idea of “appropriation” to the role of the Holy Spirit in man’s sanctification. It is a doctrine which belongs to the teaching of Western theology on the trinity, whereas the foregoing view is more readily clarified in terms of Greek concepts.” (Schmaus 53)
   10. “When we characterize the encounter with God the Father which occurs through Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit as an element of justifica­tion, we must beware of giving it a static interpretation. The very meaning and essence of this encounter make it a dynamic element. It is constantly taking place, for God is ceaselessly active. The state of justification consists in this, that it is always in the process of being created: God gives himself to man through Christ in the Spirit in an uninterrupted act. God’s giving of grace to the person is a continuous act analogous to his continuing act of creation.” (Schmaus 53)
   11. “In this act, the everlasting generation of the Spirit by the Father and Son has as its term the sending of the Spirit into the justified man and his working in man, just as the generation of the Son has its term in the incarnation, his becoming man. These missions are not the same, but they are alike. The self-communication of the tripersonal God has as its end fulfillment in the eternal dialogue of man with God. Thus it is a way to God. The man endowed with grace is a pilgrim through history on his way to God. God is for him at the same time present and coming.” (Schmaus 53)
   12. God “by consolidating His initial indwelling in us makes our heart ready for the complete actualization of the indwelling in sanctifying grace.” (Fransen, *New Life* 227)
7. **sonship**: see the later section, “The State of Justification as Sonship.”

## THE STATE OF JUSTIFICATION: SONSHIP

1. **Christ the brother of all**
   1. scripture
      1. “In the Old Testament the members of the people of God are called brothers . . .” (Schmaus 76)
      2. “In classical Latin, fellow countrymen or friends are called brothers.” (Schmaus 76)
      3. “In Graeco-Roman usage it [“brother”] is often, like the word “sister,” a title of honor. Stoic philosophy widened and deepened its usage, calling all men brothers since all are children of the one God.” (Schmaus 76)
      4. “In Scripture, Christ is repeatedly called the brother of men, and men are called his brothers. . . .” (Schmaus 76)
         1. Matt 18:15, “If another member of the church [Greek, “your brother”] sins against you, go and point out the fault when the two of you are alone. If the member listens to you, you have regained that one [Greek, “your brother”].”
         2. Matt 18:21, “Then Peter came and said to him, “Lord, if another member of the church sins against me, how often should I forgive? As many as seven times?””
         3. Mark 3:34-35, “Here are my mother and my brothers! 35Whoever does the will of God is my brother and sister and mother.””
         4. Luke 8:21, “My mother and my brothers are those who hear the word of God and do it.”
         5. Rom 9:3, “I could wish that I myself were accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my own people, my kindred according to the flesh.”
         6. Heb 2:10-17, “It was fitting that God, for whom and through whom all things exist, in bringing many children to glory, should make the pioneer of their salvation perfect through sufferings. 11For the one who sanctifies and those who are sanctified all have one Father. For this reason Jesus is not ashamed to call them brothers and sisters, 12saying, “I will proclaim your name to my brothers and sisters, in the midst of the congregation I will praise you.” 13And again, “I will put my trust in him.” And again, “Here am I and the children whom God has given me.” 14Since, therefore, the children share flesh and blood, he himself likewise shared the same things, so that through death he might destroy the one who has the power of death, that is, the devil, 15and free those who all their lives were held in slavery by the fear of death. 16For it is clear that he did not come to help angels, but the descendants of Abraham. 17Therefore he had to become like his brothers and sisters in every respect, so that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in the service of God, to make a sacrifice of atonement for the sins of the people.”
      5. “Here we find stated the reason why those who believe in Christ are his brothers. It lies in the fact that both the Saviour and the saved come from the one God, though in different ways. Paul expresses this even more clearly in the Letter to the Romans (Rom. 8,29) . . . Men are brothers of one another because the Son of God become man is brother of all. He is the personal point of reference for all brotherhood (cf. Mt. 25,34-40).” (Schmaus 77)
         1. Rom 8:29, “For those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son, in order that he might be the firstborn within a large family.”
         2. Matt 25:35-40, “I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, 36I was naked and you gave me clothing, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you visited me. . . . 40just as you did it to one of the least of these who are members of my family, you did it to me.”
   2. participation in the sonship of Christ
      1. “Brotherhood with the incarnate Son of God means that the justified man is admitted into the son relationship of Jesus to the Father.” (Schmaus 77)
         1. “God has only one eternal Son: Christ is the only-begotten . . .” (Schmaus 77)
            1. John 3:16, “For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, so that everyone who believes in him may not perish but may have eternal life.”
