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Short Title

PAUL'S SOURCE AND USE OF TRADITION

Paul H. Andrews

PAUL'S SOURCE AND USE OF TRADITION  
AS REFLECTED IN HIS WRITINGS  
TO THE CORINTHIANS

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Exegetical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Theology

by

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May 1967

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present project is to investigate the role of tradition in the method and message of the apostle Paul. To the Pharisees, with whom Paul had a close connection before his conversion, tradition was an extremely important matter. The Pharisees not only utilized the method of tradition in handing on their teachings from one generation to the next but also developed a distinctive method of transmission. As a student of Pharisaic teaching, Paul felt that he had made good progress in acquiring the art of "receiving" and "handing on" Jewish traditions (Galatians 1:14). When he became an apostle of Christ, however, he ceased acting as a Jewish traditioner<sup>1</sup> whose concern was to hand on and add to unwritten interpretations and applications of the Torah. His chief concern became the risen Jesus, who appeared to him along the Damascus road and appointed him to a different task from that which he would have had in Judaism. There is no reason to believe,

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<sup>1</sup>Two terms are currently being used to designate the person who is an agent in the process of tradition. The "traditioner" appears in the Faith and Order documents and is most often used in this paper. On the other hand, "traditionist" is preferred by Eric J. Sharpe in his translation of Birger Gerhardsson's important work on tradition in rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity.

however, that Paul abandoned his skills as a traditioner when he became a Christian apostle. Rather, it is reasonable to assume that he continued to use this method as a preacher and teacher of his new faith, receiving, using, and passing on the traditions of his new Lord and the church. The present study seeks to explore the question whether an adapted form of the Jewish concept of tradition constituted a significant part of Paul's work as a Christian apostle in the congregation at Corinth.

The importance of the problem of tradition is a major subject of ecumenical dialogue. For example, at the most recent meeting of the Ohio Theological Colloquium the discussion dealt with the problem of Scripture and tradition as it has been treated in the Consultation of Church Union.<sup>2</sup> The main paper at the meeting was read by Professor James Nelson of the United Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio.<sup>3</sup> Brief responses were heard from Father Eugene Maly of Mount Saint Mary Seminary, Cincinnati, and from Professor T. S. Liefeld of the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, Columbus,

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<sup>2</sup>The Consultation on Church Union grew out of a proposal made in a sermon by Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., on December 4, 1960.

<sup>3</sup>Professor Nelson's paper, entitled "Scripture and Tradition in the Consultation on Church Union," is unpublished. It was read to a meeting of the Ohio Theological Colloquium held at St. Charles Borromeo College Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, on November 19, 1966.

Ohio. Professor Nelson's paper offered a critique of the matters of Scripture and tradition as they are discussed in the Consultation on Church Union documents.<sup>4</sup> He pointed out that the concept of tradition that is found in these writings is that tradition is "the whole life of the church." He warned that it is necessary to maintain the distinction between tradition as the life of the church and the Holy Spirit as the life principle of the church. Scripture, he said, functions in a "normative-cannonical" capacity--this means that the tradition of the church should always be subject to the authority of the Scripture. Father Maly, who was one of the official theologians at Vatican II, drew attention to the constitution on divine revelation, Dei Verbum, which emphasizes the unity between Scripture and tradition.<sup>5</sup> This emphasis was one of the surprises of the council and has stimulated a re-examination of the Roman Catholic position on tradition and Scripture. Special interest currently centers in the Tridentine decree on the subject. The other speaker at the Colloquium, Professor Liefeld, an official delegate to the Fourth World Conference

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<sup>4</sup>Consultation on Church Union, Digest of the Proceedings of the Consultation on Church Union, edited by George L. Hunt (5 vols.; Fanwood, New Jersey, 1963--).

<sup>5</sup>An English translation of the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation is available in The Documents of Vatican II, edited by Walter M. Abbott (New York: Guild Press, 1966), pp. 111-128.

on Faith and Order at Montreal in 1963, called the Consultation on Church Union documents a new approach to theological formulation and identified their concept of tradition with the "paradosis of the kerygma" views of certain contemporary theologians. Liefeld observed that the term "tradition" in the Consultation on Church Union documents and in other Faith and Order usage often carries more meaning than the corresponding biblical term παράδοσις.<sup>6</sup> The three panelists at the Ohio Theological Colloquium were representative of three major fronts on which the subject of tradition is currently being discussed in an ecumenical setting.

The problem of tradition in Paul has been limited in the present study to an exegetical interpretation of evidence found in the Corinthian correspondence. The findings of the study have implications for ecumenical debate, but a detailed comparison of conclusions with those of the Faith and Order participants, for instance, is not attempted. Our study is confined to the two epistles in the New Testament that are addressed to the church at Corinth. The decision to limit the problem to Corinth was made to provide a

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<sup>6</sup>In three chief publications: The Old and the New in the Church, edited by Keith R. Bridston (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961); Faith and Order Findings: The Final Report of the Theological Commissions to the Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order, Montreal 1963, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963); The Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order, Montreal 1963, edited by P. C. Rodger and Lukas Vischer (New York: Association Press, 1964).



manageable basis for the question of tradition in Paul. Limiting the problem to the Corinthian congregation also has the advantage of avoiding some of the complications that arise in attempting to come to terms with the inevitable differences found in other Pauline epistles. Once it was decided to select a single Pauline church for the investigation, Corinth was by far the most logical choice. The quantity of extant correspondence with the Corinthian congregation is the largest in the New Testament. The nature of the content of the letters makes the Corinthian church the best known of the Pauline congregations. Furthermore, the Corinthian epistles provide ample variety and richness of material for a study of Paul's use of tradition.

The present study will deal with the topic of tradition in the Corinthian letters under four major headings. In the first chapter the three chief views held by modern scholars on the role of tradition in Paul are set forth: the form critical position in general, British views, and the Scandinavian schools. The second chapter is given over to an examination of the evidence and arguments that deal with Paul's Jewish background, especially educational factors that influenced his concept of tradition. The third chapter deals with the apostle's use of tradition in regulating Christian life at Corinth as he met the problems of the congregation. In the fourth chapter, Paul's concept of the gospel is related to the evidence of tradition in the

Corinthian epistles. Careful examination of the passages shows that εὐαγγέλιον has at least three distinct meanings, one of which is that the gospel, as Paul worked with it, is a body of tradition. In a concluding chapter, the results of the study are summarized and certain suggestions made for further investigation.

## CHAPTER II

### PAST ESTIMATES OF PAUL'S USE OF TRADITION

Any estimate of the nature and method of tradition in Paul's ministry is necessarily connected with the wider question of the origin of the Christian tradition. Until recently there have been but two chief positions on the problem of the origin and transmission of the words and works of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> The one is that of the radical form critics, as exemplified in Rudolf Bultmann and others, and the second is that of the more conservative British school, expounded by C. H. Dodd and men of similar views.<sup>2</sup> A third position has been advocated of late by the Scandinavian scholars Harlad Riesenfeld and Birger Gerhardsson.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter we take notice of what is distinctive about each of

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<sup>1</sup>W. D. Davies, "Reflections on a Scandinavian Approach to 'The Gospel Tradition,'" Neotestamentica et Patristica (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), p. 14. The position of Stauffer is distinguished from the two chief views presented here.

<sup>2</sup>Including William Manson, T. W. Manson, and Vincent Taylor; cf. Davies, p. 14, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Harald Riesenfeld, The Gospel Tradition and Its Beginnings: A Study in the Limits of 'Formgeschichte' (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1957); Birger Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity, translated by Eric J. Sharpe (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1961). The views of Gerhardsson have not been widely accepted. Cf. Davies, pp. 14-15.

the three current major positions in accounting for Paul's entrance into the Christian tradition.

Rudolf Bultmann

Bultmann's view is that the kerygma was transmitted as tradition by the Hellenistic church. The process began in the work of Christian preachers who brought their message to people.<sup>4</sup> Originally, it was the same simple message that Jesus preached, a message of radical obedience to God and unconditioned love to one's fellowman.<sup>5</sup> But the various needs of the community soon began to affect the content and form of the message. The preachers found it necessary to supply information about the One who first called men to faithful obedience.<sup>6</sup> The message from Jesus was therefore supplemented with the proclamation of Jesus. Thus, for Bultmann, tradition is the passing on of Jesus' message of obedient love in the form of kerygma; the act of transmission is the same as the act of proclaiming the

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<sup>4</sup>Cf. Robert A. Bartels, Kerygma or Gospel Tradition--Which Came First? (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961), p. 7.

<sup>5</sup>Rudolf Bultmann, Primitive Christianity in Its Contemporary Setting, translated by R. H. Fuller (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), pp. 71-79.

<sup>6</sup>Rudolf Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, translated by John Marsh (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), p. 368.

message.<sup>7</sup>

According to this view, the "Jesus-tradition" was taken over from Palestinian Christianity, shaped, and to a large extent recreated by the Hellenistic church to meet its needs.<sup>8</sup> Primitive preaching developed in such a way that it soon embraced historical and theological data about Jesus as well as his original message. The needs of the Christian community led to a further development within the historical tradition about Jesus.<sup>9</sup> The primitive congregation's desire to have an account of its origin led to identifying the original recipients and authorized bearers of the message. The Twelve were therefore accorded recognition as guardians of the tradition, that is, as persons whom Jesus had chosen at the beginning of his ministry, to whom he had first preached his message of the kingdom, and who were subsequently authorized to bear witness to all that he had said and done during his sojourn

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<sup>7</sup>Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, translated by Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), I, 59: "This tradition is the passing on of Jesus' message, but primarily it is the passing on of the specifically Christian kerygma--and is the former only within the frame of the later."

<sup>8</sup>Bultmann, History, p. 369.

<sup>9</sup>Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, pp. 175-76, holds that the decisive step in the development of early Christianity came when Jesus' message of the good news of the Kingdom moved from Palestinian Judaism into the Graeco-Roman world. The gospel was thereby transformed to make it intelligible to Hellenistic audiences.

on earth.<sup>10</sup>

Bultmann maintains that in primitive Christianity tradition was not institutionally regulated but was under the free sway of the Spirit.<sup>11</sup> The earliest period is to be thought of as a period of intense creativity in the church. The Spirit chose whom he wanted to be recipients and transmitters of the kerygma; it is the Spirit also who decided the line of continuity or succession of the tradition.<sup>12</sup> This view rules out the idea that tradition was controlled by an apostolic college or Christian rabbinical school.<sup>13</sup>

Apostleship in the earliest days of the church was closely connected with the tradition. In fact, the persons who originally preached the kerygma under the inspiration of the Spirit were the apostles.<sup>14</sup> In Paul's time there was no closed number of apostles, for he used the term as a designation for all missionaries. The restriction of the concept

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<sup>10</sup>Bultmann, Theology, I, 59, regards the story of the election of Matthias to complete the number of the twelve to be a legend.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., I, 60.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Rudolf Bultmann, Exegetische Probleme des zweiten Korintherbriefes (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), pp. 20-30.

<sup>13</sup>Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, pp. 175-179. The fact that primitive Christianity was a syncretistic phenomenon rules out a single tradition in the first place.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Bultmann, Exegetische Probleme, pp. 26-27.

of apostleship until it signified the same thing as membership in "the Twelve" was a late development that eventually led to the idea of apostolic succession. Bultmann regards the laying on of hands as found in the Pastoral Epistles to be a reflection of the later institution of apostolic ordination.<sup>15</sup>

The figure of Paul is placed within the framework of the kerygmatic activity of Hellenistic Christianity. Paul was not a personal disciple of Jesus, but was "won to the Christian faith by the kerygma of the Hellenistic Church."<sup>16</sup> The accounts in Acts that tell of Paul's encounter with the risen Jesus are regarded with a high degree of historical scepticism.<sup>17</sup> The actual Pauline encounter, Bultmann holds, developed on the question of whether or not Jesus was the expected Messiah of Israel.

Furthermore, it is asserted that there was scarcely any contact between Paul and the Palestinian Christian

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<sup>15</sup>Bultmann, Theology, I, 60. David Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London: The Athlone Press, 1956), pp. 224-246, discusses the laying on of hands in the New Testament against the background of rabbinic and Old Testament practice.

<sup>16</sup>Bultmann, Theology, I, 187.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Bultmann, History, p. 5, n. 3, where the Marburg professor comments on his "much criticized scepticism."

community.<sup>18</sup> As Bultmann puts it, "After his conversion he made no effort toward contact with Jesus' disciples or the Jerusalem Church for instruction concerning Jesus and his ministry."<sup>19</sup> The reason for lack of contact was that Paul had no interest in the historical Jesus.<sup>20</sup> A minimum of biographical data was sufficient; Paul's chief concern was the exalted Lord and the pre-existent Christ.<sup>21</sup> As evidence of the apostle's independence from the Palestinian church, Bultmann points to the vehement protests expressed in the first and second chapters of Galatians.

A wide gap thus existed between Jesus and Paul. The gap is demonstrated by the different worlds of thought in which each moved. Bultmann says:

In relation to the preaching of Jesus, the theology of Paul is a new structure, and that indicates nothing else than that Paul has his place within Hellenistic Christianity. The so often and so passionately debated question, "Jesus and Paul" is at bottom the question: Jesus and Hellenistic Christianity.<sup>22</sup>

Only traces of the influence of the Palestinian tradition of

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<sup>18</sup>Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 177, says: "The Hellenistic Christians received the gospel tradition of the Palestinian churches. Admittedly, the importance attached to this tradition varied from place to place. Paul himself seldom refers to it."

<sup>19</sup>Bultmann, Theology, I, 188.

<sup>20</sup>Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, p. 197.

<sup>21</sup>Bultmann, History, pp. 370-371.

<sup>22</sup>Bultmann, Theology, I, 189.



Jesus are seen in Paul's epistles.<sup>23</sup> What was received by him was mediated by the Hellenistic church.

Bultmann expresses doubt about the accuracy of the information in Acts which says that Paul at one time was a pupil of Gamaliel in Jerusalem (see Acts 22:3). The most that can be said is that Paul received some rabbinic scriptural learning in his home. Evidence of this kind of Jewish education appears in his epistles. But he did not obtain any advanced rabbinic training.<sup>24</sup>

#### Martin Dibelius

Martin Dibelius, a more conservative representative of the form critical school, also emphasizes the relationship between preaching and tradition in primitive Christianity. His starting-point in the study of the gospel tradition is the assumption that "Jesus' words and the accounts of his life and death were kept alive in the circle of His disciples."<sup>25</sup> From the standpoint of historical criticism of the New Testament writings, Dibelius is not as severe as

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., I, 188-189, says of Paul: "All that is important for him in the story of Jesus is the fact that Jesus was born a Jew and lived under the Law (Gal. 4:4) and that he had been crucified (Gal. 3:1; 1 Cor. 2:2; Phil. 2:5 ff.)."

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., I, 187.

<sup>25</sup>Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, translated by Bertram Lee Woolf (2nd ed. rev.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, n.d.), p. 10.

Bultmann.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, he does not emphasize the idea that the gospel tradition was largely the creation of the early church.

According to Dibelius, the missionary impulse experienced by the early Christians necessitated the formulation of the Christian tradition. There would have been no tradition if the first believers had been interested only in reminding one another of their spiritual experiences. What the eyewitness and ministers of the Word said, however, was given definite forms for the purpose of propagating the faith.<sup>27</sup> Dibelius regards the intention to communicate purposefully to be one of the essential components of Christian tradition. He says that what led the Christians who knew something about Jesus to formulate the tradition was "the work of proselytizing to which they felt themselves bound, that is, the missionary purpose."<sup>28</sup> Thus the desire to spread the gospel drove the earliest Christians to shape the gospel tradition out of the reminiscences of the disciples of Jesus.

While the missionary impulse was the cause, preaching was the means by which tradition was transmitted in the

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<sup>26</sup>Cf. E. Basil Redlich, Form Criticism: Its Values and Limitations (London: Duckworth, 1956), pp. 26-30, for a summary of Dibelius' views on the gospel formation.

<sup>27</sup>Dibelius, p. 13.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

early church. But Dibelius defines preaching broadly; it includes "the preaching to non-Christians and also to a Christian congregation, as well as to the teaching of catechumens."<sup>29</sup> The gospel tradition was secondary to preaching, for "the primitive Christian missionaries did not relate the life of Jesus, but proclaimed the salvation which had come about in Jesus Christ."<sup>30</sup> As to the manner in which the gospel tradition was employed, Dibelius conjectures that it "was either introduced into the preaching, or related at its close."<sup>31</sup>

Dibelius holds that Paul received the Christian tradition from a "circle of Hellenistic churches" to which he attached himself when he became a Christian.<sup>32</sup> In arriving at this conclusion, the German scholar gives credit to the researches of experts in the history of religion.<sup>33</sup> He also

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 14-15. Dibelius finds the first category, missionary preaching, in the sermons in Acts. But the kerygma is only one of three elements in a typical sermon in Acts, the other two being scriptural proof and exhortation to repentance (cf. p. 17, n. 1). Preaching during Christian worship seems to be what Paul in 1 Cor. 14 speaks of as prophecy (1 Cor. 14:1-6, 22-25, 29-32). The third category, instruction of catechumens, is what C. H. Dodd calls didache; cf. infra, p. 25.

<sup>30</sup>Dibelius, p. 15.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid. Cf. infra, p. 132.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-19, n. 2. Hellenistic churches with close ties to Judaism are to be thought of as the source of Paul's tradition. Cf. p. 29.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-19, n. 2.

thinks that the Hellenistic churches extended to Paul his call to be a Christian missionary.<sup>34</sup>

The tradition of which Paul speaks in 1 Corinthians 15:3 came to him either at Damascus shortly after his conversion or later at Antioch when he began his missionary work among the Gentiles.<sup>35</sup> Dibelius says that these Hellenistic churches apparently "handed on to their new converts or to the missionaries whom they sent out a short outline or summary of the Christian message, a formula which gave a teacher of this faith guidance for his instruction."<sup>36</sup> He regards only 1 Corinthians 15:3-5, formulated originally not in Aramaic but in Greek, to be the tradition which Paul quite probably received word for word just as he transmitted it to the Corinthians.

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<sup>34</sup>Martin Dibelius, Paul, edited and completed by Werner Georg Kümmel, translated by Frank Clarke (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), p. 48, says that the conversion account as told in Acts 9, 22, and 26 "is told all through in the style of a legend."

<sup>35</sup>Jean Héring, The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, translated by A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock (London: The Epworth Press, 1962), pp. 101-102, prefers to think that Paul received the tradition of which he speaks in 1 Cor. 11:2 at Damascus, but does not regard that city to have been Hellenistic. He says: "It was at Damascus, that is in the Judaic Christianity of the Syro-Arabian dispersion, that the Apostle was initiated into Christianity, and he stayed in that area longer than elsewhere (Gal. 1 and 2)." Damascus was where Paul also received the traditions concerning the resurrection; cf. ibid., p. 158.

<sup>36</sup>Dibelius, From Tradition, pp. 19,29.

Dibelius is not as sceptical as Bultmann on the matter of Paul's debt to Judaism. The young man from Tarsus went to Jerusalem, Dibelius says, with the intention of receiving a "rabbinical higher education," but did not carry out his purposes. He never became a "fully trained rabbinical scholar."<sup>37</sup> The reason for concluding that he did not complete this rabbinical education is that the one-sided picture of Jewish doctrine which the apostle later draws is difficult to reconcile with a thorough Palestinian schooling.

Several considerations lead Dibelius to think that Paul's position in Judaism was not the orthodox rabbinical one. Paul's attitude toward the law, for example, was not that of "an orthodox pupil of the rabbis."<sup>38</sup> The apostle's view of individual predestination also marks him off as an unorthodox Jew.<sup>39</sup> The eschatological ideas Paul expresses show that he differs from the "orthodox rabbinical" position.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, the mystical or gnostic tendencies in the apostle's writings disclose that he was not allied with the rabbis in his thinking on such matters.<sup>41</sup> Finally,

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<sup>37</sup>Dibelius, Paul, p. 35.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-34.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

Dibelius holds that Paul's advice in 1 Corinthians 7 implies that he was unmarried, which, if true, tends to rule against thinking of him as a "rabbinical teacher."<sup>42</sup>

Though he expresses caution against over-emphasizing the Greek elements in Paul's education, Dibelius points out that the apostle "shared in the Hellenistic civilization of his native land."<sup>43</sup> His ability in handling the Greek language is cited as evidence of Hellenistic influence. More significantly, the essentially popular style of Paul's epistles shows that he was strongly influenced by the rhetoric of Stoic and Cynic itinerant preachers.<sup>44</sup> These factors, however, do not lead to the conclusion that Paul had formal training at a Greek university.

On the other hand, to whatever length it was pursued, Dibelius observes, Paul's education was that of "strict and orthodox Judaism."<sup>45</sup> His home training is no exception. There is an uncertain tradition that Paul's father was connected with the Pharisaic community in Palestine, but the evidence is quite late and probably unreliable. At any rate, whether at Tarsus or Jerusalem, it cannot be denied

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 35-36.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., pp. 30-31.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

that Paul was "a Pharisee trained in the law."<sup>46</sup>

With reservations Dibelius accepts the statement in Paul's speech in Acts 22:3 that he was a pupil of Rabban Gamaliel. He does not feel that the passage gives justification for the view that Paul had been taken to Jerusalem while he was still a child.<sup>47</sup> Nor does the reference imply that he was ordained. But these qualifications do not lead to a rejection of the tradition, and Dibelius is inclined to believe that Gamaliel was indeed Paul's teacher in Jerusalem.<sup>48</sup> On this point Dibelius takes a position opposite to that of his fellow form critic Bultmann.

C. H. Dodd

British scholars, generally speaking, have been less sceptical with respect to the origin and preservation of tradition in the early church. One of the most influential of them, C. H. Dodd, for example, says:

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>47</sup>Dibelius prefers to punctuate Acts 22:3 thus: ἀνατε-  
θραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ,  
πεπαιδευμένος κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῷου νόμου. Cf. also  
Richard N. Longenecker, Paul, Apostle of Liberty (New York:  
Harper & Row, 1964), p. 23.

<sup>48</sup>Dibelius, Paul, p. 36. The hesitancy to accept the reference in Acts 22:3 to Gamaliel as Paul's teacher was influenced by Dibelius' regard for the views of Bousset. In the first edition of Kyrios Christos, Bousset denied altogether that Paul had been a pupil of Gamaliel, but subsequently revised his opinion. Cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: S.P.C.K., 1965), p. 2.

I believe that a sober and instructed criticism of the Gospels justifies the belief that in their central and dominant tradition they represent the testimony of those who stood nearest to the facts, and whose life and outlook had been moulded by them.<sup>49</sup>

The earliest Christians had a high regard for the historical element in their tradition, because they held that the events dealing with Jesus constituted the climax of all history. Dodd's position is that the primitive tradition, since it is based on the eyewitness testimony of those who participated in the gospel and were the first members of the church, is historically sound.<sup>50</sup>

Dodd maintains that the early Christian kerygma, or preaching of the gospel, was based on Jesus' own teaching. His belief is "that the primitive kerygma arises directly out of the teaching of Jesus about the kingdom of God and all that hangs upon it."<sup>51</sup> He therefore sees not a wide gap but continuity between the preaching of the apostles and the message of Jesus.<sup>52</sup> But he also affirms that the

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<sup>49</sup>C. H. Dodd, "The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments" (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1960), p. 56.

<sup>50</sup>C. H. Dodd, History and the Gospel (Rev. ed.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), pp. 72-77.

<sup>51</sup>Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, p. 75.

<sup>52</sup>L. Cerfaux, The Four Gospels, translated by Patrick Hepburne-Scott (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1960), pp. 1-24, too, emphasizes the continuity between the teaching of Jesus and the apostolic message. He says: "Telling the life of Jesus and reproducing his teaching thus form integral parts of the apostolic message. How could it be



earliest Christian preachers always included in their proclamation "some kind of recital of the facts of the life and ministry of Jesus."<sup>53</sup> Dodd does not regard this "recital" as the delivery of tradition, however, but simply as relating necessary historical data for displaying the eschatological setting of the kerygma. The primitive form of the kerygma, though an explication of Jesus' teaching about the kingdom of God, did not fully express its significance. The Pauline and Johannine interpretations, especially the latter, more fully did so. But, says Dodd, the Fourth Gospel departed radically from the original tradition in its interpretation of the teaching of Jesus.<sup>54</sup> We thus see that Dodd recognizes different stages, or at least different forms of the kerygma, and that in all its forms the proclamation included "some reference, however brief, to the historical facts of the life of Jesus."<sup>55</sup>

What is Dodd's view of the role of tradition in Paul? He holds that the apostle received the basic outline of the kerygma from his predecessors as orally transmitted

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otherwise? The Apostles had surely to continue their apostolic calling, just as Jesus had taught it to them. And how else could they do this but by repeating the message of the Kingdom, the teaching of Jesus, his miracles and his death, followed by his Resurrection?" (pp. 5-6)

<sup>53</sup>Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, p. 30.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

material.<sup>56</sup> In other words, the content of the tradition which Paul received was the kerygmatic outline on which was structured the first preaching that Paul heard. According to Dodd, the tradition was the skeletal kerygma, and the transmitting and preserving of the tradition were accomplished in the act of proclamation. As Dodd puts it: "The kerygma is primary, and it acted as a preservative of the tradition which conveyed the facts."<sup>57</sup> The early church from the beginning kept alive its memory of the gospel facts in its preaching, not in historians' notebooks. It also follows that the preachers of the kerygma are to be looked upon as the traditioners in primitive Christianity.

Dodd affirms that an investigation of the apostolic preaching should begin with the Pauline epistles, since they are the earliest extant writings from the church.<sup>58</sup> The British scholar recognizes that the epistles of Paul are not themselves the kerygma, but that they presuppose preaching to have taken place. Since they are addressed to persons who have in some sense already accepted the gospel, his letters expound and defend its implications.<sup>59</sup> Paul's

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., pp. 9-17.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., pp. 55-56.

<sup>58</sup>Dodd, History and the Gospel, p. 45.

<sup>59</sup>C. H. Dodd, The Meaning of Paul for Today (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 92-93.

epistles "deal with the theological and ethical problems arising out of the attempt to follow the Christian way of life and thought in a non-Christian world."<sup>60</sup>

Dodd claims to have recovered a fragmentary outline of the kerygma from the Pauline epistles. He offers it in outline form thus:

The prophecies are fulfilled, and the new Age is inaugurated by the coming of Christ.  
 He was born of the seed of David.  
 He died according to the Scriptures, to deliver us out of the present evil age.  
 He was buried.  
 He rose on the third day according to the Scriptures.  
 He is exalted at the right hand of God, as Son of God and Lord of quick and dead.  
 He will come again as Judge and Saviour of men.<sup>61</sup>

This then is the outline of the kerygma which Paul adopted from those who preached it before him.<sup>62</sup> As Acts would suggest, the same outline is the core of the Christian tradition as Dodd conceives the principle of tradition to have been operative in the early church.

It follows reasonably that the preaching of Paul, since it was based on the same outline, was essentially like that of the other preachers. In connection with what Paul says in Galatians 2:2 about submitting the gospel which he

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<sup>60</sup>Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, p. 9.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>62</sup>Cf. Dibelius' estimate of the formula Paul learned from his Christian predecessors in From Tradition, pp. 18-20.

preached to Peter, James, and John at Jerusalem, Dodd observes: "Paul himself at least believed that in its essentials his Gospel was that of the primitive apostles."<sup>63</sup>

Paul stoutly maintained that on that occasion the pillars of the Jerusalem church made no additions, but rather signified their approval of his preaching by extending to him the right hand of fellowship (see Galatians 2:6-9).

What then does Paul mean when he occasionally uses expressions such as "my gospel"?<sup>64</sup> Dodd's view is that this type of reference means only that the apostle used "a high degree of originality" in his presentation of the message.<sup>65</sup> We should not think that Paul's preaching had such a radically different character that it stood in opposition to the message of the other preachers of the gospel.<sup>66</sup>

Dodd holds that in Paul the terms κηρύσσειν and εὐαγγελίζεσθαι and their corresponding nouns are virtually synonymous.

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<sup>63</sup>Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, p. 13. A. G. Hebert, Apostle and Bishop: A Study of the Gospel, the Ministry and the Church-Community (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 45-46, endorses Dodd's conclusions regarding the substantial identity of the apostolic message.

<sup>64</sup>Cf. Rom. 2:16; 16:25; 1 Cor. 15:1; 2 Cor. 4:3; and Gal. 1:11.

<sup>65</sup>Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, p. 9.

<sup>66</sup>Dodd emphasizes that "Paul's preaching represents a special stream of Christian tradition which was derived from the main stream at a point very near to its source" (Apostolic Preaching, p. 16).

The verb "to preach" frequently has for its object "the Gospel." Indeed, the connection of ideas is so close that κηρύσσειν by itself can be used as a virtual equivalent for εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, "to evangelize," or "to preach the Gospel." It would not be too much to say that wherever "preaching" is spoken of, it always carries with it the implication of "good tidings" proclaimed.<sup>67</sup>

Dodd places great importance on the distinction between preaching and teaching, for which he uses the Greek terms kerygma and didache.<sup>68</sup> If he sees the possibility that there was a distinction between κήρυγμα and εὐαγγέλιον in Paul's usage, it apparently was so slight that it is of no consequence for his discussion.<sup>69</sup>

Paul says that he preaches "Christ," while in the synoptic gospels Jesus preaches "the kingdom of God." The Acts of the Apostles exhibits both types of terminology for the proclamation. Dodd holds it is probable that Luke thought of Paul's preaching in both ways, but admits that Paul himself did not speak of preaching "the kingdom."<sup>70</sup> In this opinion, the British scholar shows consistency. He holds that the primitive apostolic preaching was directly

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>68</sup>Cf. Dodd, History and the Gospel, pp. 36-37; Apostolic Preaching, pp. 1-2, 47, 53. Dodd says that Mark "conceived himself as writing a form of kerygma" (Apostolic Preaching, p. 47).

<sup>69</sup>Important distinctions are pointed out below; cf. infra, p. 117.

<sup>70</sup>Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, pp. 8-9.

based on Jesus' own teaching.<sup>71</sup> Dodd does not seem to have expressed himself on the question of whether or not there is a difference in Paul's thought between preaching "Christ" and preaching "the Gospel."

The circumstances under which Paul acquired the tradition, which is the outline of the kerygma, are reconstructed by Dodd as follows: Paul received the tradition of the death and resurrection of Christ during the three-year period immediately after his conversion.<sup>72</sup> Dodd does not speculate about the names of the preachers whom Paul first heard or the place where he listened to the kerygma for the first time with an interest in learning to preach it. But his acquisition of the tradition must have occurred within the three-year period immediately after Damascus, for Paul had no direct contact with the primitive church for the next fourteen years. During that period he could scarcely have heard much apostolic preaching.<sup>73</sup>

Paul's possession of the tradition was in some important way connected with his fifteen-day visit with Peter in Jerusalem. Dodd takes note of what Paul wrote in Galatians 1:18 and makes an often-quoted remark: "At that time he stayed with Peter for a fortnight, and we may presume they

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

did not spend all the time talking about the weather."<sup>74</sup> His wry observation is usually taken to mean that Paul undoubtedly learned the pattern of the apostolic message from Peter on that occasion.<sup>75</sup> In other words, Paul acquired the basic features of the kerygma of the primitive church from one of the Lord's closest disciples, Peter himself.

#### Harald Riesenfeld

Recently, the Scandinavian scholars Riesenfeld and Gerhardsson have called for more serious attention to the Palestinian milieu in an attempt to understand the primitive church.<sup>76</sup> These two men have advocated the use of rabbinic analogies to describe the origin and transmission of the gospel tradition. Although both scholars have acknowledged that form criticism has made permanent and valuable contributions to our knowledge of the early church, their position

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>So also Gerhardsson, p. 298.

<sup>76</sup>Bultmann regards the rabbinic analogy valid only for explaining the few elements of the Palestinian tradition that survive in the New Testament and for those elements that were generated in Jewish Christianity and passed on to the Hellenistic church; cf. History, pp. 368-369. Dibelius, on the other hand, devotes careful attention to rabbinic analogies in his work; cf. From Tradition, pp. 133-151.

actually turns its back to the form critical approach.<sup>77</sup> The Scandinavians have much in common with Dodd, especially on the matter of continuity between Jesus and the early church. But Dodd emphasizes the kerygmatic outline and sees it as the core of the tradition, with preaching as the pre-servative of the historical facts; the Scandinavians stoutly reject primitive preaching as the Sitz im Leben of the origin or preservation of the gospel tradition. This rejection indicates differences so basic that we conclude the work of Riesenfeld and Gerhardsson to be an essentially new position.

Riesenfeld scores the form critics for neglecting the relevant analogies in the Jewish concept of tradition in the study of the formation of the gospels. In Judaism, he insists, traditions were not possessed and shaped by "an unlimited and anonymous multitude."<sup>78</sup> Rather, tradition was rigidly controlled by one who was a master of it and passed it on to a chosen disciple. The disciple in turn became a bearer and guardian of the tradition.<sup>79</sup>

The justification for using the pattern of Jewish tradition and transmission as the analogy that sheds most light

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<sup>77</sup>Their reaction against what they regard to be the excesses of form criticism is indicated in the subtitle of Riesenfeld's work The Gospel Tradition and Its Beginnings: A Study in the Limits of 'Formgeschichte.'

<sup>78</sup>Riesenfeld, p. 18.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18.



on the situation in the early Christian church is that "the terminology used of the Jewish process of tradition re-appears in the New Testament."<sup>80</sup> Riesenfeld cites two of the technical terms as evidence:

Παραλαμβάνειν, "take over," Heb. qibbēl, denotes the imprinting of a tradition of doctrine with which one has been entrusted, while παραδιδόναι, "hand over," Heb. māsar, is used of its commitment to a particular pupil.<sup>81</sup>

The identification of the terminology is a key element in Riesenfeld's argument. Even though the terms appear in Greek translation, they are easily recognizable. Since there is a good amount of reliable information about the Jewish process, responsible New Testament study should utilize such knowledge, the Scandinavian scholar says.

Essential to Risenfeld's reconstruction is the assertion that from the beginning the gospel tradition was regarded as "a holy Word."<sup>82</sup> By the expression "gospel tradition" he means the accounts of the words and deeds of

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

<sup>82</sup>Both Riesenfeld and Gerhardsson use the Greek phrase ἱερός λόγος for the concept of "holy Word," but do not explain what ancient usage, if any, it reflects. The ancient Greeks used the term ἱερός λόγος, or holy story, in referring to certain myths such as that of the kidnapping of Kore by Hades-Pluto. The story was part of a ritual that was recited ceremonially and at certain appointed times and hours during the year. The telling of the story was supposed to keep all things as they are and as the gods established them long ago. Cf. H. J. Rose, Gods and Heroes of the Greeks (New York: Meridan Books, Inc., 1958),

Jesus. These oral accounts were regarded with such high esteem that they were put on a level of authority with the Old Testament scriptures. Evidence for the early community's high regard is seen in the swift action of the church as it replaced Judas with Matthias immediately after the ascension of the Lord. There was a great premium on persons who by their close association with Jesus were qualified to guarantee the authenticity of the holy tradition of his words and deeds. The gospel tradition was handled like the prophetic discourses and the rabbinic material. Great care was exercised to guard it against corruption.<sup>83</sup>

From Riesenfeld's point of view, in the early church the gospel tradition was probably never quoted verbally in missionary preaching--at least, not at length. Instead, it was solemnly recited in the assemblies of the believing community.<sup>84</sup> The meetings of the disciples of the Lord in private houses featured, among other things, a recounting of the words and deeds of Jesus, followed by an exposition of their significance. The practice was modeled after the synagogue custom of reading a portion of Scripture and of hearing an exhortation based upon it. The term "the teaching

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pp. 4-5. Riesenfeld and Gerhardsson, however, use the term as the Christian equivalent of the Pharisaic concept of oral Torah as a form of divine revelation. Cf. Gerhardsson, p. 200.

<sup>83</sup>Riesenfeld, pp. 20-21.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

of the apostles" (Acts 2:42) is to be understood in this sense: it includes both the recitation of the gospel tradition and the apostolic explication of it.

According to Riesenfeld, the most primitive term for the gospel tradition is λόγος, not εὐαγγέλιον. He explains that the term "gospel" stands for the missionary appeal of the message about Jesus. Furthermore, he says, the disciples very early attained the insight that the tradition of Jesus' holy mission was to give to the people "the New Torah," that is, "the Word of God of the new eschatological covenant."<sup>85</sup> The disciples realized that Jesus' words and deeds were a divine revelation of equal, if not surpassing, importance to that of the Mosaic law. Since they spoke of the sacred scriptures as God's "Word," they had no reluctance in applying the same term to Jesus' teaching. Only when the missionaries began to go out into the world with the message was it called the "gospel."<sup>86</sup>

As for the bearers of the tradition, Riesenfeld thinks primarily of the apostles.<sup>87</sup> Their functions included preaching, community oversight, and guardianship of the

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Cf. infra, p. 103.

<sup>87</sup>Oscar Cullmann, "Scripture and Tradition," Scottish Journal of Theology VI (June 1953), 117, stresses the normative character of the apostolic tradition. Bultmann, too, thinks of the apostles as traditioners; cf. supra, p. 10.

gospel tradition. Since the recital of tradition took place in the public worship assemblies in the early church, the need for apostles to fulfill this function became greater as the church grew and spread.<sup>88</sup>

Paul was one of the special persons in the Christian community who was entrusted with the gospel tradition and in turn transmitted it to his congregations. Riesenfeld points to 1 Thessalonians 4:1 as an example of Paul's use of the terminology of tradition:

Finally, brethren, we beseech and exhort you in the Lord Jesus that as ye received of us (i.e. the tradition) how ye ought to walk and to please God, even as ye do walk, that ye abound more and more.<sup>89</sup>

Since the technical term "received"<sup>90</sup> appears in the passage, Riesenfeld concludes that a tradition has been handed on to the community by the apostle. Furthermore, he assumes that the tradition contained "words of Jesus about the nature of discipleship and the mode of life to be followed by the brethren."<sup>91</sup>

Paul's fifteen-day visit with Peter in Jerusalem was the occasion when he tested his mastery of the gospel

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<sup>88</sup>Riesenfeld, pp. 20-23.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>90</sup>παρέλαβον, 1 Thess. 4:1.

<sup>91</sup>Riesenfeld, p. 19. It is the next verse, however, that suggests the gospel tradition: "For you know what instructions we gave you through the Lord Jesus" (1 Thess. 4:2).

tradition with the chief apostle. The reason for the visit, Riesenfeld says, was that Paul wished to test whether, after three years of preparation, he "had really made the tradition of the words and deeds of Jesus his own."<sup>92</sup> Like Dodd, he assumes that Paul acquired the tradition during the time he spent in Arabia, immediately after his conversion (Galatians 1:17). Apparently, however, Riesenfeld does not think that Paul's chief source of the tradition was Peter, but some other person, perhaps Ananias.

#### Birger Gerhardsson

Gerhardsson shares most of the conclusions that are expressed by Riesenfeld and has carried out in great detail the suggestion that the Palestinian Jewish milieu, especially the rabbinical practices, should be employed in the study of primitive Christianity. In his important work on tradition in rabbinic Judaism and primitive Christianity, he sets forth such matters as the operation of Jewish schools for the study of the Torah, describing how oral teaching is carried and delivered to succeeding generations of students.<sup>93</sup> He illustrates his analysis with many details of the theory and practice employed by the

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<sup>92</sup>Ibid.

<sup>93</sup>Gerhardsson, pp. 71-189.

rabbis.<sup>94</sup> Against the depiction of Jewish transmission which he has thus made, Gerhardsson then proceeds to examine the New Testament material on tradition and the act of transmitting it in the young Christian church.<sup>95</sup>

A historical investigation of early Christian tradition, Gerhardsson holds, should begin with its relation to the Torah. The formation of the gospel tradition was greatly influenced by "the belief that the words and works of Christ were the fulfillment of the Law and the Prophets."<sup>96</sup> Against form criticism he emphatically denies that it is possible to begin the investigation either with Jesus or with primitive preaching.<sup>97</sup> This insistence clearly marks out Gerhardsson's position from that of Dibelius and Dodd, who emphasize the preaching of the church as the formative influence on the tradition.

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<sup>94</sup>Cf. ibid., pp. 122-170, where he discusses such matters as mnemonic techniques, use of written notes, and measures taken to counteract forgetfulness.

<sup>95</sup>Cf. ibid., pp. 191-335. Gerhardsson limited his study to the evidence found in the early Church Fathers, Acts, and the Pauline epistles (p. 193). Though his investigations led to certain implications as to the origin of the gospel tradition, he was content to reserve the latter problem for future treatment. The problem of the gospel origins cannot be handled without an analysis of the synoptic and Johannine material (p. 335).

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., p. 325.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 324.

In the early Christian church there was a Torah tradition and there were disciples of Jesus. The written scriptures continued to be recognized without reservation. Furthermore, though their earthly teacher was gone, the church possessed many disciples of Jesus who had memories of the words and works of their master. Stressing the factor of memory, Gerhardsson says:

Remembering the attitude of Jewish disciples to their master, it is unrealistic to suppose that forgetfulness and the exercise of a pious imagination had too much hand in transforming authentic memories beyond all recognition in the course of a few short decades.<sup>98</sup>

The necessary starting-point in describing early Christian tradition is the recognition that Jesus taught, that is, was a teacher of the Torah.<sup>99</sup> There were indeed other important ways in which Jesus was identified besides that of teacher; but it is basic for the problem of the gospel origins to see him against the background of Jewish religious education in the first century.

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 329.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., pp. 325-326. Gerhardsson remarks that Bultmann acknowledges that Jesus taught as a rabbi, but that the form critic ignores the implications of this fact. Cf. Bultmann, History, p. 50: "In face of the entire content of the Tradition it can hardly be doubted that Jesus did teach as a rabbi, gather disciples and engage in disputations. The individual controversy dialogues may not be historical reports of particular incidents in the life of Jesus, but the general character of his life is rightly portrayed in them, on the basis of historical recollection."

For Gerhardsson, the Sitz im Leben of the collection and formulation of the gospel tradition is the collegium of Jesus' apostles in the Jerusalem church. They exerted their efforts on "the word of the Lord," which is understood to mean the Old Testament scriptures and the tradition from and about Christ.<sup>100</sup> The work which the collegium performed is called "the ministry of the word" and is comparable to the labors of the rabbis in transmitting the oral Torah (see Acts 1:25; 6:4).<sup>101</sup> The work of the Qumran congregation in interpreting the sacred scriptures and the sect's own tradition also bears a resemblance to the task of the apostles.<sup>102</sup> The Jerusalem collegium was made up of apostles of Christ, who, because they were eyewitnesses, transmitted the gospel tradition as its original guardians and interpreted the Scriptures christologically.<sup>103</sup>

Gerhardsson's treatment of tradition in Paul is a comparison of evidence from the Pauline epistles with corresponding rabbinic concepts.<sup>104</sup> When Paul says that he had

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<sup>100</sup>Gerhardsson, pp. 220-225.

<sup>101</sup>Cf. τῆ διακονίᾳ τοῦ λόγου, Acts 6:4.

<sup>102</sup>Gerhardsson, p. 336.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., pp. 274-288. The Twelve are viewed as the most preeminent of the apostles: "They thus had an outstanding position as Jesus' disciples, his eschatological synedrion and his original Apostles" (p. 262).

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., pp. 288-323.



once been exceedingly zealous for the traditions of his fathers (Galatians 1:13-14), he means that he was devoted to the study of both oral and written Torah. In Judaism he interpreted the traditions in Pharisaic fashion (see Philip-  
 pians 3:5-6). The evidence of the epistles supports the truth of the information about Paul in Acts, especially the datum that Paul studied in the college of Gamaliel in Jerusalem.<sup>105</sup>

Paul broke with the traditions of his Jewish elders, Gerhardsson points out, but subsequently "knows and recognizes, transmits and interprets another tradition" in its place.<sup>106</sup> The Swedish scholar speculates that Paul may have effected the break with Judaism by using well-known rabbinic practices for getting rid of knowledge that was no longer considered useful.<sup>107</sup> The other tradition which Paul adopted, of course, was the gospel tradition of primitive Christianity.

The fifteen-day visit of Paul with Peter in Jerusalem is a very significant event in Paul's relationship to the Christian tradition. Gerhardsson describes it as the meeting of two rabbis, in which the object was to receive

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<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. 289. Note is taken of Bultmann's rejection of Acts 22:3 as trustworthy information about Paul's teacher.

<sup>106</sup>Gerhardsson, p. 290.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., p. 289.

halachic interpretation from one another.<sup>108</sup> He accepts Kilpatrick's interpretation of ἵστορησαὶ Κηφᾶν as "to get information from Cephas" (Galatians 1:18).<sup>109</sup> It is important for Gerhardsson's thesis to maintain that Paul received the Christian tradition from the Jerusalem apostles, because of his basic assumption that the primitive tradition stood under the special guardianship of the apostolic collegium, which met in the holy city.<sup>110</sup>

The problem of reconciling Paul's assertions of independence from human authorities with the strong evidence that the apostle was a Christian traditioner receives special attention from Gerhardsson. The difficulty is most acutely felt in attempting to understand what Paul writes to the Galatians about not having received his gospel from man, nor having been taught it (Galatians 1:12). His gospel

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<sup>108</sup>Ibid., pp. 297-298.

<sup>109</sup>G. D. Kilpatrick, "Galatians 1:18 ἸΣΤΟΡΗΣΑΙ ΚΗΦΑΝ" New Testament Essays, edited by A. J. B. Higgins (Manchester: The University Press, 1959), pp. 144-149, makes an excellent presentation of the linguistic evidence that the verb means "to get information from (Cephas)." Cf. also Friedrich Büchsel, "ἵστορέω (ἵστορία)," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and translated by Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965), III, 391-396, who takes the verb to mean "visit in order to get to know" (p. 396).

<sup>110</sup>Cf. supra, p. 36.

came "through revelation," he says.<sup>111</sup> Gerhardsson bases his solution of the difficulty on a distinction between "the gospel" and "the word of God." The εὐαγγέλιον, in the sense of the elementary message of salvation, does not include everything that is embraced under the term "the word of God." Paul claimed to have received the message directly from the risen Lord, but other elements in his teaching came to him through Christian tradition.<sup>112</sup> As with Dodd, the terms gospel and kerygma are regarded as close synonyms.<sup>113</sup>

Although he is aware of the hazards of attempting to identify various parts of the tradition which Paul held, Gerhardsson points to the gospel tradition as a focus within the material the apostle received. By "gospel tradition" is to be understood "a corpus of sayings of, and about, Christ."<sup>114</sup> To illustrate the relationship between this corpus and the wider framework of apostolic preaching and teaching, he draws an analogy with rabbinic categories:

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<sup>111</sup>The clause ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ has no verb. In elliptical constructions of this sort, it is usual to construe the verb of the preceding clause; cf. F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, translated by Robert W. Funk (9th-10th ed.; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 253-256.

<sup>112</sup>Gerhardsson, p. 273.

<sup>113</sup>Cf. supra, p. 24.

<sup>114</sup>Gerhardsson, p. 295.

We may make a comparison, though we do so fully aware of the dangers of using such a terminology, and say that this central corpus is the mishnah to which the rest of the Apostles' preaching, teaching and "legislation" is the talmud.<sup>115</sup>

Later he explains more fully that he regards Paul's "mishnah" to be "the Scriptures--Christologically interpreted--and the tradition about and from the Lord." The apostle's "talmud" is explained to be "that teaching which interprets and complements (the Scriptures and) the tradition from the Lord."<sup>116</sup>

Among the rabbis, Gerhardsson reminds us, teaching was passed on both by words and by example. During doctrinal discussions in the rabbinical colleges, a question could be clarified by "repeating or applying a narrative tradition concerning the procedure of an earlier teacher."<sup>117</sup> The maaseh to which the pupil gave witness was looked upon as an actualization of the teacher's position and could settle the question under discussion. Thus it is possible to say that, in a wider sense, everything which the apostle Paul said and did was delivery of tradition.<sup>118</sup> With such a principle in operation, we can see how the body of tradition can grow and develop. Furthermore, with the growth of the

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<sup>115</sup>Ibid., p. 302.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., p. 303.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., p. 184.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., p. 291.

tradition, the need for organizing it and controlling it is inevitably felt with the passage of time.

In summary: The importance of the work of the Scandinavian scholars Riesenfeld and Gerhardsson is that they have made a lasting contribution to the study of the origin and transmission of the gospel tradition. As W. D. Davies says: "They have forcibly compelled the recognition of the structural parallelism between much in Primitive Christianity and Pharisaic Judaism."<sup>119</sup> Though in the final analysis C. K. Barrett rejects Gerhardsson's conclusions, he recognizes the radical nature of Gerhardsson's thesis, saying: "On any showing, this learned book is an important contribution to the study of the gospel tradition; if its thesis is correct, it is one of the most important ever made."<sup>120</sup> It is perhaps still too early to tell whether or not Gerhardsson has proved his case in pointing the way to the origins of the gospel tradition. Certainly, we expect that his work will not meet with favor from most form critics. Until Gerhardsson convincingly applies his findings to the material in the synoptic gospels, we must regard the rabbinical approach to Jesus as an open question. But the legitimacy of the method of rabbinical analogy in Paul's case, applied

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<sup>119</sup>Davies, "Reflections," pp. 33-34.

<sup>120</sup>C. K. Barrett in a review of Gerhardsson's Memory and Manuscript in The Journal of Theological Studies (New Series), XIV (October 1963), 445-446.

with due regard for changes that occurred after him, is a much different matter. As a result of Gerhardsson's work, it is not possible to take seriously any future study of the apostle that does not fully take into account his background as a Jewish traditioner.

## CHAPTER III

### TRADITION IN PAUL'S JEWISH BACKGROUND

To understand rightly the role of tradition in Paul as a Christian apostle, a designation of his place in Judaism before his conversion must be made. Scholars increasingly recognize that there were varieties of religious life within Palestine before the destruction of the temple.<sup>1</sup> Even within Pharisaism wide divergences are found.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the concept of tradition in the stream of Judaism in which Paul lived during his pre-Christian years. The evidence of the New Testament suggests that an investigation of the apostle's Jewish background should begin with Pharisaism and its view of tradition.

#### Pharisaic View of Oral Torah

The high regard of the Pharisees for the oral Torah was one of the most distinguishing traits of that segment of the Jewish community. Oral tradition, that is, the interpretation

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<sup>1</sup>Richard N. Longenecker, Paul, Apostle of Liberty (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 21, points out apocalypticism, mystery religions, rabbinism, and Essenism, as well as the better known categories of Sadducee, Pharisee, and Zealot. Also, Leonhard Goppelt, Jesus, Paul and Judaism, translated by Edward Schroeder (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964), pp. 24-38.