            2. Heb 1:6, “when he brings the firstborn into the world, he says, “Let all God’s angels worship him.””
         2. “Through the incarnation this only-begotten becomes at the same time the firstborn of the whole creation (Heb. 1,6; Col. 1,15), the firstborn among many brothers (Rom. 8,19-29), the first to return from the dead (Col. 1,18).” (Schmaus 77)
            1. Matt 6:9, “Pray then in this way: Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name.”
            2. Rom 8:19-30, “the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the children of God . . . 21the creation itself . . . will obtain the freedom of the glory of the children of God. . . . 23we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly while we wait for adoption, the redemption of our bodies. . . . 28We . . . are called according to his purpose. 29For those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son, in order that he might be the firstborn within a large family. 30And those whom he predestined he also called; and those whom he called he also justified; and those whom he justified he also glorified.”
            3. Col 1:15, “He is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation . . .”
            4. Col 1:18, “He is the head of the body, the church; he is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, so that he might come to have first place in everything.”
         3. “. . . but the sonship of these is different from the sonship of the eternal Son of God—it could be called an “analogous” sonship. Union and resemblance with Jesus is the basis for the participa­tion in that relationship in which Jesus Christ himself stands to God, the heavenly Father (Jn. 1,14).” (Schmaus 77)
         4. “This is the goal and end of the incarnation of Jesus Christ.” (Schmaus 77)
            1. See Rom 8:26-30 above.
            2. 2 Cor 3:18, “all of us, with unveiled faces, seeing the glory of the Lord as though reflected in a mirror, are being transformed into the same image from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord, the Spirit.”
            3. Gal 3:26-27, “in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith. 27As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ.”
            4. Eph 1:4-6, “he chose us in Christ before the foundation of the world to be holy and blameless before him in love. 5He destined us for adoption as his children through Jesus Christ, according to the good pleasure of his will, 6to the praise of his glorious grace that he freely bestowed on us in the Beloved.”
         5. “Participation in the sonship of the one eternal Son comes about inas­much as many share in his eternal Spirit, so that he is one with them in the Spirit . . .” (Schmaus 77)
            1. Rom 8:14-17, “all who are led by the Spirit of God are children of God. 15For you did not receive a spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received a spirit of adoption. When we cry, “Abba! Father!” 16it is that very Spirit bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God, 17and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ . . .”
            2. Gal 4:1-7, “My point is this: heirs, as long as they are minors, are no better than slaves, though they are the owners of all the property; 2but they remain under guardians and trustees until the date set by the father. 3So with us; while we were minors, we were enslaved to the elemental spirits of the world. 4But when the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, 5in order to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as children. 6And because you are children, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba! Father!” 7So you are no longer a slave but a child, and if a child then also an heir, through God.”
            3. Heb 2:10-14, “It was fitting that God, for whom and through whom all things exist, in bringing many children to glory, should make the pioneer of their salvation perfect through sufferings. 11For the one who sanctifies and those who are sanctified all have one Father. For this reason Jesus is not ashamed to call them brothers and sisters, 12saying, “I will proclaim your name to my brothers and sisters, in the midst of the congregation I will praise you.” 13And again, “I will put my trust in him.” And again, “Here am I and the children whom God has given me.” 14Since, therefore, the children share flesh and blood, he himself likewise shared the same things, so that through death he might destroy the one who has the power of death, that is, the devil . . .”
            4. Heb 3:6, Christ “was faithful over God’s house as a son, and we are his house if we hold firm the confidence and the pride that belong to hope.”
         6. “The essential difference between the sonship of the eternal Logos and the sonship of the justified consists in the fact that the latter is a free gift of God. The just are received by God as his children . . .” (Schmaus 78) Gal 4:5, “in order to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as children.”
         7. “However, this acceptance into the state of children of God is essentially different from adoption in any earthly sense. In the human realm adoption occurs on the juridical level and is restricted to the com­munication of external things, while the acceptance on the part of God is a divine action through which man is changed in his very interior . . .” (Schmaus 78) Heb 4:12-13, “the word of God is living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing until it divides soul from spirit, joints from marrow; it is able to judge the thoughts and intentions of the heart. 13And before him no creature is hidden, but all are naked and laid bare to the eyes of the one to whom we must render an account.”