<sup>2</sup>W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: S.P.K.C., 1965), pp. 8-15.

and teachings derived from the written text of the Pentateuch, handed on and augmented by a succession of teachers, was held by the Pharisees to be equally as binding upon the chosen people as the written Torah.<sup>3</sup> Their point of view developed from a great concern that the law of God be made relevant to the whole of human life. The Pharisees' conviction was that the Torah contained either explicitly or implicitly all the guidance needed to follow the will of God in any of life's circumstances.<sup>4</sup> The task of the people of God was to study the Torah and to discover its treasures of wisdom and precept which the Lord had put there to show his people how to lead holy lives.<sup>5</sup>

The historic conflict of the Pharisees with the Sadducees found expression in terms of differing attitudes concerning the authority of the oral traditions that had grown up alongside of the written text of Scripture.<sup>6</sup> The New Testament has echoes of the rift between these two powerful parties in first century Judaism, but from Christian

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<sup>3</sup>R. Travers Herford, The Pharisees (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952), pp. 60-64.

<sup>4</sup>Herford, p. 87.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 98-99.

<sup>6</sup>Isidore Epstein, Judaism: A Historical Presentation, (Baltimore, Maryland: Penquin Books, 1959), pp. 96-97, shows that the attitudes of the Pharisees and Sadducees toward the Torah were closely bound up with their respective views on the role of Torah in the affairs of the Jewish state. These views in turn grew out of a different concept of God.



evidence alone it is not clear what their most basic disagreement was.<sup>7</sup> In modern scholarship, Lauterbach has been credited with establishing that the fundamental difference lay in their respective views on the unwritten tradition.<sup>8</sup> The Sadducees advocated strict adherence to the written Torah, while the Pharisees, "sensitive to the mass needs and mass problems, advocated a flexible interpretation of tradition, whether of the written Torah or the oral traditions promulgated by past authorities."<sup>9</sup>

The Jewish historian Josephus left a brief notice of the Pharisees that discloses their high view of oral tradition. He remarks that the Pharisees handed down to the Jewish people "a great many observances by tradition from their fathers, which are not written in the law of Moses." The Sadducees rejected the binding authority of the traditions, however, holding that "only those observances are obligatory which are in the written word." Josephus closes his notice by saying that the dispute between these two parties was great, the rich minority being in sympathy with the Sadducees and the majority of the Jews siding with the

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<sup>7</sup>Cf. Acts 23:6-10, where Luke points out differences on the resurrection, angels, and spirits.

<sup>8</sup>Herford, p. 15, says that Lauterbach's discovery was first made known in an essay in the Kohler Festschrift, 1913, pp. 177-198.

<sup>9</sup>Ben Zion Bokser, Wisdom of the Talmud (New York: The Citadel Press, 1962), p. 36.

Pharisees.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note that Josephus, writing about A.D. 93-94, speaks of the oral tradition transmitted by the Pharisees as "the tradition of our forefathers." Josephus' term is similar to that in the New Testament for the same body of observances.<sup>11</sup> Though the historian says that he himself as a youth briefly joined the Pharisees,<sup>12</sup> his statements are usually lightly regarded because of his "evident aloofness from the main stream of Judaism."<sup>13</sup> In this instance, however, his notice of the Pharisees' great esteem for oral tradition harmonizes well with modern scholarship.

Each generation of Pharisaic teachers made its contribution to the tradition which it passed along. Herford describes how vital the development of halachah or oral tradition was for the Pharisees.<sup>14</sup> Instead of allowing an earlier teacher's interpretation of Torah to be forgotten with the passage of time, the Pharisees included as part of their disciplined study the obligation to learn and hand on from

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<sup>10</sup>Josephus Antiquities of the Jews xiii. 10. 6.

<sup>11</sup>Josephus' expression is τὰ ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων Paul speaks of "the traditions of my fathers" (Gal. 1:14), but in the synoptic gospels the designation is "the tradition of the elders" (Matt. 15:2; Mark 7:3,5). Cf. infra; p. 74.

<sup>12</sup>Josephus Life 2.

<sup>13</sup>Longnecker, pp. 12-13.

<sup>14</sup>p. 83.

teacher to pupil the results that had already been reached. Thus a gradually lengthening chain of transmitted teaching came into existence, made up of precept explaining precept. Anyone trained in the Pharisaic fashion, such as Paul, would regard it a holy obligation to pass on what he received and to contribute the divine teachings which God had guided him to formulate.<sup>15</sup>

By their dynamic concept of tradition the Pharisees rescued the Torah from the danger of meaninglessness and transformed it into a channel whereby God communicated ever anew to his people. The religious life of the Jewish nation was saved "by the exaltation of the Torah from being a closed revelation to an open one, from a dead letter to a letter made alive again."<sup>16</sup> If the Sadducean view had prevailed in Judaism, the written text would have become less and less meaningful for contemporary religious needs. Both Sadducee and Pharisee revered the written Torah, but only the Pharisee placed such a high estimate upon the accumulated insights of the previous generations of religious teachers.<sup>17</sup> This reverence is what Herford calls "the real

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<sup>15</sup>The portion of Christian tradition found in 1 Cor. 15:8 is probably to be regarded as Paul's contribution to the tradition of the resurrection appearances. Cf. infra, p. 123.

<sup>16</sup>Herford, p. 66.

<sup>17</sup>The Essenes also highly regarded the apocalyptic tradition in which they lived and which they actively

significance of the unwritten Torah and of its introduction beside the written text."<sup>18</sup> Thus Paul speaks with the voice of a Pharisee who has adapted a basic principle of his former faith for service in the Christian cause when he says: "The written code kills, but the Spirit gives life" (2 Cor. 3:6). The spirit of oral Torah has become for Paul the spirit of Christ.<sup>19</sup>

The very success of the Pharisees in deriving secondary legislation for daily life from the written text created the problem of managing large quantities of oral teaching matter. Memory can carry only so much. The sheer volume of instruction from previous generations of teachers became

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developed; cf. Frank Moore Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1958), pp. 147-153. If the Teacher of Righteousness was a generic name for a succession of orthodox teachers, the term may be regarded as a personification of the oral Torah as it was taught in the Qumran community. Cf. I. Rabbinowitz, "Reconsiderations of 'Damascus' and '390 years' in the 'Damascus' ('Zadokite') Fragments," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIII (1954), pp. 11-35; also F. F. Bruce, The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts (London: The Tyndale Press, 1956), pp. 7-36, who suggests Onias III as the best identification for the Teacher of the texts.

<sup>18</sup>Herford, p. 66.

<sup>19</sup>Paul's formulation of tradition was done with the belief that he had the "Spirit of God" (1 Cor. 7:40). Cf. infra, p. 87.

unmanageable without a new kind of organization.<sup>20</sup> As a result, the mishnaic method of teaching was devised and gradually replaced the older form, the midrash, for the handing down of halachoth. The mishnaic form of legislation meant that the halachoth were gathered and organized by topic rather than by the scriptural texts from which they were derived. The Zugoth, or "Pairs" are credited with introducing the mishnaic method of teaching.<sup>21</sup> According to Epstein, mishnaic collections probably existed as early as the days of the last of the Zugoth, Shammai and Hillel (end of the first century B.C.), if not earlier.<sup>22</sup> The development culminated in the great Mishnah of Rabbi Judah the Prince (ca. A.D. 135-217), which gained such recognition that it was studied as the canon of traditional law in the rabbinical colleges both in Palestine and in Babylonia.<sup>23</sup>

During the early years of the first century when Paul was a student, the halachoth of the Jewish teachers were probably only loosely coordinated. We may assume that there

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<sup>20</sup>Herbert Danby, The Mishnah (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. xxii, emphasizes that the need for codification of the halachoth was created also by the controversy of rival teachers and contradictory traditions represented in the oral Torah.

<sup>21</sup>Isidore Epstein, "Talmud," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, edited by George Arthur Buttrick, et al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), IV, 512.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Danby, p. xiii; also Herford, p. 84.

were some mishnaic collections in use in the Palestinian schools, including the school of Hillel where Rabban Gamaliel taught. But it was not until the number of halachoth had multiplied greatly and collections arose that another important development took place in the Jewish concept of tradition.<sup>24</sup> The term halachah (singular) then took on a generic meaning as the designation of the whole body of interpretation of the Torah as directive. Herford gives credit for this development to R. Akiba (d. A.D. 135), because it was he who gathered and organized a collection of halachoth, which together with the work of R. Meir (A.D. ca. 110-175) was used by R. Judah as the foundation of the Mishnah. Herford thinks that R. Akiba was primarily responsible "because he had arrived at the conception of the Halachah as an organic whole, no longer a mere collection of separate items."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>The question of when the generic concept of halachah became current in Pharisaic circles is related to the problem of Paul's use of the term παράδοσις. Paul does not use this Greek term generically of Christian teaching. The singular noun occurs in II Thess. 3:6, where it refers to an individual precept. The synoptic gospels, however, use παράδοσις in the singular for the whole body of Jewish tradition (Matt. 15:2,3,6; Mark 7:3,5,8,9,13). The singular appears in Col. 2:8, where the reference is probably also to Jewish tradition. Cf. *infra*, pp. 49, 89.

<sup>25</sup>Herford, p. 73.

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<sup>25</sup>Herford, p. 73.

## Problem of the Rabbinic Evidence

An accurate estimate of the influence of rabbinic concepts of tradition in the Pauline literature is made difficult by uncertainties regarding the validity of using the Jewish evidence for this purpose.<sup>26</sup> In written form, the earliest rabbinic documents that have survived come from the third century of our era.<sup>27</sup> How can evidence obtained from the writings of third century Judaism legitimately be used to describe the Pharisaism and early Christianity of the pre-destruction period?

There are scholars who do not indicate an awareness of the methodological problem of using the rabbinic analogy to elucidate the New Testament writings. For example, one of the uncritical comments on the meaning of "the traditions" (1 Corinthians 11:2) is Craig's remark: "As the rabbis passed on their tradition from generation to generation, Paul passes on what he had received from the communities before him."<sup>28</sup> Though in a certain sense Craig's statement

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<sup>26</sup>Longenecker, pp. 1-15, recognizes and deals with the problem.

<sup>27</sup>Danby, p. xxiii, believes that the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah the Prince was probably in written form from the start.

<sup>28</sup>Clarence T. Craig, "Introduction and Exegesis to the First Epistle to the Corinthians," The Interpreter's Bible, edited by George Arthur Buttrick, et al. (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953), X, 125.



is true, it takes too much for granted. It assumes that the methodology of tradition which Paul learned in the second and third decades of the first century was much the same as that which was taught in the rabbinical schools after A.D. 70.

The debate among modern writers over the value of the Talmudic literature for understanding the Judaism of the first century of our era has been carried on vigorously.<sup>29</sup> On one hand, there are authors who declare that the Talmudic literature as a whole is not representative of the Pharisaism that existed before the destruction of the temple.<sup>30</sup> These scholars regard the rabbinic piety of the post-destruction period to be different enough from the practice of the Pharisees to be called a new religion. The opposite view is affirmed also by many writers.<sup>31</sup> These scholars are of the same judgment as George Foot Moore, who believes that the Pharisees, unlike the Sadducees, Essenes, and Zealots, survived the catastrophe of the Jewish War of A.D. 66-67

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<sup>29</sup>Davies, pp. 1-16, effectively criticizes the view that the Mishnah fairly represents the Judaism of first century Palestine but not the Judaism of the Diaspora.

<sup>30</sup>Davies, p. 3, says: "It follows that we cannot, without extreme caution, use the Rabbinic sources as evidence for first-century Judaism. Especially is it important to realize that our Rabbinic sources represent the triumph of the Pharisean party, and moreover of a 'party' within the Pharisean party as it were, that of Johanan ben Zakkai."

<sup>31</sup>"Most Jewish and some Gentile scholars," says Longenecker, p. 2.

intact and with drastic changes of belief or practice continued with renewed diligence their mission as teachers of the chosen people.<sup>32</sup> R. Johanan ben Zakkai escaped the destruction of Jerusalem, gathered Pharisaic adherents about him, and in the spirit of the liberal piety of the school of Hillel began what has been characterized as the task "of conservation, not of reformation" in Judaism.<sup>33</sup>

Emphasizing the fact that the rabbinic tradition was not reduced to writing until late in the second century, Morton Smith vehemently declares the work of Gerhardsson to be an argument which "misrepresents both rabbinic and Christian tradition."<sup>34</sup> His criticism is directed chiefly against the idea that in the New Testament there is evidence of the teaching methods and mnemonic techniques known from the rabbinic literature and that therefore the written gospels preserve the ipsissima verba of Jesus. The most that Smith will allow is that "both the gospels and Paul are a good deal closer--most of all, in vocabulary--to rabbinic

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<sup>32</sup>George Foot Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of the Tannaim (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), III, 20-22.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., I, 131. The Hillelite form of Pharisaism became dominant over the Shammaite type; cf. Moore, I, 83-87.

<sup>34</sup>Morton Smith, "A Comparison of Early Christian and Early Rabbinic Tradition," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXII (June 1963), 169.

Judaism, than were Jesus and his immediate followers."<sup>35</sup>  
 But such a wholesale rejection of Gerhardsson's use of the rabbinic analogy must be regarded as premature and too sweeping.<sup>36</sup>

Longenecker holds that the objection which emphasizes the lateness of the Jewish sources is not insuperable. He points out that in Pharisaism and later rabbinism "we are dealing with a religious attitude which took great pride in the preservation of tradition."<sup>37</sup> Thus, though some changes inevitably occurred in the course of time through forgetfulness and adaptation of the teaching to different sets of circumstances, changes caused by the temporal element alone were minimal. More potent factors in producing significant differences between the Pharisaism of the New Testament and the rabbinism of the later period were "religious opposition and political disaster."<sup>38</sup> When either of these two elements are known to have been at work, caution must be exercised in using the material to illustrate the Judaism or

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 174-176.

<sup>36</sup>Gerhardsson hints that he will examine the synoptic material in another monograph. Cf. Birger Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity, translated by Eric J. Sharpe (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1961), p. 324.

<sup>37</sup>Longenecker, pp. 2-3.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 3-4.

Christianity of the first century.

### Paul's Training in Pharisaism

Before his conversion the apostle Paul was trained in Pharisaism and became an enthusiastic student of the oral Torah of his party. According to the New Testament the most direct evidence of his membership in the Pharisaic circle in Judaism is found in two passages of his own: Philippians 3:5 and Galatians 1:14. Some scholars feel that there is a surprising paucity of references by Paul himself to his previous Pharisaic connections.<sup>39</sup> Others have found it quite natural for Paul to mention only what he does.<sup>40</sup> Regardless of the lack of prominence of information about his background, the evidence presented by the epistles implies that Paul pursued the study and development of oral tradition as one of the Pharisaic party.

In the Epistle to the Philippians the apostle identifies himself as a former Pharisee, who was "blameless under the law":

If any other man thinks he has reason for confidence in the flesh, I have more: circumcised on the eighth day, of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin,

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<sup>39</sup>Cf. H. J. Schoeps, Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History, translated by Harold Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), pp. 51-53.

<sup>40</sup>Cf. Donald Guthrie, New Testament Introduction: The Pauline Epistles (Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1964), pp. 15-20.

a Hebrew born of Hebrews; as to the law a Pharisee, as to zeal a persecutor of the church, as to righteousness under the law blameless. (Philippians 3:4-6)

The expression "as to the law a Pharisee" signifies that Paul claims as his own the attitude on the Torah that was held by the Pharisaic party.<sup>41</sup> He identifies himself with the views of the party in terms which suggest that he wishes to distinguish his position clearly from other views of the Torah, such as that of the Sadducees.<sup>42</sup> When he calls himself "a Hebrew born of Hebrews," he indicates that he is a Hebraist rather than a Hellenist among Jews.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the boast that he was "blameless under the law" tells the Philippians that he had mastered the traditional teaching that the Pharisees advocated as necessary for keeping the law perfectly.<sup>44</sup> The passage as a whole leaves a strong impression that in his pre-Christian days Paul had been engaged in an intensive study of the Torah.

The apostle's reference in Galatians to his former way of life also implies that he studied oral and written Torah

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<sup>41</sup>Cf. κατὰ νόμον Φαρισαῖος, Phil. 3:5.

<sup>42</sup>Schoeps, p. 24, emphasizes that this designation reflects "the conservative religious tendencies of his parents."

<sup>43</sup>So Longenecker, p. 22, interprets Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων (v. 5). The words "Are they Hebrews? So am I!" in 2 Cor. 11:22 imply the same.

<sup>44</sup>Cf. κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γεγόμενος ἄμεμπτος, v. 6.

diligently. He says:

I advanced in Judaism beyond many of my own age among my people, so extremely zealous was I for the traditions of my fathers. (Galatians 1:14)

The expression "the traditions of my fathers" is similar to the designation for Pharisaic oral tradition in Josephus and the synoptic gospels.<sup>45</sup> Gerhardsson thinks that the Scriptures are also included and that for Paul as a former Pharisee the phrase meant "both the oral and the written Torah--interpreted in Pharisaic fashion."<sup>46</sup>

Certain modern writers, however, urge caution in estimating the extent of Paul's early training and connection with the Pharisees. For example, John Knox thinks that we may not assume that Paul as a young man was preparing himself for the rabbinate, only that he had "an early and active interest in rabbinical theology." Paul, like every Jewish boy who came from a devout home in a Jewish colony in the larger cities, received his elementary education in the local synagogue school. Knox concludes: "We do not

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<sup>45</sup>Cf. τῶν πατριῶν μου παραδόσεων, Gal. 1:14; τὰ ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων, Josephus *Antiquities* xiii. 10. 6; παραδόσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Matt. 15:2; Mark 7:3,5. The equivalent phrase מִן פִּי הַרְבֵּי הַיְהוּדִים does not occur in rabbinical literature, but מִן פִּי הַרְבֵּי הַיְהוּדִים occurs in the Jerusalem Talmud (j Shek. 48<sup>d</sup>), according to Herford, pp. 84-85, n. 1.

<sup>46</sup>Gerhardsson, p. 289.

know the extent or character of his education."<sup>47</sup> Even if the Lucan evidence is discounted, however, Knox' estimate of Paul's training does not seem to be in keeping with the apostle's plain assertion in Philipians 3:5 that he was a Pharisee. As such, he was one of those who stood in the position of a teacher of Israel and an interpreter of the Torah. Paul the Christian apostle was one who formerly had aspirations of sitting "on Moses' seat" (see Matthew 23:2).

#### Paul as a Student of Gamaliel

According to information in the Acts of the Apostles, Paul was at one time a student of the liberal Jewish rabbi, Gamaliel. Luke reports an incident that took place during the early days of the Christian church which illustrates the character of this famous teacher. In Acts 5 we read that the Jewish authorities had Peter and the apostles arrested for teaching in the name of Jesus. The disciples had charged that the Sanhedrin was responsible for Jesus' death. Some members of the High Council angrily wanted the apostles killed, but "a Pharisee in the council named Gamaliel, a teacher of the law, held in honor by all the people" advised that there should be no interference with such

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<sup>47</sup>John Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), p. 75.

activity.<sup>48</sup> In rabbinic literature this Gamaliel is known as Rabban Gamaliel I ("the Elder"). He was the grandson of the famous R. Hillel.<sup>49</sup> In the account of Acts, Paul himself identifies Gamaliel as his teacher in a speech delivered to the mob outside the barracks in Jerusalem (Acts 22:3). On that tense occasion he said:

I am a Jew, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, but brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, educated according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers, being zealous for God as you all are this day.

Thus Luke's version of Paul's advanced education is that it was definitely Pharisaic, that it took place in Jerusalem, and that it was begun when Paul was a quite young man.<sup>50</sup> His teacher was one of the most illustrious rabbis in the Judaism of his time, Rabban Gamaliel I of the school of

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<sup>48</sup>Some scholars think that Luke misplaced Gamaliel's speech. Instead of coming at Acts 5:34-39, it should come after Peter's miraculous escape from prison in Acts 12. So Joseph Ward Swain, "Gamaliel's Speech and Caligula's Statue," Harvard Theological Review, XXXVII (October 1944), 341-349.

<sup>49</sup>E. P. Blair, "Gamaliel," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, edited by George Arthur Buttrick, et al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), II, 351.

<sup>50</sup>The interpretation implied by the RSV translation and punctuation of Acts 22:3 is that Paul came to Jerusalem for the purpose of studying under Gamaliel. The RSV follows the punctuation suggested by the Souter and Westcott-Hort editions of the Greek text. The Nestle text's punctuation, however, implies that Paul was in Jerusalem from his infancy. Cf. Longenecker, p. 23.



Hillel.<sup>51</sup>

Some objections have been raised against Luke's information on Paul's relationship to Gamaliel.<sup>52</sup> Knox is highly sceptical because of Paul's own silence: "Why does he say nothing of his education in Jerusalem at the feet of this distinguished rabbi?"<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, the mention of Gamaliel in the Acts account strengthens Luke's theological interest in displaying the centrality of Jerusalem and therefore is under suspicion. Knox' high standards for historical verity do not allow him to accept the authenticity of Luke's information. This scholar's statement of the case against Gamaliel as Paul's former teacher is well-formulated. The evidence, however, heavily favors Paul's connection at one time with the famous teacher in the school of Hillel.<sup>54</sup>

From a wider point of view, Paul's education in Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel was probably part of a revival of Jewish scholarship that had begun with the installation

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<sup>51</sup>Mish. Sot. 9.15 says that Rabban Gamaliel's fame lay in the law, purity, and abstinence. Cf. Danby, p. 306.

<sup>52</sup>Gerhardsson, p. 289, n. 2, remarks that Bultmann's scepticism with respect to the Gamaliel tradition rests on flimsy grounds.

<sup>53</sup>Knox, p. 35.

<sup>54</sup>Cf. Schoeps, pp. 37-38, thinks that Gamaliel was probably Paul's teacher, but rejects the view that there is any allusion to Paul in the Talmud.

of Roman rule after 63 B.C.<sup>55</sup> Bokser points out that "the Roman respect for Jewish cultural and religious autonomy produced a revival in the study of the Torah."<sup>56</sup> With the Romans came stability and the resumption of Pharisaic activity that had been hindered by the later Hasmonean rulers.<sup>57</sup> We may conjecture that the renewed vigor of the Pharisaic schools of Palestine attracted Jews of the Diaspora, such as Paul, to study the Torah in the mother country.<sup>58</sup>

The school of Hillel, to which Gamaliel belonged, was active in the study of hermeneutics. One of Hillel's great achievements was the formulation of "seven rules for the midrashic interpretation of Scripture."<sup>59</sup> An examination of Paul's writings shows that he knew and utilized all of Hillel's "Seven Rules."<sup>60</sup> Paul's ability to see Christ in

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<sup>55</sup>Moore, I, 82, points out that the Jews had more freedom to manage their own affairs under the procurators than under Herod (37-4 B.C.).

<sup>56</sup>Bokser, pp. 40-41.

<sup>57</sup>Herford, pp. 44-48.

<sup>58</sup>Hillel was born and educated in Babylonia before coming to Palestine to teach. His non-Palestinian background may have given his school a cosmopolitan awareness that led Saul, also a "foreign" Jew, to seek a master in the House of Hillel.

<sup>59</sup>In the Mishnah, Gamaliel I is remembered for excellence in the Torah: "When Rabban Gamaliel the Elder died, the glory of the Law ceased and purity and abstinence died" (Mish. Sot. 9.15). Perhaps Paul is speaking of a similar mastery over Christian tradition when he calls certain apostles "the glory of Christ" (2 Cor. 8:23).

<sup>60</sup>Schoeps, p. 39.

the Scriptures may have been influenced by an interest in hermeneutics which he obtained in the school of Hillel under R. Gamaliel.<sup>61</sup>

In contrast to the school of Shammai, the position of Hillel and his followers on the interpretation of the law is usually regarded as a more liberal one.<sup>62</sup> The tolerant attitude of the Hillelite Gamaliel in Acts 5:34-39 has been found difficult to reconcile with the hot intolerance shown by his pupil who persecuted Christians (see Acts 8:3; 9:13-14,21; Galatians 1:13,23; 1 Corinthians 15:9).<sup>63</sup> Before the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the Shammaites were the dominant party in the Pharisaism of Palestine.<sup>64</sup> The followers of Hillel repeatedly had to yield to the Shammaites in their joint deliberations.<sup>65</sup> The decision reached

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<sup>61</sup>David Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London: The Athlone Press, 1956), pp. 336-341, shows how in 1 Cor. 9:19-23 Paul "was drawing on a living element in Jewish religion." He cites two illustrations from the Talmud which show Hillel's practice of accommodation for the purpose of winning proselytes (Bab. Shab. 31a; Ab. de-R. N. 15).

<sup>62</sup>Moore, I, 80, says that the differences between the schools of Shammai and Hillel "fill a large room" in Jewish tradition. Cf. also Hermann L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965), p. 109.

<sup>63</sup>Yet, as F. F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles (2nd edition; Grand Rapids; Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1952), p. 400, says: "It is by no means unusual for the pupil to be more extreme than his master."

<sup>64</sup>Davies, p. 9.

<sup>65</sup>Strack, p. 109.

by the Sanhedrin in Acts 5:40, if authentic, must have been an exception to the usual outcome of their differences.<sup>66</sup> Thus we may conclude that Paul belonged to a vigorous and liberal minority within the circle of the Pharisees before his conversion.<sup>67</sup>

Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai reorganized Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, thus securing for the rabbinical community the spiritual leadership of the people. With his own disciples and others who joined him later, he established at Jabneh an academy for the study of the Torah which he proclaimed to be the new center of Judaism. On the basis of certain changes that R. Johanan made, we can make several conjectures about the Pharisaism of the preceding period. The Sanhedrin before the first Jewish revolt had been a national assembly which dealt with political as well as religious issues. But the reorganized assembly, a deliberative body styled along Pharisaic lines, confined itself largely to questions of a non-political nature.<sup>68</sup> Direct Pharisaic involvement in political activity was greatly reduced. Thus Paul's commission as an agent of the Sanhedrin

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 302, n. 3.

<sup>67</sup>Davies, p. 9, n. 1.

<sup>68</sup>Cf. Moore, I, 85, emphasizes the difference between the council of rabbis at Jamnia and the pre-war Sanhedrin.

in purging the Jewish synagogues of an undesirable sect is quite in keeping with his profession as a Pharisee.<sup>69</sup>

Rabbi Johanan also announced that "study, prayer, the Sabbath and holidays, the cultivation of the spiritual and ethical life, were declared more than adequate substitutions for the cult of Temple sacrifice."<sup>70</sup> This necessary de-emphasis of the importance of the Jewish holy place, lately destroyed in the war, implies that even in Pharisaism there was a high regard for the Temple before A.D. 70. Paul's respect for Jerusalem is thus to be seen as an expression of his Pharisaic piety, not because he regarded the sacrificial system of such great value, but because he recognized the great authority of the three eminent courts in the sacred precincts which interpreted the Torah.<sup>71</sup>

Finally, as far as tradition is concerned, we may suppose that many of the refinements in the technique of preserving the legislation of the Jewish teachers were developed after the establishment of the Beth Din at Jabneh, rather than before. The act of preserving the tradition

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<sup>69</sup>Paul closely associates his Pharisaism with his persecution of the Christian church. Cf. Gal. 1:13-14; Phil. 3:5-6; Acts 8:1-3; 9:1-2; 22:3-5; 26:4-11.

<sup>70</sup>Bokser, p. 51.

<sup>71</sup>Cf. Gerhardsson, pp. 214-215, on the importance of Jerusalem as the center of the study of the Law. Mish. Sanh. 11.2 speaks of the three courts of appeal in Jerusalem from which an interpretation of the Law could be obtained if a local court's decision was rejected.

among the Pharisees at the time of Paul, though a conscious duty of every teacher, was probably not the exacting science that emerged later on, in the Tannaitic period.<sup>72</sup>

#### Oral Tradition in Christian Apostleship

In speaking of tradition, it is important to make a distinction between content and method. Paul, for example, rejected the content of much that belonged to his transmitted Jewish heritage, but retained the method of oral tradition. As a Pharisee, he had been taught to regard the Torah as the greatest of the benefits which God had bestowed upon his people. The supreme duty of man was to meditate upon its precepts and live in harmony with them. Paul had learned how to draw ordinances from the written text to give guidance where life's situations called for divine instruction.<sup>73</sup> He also learned to master the wisdom of previous teachers whose instruction had been orally handed on to him. But after Jesus appeared to him on the road to Damascus, the young man from Tarsus ceased to pursue the Torah-centered life and dedicated himself to the risen Lord and the gospel which he was called to preach.<sup>74</sup> There is no reason to

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<sup>72</sup>The Shammaites differed from the Hillelites in their view of the principle of tradition; cf. Moore, I, 79.

<sup>73</sup>Davies, pp. 111-136.

<sup>74</sup>Martin Scharlemann, Qumran and Corinth (New York: Bookman Associates, 1962), pp. 38-39.

believe that Paul rejected oral tradition as a method to be employed in carrying out his new vocation. Oral accounts were being passed along in Christian circles at the time that Paul was converted. Sayings of Jesus and stories of his trial, crucifixion, and resurrection appearances were probably somewhat fixed in form and passed along by methods similar to those in Jewish circles.<sup>75</sup>

Tradition is an inevitable development in religions which originate in a revelation. This is true for Christianity and Mohammedanism, as well as for Judaism, as Moore has pointed out.<sup>76</sup> At the time Paul was called to the faith, the Christian tradition, through which the revelation of God was made known in Christ, was still in an oral form. Paul was therefore necessarily a traditioner, both before and after his conversion to Christ.<sup>77</sup> We may assume that the practices and principles of tradition which Paul had acquired in Pharisaic Judaism were retained and utilized by him unless he saw that they conflicted with his new faith in Christ. His reverence for the Scriptures continued, but instead of looking upon them as sources for halachoth, the

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<sup>75</sup>C. H. Dodd, About the Gospels (Cambridge: University Press, 1952), pp. 14-15.

<sup>76</sup>Moore, I, 257.

<sup>77</sup>A. M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors (London: Nicholson and Watson, 1940), p. 62, says that Paul transmitted Christian Haggadah and Halachah.

apostle interpreted them christologically, as did the rest of the early church.<sup>78</sup>

It is not necessary to depict Paul's position after conversion as a radical rejection of the method of Pharisaism. Herford thus seems to overstate the case by saying that "Paul condemned Pharisaism in theory, as being intrinsically harmful because its right of existence was gone."<sup>79</sup> That he rejected the aim of Pharisaic piety is certainly true, but the Christian apostle utilized much of the learning he had acquired under the custodianship of the law, both by way of concepts and method (Galatians 3:24).<sup>80</sup> His aim no longer was to pursue righteousness according to the law, but to serve Christ. As a Christian apostle, his activity as a traditioner centered not in the traditions of his Jewish fathers, but in the gospel of Christ.

The presence of the terminology of transmission, preservation, and delivery of oral tradition in the epistles of Paul points to the fact that the apostle held a definite concept of tradition. The works of Riesenfeld and Gerhards-son have rightly stressed the significance of the

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<sup>78</sup>Edgar J. Goodspeed, Paul (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1947), pp. 22-23.

<sup>79</sup>Herford, p. 216.

<sup>80</sup>Cf. ibid. But Herford seems to draw the opposite conclusion from Gal. 3:24, saying that Paul looked upon Pharisaism as having fulfilled its function and no longer serving any useful purpose.



terminology<sup>81</sup> That Paul worked at Christian tradition with the precision of the later rabbis is open to doubt, but that he consciously followed the methodology of the rabbis of his day seems assured. In view of his background in Pharisaic Judaism, the evidence is strong that the concept and practice of tradition with which he worked as a Christian apostle was basically that which he acquired as a rabbinical student under Gamaliel and adapted to Christian purposes.

How the apostle Paul retained and adapted Pharisaic concepts of tradition to his Christian vocation may be illustrated by his exhortation for imitation. In the epistles he urged his congregations to imitate him, thus showing that he considered himself to be a teacher of tradition by his example as well as his words, just as the rabbinic teachers did. "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ" he writes to the Corinthians.<sup>82</sup> And to the Thessalonians he offers the conduct of Silvanus, Timothy and himself as an example of honest labor for them to imitate, saying: "For you yourselves know how you ought to imitate us."<sup>83</sup> The apostle adopts without change one of the basic principles of

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<sup>81</sup>Lists of the technical terms of Christian tradition as used by Paul are found in Gerhardsson, pp. 288-290.

<sup>82</sup>Cf. μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς ἐγὼ Χριστοῦ, 1 Cor. 11:1.

<sup>83</sup>Cf. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἶδατε πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθε ἡμᾶς, 2 Thess. 3:7.

rabbinic Judaism: "The sacred traditions which were to be learned were found in the life and actions of the teacher, as well as in his words."<sup>84</sup>

The significance of the role of tradition in Paul is often underestimated in modern scholarship. Among some writers there has been a tendency to stress the appearance of Jesus to him along the Damascus road as the supernatural source of his teaching. On the part of others there has been a tendency to overemphasize the originality of Paul or the creativity of the Hellenistic church. Ridderbos rightly says of the apostle that we must not "close our eyes to the great importance that the tradition of the early Christian church had for his preaching."<sup>85</sup> A proper assessment of tradition in Paul has the effect of revealing the basic continuity of his message and work with the church as it existed before him, especially the Jewish Christian church.

In summary: The Pharisaism of the second and third decades of the Christian era constituted Paul's Jewish background. Those years saw intensive activity in the development of the oral Torah. With caution the rabbinic literature may be used to describe the Judaism of the period

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<sup>84</sup>Willis Peter de Boer, The Imitation of Paul: An Exegetical Study (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1962), p. 44.

<sup>85</sup>Herman Ridderbos, Paul and Jesus: Origin and General Character of Paul's Preaching of Christ, translated by David H. Freeman (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1958), p. 46.

before A.D. 70. Thus we may learn something of Paul's life before his conversion to Christianity. The apostle's own testimony supports the view that he had acquired extensive training in the traditional teachings which were passed along in Pharisaic circles (Philippians 3:5; Galatians 1:14). In addition, we gain from Acts the valuable information that Paul's teacher was Gamaliel, the illustrious rabbi of the school of Hillel. The Hillelite branch of Pharisaism was a liberal minority in Paul's day but dominated the rabbinic movement after the destruction of Jerusalem. The risen Jesus appeared to Paul along the road to Damascus, but the apostle to the Gentiles continued to function as a traditioner. Instead of transmitting rabbinic legislation, however, he adapted Pharisaic concepts and methods of tradition in carrying out his vocation as an apostle of Christ.

In the next chapter, as we take up the role of tradition in Paul's regulation of Christian life, we will endeavor to show how the continuity between Paul and the primitive church manifested itself at Corinth.

## CHAPTER IV

### TRADITION IN THE REGULATION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE

More than fifty years ago Johannes Weiss pointed out that the verbs παραδιδόναι and παραλαμβάνειν are technical terms for delivering and receiving oral tradition.<sup>1</sup> The noun παράδοσις, too, as he indicated, is the term for unwritten material preserved in oral form and passed on from teacher to pupil. These terms possessed a technical character at the time of the apostle Paul and probably before.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this chapter is to show how certain concepts of tradition are used by Paul in dealing with problems that arose in the Corinthian congregation. To do so, we must take up, in their order, the noun παράδοσις as a Christian term, the authoritative Pauline "saying," teaching regulation of life, and the delivery of commands and commandments.

#### The Noun Παράδοσις as a Christian Term

The noun παράδοσις appears in the Corinthian correspondence as a term designating Christian tradition only one

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<sup>1</sup>Johannes Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, in the Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (9th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910), p. 283.

<sup>2</sup>Friedrich Büchsel, "δίδωμι, κτλ.," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and translated from the German by Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964), II, 169-173.

time, but in an important connection.<sup>3</sup> In 1 Corinthians 11:2, Paul writes: "I commend you because you remember me in everything and maintain the traditions even as I have delivered them to you." What are "the traditions"<sup>4</sup> to which Paul refers? Commentators have made a wide range of suggestions, but seldom is the expression explained as the Christian equivalent of the Jewish term halachoth.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>The noun παράδοσις is found as a Christian term only three times in the New Testament: 1 Cor. 11:2; 2 Thess. 2:15; 3:6. In the ten other New Testament passages in which παράδοσις occurs, it refers to Jewish traditions. In the gospels, the occurrences are confined to Mark 7 and Matt. 15. Three expressions appear: "the tradition of the elders" (Matt. 15:2; Mark 7:3,5), "the tradition of men" (Mark 7:8; cf. also Col. 2:8), and "your tradition" (Matt. 15:3,6; Mark 7:9-13). Paul once uses παράδοσις in referring to his Jewish heritage as "the traditions of my fathers" (Gal. 1:14). It is significant that in the earliest passage, the plural of the term is used in reference to Jewish traditions. Since Paul no doubt acquired παραδόσεις as a term for Jewish traditions before his conversion, we may conjecture that the plural designation is the older usage. It suggests that Paul, at least in the second or third decades of the first century, had not reached a unified concept of παράδοσις as the whole body of oral tradition in Judaism. R. Travers Herford, The Pharisees (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), p. 73, implies that R. Akiba (d. A.D. 135) was the first to reach "the conception of the Halachah as an organic whole, no longer a mere collection of separate items."

<sup>4</sup>τὰς παραδόσεις, 1 Cor. 11:2.

<sup>5</sup>W. G. H. Simon, The First Epistle to the Corinthians, in the Torch Bible Commentaries (London: SCM Press, 1959), p. 112, sees in this reference to traditions "one more bit of evidence for the existence even at this early stage of codes of Christian conduct and credal and liturgical formularies." Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in The International Critical Commentary (2nd ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963), p. 228, explain that just as there had been a Jewish παράδοσις, there now is

The term παράδοσις in this and in the other two Pauline passages must be cleared of certain misconceptions which cling to it from its use in modern theological discussions. For example, the Greek word in its transliterated form sometimes is ambiguously used as though it were a full synonym of the English word "tradition."<sup>6</sup> In the Faith and Order reports we read the expression "the Tradition of the

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a Christian one. The Christian παράδοσις contains "the leading facts of the Gospel and the teaching of Christ and the Apostles." John Calvin, The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians, translated by John W. Fraser (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960), p. 228, after defending the term against the papists, declares that the παραδόσεις to which Paul refers are "matters affecting order and polity" in the congregation. But H. L. Goudge, The First Epistle to the Corinthians (3rd edition revised; London: Methuen & Co., 1911), pp. 94-95, comments perceptively: "The 'traditions' are the statements as to historical facts, and the doctrines and practices built upon them, which St. Paul had received from the Lord or the elder Apostles. These he had simply to hand on as they were . . . . No one would understand this better than Jewish Christians, accustomed as they had been to see the Rabbinical teaching preserved in the same way." So also Clarence T. Craig, "Introduction and Exegesis to the First Epistle to the Corinthians," The Interpreter's Bible, edited by George Arthur Buttrick, et al. (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953), X, 125, sees Paul's Jewish background in the term: "As the rabbis passed on their traditions from generation to generation, Paul passes on what he had received from the communities before him." A concise discussion of the Jewish concept of tradition is found in Klaus Wegenast, Das Verständnis der Tradition bei Paulus und in den Deuteropaulinen (Neukirchen Kreis Moers: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), pp. 24-33.

<sup>6</sup>For the many ways in which "tradition" is currently understood in a theological context, cf. Faith and Order Findings: The Final Report of the Theological Commissions to the Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order, Montreal 1963 (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963), pp. 16-18.

Gospel," which is said to be synonymous with "the paradosis of the kerygma."<sup>7</sup> Another misapplication of the Greek term may be seen when the gospel tradition is identified as the Christian παράδοσις. As we will show later, Paul's term for the gospel tradition, in the sense of the oral accounts which conveyed the words and deeds of Jesus, was εὐαγγέλιον. Though it, too, was handed on orally, the gospel tradition was not part of what the New Testament means by the term παράδοσις.<sup>8</sup> Finally, it is a mistake to regard the noun παράδοσις in the New Testament to be a nomen actionis; it never designates the act of transmission of tradition, but always refers to what is transmitted.<sup>9</sup>

One of the παραδόσεις which Paul had delivered to the Corinthians was an instruction about proper headdress at the worship assembly. He explains that the men ought not to

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<sup>7</sup>P. C. Rodger and L. Vischer (editors), The Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order: The Report From Montreal 1963 (London: SCM Press, 1964), p. 52: "Tradition taken in this sense is actualized in the preaching of the Word, in the administration of the Sacraments and worship, in Christian teaching and theology, and in mission and witness to Christ by the lives of the members of the Church."

<sup>8</sup>Birger Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity, translated by Eric J. Sharpe (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1961), pp. 290-295, explains the term παράδοσις similarly as the whole life of the church.

<sup>9</sup>Walter Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, translated and adapted by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 621.

have any covering on their heads, but that the women should wear a veil (1 Corinthians 11:3-16). In rabbinic fashion, reasons are given and arguments advanced in support of this practice.<sup>10</sup> He endorses the custom as his own official position and that of the other churches.<sup>11</sup> His teaching in these verses is an amplification of the παράδοσις which he had previously delivered to them. Though there may have been some trouble at Corinth in this matter, it does not seem to have been thought to be very serious, for Paul introduces the subject with words of commendation (verse 2).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Simon, p. 111, says of 1 Cor. 11:2-16: "No doubt in this section of 1 Corinthians the Apostle reveals himself as a child of his times. Rabbinical exegesis of the Scriptures, and particularly the second and more primitive of the creation stories in Genesis, odd floating legends about angels, and childhood memories, all played a part in influencing what he writes here." George Foot Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of the Tannaim (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), I, 78-79, emphasizes the tendency of the Hillelites to use reasoning instead of a direct appeal to authoritative tradition in settling questions of law. He tells a story from the Jerusalem Talmud about Hillel's use of reasoning that has similarity to Paul's method in 1 Cor. 11:3-16. The famous rabbi reasoned all day, but did not convince his hearers of the validity of his position until he informed them that he received the teaching from his teachers Shemaiah and Abtalion.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. συνήθειαν, 1 Cor. 11:16. Gerhardsson, p. 320, says that "by 'custom' (συνήθεια) is meant that type of halachah which without direct 'legislative' interference, developed into a normative pattern of behavior: the rabbinic equivalent is לְהַלְכָה."

<sup>12</sup>Jean Héring, The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, translated by A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock (London: Epworth Press, 1962), p. 102, however, thinks that the women of the Corinthian congregation "were becoming emancipated and because of that were creating serious problems for the Apostle."



Paul also regards the regular celebration of the Lord's Supper to be one of the παραδόσεις of which he speaks in 1 Corinthians 11:2.<sup>13</sup> He deliberately withholds praise from the Corinthians because of the reported abuses connected with their observance of it.<sup>14</sup> They continue to maintain the tradition of holding the meal, but in such a disgraceful manner that there is real danger that the observance will lose its essential character as the "Lord's Supper" (verse 20). It is important to notice that the παράδοσις in this case is the instruction, previously given by Paul, that had established the congregational custom of holding the meal. The παράδοσις is not the tradition which Paul repeats in verses 23-25, but grew out of that tradition. The abuses connected with the meal involve so basic a misunderstanding of the supper that Paul thinks it necessary to repeat to the Corinthians that portion of the gospel tradition on which the observance was founded.<sup>15</sup> Paul seems to have known the

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<sup>13</sup>Büchsel, II, 172-173, however, says that "Paul does not recognize the sacraments as objects of παραδοῦναι and παράδοσις."

<sup>14</sup>Compare οὐκ ἐπαινῶ in 11:17 with ἐπαινῶ in 11:2.

<sup>15</sup>One of the fundamental assumptions of form criticism, namely, that the gospel tradition circulated as independent, self-contained units, is supported by the manner in which Paul uses tradition here. Cf. E. Basil Redlich, Form Criticism: Its Values and Limitations (London: Duckworth, 1956), pp. 37-50, 162-164. Most of the passion narrative is an exception to this assumption, he says. Cf. also Joachim Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, translated from the German by Norman Perrin (London: SCM Press, 1966), p. 69.

words to be part of a narrative, as the opening phrase "on the night when he was betrayed" shows (verse 23).<sup>16</sup> In other words, the tradition of which Paul reminds the Corinthians is part of what he elsewhere calls the εὐαγγέλιον or gospel tradition. This portion of the gospel tradition is the solemn authority behind the παράδοσις which Paul began at Corinth. To help distinguish the two terms for tradition in this connection, let us say that, while the παράδοσις of the Supper continues to grow as Paul interprets it and corrects the abuses, the unit of the εὐαγγέλιον narrating the Supper was preserved and handed on by Paul just as he received it.<sup>17</sup>

When Paul uses the term παράδοσις of Christian tradition in the other epistles, its meaning is the same as that in 1 Corinthians.<sup>18</sup> To the Thessalonians, he writes: "So then, brethren, stand firm and hold to the traditions which you were taught by us, either by word of mouth or by letter" (1 Thessalonians 2:15). A similarity to 1 Corinthians 11:2

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<sup>16</sup>Jeremias, p. 108, thinks that Paul was passing on "an established liturgical formula" in 1 Cor. 11:23-25.

<sup>17</sup>Héring, pp. 114-115, holds that the preposition in the phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου is decisive in conveying Paul's intent to say that the Lord is "the source of an item of information which must have passed along the channel of tradition before reaching the apostle."

<sup>18</sup>Cf. 2 Thess. 2:15 and 3:6. Since Paul seldom uses the term for Christian tradition, it can scarcely have been an important word in his vocabulary.

is to be seen in the advice to "hold" to the traditions.<sup>19</sup> In the passage the process by which the παραδόσεις were transmitted is indicated by the verb "to teach"; such transmission can take place in writing as well as through oral communication.<sup>20</sup>

Paul also uses the term παράδοσις in citing a previously delivered tradition to the effect that the congregation was to ostracize any member who was living in idleness (2 Thessalonians 3:6).<sup>21</sup> There were some who had abandoned their employment in the expectation of living on the charity of the congregation. The authority behind the παράδοσις in this case was the example of Paul and his co-workers, who worked to support themselves at the same time that they were preaching the gospel in Thessalonica (see verses 7-12). Thus it may be seen that a παράδοσις is not necessarily connected with the gospel tradition. Instead, the παράδοσις in

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<sup>19</sup>Cf. κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε, 1 Thess. 2:15.

<sup>20</sup>Hermann L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965), pp. 12-20, discusses the widespread notion that there was an interdict among the rabbis against writing down haggadic and halachic matter. Strack concludes: "On the basis of the data which have been presented it must be concluded that there is nothing to point to an interdict on the writing down of Halakoth, and still less so on the writing of haggadic matter, formally promulgated and universally recognized" (p. 17).

<sup>21</sup>E. J. Bicknell, The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians (London: Methuen & Co., 1932), pp. 81-82.

this situation was based on the command which Paul previously had given to the Thessalonians: "If any one will not work, let him not eat" (verse 10).<sup>22</sup> The command was supported by Paul's own example, which in rabbinic manner he deliberately urged his readers to imitate (verse 9).<sup>23</sup>

The previous examination of passages in which Paul employs the noun παράδοσις for Christian tradition leads to the conclusion that by the term Paul means teachings that deal with congregational practices or customs. Three applications of the term are clearly identifiable: the custom of proper headdress in the worship assembly, the observance of the Lord's Supper, and the command to support oneself rather than live on congregational charity. In each instance the authority by which Paul passes on the tradition is different. First, he transmits the instruction about headdress as a παράδοσις simply because it was a widespread custom in the churches. Next, in the matter of practices connected with the Lord's Supper, he solemnly cites a part of the gospel tradition, behind which is the authority of the Lord himself. Finally, the basis of the command which Paul handed down to the Thessalonians about the idle brother is his own

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<sup>22</sup>Paul "commands" (παραγγέλλομεν) this tradition in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. On commands to the Corinthians, cf. infra, pp. 94-99.

<sup>23</sup>Willis Peter de Boer, The Imitation of Paul: An Exegetical Study (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1962), pp. 43-44.

authoritative example and explicit precept.

The expression in which παράδοσις appears in Galatians suggests that Paul adapted the term from a similar concept he knew in Judaism.<sup>24</sup> In a passage that is important for assessing Paul's background and training, the apostle says that he advanced rapidly in Judaism beyond his contemporaries, because he was so extremely zealous for "the traditions of [my] fathers" (Galatians 1:14).<sup>25</sup> The element of excellent progress which Paul mentions implies that he is referring to the educational program which the rabbinical schools maintained.<sup>26</sup> In them pupils learned the halachoth which had been accumulated by the meditation of previous teachers upon the Torah and passed along for adherents of the Pharisaic community to master and to follow.<sup>27</sup> The Pharisees regarded the oral teaching which they transmitted to be directed to the Jewish community for the regulating of its

<sup>24</sup>Herford, p. 83, connects the term παράδοσις with the halachah of Judaism.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων, Gal. 1:14; also supra, pp. 56-57.

<sup>26</sup>Ernest Dewitt Burton, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, in The International Critical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), pp. 46-48.

<sup>27</sup>Leonhard Goppelt, Jesus, Paul and Judaism, trans- by Edward Schroeder (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964), p. 30, says that the Pharisee's purpose "was to win the whole nation over to their beliefs and way of life, and thereby to make it really God's people."

life. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Christian apostle continued to use παράδοσις in reference to the teachings he handed down for the guidance of Christian congregations. Though they served different communities, the παραδόσεις of Paul's Jewish fathers and the παραδόσεις which he delivered to the Christian churches belong to the same category of tradition.<sup>28</sup>

### The Authoritative Pauline "Saying"

An understanding of the apostle's method in the task of regulating Christian life in the newly founded fellowship at Corinth involves a recognition of the concept of the authoritative Pauline "saying."<sup>29</sup> The "saying" is not ordinary speaking or conversation. Rather, it is a pronouncement made by Paul out of his awareness as an apostle of Christ in response to questions raised by the Corinthians. What Paul "says" should be placed against the background of similar expressions employed by rabbinic

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<sup>28</sup>Cf. 1QS 1:1, which introduces "the communal rule" by which the men of Qumran were to live. Cf. The Dead Sea Scriptures, in English translation with introduction and notes by Theodor H. Gaster (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1956), p. 38.

<sup>29</sup>There is no Pauline word for "saying" in this sense. The verb λέγω, but not λάλέω, is used.

teachers.<sup>30</sup> The "saying" has the form of practical wisdom which the apostle seeks to leave with the congregation for application to future problems.

Paul uses "I say" to originate tradition which he intends to be passed along by the Corinthians in his name.<sup>31</sup> Several times in the first epistle, Paul's response to questions about marriage includes the term λέγω in such a way as to draw attention to the apostle himself as the originating authority for the advice he gives.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, in each of these instances he cites no precedent for his advice, either in his own previous teaching or in that of the Lord. When the apostle introduces his statement with "I say," he implies that he has formulated his position on the matter for the first time. Once his formulation has been made and communicated, however, Paul does not intend that it should fall into disuse.<sup>33</sup> His pronouncement is to be remembered and preserved in the congregation and applied

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<sup>30</sup>The rabbinic background is discussed by David Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London: The Athlone Press, 1956), pp. 55-62.

<sup>31</sup>The Mishnah introduces teachings often by simply: Rabbi Eliezer (or whoever) "says . . . ."

<sup>32</sup>Cf. λέγω in 1 Cor. 7:6,8,12,35. There seems to be a contrast with φημί in 7:29.