         8. In John “men are brought from a state of slavery to the world into the condition of sons of God.” (Schmaus 78) 1 John 2:29-3:10, “If you know that he is righteous, you may be sure that everyone who does right has been born of him. 3:1See what love the Father has given us, that we should be called children of God; and that is what we are. The reason the world does not know us is that it did not know him. 2Beloved, we are God’s children now; what we will be has not yet been revealed. What we do know is this: when he is revealed, we will be like him, for we will see him as he is. 3And all who have this hope in him purify themselves, just as he is pure. 4Everyone who commits sin is guilty of lawlessness; sin is lawlessness. 5You know that he was revealed to take away sins, and in him there is no sin. 6No one who abides in him sins; no one who sins has either seen him or known him. 7Little children, let no one deceive you. Everyone who does what is right is righteous, just as he is righteous. 8Everyone who commits sin is a child of the devil; for the devil has been sinning from the beginning. The Son of God was revealed for this purpose, to destroy the works of the devil. 9Those who have been born of God do not sin, because God’s seed abides in them; they cannot sin, because they have been born of God. 10The children of God and the children of the devil are revealed in this way: all who do not do what is right are not from God, nor are those who do not love their brothers and sisters.”
         9. “The divine sonship establishes a commonality and a likeness which means more than all the differences and makes even the hierarchical differences within the structure of the people of God of secondary importance.” (Schmaus 79)
         10. “Revelation has taught us that the inner life of God is a Trinity of Persons . . . Grace establishes us in a personal relation of knowledge and love with the Three divine Persons, in whose company we live as with living persons.” [76] “Our adoption as children of God communicates to us through grace the sonship which God the Son possesses by nature, so that it is truly in him, assimilated to him, that we are children begotten with him and in him by the Father. . . . Thus we are loved by God with the same love wherewith God the Father and God the Son love and embrace each other eter­nally, in that “eternal kiss” and mutual gift which is the Holy Spirit.” (Daujat 77)
2. **son as heir**
   1. “He who is the son of God is also his heir. Man becomes heir of God in being co-heir with Christ . . .” (Schmaus 79)
      1. Rom 8:17, “and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ . . .”
      2. Rom 8:29, “those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son, in order that he might be the firstborn within a large family.”
      3. Gal 4:7, “you are no longer a slave but a child, and if a child then also an heir, through God.”
      4. Titus 3:7, “so that, having been justified by his grace, we might become heirs according to the hope of eternal life.”
   2. “The inheritance which is given to the son of God refers to the final fulfillment, to the perfect dialogue with God in the absolute future in the communion of all the brothers and sisters who have died. The inheritance is not merely promised, a deposit is paid on it. In this sense the sonship has an eschatological character (see Rom. 8,20-23). [79] Whoever is the son of God is justified in having an unconditional hope and expecting a future of fullness of life. This hope, founded on the divine promise, will not be disappointed.” (Schmaus 79-80) Rom 8:20-23, “for the creation was subjected to futility, not of its own will but by the will of the one who subjected it, in hope 21that the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and will obtain the freedom of the glory of the children of God. 22We know that the whole creation has been groaning in labor pains until now; 23and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly while we wait for adoption, the redemption of our bodies.”
   3. “The assurance of the inheritance and the guarantee of a deposit on the realized fulfillment marks the life of a son of God as a life of love, of confidence, and of freedom from the fear of death. Sons of God are not children, but rather free men . . . Paul reproaches the Corinthians because they have behaved like infants (1 Cor. 3,1; cf. 13,11). It was the greatest act of love on the part of Jesus Christ that he freed us from the conditions of minors (Gal. 4,lff.; cf. Eph. 4,14; Rom. 8,15f.).” (Schmaus 80)
      1. 1 Cor 3:1, “I could not speak to you as spiritual people, but rather as people of the flesh, as infants in Christ.”
      2. 1 Cor 13:11, “When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child; when I became an adult, I put an end to childish ways.”
      3. Gal 4, “heirs, as long as they are minors, are no better than slaves, though they are the owners of all the property; 2but they remain under guardians and trustees until the date set by the father. 3So with us; while we were minors, we were enslaved to the elemental spirits of the world. 4But . . . God sent his Son . . . 5so that we might receive adoption as children. 6And because you are children, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba! Father!” 7So you are no longer a slave but a child, and if a child then also an heir, through God. 8Formerly, when you did not know God, you were enslaved to beings that by nature are not gods. 9Now, however, that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God, how can you turn back again to the weak and beggarly elemental spirits? How can you want to be enslaved to them again? 10You are observing special days, and months, and seasons, and years. . . . 19My little children, for whom I am again in the pain of childbirth until Christ is formed in you, 20I wish I were present with you now and could change my tone, for I am perplexed about you.”
      4. Eph 4:14, “We must no longer be children, tossed to and fro and blown about by every wind of doctrine, by people's trickery, by their craftiness in deceitful scheming.”