<sup>33</sup>Herford, p. 83, gives the rationale for the preservation of tradition in Pharisaism: "It would have been folly and contempt of the divine teaching to have allowed those earlier results of the interpretation of Torah to be forgotten almost as soon as uttered."

to similar problems that may arise.<sup>34</sup> In other words, Paul consciously creates tradition with his "saying."

Pauline "sayings" of this nature are found in the first epistle in the treatment of questions related to marriage. In 1 Corinthians 7:1-7, the apostle reluctantly approves sexual intercourse between husband and wife, though he wishes all men had his own gift of continence.<sup>35</sup> The reluctance with which his advice is given is summed up when he adds: "I say this by way of concession, not of command" (verse 6).<sup>36</sup> Paul's own example of refraining from marriage is commended to the unmarried and widows at Corinth also in the form of a "saying": "To the unmarried and the widows I say that it is well for them to remain single as I do" (verse 8). A third instance where the Pauline "saying" appears is in the apostle's ruling with regard to mixed marriages: "To the rest I say, not the Lord, that if any brother has a wife who is an unbeliever, and she consents to live with him, he should not divorce her" (verse 12).<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Paul makes use of his previously delivered sayings. Cf. 2 Cor. 13:2; Gal. 1:9; 5:21; 1 Thess. 3:4.

<sup>35</sup>Paul's ascetic tendency was shared by his teacher. Purity and abstinence ceased when Rabban Gamaliel died. Cf. supra, pp. 58-61.

<sup>36</sup>Cf. τοῦτο δὲ λέγω κατὰ συγγνώμην, οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν, 1 Cor. 7:6; also 2 Cor. 8:8.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς λέγω ἐγώ, οὐχ ὁ κύριος, 1 Cor. 7:12; also C. H. Dodd, History and the Gospel (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), p. 40.



Here a clear distinction exists between the Pauline "saying" and the "saying" of Jesus. Paul wants it to be understood that the regulation he sets forth is issued on his own authority, not that of Jesus. It is probable that there was no dominical saying pertaining to marriage between believers and unbelievers (verses 12-17).<sup>38</sup> In his words to the young unmarried people he admits that he does not have any pronouncement from the Lord in support of his advice (verse 25).

Paul's expression of opinion is a similar form of authoritative utterance to be retained and passed along in his name. We need not suppose that there was a rigid formula which was always used by the apostle when he wanted his words to be preserved and transmitted. To the unmarried, Paul writes: "I give my opinion as one who by the Lord's mercy is trustworthy" (1 Corinthians 7:25).<sup>39</sup> He also ventures the advice that the widow should remain unmarried: "But in my judgment she is happier if she remains as she is. And I think that I have the Spirit of God" (verse 40).<sup>40</sup> In both these instances, Paul formulates an opinion which he expects to be honored and handed on in the life of the

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<sup>38</sup>Robertson and Plummer, p. 141.

<sup>39</sup>Cf. γνώμην δὲ δίδωμι ὡς ἡλεημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι, 1 Cor. 7:25; also 2 Cor. 8:10.

<sup>40</sup>Cf. κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, 1 Cor. 7:40.

congregation.<sup>41</sup>

Apparently a Pauline opinion was a valid substitute for a command of the Lord, if there were none of the latter to fit the problem at hand.<sup>42</sup> What qualifies Paul to use his judgment as a substitute for the Lord's command is that he is "trustworthy."<sup>43</sup> He therefore requires respect for his advice to the unmarried men and women to remain single in view of the impending eschatological distress (1 Corinthians 7:26-40). What is noteworthy is that Paul felt the need to identify the authority on which his answer to the problem is based. He seems to have sifted through the traditions of the sayings of Jesus he had received and was disappointed to find that he had none which applied to the question of

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<sup>41</sup>Paul's opening words in the epistle include the exhortation to the congregation to be united "in the same judgment" (ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ, 1 Cor. 1:12). The rabbis felt a responsibility to foster the unity of the people through agreement on traditional teaching. Moore, I, 81, speaks of rabbinical conference between Shammaites and Hillelites to discuss differences in their teaching. Mish. Shab. 1.4 mentions such a conference.

<sup>42</sup>According to Rudolf Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, translated by John Marsh (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), p. 163, the "I-Sayings" of Jesus in the gospels "were predominantly the work of the Hellenistic churches, though a beginning had already been made in the Palestinian church." But if such were actually the case, we would not expect Paul to observe a distinction between his opinion and commands of the Lord in this chapter.

<sup>43</sup>Cf. πιστός, 1 Cor. 7:25. Wegenast, p. 107, concludes that Paul's contrast between his words and the Lord's command implies that the apostle's advice does not have as much authority as the words of the Lord.

"the unmarried."<sup>44</sup>

The apostle's description of himself as "one who by the Lord's mercy is trustworthy" is intended to strengthen his γνώμη and distinguish it from the opinions of others. The phrase draws attention to the fact that, though he cannot claim that he has a direct command on the matter, he has the Lord's endorsement of his person and character.<sup>45</sup> He describes himself as one who has received mercy from the Lord--an allusion to the appearance of the risen Jesus who called him into apostleship.<sup>46</sup> One of the purposes of the act of mercy by which he received his ministry was that he might be rendered trustworthy in his new stewardship.<sup>47</sup> Thus the basis upon which Paul sets forth the opinion concerning the unmarried is in the final analysis the appearance of the risen Jesus to him on the road to Damascus. That appearance

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<sup>44</sup>Cf. Dodd, pp. 40-41.

<sup>45</sup>Cf. 1QpHab. 2:1,2. According to the Habakkuk Commentary, God told the prophet Habakkuk what would happen in the latter age, but did not tell him when it would take place. To the Teacher of Righteousness, however, God gives the capability of seeing the deeper implication of the prophet's words. Cf. The Dead Sea Scriptures, p. 252; also Martin Scharlemann, Qumran and Corinth (New York: Bookman Associates, 1962), p. 34. Dodd, p. 40, takes Paul's reference in 1 Corinthians 7:25 to God's mercy to mean "the guidance of the Spirit which through the mercy of God is granted to believers." The tense of the verb ἠλεημένος rules against this interpretation.

<sup>46</sup>Robertson and Plummer, 151-152.

<sup>47</sup>Cf. πιστός in 1 Cor. 4:2; also ἔχοντες τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην, καθὼς ἠλεήθημεν, 2 Cor. 4:1.

put God's stamp of trustworthiness on Paul, not because of what he was doing at the time, but in view of his future task as a bearer of the Lord's message.<sup>48</sup>

The relationship between tradition and the Holy Spirit in Paul's thought is indicated in the advice which he gives to the widow on the subject of remarriage (1 Corinthians 7:40).<sup>49</sup> He tells her that she is free to remarry, but in his judgment she is happier if she does not. He adds: "And I think that I have the Spirit of God."<sup>50</sup> Paul thus claims the authority of the Holy Spirit for his judgment. Since he formulated and communicated his opinions in the awareness that he was originating tradition, he probably also regarded tradition as valid and authoritative only if the person with whom it originated possessed God's Spirit.

Paul's "sayings" in 1 Corinthians 7 are paralleled by Jesus' use of similar formulae in the gospels.<sup>51</sup> Many sayings are introduced by λέγω in the Sermon on the Mount, for

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<sup>48</sup>God acts similarly in justifying all sinners, Paul says in Rom. 5:8.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. Goudge, p. 68, on "apostolic inspiration." Dodd, p. 40, says that the whole seventh chapter of 1 Corinthians is evidence that "Paul did not confuse his spiritual revelations with tradition."

<sup>50</sup>Cf. δοκῶ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν, 1 Cor. 7:40.

<sup>51</sup>A full discussion of the material on Jesus' sayings is found in Bultmann, pp. 150-166.

example.<sup>52</sup> There also the formula appears: "You have heard that it was said . . . . But I say to you."<sup>53</sup> Both Jesus and Paul employ language similar to that of the Jewish teachers.<sup>54</sup>

In this connection we must point out that for Paul the term λόγος is not the designation of a small unit of the Christian tradition. The apostle applies the term neither to his own sayings nor to those of Jesus which he has received.<sup>55</sup> For Paul, the λόγος is the whole message he preaches, not a unit of the tradition on which it is based. Some typical Pauline expressions in which λόγος is found are: "the word of the cross" and "the word of God" (1 Corinthians 1:18; 14:36). Usually, however, λόγος refers to "speech" in general, or to a message delivered at the congregational worship meeting (for example, 1 Corinthians 4:19; 14:9; 2 Corinthians 11:6).<sup>56</sup> Scholars who use the term in contemporary discussion to designate units of tradition should be distinguished from Paul, who does not employ the

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<sup>52</sup>E.g., Matt. 5:18: "For truly I say to you, till heaven and earth pass away, not an iota, not a dot, will pass from the law until all is accomplished." Cf. also 5:20,26; 6:2,5,16,25,29.

<sup>53</sup>There are six such occurrences: Matt. 5:21-22, 27-28,31-32,33-34,38-39,43-44. Cf. Daube, pp. 55-62.

<sup>54</sup>Gerhardsson, pp. 312-314, 332-334.

<sup>55</sup>1 Thess. 4:15 may be an exception.

<sup>56</sup>Bauer, pp. 478-480.

term in such a sense. Gerhardsson, for example, says that Paul received tradition in the form of doctrinal statements called λόγοι and formulated similar λόγοι of his own which he transmitted.<sup>57</sup> He cites 1 Corinthians 15:3-8 as an example of λόγοι which Paul received dealing with the resurrection. Likewise, the term is used in a non-Pauline sense when it is said that "ὁ λόγος, in common with  $\Gamma \Delta \Gamma \eta$ , can denote the whole as well as each individual element" in the Christian tradition.<sup>58</sup> In Paul, the λόγος is not part of the terminology of tradition.

#### Teaching as the Regulation of Life

Teaching also dealt with regulating Christian life at Corinth and was one of the important activities that involved the handing on of traditional material. The possibility that Paul conducted formal schooling for all the members of the congregation is remote.<sup>59</sup> But that there was teaching of some kind is indicated by the passages in which the terms

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<sup>57</sup>Gerhardsson, p. 303.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>59</sup>H. I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, translated by George Lamo (New York: The American Library, 1956), p. 419, says that the expression for formal Christian education (ἐν Χριστῷ παιδεία) first is used by Clement of Rome in his epistle to the Corinthians (1 Clem. xxi. 8). The author of the New Testament epistle to the Ephesians, however, speaks of the παιδεία of the Lord, but the responsibility for imparting it is the father of the family, not a classroom teacher.

διδάσκω and διδασχῆ are found in the first epistle.<sup>60</sup> In addition, Paul names teachers in the list of ministries which God appointed in the church (1 Corinthians 12:28-29).<sup>61</sup> Since the teachers are mentioned immediately after the apostles and prophets, we may assume that they played an important role at Corinth.

The manner in which Paul commissioned and endorsed his associate Timothy in 1 Corinthians implies that the process of tradition was at work in the apostle's teaching activity at Corinth and elsewhere. In anticipation of his own visit to the city he writes: "Therefore I am sending to you Timothy, my beloved and faithful child in the Lord, to remind you of my ways in Christ, as I teach them everywhere in every church" (1 Corinthians 4:17). The key expression in the passage is "my ways in Christ."<sup>62</sup> The term "ways" suggests the halachoth of the Jewish teachers, which were imparted both by example and by spoken instruction. The passage shows that Pauline teaching had--at least, ideally--a certain uniformity "everywhere."<sup>63</sup> By the hyperbolic expression Paul probably meant all the churches which owed their

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<sup>60</sup>Cf. 1 Cor. 4:17; 11:14; 14:6,26. Neither the verb nor the noun occur in 2 Corinthians.

<sup>61</sup>Teachers are included also in the list of ministries in Eph. 4:11.

<sup>62</sup>Cf. τὰς ὁδοὺς μου τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ, 1 Cor. 4:17.

<sup>63</sup>πανταχοῦ, 1 Cor. 4:17.

founding to him and therefore accepted him as an example and instructor.<sup>64</sup> Timothy's function was to "remind" the Corinthians of Paul's ways, not to teach new ones.<sup>65</sup> What is meant is that Timothy was to repeat a body of precepts which had originally been taught by Paul for good morals and sound church life. It is strongly implied that the original Pauline teaching to all the churches must have been in a somewhat fixed form in order that Timothy might know how to carry out his task at Corinth.<sup>66</sup> For, since Paul says that he taught the same "ways" in all the churches, such instruction probably fell into certain patterns and was repeated in the same way. Thus teaching in this passage seems to signify the delivery of a rather well-defined body of precepts.

One of the activities which took place at the meeting of the congregation at Corinth was a "teaching." In 1 Corinthians 14:6 Paul speaks of benefiting the Christian assembly by speaking to the believers "some revelation or knowledge or prophecy or teaching."<sup>67</sup> These activities profit them,

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<sup>64</sup>Cf. ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, 1 Cor. 4:17.

<sup>65</sup>Cf. ἀναμνήσει, 1 Cor. 4:17.

<sup>66</sup>L. Cerfaux, The Four Gospels, translated by Patrick Hepburne-Scott (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1960), p. 17, points out that Paul's Christian teaching career began at Antioch, where he is numbered among the outstanding teachers (Acts 13:1).

<sup>67</sup>Cf. ἡ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει ἡ ἐν γνώσει ἡ ἐν προφητείᾳ ἡ διδαχῇ, 1 Cor. 14:6.



it is said, whereas speaking in tongues without an interpretation does not. Similarly, the apostle includes a "lesson"<sup>68</sup> in his summary of edifying procedures in the assembly: "When you come together, each one has a hymn, a lesson, a revelation, a tongue, or an interpretation" (verse 26). Craig explains that by a "lesson" the apostle had in mind some exposition of Christian teaching, such as an interpretation of Old Testament passages. Teachers, he says, would be called upon to interpret scripture, just as the Christian prophets in the congregation would be expected to provide "revelations."<sup>69</sup> The context in the epistle, however, does not provide much of a hint as to the nature of the teaching. Perhaps it was primarily an ethical exhortation on some moral precept.<sup>70</sup> It is significant that the scene where the teaching is imparted is the meeting of the believers. The outside world of unbelievers is not approached with the teaching first, but with other aspects of the Christian message. As Dodd says: "I was by kerygma, says Paul, not by didache, that it pleased God to save men."<sup>71</sup> That which Paul calls διδαχή, however, is not as comprehensive as that

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<sup>68</sup>Cf. διδαχήν, 1 Cor. 14:26.

<sup>69</sup>Craig, p. 208.

<sup>70</sup>Goudge, pp. 125-126.

<sup>71</sup>C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1960), p. 8.

for which Luke uses the term. In Acts, the διδασχί is the whole apostolic message, as the expressions "the teaching of the apostles" and "the teaching of the Lord" show (Acts 2:42; 13:12; see also 5:28; 17:19).

Though he uses a different verb, Paul also speaks of instructing the Christian assembly with prophecy.<sup>72</sup> In the midst of his discussion of the benefits of prophecy and tongues for the congregation, he announces his decided preference for prophecy. With prophecy he can "instruct others" (1 Corinthians 14:19).<sup>73</sup> With tongues alone no one is instructed. Edification may take place through tongues, but only if there is an interpreter (verse 5). Because it works through the mind, Paul says, prophecy is one of the better means of instruction in the church assembly. The apostle uses the same verb in urging the Galatians to support the Christian teacher (Galatians 6:6). The term later came to acquire the exclusive meaning of Christian instruction. We may not assume, however, that new members of the church at Corinth were "catechized" in the later sense of the word.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>In Acts 13:1, Paul (as Saul) is one of the five leading "prophets and teachers" at Antioch.

<sup>73</sup>Cf. ἄλλους κατηχῆσω, 1 Cor. 14:19.

<sup>74</sup>Herman Wolfgang Beyer, "κατηχέω," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and translated by Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965), III, 639, presses the meaning of Gal. 6:6 too far when he says that the passage "thus establishes the claim of the teacher to support,

## Delivery of Commands and Commandments

In carrying out his apostolic task as the father of the Christian church at Corinth, the apostle Paul works with the concepts of commanding and commandments.<sup>75</sup> He does so within the framework of his belief in the messiahship of Jesus and the concept of messianic law.<sup>76</sup> Paul continues to acknowledge the Old Testament scriptures as a source of legislation for the congregation, but he himself is no longer under the law (1 Corinthians 9:20).<sup>77</sup> Instead, he is "under the law of Christ" and therefore subject first of all to Christ's commands.<sup>78</sup> The tradition from and about Jesus, therefore,

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and therewith confirms the validity and necessity of a professional teaching ministry in the congregation."

<sup>75</sup>There are a variety of terms in the Corinthian correspondence which express the idea of commanding and commandments. The chief terms are παραγγέλλειν, "to charge" (1 Cor. 7:10; 11:17), διατάσσειν, "to command" (1 Cor. 7:17; 9:14; 11:34; 16:1), ἐντολή, "commandment" (1 Cor. 7:19; 14:37), and ἐπιταγή, "command," (1 Cor. 7:6,25; 2 Cor. 8:8). There is an almost complete absence of these terms from the second epistle. Cf. Gerhardsson, p. 311.

<sup>76</sup>So Gerhardsson, p. 310. In Gal. 6:2 this concept is expressed as "the law of Christ" (ὁ νόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ).

<sup>77</sup>The Old Testament law is named by Paul in support of his argument to be maintained by his congregations (1 Cor. 9:8-12; Deut. 25:4). It is given as proof that tongues are a sign not for believers, but for unbelievers (1 Cor. 14:21-22; cf. Deut. 28:49). The law is also evidence that women should be subordinate and silent in the church assembly (1 Cor. 14:33-35).

<sup>78</sup>Cf. ἔννομος Χριστοῦ, 1 Cor. 9:21. Also C. H. Dodd, "ENNOMOS XPICTOY," *Studia Paulina*, edited by J. H. Sevenster and W. C. van Unnik (Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn N.V., 1953), pp. 96-110.

is of primary importance for Paul as a source of direct and implicit commands for regulating Christian life in the Corinthian congregation.

The apostle's right to be supported by his churches is asserted on the basis of Jesus' command. Paul says that "the Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel" (1 Corinthians 9:14).<sup>79</sup> He seems to be acquainted with the tradition that is recorded in the synoptic gospels about Jesus sending his disciples into the villages of Galilee on a preaching mission (Matthew 10:5-10; Mark 6:7-10,30; Luke 9:1-6,10; 10:1-12,17).<sup>80</sup> According to the synoptic accounts, Jesus' instructions on occasion of the mission were that the preachers should not take any bread, bag or money, but should remain in one house and eat what was provided for them.<sup>81</sup> From this portion of the gospel tradition Paul appropriates Jesus' command and applies it to his own mission at Corinth. What enables him to transfer the instructions to himself and Barnabas is the fact that Jesus had spoken

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<sup>79</sup>Cf. ὁ κύριος διέταξεν τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν, 1 Cor. 9:14.

<sup>80</sup>Cf. *infra*, p. 134.

<sup>81</sup>Matthew alone says that Jesus added: "For the laborer deserves his food" (Matt. 10:10). Luke records that in the instructions to the Seventy (not the Twelve) Jesus said: "For the laborer deserves his wages" (Luke 10:7). The Pastorals know the maxim in the Lucan form (cf. 1 Tim. 5:18).

them "to those who proclaim the gospel" (1 Corinthians 9:14). In all three synoptic accounts those whom Jesus sent out are called apostles (Matthew 10:2; Mark 6:30; Luke 9:10). Since Paul vigorously defends the genuineness of his apostleship, we may assume that he believed that Jesus' command in the tradition applied to all of the apostles, including himself and Barnabas (see 1 Corinthians 9:1-12).<sup>82</sup>

The Lord's words in the gospel tradition were also the basis for Paul's injunction against divorce (1 Corinthians 7:10-11). The teaching of Jesus in a form similar to that in Matthew seems to have been known by Paul, but it is impossible to say whether it was in the form of oral tradition or was already in a written collection of Jesus' sayings (see Matthew 5:31-32; 19:9).<sup>83</sup> At any rate, the apostle

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<sup>82</sup>Paul's concept of apostleship is broader and earlier than the Lucan concept. In the Pauline epistles those who are named apostles include Andronicus and Junias (Rom. 16:7), James the brother of the Lord (1 Cor. 15:7; Gal. 1:19), Epaphroditus (Phil. 2:25), and certain unnamed "messengers of the churches" (2 Cor. 8:23). Cf. J. B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (10th ed.; London: Macmillan and Co., 1890), pp. 92-102; also Eduard Schweizer, Church Order in the New Testament, translated by Frank Clark (Naperville, Ill.; A. R. Allenson, 1961), p. 195. Barnabas is mentioned as an apostle in Acts 14:4,14, but not in Paul's letters. It is strongly implied, however, in 1 Cor. 9:5-6. Karl Rengstorf, "ἀποστέλλω, κτλ.," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and translated by Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964), I, 413-420, sees the antecedent of Christian apostleship to be the secular institution of the  $\pi' \acute{\alpha} \rho \chi \omega \nu$  of pre-rabbinic Judaism.

<sup>83</sup>Cf. Héring, p. 52.

faithfully interprets his Lord's thoughts in the tradition. The differences between the synoptic and the Pauline teachings are understandable in the light of Paul's purpose of applying the teaching of Christ to the concrete situation at Corinth.<sup>84</sup> Deluz suggests that the chief offenders in regard to divorce were probably certain women in the congregation, so Paul's first command is that "the wife should not separate from her husband" (1 Corinthians 7:10).<sup>85</sup>

Paul himself gives commands and issues instructions to the Corinthians about matters vital to their life in Christ. He refers repeatedly to the principle which he follows in deciding questions that arise concerning social adjustments required of persons after their conversion. The principle states that each convert should remain in the state in which he was found at the time of his call to the Christian faith.<sup>86</sup> Paul mentions his "rule" four times (1 Corinthians 7:17,20,24,26). It is applied to the specific case of the circumcised,<sup>87</sup> as well as to the slave and the free man

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<sup>84</sup>Gaston Deluz, A Companion to 1 Corinthians, edited and translated by Grace E. Watt (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963), p. 86.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Paul's interim ethic, so Craig, p. 84.

<sup>87</sup>Paul contrasts the ceremonial law with the ἐντολαὶ θεοῦ (v. 19). In a similar saying in Gal. 5:6, the "keeping of the commandments of God" is replaced with "faith working through love." The third form of the saying substitutes "a new creation" (Gal. 6:15).

(verses 18-23). The same principle is behind the advice to the married not to divorce and to the single not to marry (verses 26-35). All the Pauline churches have received this basic rule as a command from the apostle (verse 17).<sup>88</sup>

Another illustration of Paul's instructions for the regulating of congregational life is found in the promise to give more directions about the Lord's Supper when he comes again to Corinth (1 Corinthians 11:34).<sup>89</sup> On his next visit to the city he intends to deal with other matters connected with the observance. The apostle takes it for granted that he alone has the right to give directions regarding the problems of the congregation.<sup>90</sup> The Corinthians apparently await his solutions. Paul's attitude is related to the assertion that he is the father of the Corinthian church by virtue of the fact that he delivered the gospel tradition to them and is therefore its guardian and legitimate interpreter (see 1 Corinthians 4:15).<sup>91</sup> Whatever the future

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<sup>88</sup>Cf. οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πάσαις διατάσσομαι, 1 Cor. 7:17.

<sup>89</sup>Cf. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὡς ἂν ἔλθω διατάξομαι, 1 Cor. 11:34.

<sup>90</sup>Cf. 1QS 6:1-8. The Manual of Discipline requires that "one who can interpret the Law" at any time of day or night should continually be present in any community that numbers ten or more male members. The provision for an interpreter of the Torah is made "for the harmonious adjustment of their human relations." Cf. The Dead Sea Scriptures pp. 49-50.

<sup>91</sup>In the Qumran community, too, regulation of life took place on the basis of tradition already given. Cf. 1QS

directions were to be, we may assume that Paul would derive them from the tradition he received just as he did the "instructions" he gave on the celebration of the Lord's Supper (1 Corinthians 11:26-34).<sup>92</sup>

We may summarize our findings thus: In various ways the apostle Paul utilized tradition in guiding individual and corporate life within the Corinthian congregation. He adapted the Jewish παραδόσεις or halachic traditions for Christian purposes and continued to use the term as a designation for such congregational matters as the custom of proper headdress, the policy of not giving undeserved charity to the "idle" brother, and the observances connected with the Lord's Supper. Pauline "sayings," similar to the formulations of Jewish teachers and of Jesus, were created when the apostle provided guidance in the face of the problems that arose in the young church. The apostle thus originated traditions which he expected to be handed on in his name. Teaching, too, especially as it was carried on within the worship assemblies of the Pauline congregations, was an important activity in which tradition was a major factor. Finally, Paul delivered the Lord's commands which

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9:8-11. The Manual requires the presbyters or "specially holy men" not to "depart from the clear intent of the Law," but to "judge by the original laws in which the members of the community were schooled from the beginning." Cf. The Dead Sea Scriptures, p. 58; also infra, pp. 135-138.

<sup>92</sup>Cf. τοῦτο δὲ παραγγέλλων, 1 Cor. 11:17.



he found in the gospel tradition. On the basis of the transmitted gospel and other authorities he formulated principles and regulations which he handed on to the congregation. In the next chapter we look into the Corinthian correspondence for the purpose of examining that which replaced the Jewish παραδόσεις at the center of Paul's concept of tradition: the gospel.