      5. Rom 8:15-16, “For you did not receive a spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received a spirit of adoption. When we cry, “Abba! Father!” 16it is that very Spirit bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God . . .”
   4. “The adulthood conferred by God himself gives to every justified man both the right and the duty of responsible, independent action within the norms set up for the governance of the community, not only in the sphere or [*sic*] religion and the Church but also in the separate but corresponding secular order. . . . The sons of God can likewise trust God when he sends them suffering. The more they surrender themselves to him in knowledge and love, the more they share in his own freedom and the closer they come to him. For the cross is always a step towards God; indeed it is the only way to him.” (Schmaus 80)
3. **son of the Father**, **not of the Trinity**
   1. Since “all the works of God in the creation issue from the three divine persons as from one principle, the question can be posed whether the justified man is the son of the three-personed God or of the first divine person.” (Schmaus 80)
      1. Though “the transformation of the man in grace is the work of the three divine persons, [nevertheless] the justified man is the son, through Jesus Christ, of the first divine person.” [80] “Cf. *Dogma* *3:* *God* *and* *His* *Christ* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1971), pp. 242-244.” See also, in the present book, the discussion of the “indwelling” of God” above). (Schmaus 80, 80 n. 2)
   2. “Inasmuch as the sonship of the man in grace is founded on participation in the sonship of the incarnate Logos, it would be contrary to Scripture to call the justified man a son of the Trinity on [80] the basis of the principle referred to above [“all the works of God in the creation issue from the three divine persons as from one principle”]. The solution of a possible difficulty here lies in the distinction between efficient and formal cause.” (Schmaus 80-81)
   3. “The Fathers do not hesitate to stress on occasion that the just, accepted as sons by God, form with the only-begotten, eternal Son of God only one single Son of the heavenly Father.” (Schmaus 81)
      1. “According to Cyril of Alexandria, the Spirit whom Christ sent transforms us all, in the unity of the love of Christ, into one heavenly man, Jesus Christ.” (Schmaus 81)
      2. “Maximos the Confessor (ca. 580-662) characterizes the epoch introduced by Christ as the time wherein humanity is gathered together and deified in the Logos.” (Schmaus 81)

## CHARISMS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *citation* | *texts* | *gifts listed* | *type* |
| Rom 12:6-8 | “We have gifts that differ according to the grace given to us: prophecy, in proportion to faith; 7 ministry, in ministering; the teacher, in teaching; 8 the exhorter, in exhortation; the giver, in generosity; the leader, in diligence; the compassionate, in cheerfulness.” | prophecy exhorter  ministry giver  teacher leader  the compassionate, cheerfulness | functions and offices |
| 1 Cor 12:8-10 | “To one is given through the Spirit the utterance of wisdom, and to another the utterance of knowledge according to the same Spirit, 9 to another faith by the same Spirit, to another gifts of healing by the one Spirit, 10 to another the working of miracles, to another prophecy, to another the discernment of spirits, to another various kinds of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues.” | wisdom prophecy  knowledge discernment of spirits  faith  healing tongues  miracles interpret. of tongues | functions |
| 1 Cor 12:28 | “And God has appointed in the church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers; then deeds of power, then gifts of healing, forms of assistance, forms of leadership, various kinds of tongues.” | apostles healing  prophets assistance  teachers leadership  deeds of tongues  power | offices and functions |
| 1 Cor 12:29-30 | “Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Do all work miracles? 30 Do all possess gifts of healing? Do all speak in tongues? Do all interpret?” | apostles healing  prophets tongues  teachers interpret. of tongues  miracle workers | offices and functions |
| Eph 4:11 | “The gifts he gave were that some would be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers . . .” | apostles pastors  prophets teachers  evangelists | offices |
| 1 Pet 4:10-11 | “Like good stewards of the manifold grace of God, serve one another with whatever gift each of you has received. 11 Whoever speaks must do so as one speaking the very words of God; whoever serves must do so with the strength that God supplies, so that God may be glorified in all things through Jesus Christ.” | speaker  server | functions |

## THE THEOLOGICAL VIRTUES IN PAUL

(Romans through Philemon)

1. **verses** **with** “**faith**,” “**hope**,” **and** “**love**”
   1. 1 Cor 13:13, “And now faith, hope, and love abide, these three; and the greatest of these is love.”
   2. 1 Thess 1:3, “remembering before our God and Father your work of faith and labor of love and steadfastness of hope in our Lord Jesus Christ.”
   3. 1 Thess 5:8, “But since we belong to the day, let us be sober, and put on the breastplate of faith and love, and for a helmet the hope of salvation.”