## CHAPTER V

### TRADITION IN PAUL'S CONCEPT OF THE GOSPEL

One of the most significant terms in the Pauline epistles for the apostle's message is "the gospel."<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this chapter is to examine the role which tradition played in Paul's concept of the gospel. The frequency with which the noun εὐαγγέλιον and the verb εὐαγγελίζεσθαι occur in the epistles emphasizes the centrality of the gospel in Paul's work and thought.<sup>2</sup> Since the same two terms are equally prominent in the Corinthian correspondence, this chapter is structured along lines suggested by the passages in which the terms appear.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>George Milligan, St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1953), p. 143, says that in Paul's epistles the verb εὐαγγελίζομαι and the noun εὐαγγέλιον "occur with a frequency which shows how strongly he had been attracted by them, as the most fitting terms to describe the message with which he had been entrusted; and it is to his influence accordingly that we must look for the prominence which they and their equivalents have since gained in the language of Christendom." Cf. also H. G. Wood, "Didache, Kerygma, and Evangelion," New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, edited by A. J. B. Higgins (Manchester: The University Press, 1959), p. 312, indicates the scope of the concept thus: "Didache and Kerygma together make up Evangelion."

<sup>2</sup>The noun εὐαγγέλιον occurs sixty times in the epistles and the verb εὐαγγελίζομαι twenty times.

<sup>3</sup>The noun is found sixteen times: 1 Cor. 4:15; 9:12, 14bis, 18bis, 23; 15:1; 2 Cor. 2:12; 4:3, 4; 8:18; 9:13; 10:14; 11:4, 7. The verb occurs eight times: 1 Cor. 1:17; 9:16bis, 18; 15:1, 2; 2 Cor. 10:16; 11:7.

Three important aspects of the gospel may be distinguished in Paul's use of the term εὐαγγέλιον in the Corinthian correspondence. The gospel is a complex matter; Paul did not intend the same thing each time he used the word. First, the noun occurs as a nomen actionis.<sup>4</sup> When this aspect of its meaning is dominant, the term signifies the activity of preaching and is closely related to the verbs εὐαγγελίζεσθαι and κηρύσσειν. Second, the term εὐαγγέλιον is employed as the expression for the whole content of the message that is preached.<sup>5</sup> In this sense, it is the substance of what is spoken in the activity of preaching and is similar to the κήρυγμα.<sup>6</sup> Third, the term εὐαγγέλιον is used as a designation for a body of traditional material whose nature is that of an authoritative standard to be obeyed and respected. In this sense it is parallel with παραδόσεις.<sup>7</sup> We will now examine the relevant passages in the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians to show how different aspects of the term are given prominence from passage to passage.

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<sup>4</sup>Gerhard Friedrich, "εὐαγγελίζομαι, κτλ.," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and translated by Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964), II, 729.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., II, 730.

<sup>6</sup>Joachim Jeremias, The Problem of the Historical Jesus, translated by Norman Perrin (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), p. 22, speaks of the gospel as the pre-resurrection message of Jesus and the kerygma as the post-resurrection preaching by the apostles.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. infra, pp. 132-135.

## Εὐαγγέλιον as the Activity of Preaching

One of the major emphases in Paul's concept of the gospel is the activity of preaching. In some passages the stress lies upon the action of delivering the gospel rather than upon what is delivered. Friedrich observes that the derivation of the word from Old Testament and rabbinic sources has brought about the use of the substantive εὐαγγέλιον as a nomen actionis.<sup>8</sup> In several passages in the two epistles, the εὐαγγέλιον thus refers to preaching, speaking the good news, or delivering the message of glad tidings.<sup>9</sup> The word designates the activity involved in getting the message across to the hearers. A brief look at several of these passages will suffice.

In 1 Corinthians 9:12, Paul speaks of the gospel as an activity that he does not want to hinder. He says that he and his associates endure anything "rather than put an obstacle in the way of the gospel of Christ."<sup>10</sup> In this context the term means the gospel as preaching. Paul maintains that he and his co-workers did not want to hinder the activity of preaching, so they supported themselves. By the

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<sup>8</sup>Friedrich, II, 729.

<sup>9</sup>This meaning is found in 1 Cor. 9:12, 14b; 2 Cor. 2:12; 8:18; 9:13; 10:14, and possibly 1 Cor. 9:23.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. ἵνα μὴ τινα ἐγκοπὴν δῶμεν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 1 Cor. 9:12.

phrase "the gospel of Christ" Paul means the message in which Christ is the principal subject matter, although the thought of Christ as the author of the message is also a possible interpretation.<sup>11</sup> The linking of "Christ" with "the gospel" is found elsewhere in the Corinthian correspondence. In the second epistle, for example, Paul says that his purpose for coming to Troas was "the gospel of Christ" (2 Corinthians 2:12).<sup>12</sup> The apostle also reminds his readers that he and his fellow workers were the first to come all the way to Corinth "with the gospel of Christ" (2 Corinthians 10:14).<sup>13</sup> From the context it is clear that the gospel is primarily the task or activity of preaching; Paul speaks of his "labors" on its behalf and of "work already done in another's field" (verses 16,17).

In identifying the famous preacher whom he plans to send to Corinth, Paul also uses the noun εὐαγγέλιον in the sense of the activity of proclamation. The preacher is called "the brother who is famous among all the churches for his preaching of the gospel" (2 Corinthians 8:18).<sup>14</sup> It was

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<sup>11</sup>Friedrich, II, 731.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 2 Cor. 2:12.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 2 Cor. 10:14, also Floyd V. Filson, "Introduction and Exegesis to the Second Epistle to the Corinthians," The Interpreter's Bible, edited by George Arthur Buttrick, et al. (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953), X, 389-390.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, 2 Cor. 8:18.

for his preaching activity, not for the message itself, that the brother earned the praise of the churches. Paul does not mean that this preacher had some sort of role within the contents of the message itself. Rather, he means that this preacher was especially effective in delivering the gospel. The "gospel" in this case has reference to preaching as the sphere of activity in which the man's reputation had been earned.<sup>15</sup>

Out of zeal for the salvation of those to whom he preaches, the apostle says, he has made many adaptations.<sup>16</sup> The eternal welfare of his hearers is his supreme goal, and he bends every effort to further it. "I have become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some" (1 Corinthians 9:22). He speaks of actively imparting the gospel when he says that he does everything "for the sake of the gospel" (verse 23).<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Some scholars identify the famous preacher with Luke, the author of the Third Gospel; so Alfred Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in The International Critical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), p. 248.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. David Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London: The Athlone Press, 1956), pp. 336-341, where the rabbinic idea of accommodation is discussed. Paul's words here are shown to correspond with ideas in Jewish teaching on missionary methods.

<sup>17</sup>Vs. 23 continues: "that I may share in its blessings" (ἵνα κοινωνῶς αὐτοῦ γένωμαι). The antecedent of αὐτοῦ is the gospel. What is meant by this phrase which may be translated "a sharer of the gospel"? Martin Scharlemann, Qumran and Corinth (New York: Bookman Associates, 1962),

## Εὐαγγελίζεσθαι as the Activity of Preaching

The verb εὐαγγελίζεσθαι in the New Testament is a technical term in the vocabulary of the Christian church. Perhaps it was coined by Paul himself.<sup>18</sup> It is prominent in the two epistles to the Corinthians, as well as in the rest of the Pauline corpus.<sup>19</sup> The meaning of the verb is to be sought in connection with the substantive εὐαγγέλιον; it signifies basically "to bring or announce good news."<sup>20</sup> We now examine one of the Pauline passages to show how the verb is related to the aspect of tradition in the apostle's concept of the gospel.

Paul's apostolic commission and the preaching of the gospel are closely connected in his thought. In the first epistle he rejects the unwholesome loyalty of the party in the congregation who apparently claimed Pauline baptism as

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pp. 32-34, takes it to mean "that I may share (with others, as the context clearly shows) in its blessings" (p. 32).

<sup>18</sup>Plummer, p. 290.

<sup>19</sup>The verb occurs eight times in the two Corinthian epistles and twelve other times in the Pauline corpus.

<sup>20</sup>Walter Bauer, A Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, translated and adapted by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 621.

a special mark of distinction.<sup>21</sup> He points to his call: "For Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach the gospel" (1 Corinthians 1:17).<sup>22</sup> According to Acts, it was Ananias, not the risen Jesus, who gave Paul the content of his apostolic commission (see Acts 9:6; 22:10). Jesus sent him to Damascus, where he heard for the first time that he had been chosen to preach to the Gentiles.<sup>23</sup> The fact that Ananias was the source from which Paul received the substance of his apostolic instructions, however, does not conflict with Paul's own references to the occasion. The risen Lord was the overwhelmingly central factor in the event of Paul's conversion. There is no real conflict, therefore, when he asserts that it was Christ who sent him to preach the gospel, but neglects to mention Ananias.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Jean H ring, The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, translated by A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock (London: The Epworth Press, 1962), p. 7, thinks that the mystery religions were probably at work. He says that Paul's arguments here imply "that many of the Corinthians believed there was a kind of mystic relationship between the baptizer and the baptized."

<sup>22</sup>Cf. οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλέν με Χριστὸς βαπτίζειν ἀλλὰ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, 1 Cor. 1:17.

<sup>23</sup>Johannes Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, translated by Frank Clarke (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1959), pp. 19-20, holds that the account of Paul's conversion in Acts 9 is the basic tradition, while those accounts in Acts 22 and 26 are secondary.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 18.



The mediation of Ananias, as described in the two accounts in Acts, gives us reason to study more closely the first few days during which Paul lived as a Christian. Luke relates that, in response to the Lord's instructions to him in a vision, Ananias entered the house of Judas on Straight Street (Acts 9:11-17). There he found the man from Tarsus, Saul, whom he was told to expect, and laid hands on him. Saul was baptized on the same occasion. In Acts 9:19 we read a brief, but significant statement: "For several days he (Saul) was with the disciples at Damascus."<sup>25</sup> The next information that Luke provides is that Paul immediately "proclaimed Jesus, saying, 'He is the Son of God.'" (Acts 9:20).<sup>26</sup> Perhaps there is an echo of the content of Paul's first preaching in his statement to the Galatians that God "was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles" (Galatians 1:16).<sup>27</sup> Thus we have Paul's own words for the fact that his apostolic call included the directive to "preach the gospel," an activity

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<sup>25</sup>The other two accounts in Acts do not mention the few days of fellowship which Paul had with the Christians of Damascus (cf. Acts 26:16-17; 26:19-20). The parallel reference in Galatians to the same period mentions that Paul went first to Arabia and then returned to Damascus (Gal. 1:17). Galatians thus supports Acts 9.

<sup>26</sup>Cf. ἐκήρυσσεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, Acts 9:20.

<sup>27</sup>Cf. ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, Gal. 1:16.

which he refers to with the verb εὐαγγελίζεσθαι.<sup>28</sup> Significantly, both Paul and Luke use the accusative of person following the verb of preaching as an indication of the content of the message (Galatians 1:16; Acts 9:20).<sup>29</sup>

If the conversion of Paul from a Jewish persecutor to a Christian apostle was as abrupt as Munck thinks, we must postulate that the Damascus disciples orientated Paul in the rudiments of the Christian faith.<sup>30</sup> For if the apostle to the Gentiles preached the gospel in the synagogues of Damascus immediately after his conversion, the implication is that he heard his first Christian traditions of Jesus' words and deeds from the disciples in Damascus. According to Luke, the message which Paul preached was the proclamation of Jesus as the Son of God. According to Paul himself, his first message was a preaching of the εὐαγγέλιον. The accounts of Jesus' words and deeds, and especially the eyewitness reports of his resurrection appearances, were the means by which the early church professed Jesus to be the

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<sup>28</sup>Luke designates Paul's preaching with κήρυσσειν in Acts 9:20.

<sup>29</sup>Cf. *infra*, p. 111.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Munck, pp. 11-24. Also J. J. Schoeps, Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History, translated by Harold Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), pp. 53-58.

Son of God.<sup>31</sup> On the basis of these considerations, it is probable that the Christians at Damascus passed along to Paul the εὐαγγέλιον in whatever form it had acquired in the traditional process by that early date. On the basis of the primitive gospel tradition handed on by the disciples at Damascus, Paul engaged for the first time in the activity which he designates with the verb εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, "to preach the gospel."

#### Κηρύσσειν as the Activity of Preaching

The verb κηρύσσειν is another significant term in Paul's vocabulary for the activity of preaching. It occurs frequently in the Corinthian epistles and in all instances refers to proclaiming the Christian message.<sup>32</sup> To a large extent this verb is synonymous with εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, and most scholars regard the two terms as interchangeable.<sup>33</sup> As Paul uses these verbs of preaching, however, there is a difference between them that is important for an estimate of his concept of tradition. Whereas the verb εὐαγγελίζεσθαι

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<sup>31</sup>Cf. Mark 1:1, "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." The RSV follows Codices Vaticanus and Bezae here.

<sup>32</sup>1 Cor. 1:23; 9:27; 15:11,12; 2 Cor. 1:19; 4:5; 11:4bis. The verb is used of preaching the Jewish doctrine of circumcision in Gal. 5:11.

<sup>33</sup>C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1960), p. 8.

cannot be understood apart from the tradition of the words and deeds of Jesus, there is no such element of tradition directly connected with κηρύσσειν. Both are verbs of preaching, but εὐαγγελίζεσθαι designates preaching that is based on the gospel tradition and utilizes different portions of it as oral texts.<sup>34</sup>

The distinguishing element of κηρύσσειν is that it denotes preaching centered on Christ as a person. What is striking about the use of the verb in Paul's letters to the Corinthians is the frequency with which it appears with the accusative of person. In most cases, Paul speaks of proclaiming "Christ" or "Jesus."<sup>35</sup> The verb seems so strongly to require a person as grammatical object that Paul uses prolepsis to avoid a construction that would show it to be a regular verb of discourse (1 Corinthians 15:12).<sup>36</sup> Though the subject matter may vary considerably, all such preaching is governed by the idea of proclaiming the significance of the person of Christ. For example, Paul's warning against false apostles who preach "another Jesus" is directed against intruders who advocate a different understanding of the

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<sup>34</sup>As will be more fully discussed infra, pp. 129-131.

<sup>35</sup>Cf. 1 Cor. 1:23; 15:12; 2 Cor. 1:19; 4:5, 11:4bis.

<sup>36</sup>F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, translated by Robert W. Funk (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 252.

person of Jesus (2 Corinthians 11:4).<sup>37</sup> Paul preached Christ as one who was "crucified" (1 Corinthians 1:23), "raised from the dead" (1 Corinthians 15:12), "Son of God" (2 Corinthians 1:19; see Acts 9:20), and "Lord" (2 Corinthians 4:5; see 1 Corinthians 12:4).

#### Εὐαγγέλιον as the Content of Preaching

A second major emphasis in Paul's concept of the gospel is on the content of the message he and others preached at Corinth. Several passages employ the word in this general and older sense.<sup>38</sup> When εὐαγγέλιον is not a designation for the activity of preaching and does not carry the connotation of tradition, it usually denotes the content of what Paul preached. In substance the εὐαγγέλιον is the good news of God's act of bringing salvation.<sup>39</sup>

Paul employs εὐαγγέλιον in its earlier Christian sense as the message of the joyful news of the coming of God's kingdom. In his argument for the right which he and Barnabas have to receive sustenance from the Corinthians, the

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<sup>37</sup>Rudolf Bultmann, Exegetische Probleme des Zweiten Korintherbriefes (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), pp. 23-30.

<sup>38</sup>Friedrich, II, 722. Cf. 1 Cor. 9:14; 2 Cor. 4:3-4; 11:7, and probably also 1 Cor. 9:23.

<sup>39</sup>Milligan, p. 143. Friedrich, II, 730, says: "For Paul the heart of the good news is the story of Jesus and His suffering, death, and resurrection."

apostle says that the Lord commanded that "those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel" (1 Corinthians 9:14).<sup>40</sup> In the expression "those who proclaim the gospel" Paul uses the noun εὐαγγέλιον as a designation of what is preached.<sup>41</sup> As we noted above, Paul's citation of Jesus' command on the subject of material support for the gospel preacher is a reference to that portion of the tradition recorded by all the synoptic writers (see Matthew 10:1-15; Mark 6:7-13; Luke 9:1-6; 10:1-12).<sup>42</sup> Jesus sent out his disciples as preachers of the gospel into the villages of Galilee and ordered them to depend on their hearers for food and lodging.<sup>43</sup> An idea of the content of the message can be derived from the synoptic accounts. It was a call to repentance (Mark 6:12), an announcement that the kingdom of God had come near (Luke 9:2; 10:9,11), and a proclamation that the kingdom of heaven is at hand (Matthew 10:7). Such is the synoptic description of the message to

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<sup>40</sup>Cf. τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλουσιν ἐν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν, 1 Cor. 9:14.

<sup>41</sup>Friedrich, II, 729.

<sup>42</sup>The fact that Paul knows this command of Jesus is discussed supra, p. 95.

<sup>43</sup>Cf. Matt. 10:10, "the laborer deserves his food." Paul calls those whom Jesus sent out "the proclaimers of the gospel" (οἱ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλοντες, 1 Cor. 9:14). Matthew refers to them as "these twelve disciples" (10:1) and "the twelve apostles" (10:2) before they are sent out; Mark and Luke speak of them as "the apostles" when they return (Mark 6:30; Luke 9:10).

which Paul refers in 1 Corinthians 9:14 as the εὐαγγέλιον.<sup>44</sup> Thus the passage is a significant indication that Paul used the same term to designate the message that Jesus' disciples preached as he used to designate his own preaching.<sup>45</sup>

When the apostle refers to the fact that his message is not comprehended by unbelievers, he characterizes it as the message of Christ's glory, whose light not all men see (2 Corinthians 4:4). He admits that, in a certain sense, his gospel is veiled (verse 3). Blindness comes from the god of this world, who works not actually on the message itself, but on the minds of those who hear it. Paul says that what the unbelievers do not see is "the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ" (verse 4).<sup>46</sup> The expression is difficult to assess with precision, but it seems to mean the following: Christ, who as a human being has God's image, has in addition a glory about him as the new Man, perfectly created and heading a new human race. The gospel is the

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<sup>44</sup>All three synoptic writers use κηρύσσειν to designate what the twelve disciples were to do, whereas Paul uses καταγγέλλειν.

<sup>45</sup>Since the message of the twelve on their mission into the Galilean villages was an extension of Jesus' own mission, 1 Cor. 9:14 shows that Paul also regarded Jesus' message to be a preaching of the εὐαγγέλιον.

<sup>46</sup>Cf. τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 2 Cor. 4:4. Plummer, p. 117, says that Paul's reference to the gospel here means "the gospel which contains and proclaims the glory of the Messiah." As such, he says, it is directed against Judaizers, who emphasized the glory of Moses.

story of how Christ displayed his glory to men during his earthly ministry and in his resurrection and ascension.<sup>47</sup> In other words, the gospel is the message of Christ's heavenly glory. It is a message that has a radiance which not all men can see; those who do not believe cannot see its heavenly light.

The apostle's reminder to the Corinthians that he preached God's gospel to them without cost is another instance where Paul has in mind primarily the content of the gospel message (2 Corinthians 11:7).<sup>48</sup> In providing the message free of charge, he says, he humbled himself so that the Corinthians might be exalted. In a similar discussion in another epistle Paul speaks of working so that he might not burden any one while he was preaching to them "the gospel of God" (1 Thessalonians 2:9).<sup>49</sup> In both cases he calls it "God's message" to contrast its inestimable value with the fact that he did not ask for material support from the people to whom he preached it.<sup>50</sup> Thus the apostle tells the Corinthians that his wages for working at his trade of tent-making come in the form of the privilege of being able to

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<sup>47</sup>Munck, pp. 58-61, thinks that the passage is contrasting the δόξα of Moses with the δόξα of Paul himself, not Jesus.

<sup>48</sup>Cf. δωρεὰν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ, 2 Cor. 11:7.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. ἐκηρύξαμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ, 1 Thess. 2:9.

<sup>50</sup>So Filson, X, 395; Plummer, p. 303.



preach a "free" gospel to them (1 Corinthians 9:18).<sup>51</sup>

### Κήρυγμα as the Content of Preaching

The noun κήρυγμα, in transliterated form, is often found in contemporary theological literature and is usually treated as one of the most important expressions for early Christian preaching. C. H. Dodd set himself the task of recovering from the Pauline epistles "some indication at least of the character and content of Paul's preaching, and not only his distinctive preaching, but of what he preached in common with other Christian missionaries."<sup>52</sup> He speaks of the Pauline "kerygma" and regards the "gospel" to be a synonymous expression.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, the corresponding verbs are "virtual equivalents."<sup>54</sup> As we have pointed out above, Dodd's view is that the kerygma preserved the gospel tradition.<sup>55</sup>

An examination of Paul's use of the terms κήρυγμα and εὐαγγέλιον, however, shows that in his epistles they are distinguishable. The noun εὐαγγέλιον, for example, occurs

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<sup>51</sup>Cf. ἵνα εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀδάπανον θήσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, 1 Cor. 9:18. In this passage, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι seems to mean the same as τίθημι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

<sup>52</sup>p. 9.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., pp. 55-56. Cf. supra, p. 22.

much more often in Paul than the term κήρυγμα.<sup>56</sup> For this reason we may say that the two terms do not have equal prominence in Paul's thought. There are also differences from the standpoint of word-formation, but they are largely a matter of historical interest only and do not significantly affect New Testament usage.<sup>57</sup> That the two terms are closely related and yet distinguishable is shown by the combined expression "my gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ" (Romans 16:25).<sup>58</sup>

A study of the relevant passages in the Corinthian correspondence disclose that there is no aspect of tradition with κήρυγμα, such as there is with the gospel (see 1 Corinthians 15:1-3). When Paul speaks of his message as κήρυγμα, he has in mind his own distinctive method of proclaiming the significance of Christ. He reminds his readers of the first moments of the Christian mission at Corinth and the manner of his approach to them in those days: "My speech and my message were not in plausible words of wisdom, but in

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<sup>56</sup>Whereas εὐαγγέλιον occurs sixty times in the corpus paulinum, κήρυγμα is found only six times: Rom. 16:25; 1 Cor. 1:21; 2:4; 15:14; 2 Tim. 4:17; Titus 1:3.

<sup>57</sup>εὐαγγέλιον is derived from εὐάγγελος (messenger), while κήρυγμα is a formation from κηρυκ-. Cf. Friedrich, II, 721-722; also, "κῆρυξ," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and translated by Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), III, 714-715.

<sup>58</sup>Cf. τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Rom. 16:25.

demonstration of the Spirit and power" (1 Corinthians 2:4).<sup>59</sup> The implication is that the apostle has the freedom to shape the proclamation as he sees fit, but he chooses not to do so with "wisdom." The contrast with εὐαγγέλιον may be illustrated with the parallel expression in Romans 2:16. He says that the Gentiles who do by nature what the law requires

show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, while their conscience also bears witness and their conflicting thoughts accuse or perhaps excuse them on that day when, according to my gospel,<sup>60</sup> God judges the secrets of men by Christ Jesus.

"My gospel" means that a day of judgment of the nations by Christ is one of the teachings the apostle knows from the gospel tradition he has received (see Matthew 25:31-46).<sup>61</sup>

The New Testament evidence points to the conclusion that κήρυγμα was not a widespread term for the whole Christian proclamation in the early church.<sup>62</sup> Paul knew it and

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<sup>59</sup>Cf. ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου, 1 Cor. 2:4. Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in The International Critical Commentary (2nd ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903), p. 32, regard κήρυγμα here to be the act of proclamation.

<sup>60</sup>Cf. κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου.

<sup>61</sup>Cf. Friedrich, II, 730, says that Rom. 2:16 refers to "the preaching of the eschatological day of judgment" as part of the gospel.

<sup>62</sup>Outside the Pauline literature κήρυγμα is found only in reference to the preaching of Jonah (Matt. 12:41; Luke 11:32). The Short Ending of Mark has the word in the expression "the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation." Though Dodd relies heavily on the sermons in Acts for the recovery of what he calls the primitive

used it in 1 Corinthians, but the other occurrences of the term are in late Pauline passages.<sup>63</sup> He says that the consequences of denying that Christ has been raised from the dead are that "our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain" (1 Corinthians 15:14).<sup>64</sup> The idea is that the message which interprets Christ to the Corinthians would thereby be emptied of its power. The fact that Paul identifies the preaching as "our" preaching links it with the resurrection witnesses previously mentioned in the chapter (see verses 5-8).<sup>65</sup> In another passage Paul says that God was pleased to save those who believe "through the folly of what we preach" (1 Corinthians 1:21).<sup>66</sup> But the development of κήρυγμα as a designation for the whole Christian proclamation

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kerygma, the Greek term does not appear in Acts. Apparently the development of κήρυγμα as a designation for the whole Christian proclamation was late and took place only within Pauline circles. Krister Stendahl, "Kerygma und Kerygmatisch," Theologisches Literaturzeitung, 77 (December 1952), cols. 715-720, calls for a sharp distinction between "Kerygma im eigentlichen Sinne und Kerygma als polemischem oder apologetischem Ausdruck in der aktuellen Bibeldebatten" (col. 717).

<sup>63</sup>1 Cor. 1:21; 2:4; 15:14. In Rom. 16:25 the word is part of a benediction that appears to have been added later. The two appearances of κήρυγμα in the Pastoral Epistles are in 2 Tim. 4:17 and Titus 1:3.

<sup>64</sup>Cf. τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, 1 Cor. 15:14.

<sup>65</sup>As Robertson-Plummer, First Corinthians, p. 348, says: "τὸ κήρυγμα looks back to κηρύσσομεν (vs. 11), and means 'what we preach,' the substance of it (1:21; 2:40; and πίστις looks back to ἐπιστεύσατε (vs. 11)."

<sup>66</sup>Cf. διὰ τῆς μωρίας τοῦ κηρύγματος, 1 Cor. 1:21.

was apparently late and took place only within Pauline circles.

### Εὐαγγέλιον as the Gospel Tradition

The terminology of tradition is used with εὐαγγέλιον in such a way as to indicate that it, too, is a technical term for transmitted material.<sup>67</sup> At least three of the verbs in 1 Corinthians 15:1-2 can be identified with corresponding terms in the rabbinic vocabulary of tradition; all three indicate that the εὐαγγέλιον is traditional matter. First, Paul says that the Corinthians "received" the gospel from him.<sup>68</sup> He also tells his readers that it is the gospel in which they "stand," a term which corresponds to the rabbinic idea of maintaining tradition.<sup>69</sup> The Corinthians are being saved through this gospel, if they "hold fast," the apostle warns them.<sup>70</sup> "I would remind you" may

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<sup>67</sup>Cf. Birger Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity, translated by Eric J. Sharpe (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1961), p. 295.

<sup>68</sup>Cf. παρελάβετε (vs. 1), which corresponds to לָקַח the rabbinic term for receiving tradition.

<sup>69</sup>Cf. ἐστήκατε (vs. 1). The rabbinic expressions are עָמַד and עָמַד.

<sup>70</sup>Cf. κατέχετε (vs. 2). The rabbinic equivalent is יָצַד. These terms are explained in Gerhardsson, pp. 288-290.

also reflect the language of oral tradition as well.<sup>71</sup>

In the Corinthian correspondence the term παραλαβεῖν always carries the technical meaning of receiving tradition that has been orally handed on.<sup>72</sup> In the rest of the Pauline writings the technical sense of receiving tradition is always close at hand.<sup>73</sup> The details of the description of transmission obtained from later rabbinic literature cannot be assumed always to be a true depiction of transmission by a Christian apostle in the middle of the first century.<sup>74</sup> In its broad outline, however, Paul's method probably did not differ from that of later Jewish traditioners.

In the introduction to the tradition of the Lord's Supper, Paul uses the terminology of tradition in referring to his own reception of the account he passed on to the Corinthians. His introductory words are: "For I received

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<sup>71</sup>Gerhardsson, pp. 119-121, explains the "publication" of an oral text collection. The terms  $\gamma\tau\theta$  and  $\rho\sigma$  are mentioned in connection with oral publication. The verb  $\gamma\nu\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  may reflect the Hebrew  $\gamma\lambda\eta$  and imply that Paul thought of the gospel tradition in the same category as haggadic material. Cf. Herman L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1956), p. 7.

<sup>72</sup>So in 1 Cor. 11:23; 15:1,3. The word does not occur in 2 Corinthians.

<sup>73</sup>Cf. Gal. 1:9,12; Phil. 4:9; Col. 2:6; 4:17; 1 Thess. 2:13; 4:1; 2 Thess. 3:6.

<sup>74</sup>Cf. supra, p. 51.

from the Lord . . . ."75 Two types of interpretation of the phrase "from the Lord" have been given. Some scholars understand it to mean that the account of the Lord's Supper was handed down to Paul in Christian tradition, and that at the beginning of the chain of traditioners was Jesus.<sup>76</sup> Other scholars hold that the expression refers to a direct revelation by which the risen Lord gave Paul the account of the institution of the Supper.<sup>77</sup> Explanations which empty παράλαβον of its meaning as a term for the receiving of oral tradition should be rejected. Human mediators of the tradition, perhaps a succession of them, may not be ruled out.<sup>78</sup> By example and by command, Jesus initiated the observance of the sacred meal when he ate it with his disciples on the night in which he was betrayed.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Cf. Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, 1 Cor. 11:23.

<sup>76</sup>For example, Héring, pp. 114-115, stresses the fact that the preposition ἀπό, not παρά, was used. He says that Paul thereby indicates the remoteness of the source and the existence of a channel of tradition. So also Adolf Schlatter, Paulus der Bote Jesu: Eine Deutung seiner Briefe an die Korinther (3rd ed.; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1962), p. 320.

<sup>77</sup>As in Gal. 1:12.

<sup>78</sup>Cf. Klaus Wegenast, Das Verständnis der Tradition bei Paulus und in den Deuteropaulinen (Neukirchen Kreis Moers: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), pp. 93-104. Wegenast leaves open the possibility that there was a chain of tradition, but maintains that the chain was not institutionalized in Paul's time (p. 98).

<sup>79</sup>Cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: S.P.C.K., 1948), pp. 242-252.

The citing of the Lord as the source of the tradition of the Supper may have been influenced by a corresponding tendency Paul acquired while sitting at the feet of Jewish teachers. The introduction of a tradition by citing what was believed to be its ultimate origin instead of its immediate source is to be observed in the Mishnah. Herford points out that among the rabbis there was a tendency to attribute all halachoth to Moses, even though it was fully recognized that a long succession of teachers was involved in the transmission.<sup>80</sup>

The only other use of παραλαβεῖν by Paul in referring to his own receiving of tradition is found in 1 Corinthians 15:3. In this passage Paul assures his readers that the tradition concerning Christ's death, burial, and resurrection appearances which he delivered to them was the same as that which he himself had previously received. Some writers hold that the tradition of which Paul speaks includes only verses 3-5.<sup>81</sup> Others think that the tradition extends through verse 8 and thus includes Christ's appearance to

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<sup>80</sup>R. Travers Herford, The Pharisees (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), p. 95. Cf. also Oscar Cullmann, The Early Church, edited by A. J. B. Higgins (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), pp. 61-62.

<sup>81</sup>Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, translated by Bertram Lee Woolf (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, n.d.), p. 18.



Paul himself.<sup>82</sup> Regardless of how much was included in what he received, Paul added the Damascus road appearance to the list of resurrection traditions to be retained by the Corinthians.

The problem of reconciling what Paul says about having received tradition from his Christian predecessors with the assertion in Galatians that he did not receive his gospel from man is well known.<sup>83</sup> The passage which causes the difficulty is Galatians 1:11-12:

For I would have you know, brethren, that the gospel which was preached by me is not man's gospel. For I did not receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came through a revelation of Jesus Christ.

Paul seems to deny that the gospel he preached was transmitted to him by human bearers of tradition. He even seems to imply that the gospel is not tradition in any sense of the word.<sup>84</sup> But a literal understanding of his denial contradicts overwhelming evidence elsewhere that Paul was a recipient and transmitter of Christian tradition, including the gospel. The best solution to the problem is to regard Paul's statement in Galatians as a strongly polemical remark against opponents who sought to destroy his authority. His

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<sup>82</sup>Gerhardsson, p. 299.

<sup>83</sup>A full discussion of the problem is found in Wegenast, pp. 34-49.

<sup>84</sup>Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 43-44. Wegenast suggests that Paul does not use *παρέλαβον* in Gal. 1:12 in its usual technical sense.

enemies claimed that he derived his message from higher human sources. In response, the apostle asserts his independence on the basis of God's act of revealing his Son to him (Galatians 1:16). The purpose of that revelation of the Son, Paul says, was "that I might preach him among the Gentiles." Thus the authorization for Paul's preaching was nothing less than a direct commission from God himself. The apostle can therefore say that his gospel came "through a revelation of Jesus Christ" (verse 12).<sup>85</sup> His intention is to deny that the authority behind his preaching of the gospel was human authority, not that the gospel tradition was transmitted to him.<sup>86</sup>

The act whereby the Corinthians received the tradition of Christ's death, burial, and resurrection appearances is also indicated by παραλαβεῖν. In 1 Corinthians 15:1 Paul reminds his readers that they "received" the gospel which he preached to them.<sup>87</sup> The occasion to which he refers was

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<sup>85</sup>Paul's statement in Gal. 1:11-12 is satisfactorily explained only by assuming that he uses the term εὐαγγέλιον in the three different senses we attempt to set forth in the present chapter. The gospel-as-message is what Paul means by τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ.

<sup>86</sup>The elliptical clause ἀλλ' δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (vs. 12) lacks a verb. The RSV translates "came," probably in consideration of Christ's appearance to Paul along the road to Damascus. But it is equally possible to supply "comes" or even "is preached," as a reflection of Paul's awareness of the risen Lord working through his message.

<sup>87</sup>Cf. παρέλάβετε, 1 Cor. 15:1.

the early period of his work at Corinth. Reception of the gospel, however, was at the same time Paul's act of transmitting it. He therefore uses the technical term παρέδωκα in drawing attention to his act of transmission (1 Corinthians 15:3).<sup>88</sup> What he delivered was:

that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. Then he appeared to more than five hundred brethren at one time . . . . Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles. Last of all as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me. (1 Corinthians 15:3-8)

The tradition which Paul repeats in verses 3-8 is in some sense the same thing as that which in verse 1 he calls "the gospel which I preached to you."<sup>89</sup> Thus we see that Paul's concept of the gospel contained the idea of tradition to be transmitted and received. At the same time the contents of the gospel as tradition are disclosed in what the apostle repeats in verses 3-8: the accounts of Christ's death, burial, and resurrection appearances.<sup>90</sup>

The verb παραδοῦναι is another of the technical terms from the language of oral tradition that appears in Paul's

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<sup>88</sup>Cf. παρέδωκα, 1 Cor. 15:3.

<sup>89</sup>Cf. τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, 1 Cor. 15:1.

<sup>90</sup>If not only vss. 3-5, but also vss. 6-8, are the tradition which Paul delivered, it follows that the apostle regarded the risen Christ's appearance to him as the last of the resurrection appearances and as the last event of the gospel story (cf. ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων, 1 Cor. 15:8).

Corinthian letters. The term corresponds to the rabbinic  $\Gamma \Theta \Delta$ , which signifies the delivering of tradition.<sup>91</sup> In the two epistles  $\text{παρὰδιδόναι}$  is used with other meanings side by side with its technical sense of transmitting Christian oral tradition.<sup>92</sup>

The terminology of tradition is abundantly evident in Paul's words of praise to the Corinthians in 1 Corinthians 11:2. He commends them for remembering him in everything and for observing the traditions just as he delivered them to the congregation.<sup>93</sup> As we have shown above,  $\text{παρὰδόσεις}$  in Pauline usage refers to traditional teachings that deal with congregational practices.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore,  $\text{παρὰδιδόναι}$  and  $\text{κατέχειν}$  also appear in the passage as words which have a technical meaning in the language of oral tradition.<sup>95</sup> The idea of "remembering" the apostle suggests the rabbinic

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<sup>91</sup>Gerhardsson, p. 288. Also Wegenast, pp. 30-33.

<sup>92</sup>The verb appears as a technical term for transmitting tradition in 1 Cor. 11:2; 11:23; 15:3. Elsewhere in the Corinthian correspondence it refers to the delivering over of persons: the incestuous man to Satan (1 Cor. 5:5), Jesus to the temple guard (1 Cor. 11:23), and God's ministers to death (2 Cor. 4:11). Paul also uses the verb  $\text{παρὰδιδόναι}$  in speaking of delivering one's body to be burned (1 Cor. 13:3) and of Christ delivering over the kingdom to God the Father at the end of time (1 Cor. 15:24).

<sup>93</sup>Cf.  $\text{καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν τὰς παρὰδόσεις κατέχετε}$ , 1 Cor. 11:2.

<sup>94</sup>Cf. supra, pp. 79-80.

<sup>95</sup>Cf. Gerhardsson, p. 290.

practice that the teacher's words and example were to be observed and retained by his pupils as instruction.<sup>96</sup>

The early days of the apostle's mission at Corinth are brought to mind when Paul uses the term παραδιδόναι in referring to the transmitting of the tradition of the Lord's Supper. He speaks of that tradition as "what I also delivered to you" (1 Corinthians 11:23).<sup>97</sup> There are close similarities between Paul's tradition of the Lord's Supper and the traditions in the synoptic gospels. What the apostle delivered, however, he does not call "the gospel." For Paul, εὐαγγέλιον was evidently the gospel as a whole; the term was not an appropriate designation for its parts.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, Paul does not say that he did any preaching in connection with the tradition of the Supper. Rather, he says, it is the Corinthians themselves who become preachers. To them the apostle says: "For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes" (1 Corinthians 11:26).<sup>99</sup> The liturgy of the Supper is a means of proclamation. In addition, the Supper may have been the occasion when the events surrounding the death

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<sup>96</sup>Willis Peter de Boer, The Imitation of Paul (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1962), pp. 43-44.

<sup>97</sup>Cf. ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, 1 Cor. 11:23.

<sup>98</sup>The plural τὰ εὐαγγέλια is used once in the Septuagint for "the reward for good news"; cf. Friedrich, II, 725.

<sup>99</sup>Cf. τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου καταγγέλλετε, 1 Cor. 11:26.

of Jesus were solemnly recited.<sup>100</sup> The proclamation of the Lord's death is made to those within the church. For the believers the celebration of the Supper keeps alive that portion of the gospel tradition that relates Jesus' death.<sup>101</sup>

The technical term παραδιδόναι appears, as was mentioned above, in Paul's introduction to the traditions of the death, burial, and resurrection appearances (1 Corinthians 15:3).<sup>102</sup> He wrote "For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received . . . ." What do the words "as of first importance"<sup>103</sup> mean? Also, for what purpose did Paul repeat the tradition in his epistle? We now attempt to provide answers to these questions.

First, what do the Greek words ἐν πρώτοις, which the Revised Standard Version renders "as of first importance," actually mean? As Gerhardsson convincingly shows, the expression indicates that the tradition is given in the form of headings which serve as mnemonic devices whereby the

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<sup>100</sup>This interpretation is suggested by the fact that the verb καταγγέλλειν means "to proclaim solemnly"; cf. Bauer, p. 410.

<sup>101</sup>The mention of the Lord's death suggests that the tradition of the Supper is embraced under the heading in 1 Cor. 15:3: "Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures."

<sup>102</sup>Cf. *supra*, p. 121.

<sup>103</sup>ἐν πρώτοις, 1 Cor. 15:3.

fuller form of the tradition was retained.<sup>104</sup> The Jewish parallel is the simanim,<sup>105</sup> or signs, which the rabbis often provided as aids to the memory for the retention of large blocks of oral material. What Paul writes in 1 Corinthians 15:3-8 is thus shown to be a series of simanim by which Paul carried in his memory the gospel tradition. Gerhardsson says that "each individual part is a short, heading-like designation for some passage of the tradition about Christ."<sup>106</sup> For example, the second siman or heading is: "He was buried." By this brief device Paul was enabled to remember a fuller form of the tradition of Jesus' burial (see Mark 15:42-47; Matthew 27:57-61; Luke 23:50-56).

Next, for what purpose did Paul put the tradition in writing? Why did he include in the epistle only certain abbreviated headings for the complete tradition which he originally delivered and which the Corinthians received? From the choice of headings which are given, it may be seen that Paul concentrated on those which were signs for the accounts of Christ's resurrection appearances.<sup>107</sup> Paul knew a large body of traditional material about the arrest,

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<sup>104</sup>Gerhardsson, pp. 150-156, 299, 302.

<sup>105</sup>Heb. ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ; the singular is ׀ ׀ ׀ (siman).

<sup>106</sup>Gerhardsson, p. 299.

<sup>107</sup>Wegenast, p. 64, sees three reasons why Paul mentions the resurrection appearances.

trial, and crucifixion of Jesus. He wrote, however, only the heading "Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures," because he did not intend to speak further on the subject of Christ's death. But he gave multiple headings for the tradition of the resurrection, because the eyewitness accounts were the basis for the discourse which he placed in verses 12-58. The simanim for the resurrection appearances were sufficient to remind the Corinthians of the full forms of the traditions which Paul had imparted to them earlier. Furthermore, they served as a kind of oral "text" on which his preaching was based.<sup>108</sup> There are indications that what Paul writes in 1 Corinthians 15:12-58 is a written sermon on the resurrection.

The fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians clearly shows the relationship between tradition and preaching. In the opening verses Paul announces the twofold content of the chapter to be the εὐαγγέλιον or gospel tradition which he delivered and the λόγος or manner of speech with which he

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<sup>108</sup>Gerhardsson, pp. 303-304. Theodor Gaster thinks that the Qumran commentaries on Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Psalm Thirty-Seven "may be regarded as coming from 'sermons' delivered by the various 'teachers of righteousness' or other instructors." Cf. The Dead Sea Scriptures, in English translation with introduction and notes by Theodor H. Gaster (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1956), p. 229. Such sermons, however, if the commentaries were actually such, were based on written, not oral, texts.



preached.<sup>109</sup> The additional clauses reflect the same two-fold distinction: "if you hold it fast"<sup>110</sup> refers to maintaining the gospel as tradition, and "unless you believed in vain" refers to the response of faith called for by the preaching. What Paul does in the fifteenth chapter in writing, he probably also did in person before the congregation. He first repeated a portion of the gospel tradition fully or in the form of headings as a kind of text and then preached a sermon on the basis of the tradition.<sup>111</sup> For this reason εὐαγγελίζεσθαι is frequently used in the Pauline epistles for preaching; it signifies giving a discourse based on the gospel tradition.

The gospel tradition should be distinguished from Christian credal formulations. Some scholars have mistakenly pointed to 1 Corinthians 15:3-8 as an example of an early credal statement.<sup>112</sup> But Paul labels it "the gospel,"

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<sup>109</sup>Paul does not use λόγος as a term for the gospel tradition or any part of it. Cf. supra, p. 88. However, Héring, p. 158, regards 15:3-4 to be the εὐαγγέλιον (comparable to the Mishnah) and 15:5-8 to be the λόγος which Paul added (as the Gemara). Dibelius, From Tradition, p. 18, n. 1, has no doubt that λόγος here refers to the formula Paul quotes in 1 Cor. 15:3-5.

<sup>110</sup>On the verb κατέχετε as a term in the language of oral tradition, cf. Gerhardsson, p. 290.

<sup>111</sup>Dibelius, p. 15, thinks that the gospel tradition was inserted into the preaching or at its close. Cf. supra, p. 15.

<sup>112</sup>Cf. Robertson-Plummer, p. 333.

a term which is part of his vocabulary of tradition. It is doubtful that a creed of such length could have developed in the early church by the time Paul received these statements. What has probably misled scholars regarding the passage is the solemn ring of authority it possesses. The impression of authority, however, comes from the fact that what Paul relates is tradition. Tradition, as Gerhardsson explains, is always authoritative tradition.<sup>113</sup> Paul uses the noun εὐαγγέλιον several times in the two epistles as the designation of a body of tradition.<sup>114</sup> Each passage contributes to our understanding of his concept, especially of the high regard he had for the words and deeds of Jesus.

The reward that Paul has for refraining from asking material support from his congregations is that he can preach the gospel free of charge. Thus he does not have to make full use of his "right in the gospel" (1 Corinthians 9:19).<sup>115</sup> He insists that he has the authority to require the Corinthian congregation to provide him and his associates with a livelihood, but declines to use it. Our interest in the passage in this connection is that the apostle speaks of the authority as his right "in the gospel." As we

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113p. 297.

114cf. 1 Cor. 4:15; 9:18; 2 Cor. 9:13; 11:4.

115cf. τῆ ἐξουσίᾳ μου ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, 1 Cor. 9:18.

pointed out above, Paul implies that he has transmitted to the Corinthians the tradition of Jesus sending out the Twelve (and the Seventy?) on a mission of preaching and healing (see 1 Corinthians 9:14).<sup>116</sup> The apostle sees his right based on a command of Jesus embedded in a portion of the gospel tradition.

The authority of the tradition is the underlying issue in Paul's lament of the ease with which the Corinthians accept a gospel which is different from the one they previously accepted from him (2 Corinthians 11:4). The expression "a different gospel" is also found in Galatians, where Paul is amazed that his people have changed their allegiance (Galatians 1:6).<sup>117</sup> At Corinth there were persons to whom Paul referred as "superlative apostles" and "false apostles, deceitful workmen, disguising themselves as apostles of Christ" (2 Corinthians 11:5,13). These persons, whoever they were, preached a strange gospel which the Corinthians accepted.<sup>118</sup> Their disloyalty to Paul's tradition is the third in a series of weak submissions that the Corinthians readily made to temptation: "another Jesus," "a different

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<sup>116</sup>Cf. supra, pp. 95-96.

<sup>117</sup>Cf. εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον, 1 Cor. 11:4; ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, Gal. 1:6.

<sup>118</sup>Plummer, pp. 298-299, rejects the Tübingen position that the "superlative apostles" is a reference to the Twelve under the leadership of Peter. Rather, he says, Paul here means Judaizing teachers at Corinth.

spirit," and "a different gospel" (verse 4).<sup>119</sup> The "superlative" apostles brought the temptation of offering a different tradition to serve as the standard for belief and for preaching. The εὐαγγέλιον is more than simply the message or the preaching of it. Paul implies that there is a right and a wrong gospel, "our" gospel and a "different" one. In this passage the apostle views the gospel as a body of tradition which is to be protected from the perversions of wandering preachers.

In connection with the collection for the Jerusalem Christians, Paul speaks of the gospel as an authority to be acknowledged. Raising the collection is a test of Christian service for the Corinthians. The Jerusalem brethren will glorify God when they see this act of obedience on the part of the Corinthians in "acknowledging the gospel of Christ" (2 Corinthians 9:13).<sup>120</sup> Again, the concept of the gospel as an authoritative standard to be obeyed is present, indicating that Paul has in mind the gospel as tradition. Was there some portion of the gospel tradition that the Corinthians especially acknowledged by sending the gift to Jerusalem? Perhaps Paul thinks of the significant role played by Jerusalem in the ministry of Jesus and in the early

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<sup>119</sup>Cf. εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον ὃ οὐκ ἐδέξασθε, 2 Cor. 11:4.

<sup>120</sup>Cf. δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 2 Cor. 9:13.

church.<sup>121</sup> Perhaps Jesus' concern for the hungry, the thirsty, the stranger, the unclothed, the sick, and the imprisoned is what Paul means by the gospel of Christ.<sup>122</sup> In either case, the contribution for the saints at Jerusalem would be regarded as an act of obedience in acknowledging the gospel as standard.

In his first epistle Paul's concept of the gospel as authoritative tradition is very evident in his reminder to the Corinthians that he is their father. In 1 Corinthians 4:15 he states: "I became your father in Christ Jesus through the gospel."<sup>123</sup> This reminder supports the admonition which the apostle makes to them as his children (verse 14). The emphasis in the passage is on the privilege that his fatherhood gives him in the present situation, but he also recalls the original circumstances under which he gave them spiritual life.<sup>124</sup> Begetting them took place when

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<sup>121</sup>Cf. Gerhardsson, pp. 274-280, who proposes that Paul looked upon Jerusalem as the place from which the authoritative interpretations of the apostolic collegium were to come.

<sup>122</sup>Cf. Matt. 25:34-40.

<sup>123</sup>Cf. ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα, 1 Cor. 4:15.

<sup>124</sup>Cf. Friedrich Büchsel and Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, "γεννάω, κτλ.," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 665-668, show how the language of begetting was used of the master-disciple relationship among the rabbis.

he first entered the city and began to preach there (see Acts 18:1-11). Through the gospel the Corinthians received life; the εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ was the means whereby they became Paul's children and he became their father.

Paul's fatherhood of the Corinthian Christians was a status he claimed on the basis of having been the source of the gospel tradition which they received from him. For when the apostle says that he "begot" the Corinthians, he means that, among other things, he handed over to them the gospel tradition. He does not mean merely that he preached to them. We may not exclude the possibility that Paul may have meant that he became father to the faithful simply by the message or the act of preaching it. But the distinction which he makes between the father and the "many guides" suggests that the gospel in this context is primarily the authoritative tradition which Paul had previously passed on to the congregation.<sup>125</sup> If he had meant the gospel merely as the conveying of the message, there would have been less basis for claiming the privileges of a father. Others preached the same message. Nor does it seem likely that he claimed his unique privileges on the basis of having been the first to preach the message at Corinth, though he

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<sup>125</sup>On the use of παιδαγωγός in Gal. 3:24, see Ernest Dewitt Burton, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, in The International Critical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), pp. 200-201.

probably could have truthfully made the assertion.<sup>126</sup> Temporal priority alone cannot be regarded as important enough to sustain the weight of Paul's authority. Rather, we are led to the conclusion that the apostle had the right to admonish the Corinthians as his "beloved children" and to urge them to imitate him, because he was the traditioner who laid the foundation of the Corinthian church by imparting the gospel tradition on which their faith was based.<sup>127</sup>

#### Parenthood in the Terminology of Tradition

The apostle employs the language of parenthood also in Galatians in referring to the initial stages of his work. Birth imagery is the means Paul uses to express the beginnings of the church in Galatia. Fearing that his previous efforts have been nullified by his opponents, Paul says that he again experiences the pains of labor in giving birth to the Galatians (Galatians 4:19).<sup>128</sup> In this instance the apostle speaks of himself as the mother (not the father),

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<sup>126</sup>Unless Priscilla and Aquila were Jewish Christians from Rome; cf. Acts 18:2.

<sup>127</sup>Cf. Matt. 23:1-12. Jesus' words of warning against the example of the scribes and Pharisees are a striking contrast with Paul's claim to fatherhood: "But you are not to be called rabbi, for you have one teacher, and you are all brethren. And call no man your father on earth, for you have one Father, who is in heaven. Neither be called masters, for you have one master, the Christ." (Matt. 23:8-10).

<sup>128</sup>Cf. οὐς πάλιν ὠδίνω, Gal. 4:19a.

who is caught up in the process of childbirth. The metaphor shifts slightly with the additional remark that he will continue to experience the pains of labor until Christ is formed in them.<sup>129</sup> Thus he first speaks figuratively of himself as the mother, but, as he continues the thought, the Galatian churches become the parent who bears the child. Metaphorically, Christ is the fetus which is being formed in them as in a pregnant woman.<sup>130</sup>

When the apostle says that he is "again" in travail, he has reference to the occasion when he first came to Galatia and delivered the gospel tradition. Such language is his way of saying that he is forced to start at the beginning again. The problem was that some one had preached a different gospel among the churches after Paul and Barnabas left. Paul expresses his indignation:

I am astonished that you are so quickly deserting him who called you in the grace of Christ and turning to a different gospel--not that there is another gospel, but there are some who trouble you and want to pervert the gospel of Christ. But even if we, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you a gospel contrary to that which we preached to you, let him be accursed. As we have said before, so now I say again, if any one is preaching to you a gospel contrary to that which you received, let him be accursed. (Galatians 1:6-9)

Almost as soon as Paul writes the expression, "a different

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<sup>129</sup>Cf. μέχρις οὗ μορφωθῆ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, Gal. 4:19b.