   4. Gal 5:5-6, “For through the Spirit, by faith, we eagerly wait for the hope of righteousness. 6For in Christ Jesus . . . the only thing that counts is faith working through love.”
2. **verses** **with** **only** “**faith**” **and** “**love**”
   1. 1 Cor 13:2, “And if I have prophetic powers, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but do not have love, I am nothing.”
   2. 2 Cor 8:7, “Now as you excel in everything—in faith, in speech, in knowledge, in utmost eager­ness, and in our love for you—so we want you to excel also in this generous under­taking.”
   3. Gal 5:6, “For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision counts for anything; the only thing that counts is faith working through love.”
   4. Eph 1:15, “I have heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus and your love toward all the saints . . .”
   5. Eph 3:17, “and that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith, as you are being rooted and grounded in love.”
   6. Eph 6:23, “Peace be to the whole community, and love with faith, from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.”
   7. Col 1:4, “for we have heard of your faith in Christ Jesus and of the love that you have for all the saints . . .”
   8. 1 Thess 3:6, “But Timothy has just now come to us from you, and has brought us the good news of your faith and love. He has told us also that you always remember us kindly and long to see us—just as we long to see you.”
   9. 2 Thess 1:3, “We must always give thanks to God for you, brothers and sisters, as is right, be­cause your faith is growing abundantly, and the love of everyone of you for one another is increasing.”
   10. 1 Tim 1:5, “But the aim of such instruction is love that comes from a pure heart, a good con­science, and sincere faith.”
   11. 1 Tim 1:14, “and the grace of our Lord overflowed for me with the faith and love that are in Christ Jesus.”
   12. 1 Tim 2:15, “Yet she will be saved through childbearing, provided they continue in faith and love and holiness, with modesty.”
   13. 1 Tim 4:12, “Let no one despise your youth, but set the believers an example in speech and conduct, in love, in faith, in purity.”
   14. 1 Tim 6:10‑11, “For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil, and in their eagerness to be rich some have wandered away from the faith and pierced themselves with many pains. 11 But as for you, man of God, shun all this; pursue righteousness, godliness, faith, love, endurance, gentleness.”
   15. 2 Tim 1:13, “Hold to the standard of sound teaching that you have heard from me, in the faith and love that are in Christ Jesus.”
   16. 2 Tim 2:22, “Shun youthful passions and pursue righteousness, faith, love, and peace, along with those who call on the Lord from a pure heart.”
   17. 2 Tim 3:10, “Now you have observed my teaching, my conduct, my aim in life, my faith, my patience, my love, my steadfastness . . .”
   18. Titus 2:2, “Tell the older men to be temperate, serious, prudent, and sound in faith, in love, and in endurance.”
   19. Titus 3:15, “All who are with me send greetings to you. Greet those who love us in the faith. Grace be with all of you.”
   20. Philem 1:5, “because I hear of your love for all the saints and your faith toward the Lord Jesus.”
3. **verses** **with** **only** “**hope**” **and** “**love**”
   1. Rom 5:5, “and hope does not disappoint us, because God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit that has been given to us.”
4. **verses** **with** **only** “**faith**” **and** “**hope**”
   1. 2 Cor 10:15, “We do not boast beyond limits, that is, in the labors of others; but our hope is that, as your faith increases, our sphere of action among you may be greatly enlarged . . .”
   2. Gal 5:5, “For through the Spirit, by faith, we eagerly wait for the hope of righteousness.”
   3. Col 1:23, “provided that you continue securely established and steadfast in the faith, without shifting from the hope promised by the gospel that you heard, which has been pro­claimed to every creature under heaven. I, Paul, became a servant of this gospel.”

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1. See also Fitzmyer’s comment elsewhere: ““Salvation” denotes the deliverance of human beings from evil, physical, moral, poli­ti­cal, or cataclysmic. . . . In most instances, where Paul uses the image, it expresses an element of his futurist eschatology, denoting an effect still to be fully achieved in the future (in contrast to that of justification). [E.g., Phil 2:12, “work out your salvation with fear and trembling,” and Phil 3:20, “it is from there [heaven] that we are expecting a Savior . . .”] . . . By con­trast, [for Luke salvation is] already achieved, though Luke 21:28 [“your redemption is drawing near”] admits a future aspect of it.” (Fitzmyer *Gospel According to Luke* 222) [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. In the Old Testament, God is Israel’s *gô´ēl*, a kinsman who buys back a captured relative. (Exod 6:6-7; Deut 7:6-8; Pss 18:15, 77:35, 111:9; Isa 41:14, 43:1, 43:14, 44:6, 47:4, 51:11, 52:3-9) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)