<sup>130</sup>A similar figure is found in Rev. 12:1-6, where the pregnant woman (the church) bears the male child (the Christ).



gospel,"<sup>131</sup> he is dissatisfied with it; the possibility is left open that such a thing as a different gospel may exist. So he immediately denies that the term εὐαγγέλιον can legitimately be applied to what his Galatian opponents preach. Their activity is more accurately described as perverting the gospel (verse 7). True, his opponents did not bring a different gospel tradition to Galatia, but their preaching, which was based on what Paul had delivered, was different from Paul's preaching. The two aspects of the εὐαγγέλιον as message and tradition are reflected in the two solemn curses which Paul pronounces against those who would tamper with the gospel.<sup>132</sup> The first curse is directed against those whose preaching is not in agreement with the apostle's original preaching, and the second is directed against those whose preaching is not in agreement with the gospel tradition which Paul had originally delivered.<sup>133</sup> Thus when Paul speaks of undergoing birthpangs again, his thought is of the painful necessity of repeating the basic gospel tradition.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>131</sup>Cf. ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, Gal. 1:6; also supra, p. 134.

<sup>132</sup>Cf. Burton, pp. 24-28.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., p. 22. Burton thinks that the differences between Paul and his opponents were not over "the historical facts of the life of Jesus," nor over missionary methods. Rather, he says, they differed over "the way of acceptance with God and the significance of the Christ in relation to such acceptance." But cf. παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν and παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, Gal. 1:8,9.

<sup>134</sup>Cf. πάλιν ὠδίνω, Gal. 4:19.

But he must do so to remove the distorted understanding of it introduced by its Galatian perverters (see Acts 15:41; 16:1-5).<sup>135</sup>

Through the gospel Paul was the spiritual father of the Galatian Christians, just as he was the father of the Christians at Corinth. In Galatians he does not directly speak of "begetting" or of being the "father" of his converts,<sup>136</sup> but his language is consistent with that in 1 Corinthians 4:14-15. In both cases he calls the Christians of the congregation his children (Galatians 4:19; 1 Corinthians 4:14).<sup>137</sup> In connection with the opening stages of his work at both places the imagery of birth is used to designate the transmitting of the gospel tradition and the preaching that was based upon it.<sup>138</sup>

When Paul mentions an individual as his "child," he means that the person is one whom he has trained and

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<sup>135</sup>The need for Timothy's services is felt when Paul returns to Galatia. Cf. *infra*, pp. 152-155.

<sup>136</sup>According to Paul, Isaac was begotten (γεννάω) through the promise (διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, Gal. 4:23). Is there a play on words here with εὐαγγέλιον, when Paul refers to the promise as "the gospel preached beforehand" (cf. προεὐγγελίσαστο, Gal. 3:8)?

<sup>137</sup>Cf. τέκνα μου, Gal. 4:19, and τέκνα μου ἀγαπητά, 1 Cor. 4:14.

<sup>138</sup>Cf. 1 Thess. 2:11, where Paul's fatherhood involves teaching by example and by precept.

endorses as an authorized bearer of Christian tradition.<sup>139</sup> The designation of a single person as Paul's child is more significant than the designation of whole congregations as his children. The members of an entire congregation are the apostle's children in the sense that he preached the gospel to them and transmitted the gospel tradition with his preaching. But when an individual is called Paul's child, we may assume that the person stands in a special relationship to the gospel, received the tradition from Paul, and has the apostle's authorization to transmit and preach it. From the evidence available in the corpus paulinum and in Acts, we see that Timothy, Onesimus, and Titus were Paul's children in this sense.<sup>140</sup>

Paul calls Timothy his "child," and in so doing indicates that his younger associate was one to whom he had entrusted the traditions that formed the basis of the ministry. In 1 Corinthians 4:17 Paul says that Timothy is his

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<sup>139</sup>τέκνον in Greek. The terms υἱός and παιδίον are not so used.

<sup>140</sup>Héring, p. 162 thinks that the emphasis in Paul's description of himself as an ἔκτρομα in 1 Cor. 15:8 is on "the idea of inferiority or unworthiness," because ἔκτρομα was an offensive word. But it is equally possible that Paul described himself as an "abortion" in view of the fact that he did not undergo a full gestation period of discipleship with Jesus. Ἐκτρομα is birth imagery that suggests that Paul acknowledged that he did not receive teaching directly from Jesus.

"beloved and faithful child in the Lord."<sup>141</sup> Timothy's relationship to Paul probably grew out of the latter's concern for preserving the traditions in the early churches, as well as the need for loyal fellow workers (see Acts. 16:1-3).<sup>142</sup> That Paul trained Timothy to be a reliable guardian of tradition is also indicated in the expressions that identify the recipient of the two Pastoral Epistles which bear Timothy's name.<sup>143</sup> In later tradition, at least, Timothy was remembered as an authorized tradition-bearer.<sup>144</sup> The fact that he is called a "faithful" and "true" child of Paul draws special attention to his trustworthiness as a transmitter of authentic tradition. The emphasis on preserving sound doctrine in the Pastorals should be understood against the background of a rabbinic teacher's concern for the tradition he transmits. Rabbinic ordination of Timothy is

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<sup>141</sup>Cf. τέκνον ἀγαπητὸν καὶ πιστὸν ἐν κυρίῳ, 1 Cor. 4:17. Timothy is Paul's brother and fellow worker (Rom. 16:21; 1 Cor. 16:10; 2 Cor. 1:1; 1 Thess. 3:2; Philemon 1), and a servant of Christ (Phil. 1:1), who preaches Jesus Christ (1 Cor. 1:19).

<sup>142</sup>Luke identifies Timothy as a disciple (μαθητής) before he joined Paul (Acts 16:1).

<sup>143</sup>Cf. γνησίῳ τέκνῳ ἐν πίστει, 1 Tim. 1:2, and ἀγαπητῷ τέκνῳ, 2 Tim. 1:2.

<sup>144</sup>The Pastorals speak of what was entrusted to Timothy as the παραθήκη (deposit). Cf. 1 Tim. 6:20; 2 Tim. 1:14. Wegenast, pp. 154-155, however, concludes that there is no immediate connection between the Jewish concept of tradition and the concept of tradition in the Pastorals.

mentioned in both epistles (see 1 Timothy 4:14; 2 Timothy 1:6).<sup>145</sup> But our knowledge of Timothy's connection with Paul does not depend solely on evidence from the Pastorals. In 1 Thessalonians 3:2 the apostle tells how he sent Timothy "to establish you and to exhort you concerning your faith."<sup>146</sup> The same rabbinic idea of maintaining the tradition lies behind the expression "to establish you" as is found in 1 Corinthians 15:1.<sup>147</sup> Paul is concerned to have Timothy work at the retention of the gospel tradition and to preach its message, and for this reason calls him "God's servant in the gospel of Christ" (1 Thessalonians 3:2).<sup>148</sup> In Philip-  
 pians the apostle speaks of sending Timothy to Macedonia, commending him with the words: "But Timothy's worth you

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<sup>145</sup>Daube, pp. 244-246, regards ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου in 1 Tim. 4:14 to be a rendering of the rabbinic semikhath zegenim ("the leaning on of the elders"), the technical term for rabbinic ordination. Any rabbi could ordain another, and Daube holds that Timothy was ordained by Paul alone.

<sup>146</sup>Cf. εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλέσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, 1 Thess. 3:2. The twofold aspect of the gospel as tradition to be maintained and message to be believed is present here. In Gal. 1:8-9, Paul similarly speaks of a gospel that is preached and a gospel that is received. In 1 Cor. 15:1, he also speaks of the gospel that he preached and the gospel the Corinthians received.

<sup>147</sup>The verb στηρίξαι corresponds with the rabbinic קִיּוּם and תְּלֵוּ. Cf. supra, p. 120.

<sup>148</sup>Cf. τὸν συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, 1 Thess. 3:2 (Nestle-Aland text). The RSV takes the reading of Codex Sinaiticus and others. Nestle's text is supported by the original scribe of Codex Bezae.

know, how as a son with a father he has served with me in the gospel" (Philippians 2:22).<sup>149</sup> Again we see the close association of the ideas of father, son, and gospel with the name of Timothy.

Onesimus, too, is identified by Paul as a "child" whom he has begotten (Philemon 10).<sup>150</sup> How the apostle became the spiritual father of Onesimus is not mentioned in the brief epistle; the only additional information is that it took place during Paul's imprisonment. Onesimus is recommended to Philemon in the highest manner. Paul writes: "Receive him as you would receive me" (verse 17).<sup>151</sup> These words mean that he asks Philemon and the church at Philemon's house to accept Onesimus as a fellow minister with full Pauline authority.<sup>152</sup> Later Christian writers say that this same Onesimus became bishop of Ephesus.<sup>153</sup>

Even if later information is disregarded, there is still strong probability that Paul's identification of

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<sup>149</sup>Cf. ὡς πατρὶ τέκνον σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, Phil. 2:33.

<sup>150</sup>Cf. τοῦ ἐμοῦ τέκνου, ὃν ἐγέννησα, Philemon 10.

<sup>151</sup>Cf. προσλαβοῦ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐμέ, Philemon 17.

<sup>152</sup>The verb δέχεσθαι is commonly used of receiving persons with a message: Paul (Gal. 4:14; 2 Cor. 11:16), Jesus (Matt. 10:40; Luke 9:53), the Twelve (Mark 6:11), Titus (2 Cor. 7:15), Mark (Col. 4:10), the Seventy (Luke 10:8), and a Christian prophet (Matt. 10:41).

<sup>153</sup>Ignatius Ephesians 1:3; 2:1; 6:2.

Onesimus as his "child" means that the runaway slave not only came to faith through the message that Paul preached, but also that he was trained in the various traditions with which he was to work as a Christian minister. The apostle makes a special point of mentioning Onesimus' usefulness to his master and to Paul himself (verse 11). The tenor of the letter suggests that Paul does not regard Onesimus merely as an attendant who could minister to his personal needs, but as a recently won and trained fellow worker in the gospel. If so, then the epistle is Onesimus' endorsement by Paul as a genuine bearer of the tradition and authorized preacher of the message, as well as a plea to a master to accept his runaway slave as a Christian brother.<sup>154</sup>

Titus acted as Paul's representative on several occasions and was probably also indebted to Paul for training in the Christian traditions. The apostolic writer identifies him to the Corinthians as "my partner and fellow worker in your service" (2 Corinthians 8:23).<sup>155</sup> He and two other brethren are sent by Paul to Corinth to work for the collection of the gift which was planned for the Jerusalem congregation (see also 2 Corinthians 12:17-18). On an earlier occasion Paul took Titus along to Jerusalem when the

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<sup>154</sup>Edgar J. Goodspeed, Paul (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1947), pp. 206-210.

<sup>155</sup>Cf. κοινωνὸς ἐμὸς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς συνεργός, 2 Cor. 8:23.

circumcision issue was being warmly debated in the church (Galatians 2:1). At that time some of the Judean brethren demanded that, since Titus was a Greek, he should be circumcized. But Paul stood firmly against them and seems to have won the concurrence of the Jerusalem leadership (see Galatians 2:3-9). As in the case of Timothy, Titus is addressed in the Pastorals as Paul's "true child in a common faith" (Titus 1:4).<sup>156</sup> Thus Titus, too, is a "true" child. The description may be taken as a commendation of his loyalty not only to the Lord but also to Paul as the Christian minister through whom he came to believe. The term is his stamp of trustworthiness as a bearer of the traditional teachings delivered to him by the apostle. In later Christian writings Titus is known as the bishop of Crete.<sup>157</sup>

The instructions that are given to him in the Pastoral epistle are heavily laden with reference to ecclesiastical and ethical matters which are to be decided in accordance with a body of teaching already imparted (see Titus 1:3,9; 2:1,10; 3:1,8). For example, Titus is urged to silence the circumcision party who are teaching "what they have no right to teach" (1:11). The Cretans are to be rebuked sharply, so that "they may be sound in the faith, instead of giving heed

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<sup>156</sup>Cf. γνησίῳ τέκνῳ κατὰ κοινὴν πίστιν, Titus 1:4.

<sup>157</sup>Cf. Walter Lock, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, in The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1959), p. 127.



to Jewish myths or to commands of men who reject the truth" (1:13b-14).

Εὐαγγελιστής as a Specialist in the Gospel Tradition

The significance of the title of the Christian minister known as the evangelist is clarified by recognizing that the gospel in the early church had the character of tradition. The title itself is a rare one in the New Testament.<sup>158</sup> The function of the εὐαγγελιστής in the church is usually described in vague terms as one who preached the gospel.<sup>159</sup> He is not especially distinguished from other preachers. We now take up certain evidence, however, that the function performed by the εὐαγγελιστής in the Christian church in the first century was a rather definite one. The evidence comes from an examination of the commission of Timothy in 1 Corinthians 4:17 and reflection on the later rabbinic office of tanna.

Timothy's mission to remind the Corinthians of Paul's ways in Christ assumes that he will repeat to them the apostle's traditional teaching.<sup>160</sup> Paul writes to the

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<sup>158</sup>εὐαγγελιστής occurs only three times: Acts 21:8 (Philip); Eph. 4:11; 2 Tim. 4:5.

<sup>159</sup>Milligan, p. 144, says that the title describes "the man who brought the first news of the Gospel-message to any new region."

<sup>160</sup>Cf. supra, p. 90.

Corinthians that he is sending Timothy, his beloved and faithful child, to "remind" them of his ways in Christ as he teaches them everywhere in every church (1 Corinthians 4:17).<sup>161</sup> Timothy has authorization to be a teacher of Pauline halachoth. He is sent to remind the Corinthians of Paul's example and oral instruction. The manner in which his mission is described implies that Timothy was to deal with what Paul had already done. Since Paul's "ways" were traditional teachings previously handed on to the churches, Timothy's task was clear. He was to repeat or recite certain regulations and moral instructions which the apostle had previously given, probably in the assembly session.<sup>162</sup> Since Timothy's work was to be done in an effective manner, we infer that the Pauline teaching was in a somewhat fixed form which Timothy had learned well. Timothy himself may have had the right to formulate instruction on the basis of what he had seen Paul do, but his primary task was to

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<sup>161</sup>Cf. ἀναμνήσει, 1 Cor. 4:17. There is no redundancy in the combination πανταχοῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ. By ἐκκλησίᾳ Paul means the assembly of the congregation in session. Thus Timothy is to remind the Corinthians of things which Paul taught in the assembly sessions throughout his churches.

<sup>162</sup>Robert A. Bartels, Kerygma or Gospel Tradition--Which Came First? (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961), p. 57, describes three kinds of early Christian assemblies in which tradition was transmitted: fellowship assemblies, business sessions, and gatherings in the homes.

refresh the memories of the brethren at Corinth concerning Paul's words and example.<sup>163</sup>

The apostle's expression "my ways in Christ" deserves closer attention.<sup>164</sup> The fact that Paul speaks of them as "ways" suggests the rabbinic halachoth, a term which is built on the verb stem which means "to walk" or "to live."<sup>165</sup> Epstein defines halachoth as ethical regulations and ritual precepts derived from the interpretation and re-interpretation of the Torah.<sup>166</sup> The Jewish teacher taught not only with what he orally gave his pupils but with his every act and attitude. Paul's expression "my ways" refers to the same sort of instruction. Furthermore, "walking in Christ" seems to have replaced the rabbinic idea of "walking in the Torah" that had formerly been in Paul's vocabulary as a Pharisee.<sup>167</sup> The terminology which appears in Colossians 2:6 reflects the Christian adaptation of the expression:

"As therefore you received Christ Jesus the Lord, so live in

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<sup>163</sup>Boer, p. 44.

<sup>164</sup>Cf. τὰς ὁδοὺς μου τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ, 1 Cor. 4:17.

<sup>165</sup>The Hebrew root  $\text{לָחַק}$  (walk, live) is used in the plural noun  $\text{לְחָכִים}$  (halachoth, rules, precepts).

<sup>166</sup>Isidore Epstein, "Halachah," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, edited by George Arthur Buttrick, et al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), p. 512.

<sup>167</sup>Gerhardsson, pp. 300-301.

him."<sup>168</sup> Walking or living in the "received" Christ Jesus shows that the expression is closely related to Paul's concept of tradition. What Paul has in mind when he mentions "my ways in Christ" are the Christian "halachoth" derived from or contained in the tradition from Jesus, that is, the gospel tradition. Such were the teachings which Timothy was sent to reinforce among the Corinthians.

The motif of remembrance, which is present in Timothy's commission, is an idea connected with teaching, especially the teaching of tradition, in two other Pauline passages. In 1 Corinthians 11:2, Paul says that he has praise for the Corinthians because they maintain the traditions and "remember" him in everything.<sup>169</sup> The same motif appears twice in Paul's tradition of the institution of the Lord's Supper. The instructions after both the bread and the cup are that the action should be carried out in "remembrance" of the Lord Jesus (see 1 Corinthians 11:24,25).<sup>170</sup> As we pointed out above, the Supper involves a repetition of the tradition of Jesus' death: "For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he

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<sup>168</sup>Cf. ὡς οὖν παρελάβετε τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον, ἐν αὐτῷ περιπατεῖτε, Col. 2:6.

<sup>169</sup>Cf. πάντα μου μέμνησθε, 1 Cor. 11:2.

<sup>170</sup>Cf. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, 1 Cor. 11:24,25. Only the Longer Reading in Luke has the same phrase and then only in connection with the bread.

comes" (1 Corinthians 11:26).<sup>171</sup>

Gerhardsson has pointed out that in later Judaism there existed specialists whose responsibility was the retention and recitation of the oral texts which were used by the rabbis in their teaching.<sup>172</sup> These specialists were called tannaim or shonim.<sup>173</sup> The earliest literary mention of a tanna comes from the time of R. Akiba (d. A.D. 135), who laid the foundations for the Mishnah with the first orally published collection of mishnaic material.<sup>174</sup> The oral publishing of mishnah is described as that process in the rabbinic college whereby a teaching, after discussion and revision, was "passed on to the traditionists (tannaim) in finally-redacted form: כִּי צִדְקָה עָדָר גַּוְשָׁנִי."<sup>175</sup> The tanna was a chosen pupil of a famous rabbi; he was selected because he had an excellent memory. He served the rabbi or rabbinical college as a kind of living book, who could recite or repeat large quantities of carefully formulated halachic material. He was not necessarily supposed to be an expert in the understanding of the material he had

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<sup>171</sup>Cf. supra, p. 129.

<sup>172</sup>Gerhardsson, pp. 93-112.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid., p. 107. From Aram. אָרַמַיִשׁ, Heb. אָרַמַיִשׁ (answer, repeat).

<sup>174</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>175</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

memorized. Some of the tannaim in later Judaism so little fathomed the material they retained that they were proverbial for having the form of knowledge without its content.<sup>176</sup>

During the early Tannaitic period, however, a century before R. Akiba, there does not seem to have been a clear distinction between the specialist in retaining the oral texts and other teachers.<sup>177</sup> In the Judaism of Paul's time the teacher had to be his own tanna. In the Christian churches of the same period the situation was probably similar. Paul preserved in his memory the basic εὐαγγέλιον, any segment of which he could repeat for preaching or teaching or writing letters, as the occasion demanded.<sup>178</sup> Yet he and the other apostles realized that the future of the churches was closely dependent upon their faithfulness to the gospel and other traditions which had been delivered to them. There was a need for Christian workers who could carefully preserve and repeat the traditions, especially the gospel tradition. Paul's attachment of Timothy to himself was motivated by the need for a young man to follow him and preserve his traditions.<sup>179</sup> What we see in 1 Corinthians 4:17

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<sup>176</sup>Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>177</sup>Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>178</sup>E.g., 1 Cor. 11:23,25; 15:3-8.

<sup>179</sup>Michel Bouttier, Christianity According to Paul (Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, 1966), p. 56.

concerning how Timothy was to function at Corinth may be a glimpse of the Christian counterpart of what in Judaism developed into the tannaim of a later period.

On the basis of the considerations presented above, we conclude that Timothy worked as one of the evangelists, who in the Christian church of the first century were quasi-specialists in retaining, transmitting, and applying the gospel tradition. According to 2 Timothy 4:5, Paul encourages Timothy to "do the work of an evangelist."<sup>180</sup> What was the work of an evangelist? Obviously, it had something to do with the εὐαγγέλιον. As Lock says, Paul's exhortation meant, "Do the work of one who has a Gospel, not myths and genealogies, to teach."<sup>181</sup> But on the basis of the supposition that εὐαγγέλιον is a designation for the gospel tradition, it is possible to identify the function of the Christian evangelist more precisely. He was one who excelled in retaining and repeating the gospel tradition. He preserved it in his memory, worked with it in preaching and teaching, and finally gave it up to written forms as the eyewitnesses died and as Christianity spread out into the world of books.<sup>182</sup> His work with the gospel was a very important

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<sup>180</sup>Cf. ἔργον ποιήσον εὐαγγελιστοῦ, 2 Tim. 4:5.

<sup>181</sup>Lock, p. 113.

<sup>182</sup>Cf. Eusebius Ecclesiastical History iii. 39. 15, Papias' report that Mark wrote his Gospel from the things he remembered from Peter's sermons. In 1 Pet. 5:13, Mark is called Peter's "son." Also, Friedrich, pp. 735-737.

one and merited including his title next to that of the apostles and prophets in the list of ministries that God bestowed upon the Church (Ephesians 4:11).

The conclusions we have reached in this chapter draw together the results of the entire study. For this reason we have reserved them for the following and final chapter.



## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY

This investigation has shown that we encounter the method of tradition in a variety of ways as we examine the activity of the apostle Paul in the Corinthian congregation. In some form tradition is found in every aspect of the faith and life of the church. As Moore says, tradition is inevitable in the apostle's work.<sup>1</sup> Paul makes use of the method in which he was trained in Judaism. Cautious application of analogous elements in rabbinic methodology, as Gerhardsson advocates, sheds much light on the role of tradition in Paul's work in his mission church. His epistles to the Corinthians show abundantly that the manner in which he taught and preached was similar to the Jewish teachers of his day. He employs the traditional principles of the scribes and Pharisees, especially in the way in which he deals with the problems of regulating Christian life. Paul adapts his inherited concept of tradition and uses it in the service of Christ.

The most important conclusion reached in the present study is that the εὐαγγέλιον is tradition which Paul transmits and employs in a fashion that can be clarified by the

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<sup>1</sup>George Foot Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), I, 257.

rabbinic analogy. In the preceding chapter we have pointed out on the basis of evidence from the Corinthian correspondence that there are three aspects to the εὐαγγέλιον as the apostle uses the term: the gospel as the activity of preaching based on the tradition of the words and deeds of Jesus, the gospel as the content of the message thus preached, and the gospel as the tradition itself. The apostle carries the gospel tradition in his memory in a manner similar to that known from later rabbinic literature, that is, by means of mnemonic headings (see 1 Corinthians 15:3-8). He recites the gospel in this form for the purpose of preaching from the traditions which he had previously delivered to the congregation. He also knew the fuller forms of the gospel tradition, as is demonstrated by his repetition of the account of the Lord's Supper (1 Corinthians 11:23-25).

The recognition of the traditional nature of the gospel leads to further conclusions. The apostle employs the language of parenthood to convey ideas closely related to the tradition. Because it was he who originally delivered the gospel tradition to the Corinthians, he claims that the members of the church are his children and that he is their father. The gospel tradition was the foundation which he laid and upon which others built; it was the planting which he did and which others water (1 Corinthians 3:5-15). In addition, the term "child" has special meaning as a person

whom Paul trained and endorsed as an authentic bearer of tradition, especially of the gospel. Timothy is referred to in this way in the Corinthians correspondence. Finally, the gospel as a traditional concept sheds light on the New Testament minister known as the "evangelist," who probably bore the title because he was a living source of the traditions that dealt with Jesus' teaching and life. Many indications point to Timothy as a specialist in the gospel and other Pauline traditions.

The conclusions about Timothy that we have reached in this study lead to a suggestion for future investigation. The presence of genuine Pauline sayings, perhaps fragments of Paul's letters, in the Pastoral Epistles has been asserted by many scholars.<sup>2</sup> The presence of Jewish elements has also been noticed in the letters.<sup>3</sup> Further investigation of the relationship between these two elements in the light of Timothy as an authorized Pauline traditioner now seems needed. We suggest that the same factors which led to the production of written versions of the gospel tradition were written to preserve authentic Pauline tradition as it

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<sup>2</sup>Cf. Walter Lock, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, in The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1959), pp. xxxi-xxxv.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. David Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London: The Athlone Press, 1956), pp. 224-246.

had been entrusted to Timothy and Titus and the churches in their care.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Timothy and Titus themselves were the compilers of the epistles that are found in the New Testament under their names.<sup>5</sup> At any rate, the three Pastorals and the Epistle to Philemon serve as Pauline endorsements of the ministries of Timothy, Titus, and Onesimus. Their authority in the church after Paul's death is greatly strengthened by words from the apostle himself.

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<sup>4</sup>Donald Guthrie, New Testament Introduction: The Pauline Epistles (Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1964), pp. 231-234, discusses the motivation for the writing of the Pastorals.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 235.

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